



“ALL MEN AND WOMEN ARE CREATED EQUAL”



AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

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NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK**

REBECCA CONARD

**IN COOPERATION WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE**

APRIL 2012

Cover Illustration: The rehabilitated Wesleyan Chapel, site of the nation's first women's rights convention, July 19-20, 1848. Photograph by author, October 2010.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
"All Men and Women Are Created Equal"
Administrative History

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U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service

Northeast Region History Program

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Recommended:



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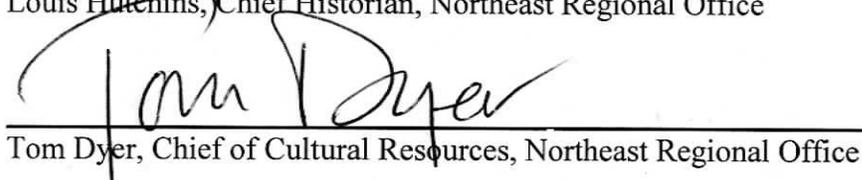
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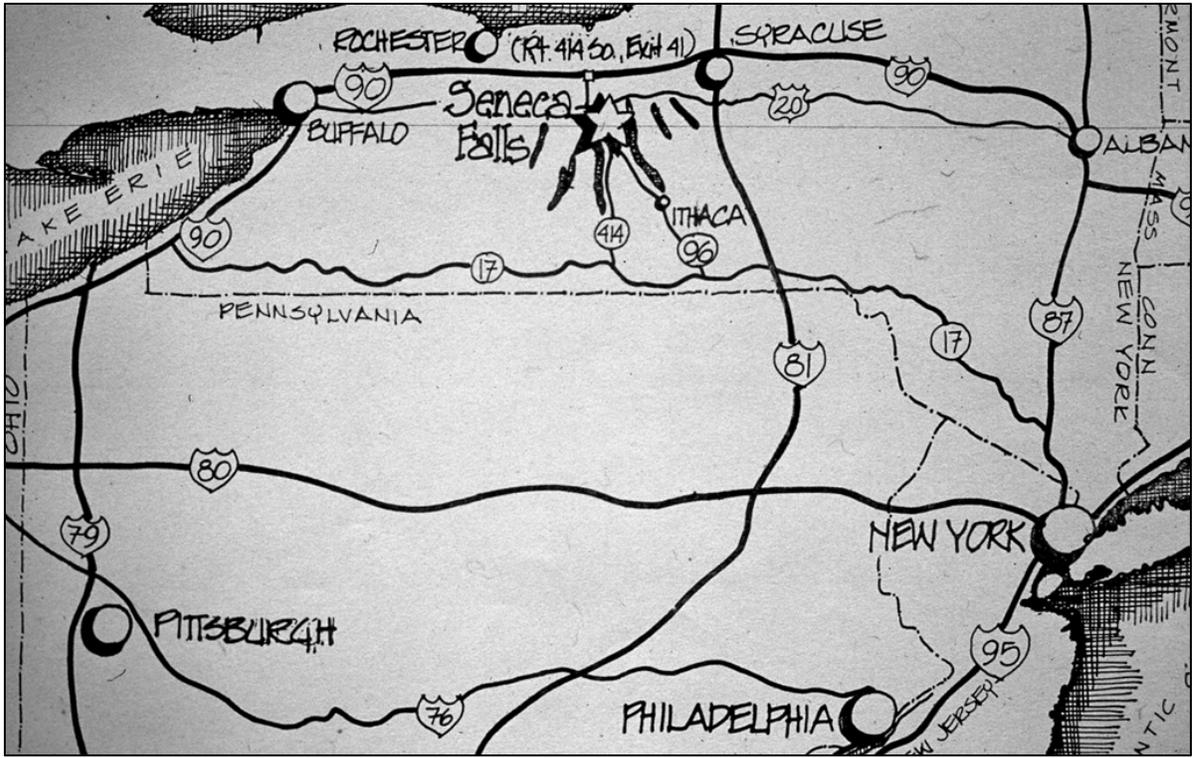


Figure 1. Map of Seneca Falls Region. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

PREFACE

Women's Rights National Historical Park, located in Seneca Falls and Waterloo, New York, comprises four discontinuous historic sites that total approximately seven acres in size. These sites are the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House (Seneca Falls), signed with a New York State Department of Education marker in 1932 and designated a National Historic Landmark in 1965; the Wesleyan Chapel (Seneca Falls), signed with a bronze plaque in 1908 and also with a New York State Department of Education marker in 1932; the Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock House (Waterloo); and the Richard P. Hunt and Jane C. Hunt House (Waterloo). All four sites were listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1980. The Hunt House is not yet open to the public. The Visitor Center occupies a rehabilitated historic building located adjacent to the Wesleyan Chapel. Park facilities also include two leased buildings in the Village of Seneca Falls: a rehabilitated commercial building, currently used as an education center, and a maintenance building. Both buildings are within walking distance of the Visitor Center.

Congress passed enabling legislation to establish Women's Rights NHP on December 28, 1980. Public Law 96-607, Title XVI (see Appendix I), defined the park's purpose as being "to preserve and interpret for the education, inspiration, and benefit of present and future generations the nationally significant historical and cultural sites and structures associated with the struggle for equal rights for women." This legislation authorized the National Park Service to acquire nine specified property tracts either by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or transfer from another federal agency. The NPS could enter into cooperative agreements with owners of these specified properties to provide technical assistance for preservation and interpretation purposes. P.L. 96-607 further directed the National Park Service to encourage state and local agencies to preserve park resources and the historic setting in which they were found. It also established the Women's Rights National Historical Park Advisory Commission to operate through December 28, 1990.

Public Law 98-402 (1984) authorized the National Park Service to acquire the M'Clintock House in fee simple. Public Law 100-475 (1988) authorized increased funding for property acquisition. Public Law 104-333, Section 505 (1996) incorporated legislation first introduced in 1992 to amend the park boundary to include properties adjacent to and on the historic Stanton lot, the Wesleyan Chapel and the M'Clintock House; purchase a maintenance facility; and increase funding for acquisition. Public Law 106-258 (2000) authorized the National Park Service to acquire title to the Hunt House in fee simple. Legislation introduced in the 107th Congress (2002) and thereafter to create a "Votes for Women's History Trail" administered through Women's Rights NHP finally passed in 2009. P.L. 111-11 (2009) enables the NPS to establish a trail throughout New York State, support the nomination of historic sites associated with women's rights to the National

Register of Historic Places, and create a partnership for preservation and interpretation of such sites.

This study covers the origin, evolution, and management of Women's Rights National Historical Park. An opening chapter examines the origins of the park, followed by four lengthy chapters detailing the park's history under the first four superintendents: Judy Hart (1982-1989), Linda Canzanelli (1989-1994), Joanne Hanley (1994-1997), and Josie Fernandez (1998-2004). A briefer concluding chapter highlights the achievements and trends during Tina Orcutt's superintendency (2004-2011) and offers a historical perspective on the challenges facing the park in the future.

The history of the women's rights movement, particularly the activism of the 1970s and 1980s associated with second-wave feminism, stands behind the park's creation. External forces and internal forces met and combined in the wake of the 1977 National Women's Conference and the national debate over ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment. Feminists organized to save the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, a National Historic Landmark, from local developers at the same time that professional staff in the National Park Service were actively seeking to expand the representation of women and minority groups in the National Park System.¹

Other factors affecting the history include the growth of heritage tourism as an engine of economic development and the changing character of the National Park System over the past four decades. Not only has the system expanded greatly, but environmental and social movements have influenced public concepts of what constitutes a national park and what is worthy of national park status. Although the NPS icons are the twenty or so magnificent scenic parks reserved in the public domain between 1872 and the early 1930s, the system, comprising nearly 400 parks, includes a far greater number of historic places and recreation areas. These are variously categorized and periodically re-categorized, and they play an increasingly important role as the NPS strives to demonstrate the relevance of national parks in a society undergoing rapid demographic changes.

As the system has changed, the agency has had to reconsider what it takes to protect, manage, and interpret cultural resources. Importantly, such considerations have taken place in the context of debates among historic preservationists and historians concerning appropriate strategies for preserving historic places (sites, buildings, structures, objects) and the relationship between preserving historic places and interpreting the stories that make these places significant in the nation's history. Coincidentally over the past thirty years, the National Park Service has undertaken

¹ See Appendix C for three contemporary accounts written by feminists who were involved in saving the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House and establishing Women's Rights NHP. For the history of women's involvement in establishing national parks, see Polly Welts Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998, rev. 2006); for the history of women's involvement in historic preservation, see Page Putnam Miller, ed., *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992) and Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman, eds., *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

various efforts to reorganize, diversify, and raise the professional profile of a highly decentralized and widely dispersed work force. Additionally, system expansion has created enormous challenges to system maintenance in federal fiscal circumstances that have shifted from episodic funding crises to an ever-present funding dilemma.

To varying degrees, the themes of second-wave feminism, the allure of heritage tourism and economic development, the professionalization of cultural resource management, the increasing cost of managing an ever-expanding system, and the more recent concern of relevancy in the National Park Service are threaded through discussions of park operations, management, planning, interpretation, and development. Also important are the park's relationships with local civic and cultural organizations, with legislators, and with professional societies and organizations, which have sometimes played key roles in relation to park development and interpretation.

The park's evolution reflects a changing constellation of supporters among community groups, friends' groups, professional societies, and public officials. The origins of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, for instance, are bound with the park's creation; and Seneca Falls Urban Cultural Park, a New York State heritage area, emerged in tandem with the park. In addition to the legislatively authorized Park Advisory Commission, which had a ten-year life span, the National Women's Hall of Fame and, since 1998, the Friends of Women's Rights National Historical Park have been particularly strong supporting organizations. Professional associations, most notably the Organization of American Historians, have helped to sustain the scholarly dimensions of park development and interpretation. Importantly, successive members of the New York congressional delegation have taken a special interest in the park, especially the late Frank Horton, who served in the House of Representatives from 1963 to 1993; Rep. Louise Slaughter, who replaced him and continues to serve in the House; the late Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who served in the Senate from 1976 to 2000; and Hillary Rodham Clinton, both as first lady and as New York senator from 2001 to 2009.

Support has not always meant agreement, however, and as park development has diverged from the interests of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation and the Village of Seneca Falls, these affiliations have correspondingly weakened. The Stanton Foundation, which spearheaded the effort to rescue the Stanton House from insensitive development has recently moved into other historic preservation efforts that are tangentially related to the mission of the park. The Village of Seneca Falls, which hitched heritage development to the park in the late 1970s, now promotes the village as the "real" Bedford Falls of Frank Capra's 1945 film, *It's a Wonderful Life*, with ZuZu Café in the downtown business district, a street renamed Angel Avenue, the historic hotel renamed Hotel Clarence, and a community screening of the Christmas classic every December.

Relationships between the park and outside organizations have shifted with the priorities of each park superintendent. They also have been reshaped in response to increasing professionalization in the ranks of the National Park Service workforce and a corresponding evolution of management policies and cultural resource management

practices. Decision making in the National Park Service takes place within an organizational hierarchy and a complex web of relations among agency professionals, as well as between NPS staff and outside professionals, and with compliance agencies and other bodies that have a voice in park development. Bureaucratic changes affecting park development and management have repositioned outside organizations in relation to the park so that they now function within more formal structures of park planning and regulatory compliance.

In many respects, the major theme of this study is “relevancy.” In a message to NPS employees issued shortly after he was confirmed as director of the National Park Service in September 2009, Jon Jarvis made “relevancy” one of his top four priorities for the agency. “There is deep concern out there,” he observed, “that national parks will become irrelevant to a society that is disconnected from nature and history. We need to help all Americans – especially young people – discover a personal connection to their national parks.”² This concern has been expressed, in one way or another, by a succession of National Park Service directors since the 1960s.

Relevancy, at Women’s Rights National Historical Park, has been wrapped in the debate over whether or to what degree the park is an “idea” park. The language of enabling legislation left considerable room for debate. On the one hand, federal law enabled the preservation of specific properties in Seneca Falls and Waterloo that are associated with specific individuals who were key actors in launching the women’s rights movement in the mid nineteenth century. On the other hand, particular passages of the law noted that these places would “initially” constitute the park. This opened the door for future park expansion. Furthermore, the law framed the interpretive mandate broadly as “the struggle for equal rights for women” without specifying beginning or end dates. Over the years, debates about interpretation have turned on various points, almost always related to the preservation and development of park sites: the Stanton, M’Clintock, and Hunt houses, the Wesleyan Chapel, and the Visitor Center. Ongoing debates over interpretation most surely will take another turn with development of the recently authorized Votes for Women History Trail. Importantly, as the park has developed its constituent historic sites, their tangibility had the effect of grounding interpretation in the contributions of historical people who lived at a particular time and in a constellation of places situated in New York State. As a result, the complex history of the women’s rights movement has increasingly been interpreted in multiple settings, which, when combined, aim to represent the intricate web of forces that gave rise in the mid-nineteenth century to a variety of reform movements.

The palette of nineteenth-century origins also has allowed the park to interpret the continuing pulse of the women’s movement in many different ways, some of which unavoidably bump into contemporary issues of considerable disagreement. The park’s interpretation of historical people and the nineteenth-century history of the women’s

² Jonathan B. Jarvis, National Park Service Director, “All Employees Message,” September 25, 2009.

movement has never been a point of contention. Controversy has arisen only when interpretive elements have touched on issues of contemporary political debate. To a considerable degree, however, the park's challenge has not simply been what stories to tell and how to make the past relevant to a present that is a rapidly moving target, but how to provide a visitor experience that captures the complex nature of the movement's origins. This task is enormously complicated by the fact that visitors typically begin their exploration of the park, quite naturally, at the Visitor Center complex, which is where all of the interpretive elements of public controversy have been located. Much of the interpretation of nineteenth-century history takes place at the Stanton and M'Clintock houses. But these are not visible from the Visitor Center. They receive relatively few visitors compared to the number who stop at the Visitor Center and perhaps tour the adjacent Wesleyan Chapel.³ For many visitors, the park consists of these two structures in downtown Seneca Falls. The discontinuous nature of the park's historic resources adheres to a fundamental principle of integrity in historic preservation. Nonetheless, it is an impediment to telling a complex story cohesively, and, for some visitors, coherently. In this respect, while the park has demonstrated creativity in telling a complex story, it has been only partially successful in overcoming the physical challenges to integrating the elements of that complexity.

³ The Hunt House is not yet open to the public.

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It takes many hands, many minds, many eyes to produce a book, and perhaps more to produce an administrative history. Among those who contributed to this effort, Elizabeth D. Smith, who served as my graduate assistant while she worked on her master's degree, deserves first mention. She joins me in thanking the many people who assisted in the research effort. At the park, these include Dorothy Fenton, Marcia Lerkins, David Malone, and Lee Werst; at the Northeast Regional Office, Barbara Yocum and Liz Banks; at Harpers Ferry Center, Sylvia Frye; and at the Washington Office, Bob Sutton, Chief Historian, and Harry Butowsky, Historian. Thanks also to staff members at the Seneca Falls Historical Society, the Waterloo Historical Society and Library, the Seneca Falls Village offices, the Penfield Library Special Collections Department at SUNY Oswego, the Ruth Lilly Archives at Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis, the Hornbake Library, Archives and Manuscripts Department, at the University of Maryland in College Park, Maryland, the National Archives in College Park, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

This account has been enriched through the recollections of three people who penned accounts of Women's Rights NHP as it was being established and several other insiders who consented to recorded oral history interviews. Their names appear in the bibliography, but they deserve acknowledgement here as well. Nancy Dubner, Betsy Shultis, and the late Corinne Guntzel articulated community dynamics and personal reasons they ardently supported the park's creation at the time events were unfolding. In doing so, they captured for all time the essence of second-wave feminism that paved the way for this park. In addition to park superintendents Judy Hart, Linda Canzanelli, Joanne Hanley, Josie Fernandez, and Tina Orcutt, other insiders who provided valuable context through recorded interviews were Francis Caraccilo, Charles Clapper, Blaine Cliver, Robert Fenton, Nan Johnson, Vivien Rose, August Sinicropi, and Stephen Spaulding. Some of them we met only telephonically, thanks to technological advances in digital recording, and I hope their memories were captured fairly.

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The primary purpose of an administrative history is to create a contextualized narrative that serves as institutional memory for park managers. To this end, the first-

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACHP	Advisory Council on Historic Preservation
BCB	Building Conservation Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center*
CCB	Collections Conservation Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center*
CDBG	Community Development Block Grant
CFR	Code of Federal Regulations
CGA	Chermayeff & Geismar Associates (design firm)
CRD	Cultural Resources Division
CRPP	Cultural Resources Preservation Program Base
EA	Environmental Assessment
ECSF	Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation
DOE	Determination of Eligibility
DSC	Denver Service Center, National Park Service
GMP	General Management Plan
GMPA	General Management Plan Amendment
GPRA	Government Performance and Results Act
GS	General Schedule
HABS/HAER	Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record
HFC	Harpers Ferry Center, National Park Service
HRS	Historic Resource/s Report
HSR	Historic Structure/s Report
ICSC	International Coalition of Sites of Conscience
MCPPP	Museum Collections Preservation and Protection
NAHPC	North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center (superseded by BCB)*
NAR	North Atlantic Region (1973 to 1995)
NARA-CP	National Archives and Records Administration-College Park
NEPA	National Environmental Policy Act
NEA	National Endowment for the Arts
NER	Northeast Region (1997-present; Northeast Field Area, 1995-1997)
NER-CRD	Northeast Region Cultural Resources Division
NER-HAP	Northeast Region Historic Architectural Program (replaced BCB 2002)*
NER-HIST	Northeast Regional Historian
NER-MSC	Northeast Region Museum Services Center*
NHP	National Historical Park
NHPA	National Historic Preservation Act
NHS	National Historic Site
NPS-HIST	National Park Service History Office, Washington, D.C.

NPS-LEG	National Park Service Legislative Office, Washington, D.C.
NPS-PPSS	National Park Service Park Planning and Special Studies Division, Washington, D.C.
NTHP	National Trust for Historic Preservation
NYSHPO	New York State Historic Preservation Office
NWHF	National Women’s Hall of Fame
OAH	Organization of American Historians
ONPS	Operations of the National Park System
PEPC	Planning, Environment, and Public Comment
PMIS	Project Management Information System
PMOA	Programmatic Memorandum of Agreement
RFDP	Recreational Fee Demonstration Program
SCEP	Student Career Experience Program
SFM	Statement for Management
SMP	Strategic Management Plan
STEP	Student Temporary Employment Program
SUNY	State University of New York
TPL	Trust for Public Land
TSP	The Stein Partnership
UCP	Urban Cultural Park
VS/CR	Visitor Services/Cultural Resources Division of Women’s Rights NHP
WASO	Washington Office, National Park Service
WECC	Women’s Educational and Cultural Center
WG	Wage Grade
WS	Wage Supervisory

* Starred acronyms reflect three reorganizations of cultural resource staff in the Northeast Regional Office. In 1990, the North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center became part of the newly created Northeast Cultural Resources Center. Groups within the new Center included the Building Conservation Branch, formerly the NAHPC; the Archeology Branch, formerly the Eastern Archeological Field Laboratory; and the Collections Conservation Branch.

The Northeast Cultural Resources Center was disbanded in 2002, at which time the Building Conservation Branch was split into two groups: Architectural Preservation, under the directorate of Design and Facility Management, and the Historic Architecture Program, under the directorate of Resource Stewardship and Science. Also placed under the Resource Stewardship and Science directorate were the Archeology Program and the Northeast Museum Services Center, which incorporated the Collections Conservation Branch.

The most recent reorganization took place in 2008-2009. Architectural Preservation became Architectural Preservation, Engineering and Maintenance, under the directorate of Construction and Facility Management. The Historic Architecture Program, Archeology Program, and the Northeast Museum Services Center were placed under the directorate of Heritage Preservation, Planning and Compliance. All are still part of the Northeast Regional Office.

THE DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS
FIRST WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONFERENCE
SENECA FALLS, NEW YORK
July 19-20, 1848

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, While evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men--both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master--the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of

separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women--the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation--in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

RESOLUTIONS

Whereas, the great precept of nature is conceded to be that "man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness." Blackstone in his Commentaries remarks that this law of nature, being coeval with mankind and dictated by God himself, is, of course, superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid derive all their force, and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original; therefore,

Resolved, that such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

Resolved, that all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, that woman is man's equal, was intended to be so by the Creator, and the

highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, that the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, that inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is preeminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, that the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, that the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

Resolved, that woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

Resolved, that it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, that the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, that the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to woman an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce.

Resolved, therefore, that, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities and same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with mankind.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

President Jimmy Carter, in one of his last acts before leaving office, signed into law an omnibus parks bill that included enabling legislation to create Women’s Rights National Historical Park. Passage of P.L. 96-607 in December 1980 represented a continuation of system expansion that had begun in the 1960s under Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and National Park Service Director George Hartzog, but which came to a halt, albeit temporary, under NPS Director Russell Dickenson (1980-1985) and Ronald Reagan’s first Secretary of the Interior, James Watt.¹ This phase of system expansion accompanied a period of social activism tied to a growing awareness of and dissatisfaction with economic disparities, politically sanctioned discriminatory practices, and environmental degradation. Toward the end of this phase, a number of new parks—Tuskegee Institute NHS (1974), Clara Barton NHS (1974), Eleanor Roosevelt NHS (1977), Maggie L. Walker NHS (1978), Boston African American NHS (1980), Martin Luther King, Jr. NHS (1980), and Women’s Rights NHP—signaled a National Park Service in transition. If the agency did not always welcome a host of new historical parks, Congress did, responding to various constituent groups who embraced historic places as a way of

¹ The Reagan administration, particularly James Watt, has been cited as the cause of many difficulties the Park faced during its first few years. Judith Wellman, for instance, states unequivocally that, “Watt’s goals did not include support for the National Park Service”; see “It’s a Wide Community Indeed” in *Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation*, eds. Dubrow and Goodman. Judy Hart, the Park’s first superintendent, is more precise in stating that “Watt decreed there would be no [land] acquisition,” for national parks, but she also characterizes Dorothy Duke, whom Watt appointed to chair the Park Advisory Commission, as having been “sent . . . by Watt” to “stop the park”; see Judy Hart interviews recorded September 26, 2008, and October 2, 2008. Watt, however, held the position of Secretary of the Interior for a relatively short period—20 months. The official NPS version of its own history indicates that Russell Dickenson, who became NPS Director in May 1980, while Carter was still in the White House, was primarily responsible for curbing park expansion. In this version, Watt did not have to dictate to Dickenson; rather, he “supported Dickenson’s view that the NPS should improve its stewardship of what it had before seeking more.” See Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (1991), rev. ed. (National Park Service: Harpers Ferry Center, 2005), 84, 86. This version is not entirely accurate either, inasmuch as Dickenson supported the creation of Women’s Rights NHP and personally committed the National Park Service to restoring the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House.

NB: Footnotes throughout will not use file codes for correspondence, reports, oral histories, and other records located at Women’s Rights NHP. Records located in other repositories are so indicated in the footnotes.

achieving recognition for people, events, and movements that had been treated as footnotes of American history.

During Hartzog's tenure as director, 1964-1972, he and Stewart Udall purposefully set out to reshape the National Park System to include recreational areas, responding in part to the tremendous surge in national park visitation after World War II and in part to a new national concern for the environment. Sixty-eight parks entered the system during the nine-year period Hartzog was at the helm, many of them new types designed to provide outdoor recreation as well as environmental interpretation and education. National scenic rivers and national trails invited outdoor exploration, while national recreation areas and performance areas, located near urban centers, provided open space for a host of outdoor activities. Congress codified this policy shift in 1970 with passage of the General Authorities Act, which redefined the system to include parkways and recreational areas.² Dwight Rettie argues that the 1970 act did not so much redefine the system as represent the first time that "Congress clearly recognized that the national park system is something more than the sum of its parts," that, in the whole, "it is a statement about our national patrimony."³

The concept of a representative national park system took hold when Walter J. Hickel succeeded Udall as Secretary of the Interior under President Richard Nixon. This shift reflected the spirit of the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act as well as the elevation of historic preservation to national policy with passage of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act. Hickel asserted that the National Park System should "protect and exhibit the best examples" of America's landscapes and undersea environments as well as the "life communities that grow and dwell therein[,] and the important landmarks of our history." He further directed the National Park Service to remedy "serious gaps and inadequacies" in the system in order that Americans could "understand their heritage of history and the natural world."⁴

Hartzog, in response, initiated development of the National Park System Plan (1972), which established thematic categories for both natural history and American history. The 1972 plan applied a taxonomic approach to identifying both types of resources, which made more sense for natural areas. However, following this approach, all of American history was fitted into a matrix built around nine major themes: (1) the original inhabitants, (2) European exploration and settlement, (3) development of the English colonies, (4) major American wars, (5) political and military affairs, (6) westward expansion, (7) America at work, (8) the contemplative society, and (9) society and social

² Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 64-66.

³ Dwight F. Rettie, *Our National Park System: Caring for America's Greatest Natural and Historic Treasures* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 14.

⁴ Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 66.

conscience.⁵ Together with subthemes and another sub-unit called “facets,” the 1972 plan created 281 categories of American history, 85 of which were represented in the system, leaving 196 so-called “gaps.” Thus, to be fully representative, “at least 196 new parks were needed to treat all major aspects of American history,” along with “more than 300 aspects of natural history” to represent the full range of natural resources.⁶ Among other things, the 1972 plan pointed toward a massive expansion of the national park system.

Ronald Foresta criticized the 1972 plan for providing Congress with a tool that it used freely “to turn national parks, especially historical ones, into distributive goods.” He also criticized the plan for conflating preservation of material culture and commemorative sites with history education by implying that the National Park Service has a responsibility to identify and incorporate sites that fill every niche in the taxonomy in order to preserve and interpret the whole of American history.⁷ Later assessments, however, found that the plan was largely ignored by Congress, which had never sanctioned it, as well as by NPS personnel because it was never subjected to external review.⁸

In the larger picture, the 1972 plan, however flawed, also can be seen as a well-intentioned attempt to provide a rationale for historical parks. Up to this point, historical parks comprised a hodge-podge of sites that, in the aggregate, celebrated American nationalism, completely silenced the nation’s complicated history of slavery, and glorified the subjugation of native peoples. Historical parks included federal monuments and memorials as well as military parks and national battlefields, most of them transferred from the jurisdiction of the War Department by executive order in 1933. They also included several sites associated with presidents, a fair number of Indian ruins and archeological sites that were considered “pre”historic, a good many forts and related sites associated with the Manifest Destiny aspects of westward expansion, and several sites that just loomed large in early American history, such as Independence Hall, Yorktown, Federal Hall, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and Cumberland Gap. Nevertheless, the National Park Service became “a critical element in the historic preservation movement” with passage of the 1935 Historic Sites Act and abundant public funding for historic preservation during the 1930s. Among other things, the National Park Service embarked on a major effort, the Historic Sites Survey, to identify places of national significance based on a chronological and thematic structure that codified the nationalistic patterns of American history as they were widely accepted at the time.⁹

⁵ U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *The National Park System Plan, Part One: History* (U.S. GPO, Washington, D.C., 1972).

⁶ Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 67.

⁷ Ronald A. Foresta, *America’s National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, 1984), 272.

⁸ Rettie, 16-17; Richard W. Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks* (Yale University Press, 1997), 212.

⁹ Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949*, Vol. 1 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), 469-716, quote 576.

The triumphal narrative of American history reflected in historical parks began to unravel during World War II, when the National Park Service reluctantly began to commemorate iconic African American heroes “for reasons of political expediency rather than historical inquiry,” as Patricia West has argued.¹⁰ In 1943, facing race riots and legitimate demands from African Americans to end discrimination in defense jobs and desegregate the armed forces, a Democratically controlled Congress backed by a Democratic administration established George Washington Carver’s birthplace cabin as a national monument. In 1956, in the midst of school desegregation politics, a Democratically controlled Congress under a Republican administration designated as a national historic monument the reconstructed slave cabin of Booker T. Washington’s childhood, which bore little resemblance to the dirt-floor cabin where he actually lived.¹¹ Even so, the National Park Service continued to steer the historical program by the thematic structure developed in the 1930s. Among other things, it served a pragmatic purpose. As the examples of George Washington Carver NM and Booker T. Washington NHM indicate, the creation of new national parks often was driven by political motives. A classification system equipped the National Park Service for deflecting a constant stream of new-park proposals that came through Congress. As part of the Mission 66 program, the National Park Service reactivated the Historic Sites Survey, with the intent of rounding out the historical parks in the system, and established the National Historic Landmarks program, the criteria for which set the standard for designating new national historical parks.¹²

From 1972 through 1994, when a new thematic structure went into effect, approximately 120 new, or essentially new, national park units were established. Among them, fifty-five were historical parks or historic sites. Although many of the new acquisitions represented a continuation of established patterns—presidential birthplaces and homes, forts, and sites associated with or commemorating wars—the majority represented a broadened scope of American history. It is not yet clear whether the 1972 plan provided much impetus for these acquisitions, but it is undeniable that many new parks reflected a change in American society that is attributable to the modern civil rights movement and the ascendancy of social and cultural history in historical scholarship. Sites associated with the arts and literature received greater recognition: Eugene O’Neill NHS (1976), Edgar Allen Poe NHS (1978), and Frederick Law Olmsted NHS (1979). A few sites nodded to America’s industrial and maritime history: Lowell NHP (1978), San Francisco Maritime NHP (1988), and Keweenaw NHP (1992). Several new parks acknowledged rising demand for respect among groups that had long been marginalized in American

¹⁰ Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America’s House Museums* (Washington, D.C. and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 161.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 136-157.

¹² John H. Sprinkle, Jr., “An Orderly, Balanced and Comprehensive Panorama . . . of American History’: Filling Thematic Gaps within the National Park System,” *George Wright Forum* Vol. 27, No. 3 (2010): 270-272.

society and American history, particularly African Americans and women. Eight new units were associated with African American history. Two of them, Maggie L. Walker NHS (1978) and Mary McLeod Bethune Council House (1982), recognized the achievements of African American women. They were among five new units associated with women's history, the other three being Clara Barton NHS (1974), Eleanor Roosevelt NHS (1976), and Women's Rights NHP (1980).

In general outline, the historical parks of this era reflect an expanded vision of the national park system and its purpose that took hold in the 1970s. Behind this stands the "rise to prominence" of social and cultural history, which began to take shape in the 1960s.¹³ The New Social History, as it was initially called, widened the scope of historical inquiry, and social historians drew on a variety of methods from the social sciences to study the past, particularly the past as experienced by groups and peoples who had been left out of the triumphal narrative of American history. Importantly, social and cultural history, in its many varieties, came to occupy and hold center stage in American historical scholarship. This trend in the practice of history, fueled by a succession of "culture wars" in American society, fostered a less nationalistic view of the past, or at least a view more catholic in considering the forces and people that have shaped America.¹⁴

Title XVI of P.L. 96-607 enabled the National Park Service to create Women's Rights NHP for the purpose of preserving and interpreting historic sites in Seneca Falls associated with the history of the women's rights movement. Women's rights advocates had long memorialized the Women's Rights Convention of July 19-20, 1848, as the event that gave form to stirrings of discontent among women who chafed under legal, political, and economic strictures that were at odds with the rhetoric of a young democratic republic. Seneca Falls had been the site of commemorative events since the sixtieth anniversary in 1908, when Harriot Stanton Blatch and Margaret Stanton Lawrence, Elizabeth Cady Stanton's daughters, joined local leaders in three days of celebration opened by the installation of a bronze plaque on the east wall of the Wesleyan Chapel. In 1923, the National Woman's Party launched the campaign for an Equal Rights Amendment with a two-day pageant in Seneca Falls. In 1948, Seneca County women's groups staged a less politically charged centennial celebration.¹⁵

¹³ Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern*, Third Edition (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 418.

¹⁴ The term New Social History became anachronistic sometime in the 1990s because the trend moved in several directions at once. So dominant is social history in current historical thought and practice that of fifteen historiographical essays in a recent collection edited by James M. Banner, Jr., more than half of them are devoted to areas of inquiry derived from the New Social History: See Banner, *A Century of American Historiography* (New York: Bedford St Martin's Press, 2010).

¹⁵ Vivien Rose, "Introduction" to "Remembering Seneca Falls: A Roundtable on Commemorating the Sesquicentennial of the 1848 Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Spring 1999): 15-18.



Figure 2. 1908 dedication of the bronze plaque at the Wesleyan Chapel. *Courtesy Seneca Falls Historical Society.*

Women's history scholars also recognized the convention as the beginning of a contentious movement that has waxed and waned continuously since 1848, achieving its greatest victory with passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. After Congress finally passed the Equal Rights Amendment in 1972 and the long campaign for ratification ensued, Seneca Falls became a rallying point for contemporary women's rights advocates, just as it had been in 1923 when the Equal Rights Amendment was first introduced in Congress. The site of the 1848 convention, the Wesleyan Chapel, first converted into a commercial building and then, beginning in the 1960s, used as a laundromat with apartments above, took on new significance as a site of origin. Thus, as a prelude to the 1977 National Women's Conference, women runners relayed a lighted torch from the chapel site, then known as Seneca Falls Laundromat, to Houston, Texas, for opening ceremonies.¹⁶

The park's enabling legislation (Appendix I) recognized the 1848 Women's Rights Convention as "an event of major importance in the history of the United States because it marked the formal beginning of the struggle of women for their equal rights." Congress also recognized the Declaration of Sentiments, a statement of principles signed by one hundred of the estimated three hundred people who attended the convention, as a

¹⁶ Polly Welts Kaufman, *National Parks and the Women's Voice: A History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 223; Judith Wellman, "It's a Wide Community Indeed," 233.

“document of enduring relevance, which expresses the goal that equality and justice should be extended to all people without regard to sex.” Women’s Rights NHP was specifically purposed with preserving and interpreting the “nationally significant historical and cultural sites and structures associated with the struggle for equal rights for women.” Thus, the National Park Service was charged not only with preserving places associated with a specific event, but also interpreting the significance of a historic document and something even less tangible, a movement to secure equal rights for women.

Although the legislation was forward thinking, the idea of establishing a park dedicated to the history of women’s rights generated controversy within the NPS. Women’s Rights NHP has been singled out as an example of a park that “was the focus of a good deal of social conflict,” which “was funneled right into agency ranks.” Some in the agency, according to Ronald Foresta, viewed the Park’s establishment as “morally if not strategically correct,” while others viewed it as sheer “opportunism, the conversion of a site of little intrinsic worth into an altar of dubious cause.” The criticism was that, because there was divided opinion within the agency, just as there was divided opinion about women’s rights among the general public, the park undermined a “unifying sense of mission when it came to historic preservation” and “only served to diminish consensus.”¹⁷

Indeed, in 1980 there was no a clear sense of direction within the agency about how to interpret a historical movement. Initially, in fact, it was not even clear that the park would actually be established. Shortly after President Carter signed P.L. 96-607 on December 28, 1980, Ronald Reagan assumed the presidency. The conservative political and fiscal policies of his administration, which pushed NPS Director Russell Dickenson toward a policy of favoring stewardship of existing parks over new acquisitions and system expansion, might have delayed the park’s establishment indefinitely had it not been for support from the Regional Office and a park coordinator skilled at organizing local constituencies.

Once park development began, however, several provisions of the enabling legislation were amended to achieve goals that changed with opportunities for park development and the particular views of successive superintendents. In this respect, the language of the law set the stage for ongoing debate concerning the appropriate focus and scope of interpretation: where to strike a balance between interpreting tangible places associated with a specific event, the traditional mission of the National Park Service, and interpreting ideas of enduring relevance associated with a significant, and ongoing, movement. The language also set the stage for differences of opinion among park professionals about what constituted appropriate preservation treatment of the park’s historic sites. These matters concern much of the park’s administrative history. In some respects, the first twenty-five years of Women’s Rights NHP is a case study in how

¹⁷ Foresta, 273.

institutions learn, or, perhaps more precisely, the haltingly the process of learning within a complex bureaucracy like the National Park Service.

Women's Rights NHP, of course, should not be seen as an isolated instance of a bureaucracy in transition. Other historical parks established in the 1970s and 1980s forged different paths away from the "traditional" model of commemorating history even when there was no mandate for such in the enabling legislation. Their paths, too, reflect a combination of vision and opportunity, sometimes working within the system and sometimes responding to outside forces. Lowell NHP, for instance, established the Tsongas Industrial History Center in partnership with the University of Massachusetts, Lowell. Frederick Law Olmsted NHS evolved in concert with the applied field of historical and cultural landscape preservation. In its general management plan, the latter park embraced the archival collection that was part of the Olmsted home and office in Brookline, Massachusetts and set a course for development as a research center in a historic setting.¹⁸ Independence NHP changed dramatically with passage of the 1988 Constitution Heritage Act, which authorized the establishment of a National Center for the United States Constitution.

Much like Women's Rights NHP, a number of historical parks established in the 1990s were purposed with broad interpretive missions. Manzanar NHS, for instance, was established in 1992 to protect and interpret the "historical and cultural resources associated with the relocation of Japanese-Americans during World War II." As part of the enabling legislation, Congress mandated a theme study to identify associated places throughout the United States that qualified for National Historic Landmark status.¹⁹ Brown v. Board of Education NHS (Monroe Elementary School, Topeka, KS), also established in 1992, was established to interpret "the integral role of the Brown v. Board of Education case in the civil rights movement."²⁰

During the 1990s, at the urging of NPS Director Roger Kennedy (1993-1997), the National Park Service would begin to recast interpretation as an educative function, not simply informative, and place increasing value on scholarship-based interpretive programs.²¹ In this respect, the 1994 revision of the NPS Thematic Framework marks another milestone. Unlike the 1972 thematic matrix, this one responded to a Congressional mandate that charged the National Park Service with ensuring that the "full

¹⁸ David Grayson Allen, *The Olmsted National Historic Site and the Growth of Historic Landscape Preservation* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2007; copyright held by David Grayson Allen), 119-138; 234-243. The Park's authorizing legislation states that its congressional mandate is to "preserve and interpret . . . the home and office of Frederick Law Olmsted, the great American landscape architect and designer." However, the act also authorized purchase of the archival collection stored on site, and this collection pushed the NPS to think differently about the site.

¹⁹ P.L. 102-248, 102nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 1992.

²⁰ P.L. 102-525, 102nd Cong., 2nd Sess, 1992.

²¹ Rettie, *Our National Park System*, 221.

diversity of American history and prehistory is expressed in the identification and interpretation of historic properties.” This revised framework, developed by a working group of academic scholars and NPS professionals, took a more fluid approach that emphasized processes of change and overlapping themes of history.²²

Other major developments of the 1990s include the National Underground Network to Freedom initiative and a companion initiative to reinterpret Civil War parks. H.R. 1635 (1997) directed the National Park Service to identify historic places in national parks and elsewhere that individually and collectively “help to tell the dramatic story of fugitives from slavery and those who assisted them in their flight to freedom.” The second initiative began in 1998, when superintendents of Civil War battlefield parks gathered with scholars of Civil War history to chart a new direction for interpreting the causes and consequences of the Civil War at national park sites. The following year, Rep. Jesse Jackson, Jr. (D-IL) inserted language into the FY 2000 Department of the Interior appropriation legislation directing the National Park Service to “recognize . . . the unique role that the institution of slavery played in causing the Civil War and its role, if any, at the individual battle sites.”²³

Even more recently, national parks have been encouraged to incorporate civic engagement into their programming. In its 2001 report, *Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century*, the National Park System Advisory Board asked the agency to think of parks as places to tell all of America’s history “faithfully, completely, and accurately” because “our nation’s history is our civic glue.”²⁴ The events of September 11, 2001, gave special poignancy to the National Park System Advisory Board’s report. In response to *Rethinking the National Parks*, Marie Rust, Director of the Northeast Region, NPS, asked superintendents, educational and interpretive specialists, and resource professionals in her region to organize a workshop on civic engagement. This workshop, held in New York City in December 2001, brought together park managers, resource specialists, public historians, academic scholars, and museum professionals to discuss how national parks

²² *Revision of the National Park Service’s Thematic Framework* (1994), available online at www.nps.gov under History. See also Robert M. Dunkerly, “Our History’s History,” *George Wright Forum* 20:1 (2003): 18-24. This is not to imply that the National Park Service has followed the postmodernist trend of historical scholarship, which began to seep into historical scholarship in the 1980s and has deepened in recent years. By and large, even when historical parks interpret controversial or sensitive topics, as does Women’s Rights NHP, the interpretation tends to stay within the more generally accepted progressive view of American society and history.

²³ Robert K. Sutton, ed., *Rally on the High Ground: The National Park Service Symposium on the Civil War* (Ft. Washington, PA: Eastern National, 2001); Edward T. Linenthal, “The National Park Service and Civic Engagement,” *The Public Historian*, vol. 28 (Winter 2006): 123-129 [reprinted in *The George Wright Forum*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2008): 5-11]; Robert K. Sutton, “Holding the High Ground: Interpreting the Civil War in National Parks,” *George Wright Forum* vol. 25, no. 3 (2008): 47-57.

²⁴ National Park System Advisory Board, *Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2001), 4.

could become centers for civic engagement. Out of this workshop came the 2002 report, *The National Park Service and Civic Engagement*, Director's Order #75A (2003) on Civic Engagement and Public Involvement, and a subsequent series of seminars for NPS managers on public history and civic engagement held at various sites around the country.²⁵

In retrospect, the creation of Women's Rights NHP occurred at the beginning of an important transition in the National Park Service, a transition that has seen cultural resource management achieve greater parity with natural resource management and has made the National Park System reflect more of contemporary society. This transition has been marked by an infusion of credentialed historians, architectural historians, historical architects, landscape architects, archeologists, museum specialists, archivists, and interpreters into the professional ranks of the agency. As a result, interpretation and education at all national parks has been increasingly tied to scholarship. To say that this transition has been smooth would be an overstatement, but it has been constant. In this respect, the history of Women's Rights NHP provides some insight into the nature of organizational change.

²⁵ *The National Park Service and Civic Engagement* (Philadelphia: National Park Service, 2002); Martin Blatt, "Introduction: The National Park Service and Civic Engagement" *The George Wright Forum*, vol. 19, no. 4 (2002) [special issue devoted to civic engagement at sites of conscience]; Linenthal, "The National Park Service and Civic Engagement."

CHAPTER TWO

CONVERGING VISIONS: ESTABLISHING WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, 1978-1981

Women didn't always happen to do their history in magnificent, glorious architectural gems.

Judy Hart, park co-creator and first superintendent, Women's Rights NHP

We were concerned with the [economic] wellbeing of the village.

August Sinicropi, Seneca Falls Revitalization Committee
and Women's Rights NHP Advisory Commission

Anyone who does not believe in destiny should have such an experience.

Elizabeth Shultis, founding member, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation

Three visions converged to create Women's Rights National Historical Park: one aimed at increasing the representation of women and women's history in the National Park Service/System, one at reviving a downtown business district, and one at saving a community from destroying its history. Judy Hart, an NPS staffer who determined to redress the underrepresentation of women's history in national parks and played a key role in drafting the enabling legislation, holds the distinction of also managing the park for its first eight years. The idea of a national park to memorialize the history of women's rights was steadfastly supported by a group of local citizens, including several scholars, who were drawn together to preserve the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House. An overlapping group of community leaders was keen to attempt economic revitalization in Seneca Falls through heritage tourism.¹

These three interests were driven by second-wave feminism and scholarly interest in women's history; by accelerating post-war efforts to mitigate the loss of treasured historic buildings and the decline of downtown business centers due to highway, housing, and land-use policies that encouraged suburbanization; and, in a lesser but nonetheless

¹ Judith Wellman argues that Women's Rights National Historical Park was the result of a network of "successfully built alliances between local and national audiences, scholars and the general public, and citizens and government institutions," the latter being the National Park Service and Congress; see "'It's a Wide Community Indeed': Alliances and Issues in Creating Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York." Wellman's article places the park's creation in the larger context of the revitalized women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s and shows how this played out in Seneca Falls. However, it tends to minimize the NPS dynamic in the equation, possibly because the locus of NPS activity from 1978 through 1981 was either Boston or Washington, D.C.

important way, by the nature of the nation's celebration of the bicentennial of the American Revolution.

Second-wave feminism is generally rooted in the roles that women assumed during World War II as part of the U.S. military and home front contributions to the Allied forces. More specifically, it is rooted in a post-war malaise experienced by women who found their political, social, and economic aspirations tightly constricted in the 1950s. In 1963, Betty Friedan (1921 – 2006) gave voice to the frustrations of many when she published *The Feminine Mystique*. In the opening paragraph, Friedan described “the problem that has no name”:

The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night—she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—‘Is this all?’²

Friedan reminded her audience that “a century earlier, women had fought for higher education” and “political rights.”³ It was a call to action. The President's Commission on the Status of Women also released its report on gender inequality in 1963, revealing many areas of discrimination against women in America. These events plus the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 accompanied the formation of many women's organizations at the local, state, and national levels, which quickly swelled into a movement that became known as the “women's liberation movement” or “second-wave feminism.” Second-wave feminists drew inspiration from pioneers such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Susan B. Anthony; reread the Declaration of Sentiments; and celebrated with new vigor the Nineteenth Amendment, which extended to women the right to vote. In 1966, Friedan co-founded the National Organization for Women. In 1970, she organized the nationwide Women's Strike for Equality on August 26, the fiftieth anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment. In 1971, she co-founded the National Women's Political Caucus. Important post-1966 legal victories included Executive Order 11375 (Lyndon Johnson, 1967) extending full affirmative action rights to women, Title IX of the Women's Educational Equity Act (1972 and 1975), the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade* (1973), and the 1976 Defense Authorization Act, which contained a provision requiring U.S. military academies to admit women.

Coincidentally, while the United States was taking strides at the federal level to redress gender inequality, historic preservation also became a national issue. Passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966 elevated historic preservation to

² Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* [Chapter 1, “The Problem that Has No Name”] (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963).

³ *Ibid.*

the status of national policy. Among other things, the act authorized federal funding through the National Park Service to stimulate a broad front of state and local activity. The National Trust for Historic Preservation, a federally chartered non-profit organization, supported these efforts. Eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), administered by the National Park Service, became the system's entry point for benefits associated with preserving historic places.⁴ In 1969, the NRHP program awarded its first matching grants to states for the purpose of beginning historic preservation activities at the local and state levels. NRHP funding to states increased substantially for a brief period between 1978 and 1980. For a time, federal funds also flowed to the National Trust, and in 1969 the Trust began awarding matching grants to support local projects.⁵

Efforts to stimulate preservation on the local level intersected with the bicentennial celebration. On July 4, 1966, Congress established the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission (ARBC).⁶ The initial plan was to stage a centennial exposition in either Philadelphia or Boston. However, mounting civil unrest in the forms of race riots and anti-Vietnam War protests ultimately led to a different kind of initiative. In 1973, the ARBC was reconstituted as the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration (ARBA), which programmed a decentralized celebration aimed at fostering a new spirit of patriotism across the country. Regional offices were established in nine cities to assist in this effort. Although the celebrations of the bicentennial year did not stifle the protest movement entirely, the ARBA was enormously successful in kindling a surge of nationalism and supporting the myriad cultural projects at the state and local levels that fueled its expression. On April 1, 1975, the American Freedom Train left Wilmington, Delaware, carrying historical documents and objects on a twenty-one-month tour of the forty-eight contiguous states. Festivities at the national level included a recreation of the 1876 Centennial Exposition at the Smithsonian Institution and a state visit by Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip, who toured the country to attend bicentennial celebrations in Washington, D.C., and several major cities in the East. Commercial products included nightly fireworks at Disneyland and several television specials, including a series of American history segments on *Schoolhouse Rock*, an educational program for children. Every state and thousands of communities across America participated in some way, although the largest "local" celebration by far took place in New York Harbor: hundreds of "tall ships" from all over the world converged in

⁴ From 1978 to 1981, the lead federal agency for historic preservation and archaeology was the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service in the Department of Interior.

⁵ Until 1995, federal funds supplied as much as 20 percent of the National Trust's budget. At that time, the Trust and Congress agreed on a three-year phase-out of federal funding after the Trust decided to rely fully on private-sector funding.

⁶ PL 89-401, July 4, 1966 [80 Stat. 259]. The commission was superseded in 1973 by the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, P.L. 93-179 [87 Stat. 697]. Records of the ARBA are housed in the National Archives and Records Administration, RG 452.

the harbor for a grand celebration on July 4, 1976, and hundreds of thousands of Americans traveled to New York City just to be part of the experience. One of the legacies of the American Bicentennial was a renewed interest in local history and historic preservation.

Another boost for preservation came in 1976 when Congress altered the federal tax code to provide investment tax incentives to private owners for the purpose of preserving income-producing historic structures through rehabilitation. To promote private investment in declining city centers, the National Trust piloted a program in the late 1970s to help commercial property owners understand the value of historic preservation in economic development. In 1980, this initiative became the Main Street Program, launched one year after the Trust's Rural Heritage Program. Also in 1980, amendments to the NHPA articulated the role of state historic preservation offices in the process of listing properties on the National Register; prior to then, their role in the loose federal-state-local partnership implied by the NHPA was not entirely clear. Thus, 1980 was something of a milestone year, but by the late 1970s, the basic structures for implementing a national preservation policy were in place, and the outlook for supportive funding seemed positive.⁷

This basic framework certainly influenced 1978 federal legislation creating Lowell National Historical Park, which mandated a public-private preservation partnership to create a non-traditional urban park.⁸ Lowell has been credited with inspiring a new era of "park-making," widely supported in Congress, for "parks based on partnership arrangements where investment and management would be shared with other public and private parties."⁹ In a slightly different vein, the federal-state-local triad of preservation policy provided city planners and architects with a base for "new urbanism," a community-development concept that drew on historic preservation and environmentalism to address, initially, the all-too-real economic consequences of deindustrialization in mid-sized cities as well as major urban areas. From a new-urbanist perspective, Lowell NHP was a model of what was possible when "the entire city [was] viewed through the lens of a park."¹⁰ New York State wrapped the Lowell model and new

⁷ Although there is a lack of critical literature on the NHPA and the development of a federal-state-local preservation partnership, a useful overview is Philip V. Scarpino, "Planning for Preservation: A Look at the Federal-State Historic Preservation Program, 1966-1986," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Spring 1992): 49-66.

⁸ Dennis Frenchman and Jonathan S. Lane, "Assessment of Preservation and Development in Lowell National Historical Park at its 30-Year Anniversary," Discussion White Paper [2008], online at www.nps.gov/lowe.

⁹ Rolf Diamant, "From Management to Stewardship: The Making and Remaking of the U.S. National Park System," *George Wright Forum*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (2000): 38.

¹⁰ Paul M. Bray, "The New Urbanism: Celebrating the City," *Places* 8:4 (1993): 58. For a more critical analysis of Lowell NHP in relation to urban revitalization in Lowell, see Cathy Stanton, *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006).

urbanism together in its urban cultural park initiative, an ambitious undertaking to bolster the state-wide economy by providing selected cities with incentives to develop heritage tourism through a combination of historic preservation, recreation, and environmental education.

The emergence of a historic preservation system geared to stimulate public-private partnerships, a National Park System that was changing in response to the needs of America's urban populations, an energetic surge of social activism on many fronts but particularly among women, and national leaders who recognized the political implications of social activism—all of these were necessary precursors for a remarkable convergence of interests that dared to envision a national park in Seneca Falls and Waterloo, New York. But is also required dedicated, sometimes even inspired, leadership at the federal, state, and local levels to turn a shared vision into an actual park.

THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Judy Hart belongs to the generation of career women who began rearranging the gender balance of the NPS professional workforce. She came into the National Park Service with a decade of experience in land acquisition and relocation, first with the City of Boston and subsequently with the State of Massachusetts and the U.S. Federal Highway Administration (FHWA). These positions required her to work closely with community groups and rights advocacy organizations. In 1976, she left the FHWA to complete a Master of Arts in Law at Goddard College, and she then joined the NPS North Atlantic Regional Office in Boston (NAR) as a land acquisition specialist. At the time, she was the first NPS staff member to serve in this capacity. She recalls that she entered the NPS at the same time that women rangers organized a revolt over uniforms, indicating that second-wave feminism had finally seeped into the agency:

When I started in '76 there were only two full professional-level rated women in the office, Marie Rust and I. But there were two women in Public Affairs at lower grades, and they looked like dental assistants. They had polyester pants and tunics they wore over them, dark green, actually hideous. That was a boiling pot for the whole Park Service, and this was 1977 or '78—other organizations in the country had moved along a little faster with the appearance of equality.¹¹

Hart used her graduate degree in law to move into the position of legislative specialist for the North Atlantic Region, her appointment coming during the summer of 1978. She had been on the job only a couple of weeks when the Washington office issued a system-wide request for proposals for new-area studies under a provision of the General Authorities Act of 1976, which, among other things, required the NPS to submit to

¹¹ Judy Hart interview by Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth D. Smith, October 2, 2008, 7-8; on the NPS uniform issue in the 1970s, see Polly Welts Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice*, 139-142.

Congress an annual list of not less than twelve new areas that qualified for inclusion in the National Park System.¹² Women's Rights NHP was one of many new parks authorized during a brief period when this provision was in force. Passage of the omnibus bill that included Women's Rights also is attributed to the political skill of Rep. Phillip Burton (D-CA), who in 1975 became chair of the Interior Subcommittee on National Parks and Territories. The five-year period from 1976 through 1980 was a period of intense system expansion, chiefly orchestrated by Burton, who deployed the art of logrolling to maneuver a number of large omnibus park bills through Congress. His aim was to advance the agenda of environmental activists, not necessarily the priorities of the National Park Service, and in order to move that agenda he cut deals that expanded the national park system through political expediency, or what became known as "park barrel" politics. William Whalen, who served as NPS director from 1977-1980, reportedly took the position that the best the agency could do was try to shape proposals for new parks rather than risk alienating congressional support for the system as a whole.¹³ As a result, almost any park bill had to have Burton's support to gain passage.

Hart, who was attracted to the legislative challenge of creating a new national park, discovered that only a handful of sites recently added to the system were directly associated with important women in American history: Clara Barton National Historic Site in Glen Echo, MD, authorized 1974; Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site (Val-Kill) in Hyde Park, New York, authorized 1977; and Maggie Walker National Historic Site in Richmond, Virginia, authorized in 1978. Of the three, only Clara Barton NHS was then open to the public.¹⁴ She also searched files in the Regional Office looking for any sites that might have been previously flagged as potential parks, but found nothing of compelling national significance. Without any specific places in mind, she approached Terry Savage, Chief of Planning and her immediate superior, and suggested that the North Atlantic Region propose sites associated with women and African Americans. Savage, along with Charles Clapper, Associate Regional Director for Planning and Resource Management, liked the idea and gave her permission to move forward. These discussions

¹² General Authorities Act of 1976 (P.L. 94-458), Section 8. The 97th Congress rescinded this provision of the act in 1981-1982 during the Reagan administration; see Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, rev. ed. (2005). "New area" included any property or area that would fall into some category of National Park Service unit, e.g., national historic site, national seashore, national recreation area, national park.

¹³ Ronald A. Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington, D.C.: Resources for the Future, 1984), 80-82; Dwight F. Rettie, *Our National Park System: Caring for America's Greatest Natural and Historic Treasures* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 15-16.

¹⁴ Eleanor Roosevelt NHS did not officially open until 1984, Maggie Walker NHS a year later. Congress authorized a statue of Mary McLeod Bethune in 1960 and the U.S. Fine Arts Commission approved a design, but fabrication was delayed more than a decade and the statue was not erected until 1974. In 1982, the Mary McLeod Bethune Council House was designated a national historic site (P.L. 97-329) and operated by the National Council of Negro Women until 1991.

took place just before she traveled to Washington, D.C. to spend a week of orientation with Peggy Lipson, her counterpart in the NPS legislative office. While she was there, Hart enlisted Lipson's assistance to identify potential parks. Lipson was willing but anticipated some resistance from the agency. She counseled that only places already designated as national landmarks had a realistic chance of being considered for park status if the sites reflected the history of women or African Americans. The two thus spent time reviewing National Historic Landmarks in the North Atlantic Region and found two good prospects: the Susan B. Anthony House in Rochester, New York and the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House in Seneca Falls, New York.¹⁵

Savage and Clapper approved these two potential sites and sent proposals to the Denver Service Center, which was coordinating new-area studies. DSC staff deemed both sites too small, so Savage decided to complete a new-area study with Regional Office staff. Hart and landscape architect Shary Berg, who had worked on the preservation of Val-Kill, were sent to inspect them. Ross Holland, NPS Associate Director for Cultural Resources, also suggested that Hart contact Nancy Dubner, then an aide to New York Lieutenant Governor Mary Anne Krupsak.¹⁶ Krupsak had appeared in Seneca Falls the previous September to attend the kick-off ceremony for the symbolic torch relay from the Wesleyan Chapel to the 1977 National Women's Conference in Houston, Texas. Dubner, the person chiefly responsible for getting Val-Kill designated as a national park, generally had her finger on the pulse of preservation efforts statewide. She, in turn, put Hart in touch with a group in Seneca Falls that had recently formed to save the Stanton House. Berg and Hart traveled to upstate New York in December 1978, stopping first at the Anthony House in Rochester. Somewhat to their surprise, the members of the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, which had owned and operated it as a house museum for more than thirty years, were "reluctant" to work with the NPS or seek government grants or loans for fear of losing control over management.¹⁷ The Seneca Falls group, however, greeted them with intense excitement. Hart and Berg spent two days inspecting the Stanton House, the much-altered Wesleyan Chapel, and other sites associated with the 1848 women's rights

¹⁵ Hart interview, October 2, 2008, 1-2; Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Advisory Commission Meeting, May 9, 1984, pp. 153-155, 176-178.

¹⁶ Mary Anne Krupsak was the first woman to serve as New York's lieutenant governor. In 1972, she co-chaired the New York State delegation to the National Democratic Convention. During her tenure in the NY state senate (1972-74), she championed women's issues and introduced a resolution proclaiming February 15, 1974, as Susan B. Anthony Day. As lieutenant governor, Krupsak worked to make government more accessible to constituents. She traveled widely throughout New York to attend community conferences and created a community field office in Rochester, headed by Nancy Dubner, to increase the effectiveness of her office.

¹⁷ *Susan B. Anthony House: New Area Reconnaissance Survey* (NPS: North Atlantic Region, May 1979).

convention. They also talked to a succession of local residents who enthusiastically supported the idea of a national park.¹⁸

Local enthusiasm aside, Hart and Berg disagreed on the merits of Seneca Falls as a national park. Berg argued against finishing the study because she did not think there was a viable national park to propose, primarily because the historic architectural integrity of the Wesleyan Chapel was severely compromised by multiple alterations. In this respect, the “heavily modified” historic buildings did not fit the “traditional mold,” recalls Charles Clapper. The Wesleyan Chapel in particular generated debate over what kinds of resources should “[represent] the history of women in this country within the national park system.” Amplifying Berg’s hesitancy, Clapper notes that the prospect of creating a national park in Seneca Falls met with “a fair amount of resistance in the Washington office.”¹⁹

Berg also was concerned that the area offered few amenities to draw visitors. At the time, the Village of Seneca Falls had a population of roughly 7,800; the larger 25-mile-square town, or township, had a population of 9,900. Even so, Seneca Falls was the largest community among the ten towns of Seneca County, which then had a combined population of just over 35,000. A small concentration of industrial employers—Goulds Pumps, GTE Sylvania Picture Tube Division, Seneca Knitting Mills, a small machine manufacturer, and several food processing companies—provided a fairly stable economic base. The nature of local jobs, however, tilted the area’s demographic toward working-class villages surrounded by farms. Seneca Falls’s location in the heart of the Finger Lakes Region, a popular summer vacation spot, was considered its major asset. Situated along the shores of the two largest lakes, Cayuga Lake and Seneca Lake, are Montezuma National Wildlife Refuge, two state parks with campgrounds, a scattering of historic houses and museums, and a number of wineries. Additionally, the Cayuga-Seneca Canal, part of the Erie Canal system, connects the two lakes; and the New York State Thruway provides relatively easy access to the village from Rochester and Syracuse, the nearest large cities. Although the Village of Seneca Falls, nearby Corning, and other communities were beginning to invest in downtown revitalization in the late 1970s, Berg was not convinced that these efforts would help draw enough visitors to a national park.²⁰

Hart was just as adamant that Seneca Falls deserved further study because the 1848 women’s rights convention was a nationally significant event “that happened to [have] happen[ed] in this place.” In her view, “the structures [were] relevant to the story”

¹⁸ Hart interview, October 2, 2008, 2-3; also of note, Nancy Dubner interview by Polly Kaufman, May 13, 1986 (untranscribed); Elizabeth (Betsy) Shultis interview by Corinne Guntzel, c. 1982 (untranscribed); Lucille Povero interview by Corinne Guntzel, c. 1982 (untranscribed).

¹⁹ Hart interview, October 2, 2008, 3; Charles Clapper interview by Rebecca Conard, September 25, 2008, 4.

²⁰ Information on the regional context comes from the *Study of Alternatives: Women's Rights Historic Sites, Waterloo and Seneca Falls, New York*, October 1979.

regardless of integrity considerations because “women didn’t always happen to do their history in magnificent, glorious architectural gems, and they [the buildings] weren’t always preserved.” Hart felt “that what had happened to the Wesleyan Chapel was an extremely important part of the story,” meaning that it had not been “honored as the place of a major event in history.”²¹ Savage agreed with Hart, and the Regional Office subsequently recommended that the Stanton House be studied as a potential new area.²²

THE ELIZABETH CADY STANTON FOUNDATION

The Elizabeth Cady Stanton House would have been a target of preservation efforts without NPS interest, but the timing of Hart and Berg’s appearance in Seneca Falls still was a remarkable coincidence. Marked as a historic place by the New York State Department of Education in 1932 and designated as a National Historical Landmark in 1965, the Stanton House remained in private ownership until the spring of 1978, when the owners placed it on the market, spurring a group of local citizens to action. Upon learning that a Rochester developer had made an offer on the property, Elizabeth (Betsy) Shultis, then on the staff of Wells College Library, wrote to Lt. Gov. Mary Ann Krupsack to express concern for the landmark’s future.²³ She and a small group of similarly concerned citizens then met with the developer, alerting him to community interest in the house.²⁴ He subsequently dropped his plans after the owners rejected his low purchase offer. At about the same time, a couple from Seattle, Washington, Ralph Peters and Marjorie Smith, both active in feminist causes, traveled to Seneca Falls in search of the Stanton House. When they saw the “for sale” sign, they made inquiries, and Peters subsequently entered into negotiations to purchase the house. Betsy Shultis later recalled in a letter to Marjorie Smith that,

²¹ Hart interview, October 2, 2008, 3.

²² Charles P. Clapper, Acting Regional Director, to Chief, Office of Park Planning and Environmental Quality, WASO [David G. Wright], memorandum, December 29, 1978, NPS Park Planning Office, Washington, D.C.

²³ Betsy Shultis to Lt. Governor Mary Ann Krupsak, letter, June 4, 1978.

²⁴ According to Nancy Dubner (see Appendix C.2), the group of local citizens who came together to save the Stanton House initially found it difficult to develop community support. As she expressed it, “The women of 1848 were probably more powerful” because “they benefited from their association with powerful ideological movements of the time.” In contrast, the group that eventually incorporated as the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation was “viewed as having little power in the community.” Dubner talked with community leaders during several visits she made in 1978 and 1979 and recalled “feeling that many of them would rather have had Elizabeth Cady Stanton call someplace other than Seneca Falls home. There was an obvious connection between this feeling and the modern feminist movement.” Additionally, the group focused on saving the Stanton House was in competition with another fledgling organization, the Women’s Hall of Fame, which the “local fathers decided to support and promote” because “they viewed it as a ‘nice ladies’ organization.”

Anyone who does not believe in destiny should have such an experience. On exactly the same day, I received a phone call at the Wells College Library informing me of your visit and interest in the house, and a phone call from Nancy Dubner, Director of Lt. Gov. Krupsak's Rochester office. Nancy was answering my letter. At the same time, the [Seneca Falls] Historical Society was beginning to explore a role for themselves as an agency which might serve as an 'umbrella' for grant applications. Needless to say, there had been a monumental shift in attitudes. Ann[e] Ackerson, Director of the Seneca Falls Historical Society, and Nancy Dubner called a meeting, bringing together all the interests that had emerged, with one goal in mind . . . to save and preserve the Stanton House.²⁵

The interests that emerged in 1978 included also Lucille Povero, president of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Chapter of the National Organization for Women; Dr. August Sinicropi, head of the Seneca Falls Revitalization Committee (SFRC); Eileen Carmer of the American Association of University Women and chair of the Seneca County Bicentennial Committee; Bill Ottemiller, president of the Seneca Falls Historical Society (SFHS); Hanns Kuttner, a high school student interested in local history and organizer of the Young People's Committee for Historic Seneca Falls; and Ed Moran, development director at Eisenhower College, a liberal arts college in Seneca Falls.²⁶ Ackerson and Dubner convened three meetings of this group, from which came the Women's Rights Historic District Committee. Ackerson and Kuttner subsequently began working on a historic district nomination for the National Register of Historic Places.

²⁵ Betsy Shultis to Marjorie Smith, letter, July 17, 1981 (see Appendix C.1). Shultis also recounts this set of events in her interview with Corinne Guntzel and in remarks entered into the Minutes of the Women's Rights NHP Advisory Commission, May 9, 1984. See also Lucille Povero to Richard L. Butler, August 25, 1981, Papers of Lucille Povero, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation Collection, Penfield Library, State University of New York, Oswego [hereafter ECSF Collection]. Ralph Emerson Peters, named after Ralph Waldo Emerson, was a native of Washington state and made a career teaching high school science and math, although by 1978 he was retired; see Ralph Emerson Peters, obituary, *Seattle Times*, February 9, 1997. Marjorie Smith was his second wife, and they were in the process of divorcing during their 1978 trip to Seneca Falls; see Ralph Peters to Anne Ackerson, undated letter [early September 1978].

²⁶ Shultis to Smith, July 17, 1981.



Figure 3. Lucille Povero and Ralph Peters in front of the Stanton House, c. 1978. *Courtesy Women's Rights National Historical Park.*

When Peters returned to Seneca Falls in October 1978 to complete his purchase of the Stanton House with the intent of holding it for a preservation initiative, it quickly became apparent that some local group would have to take responsibility for fundraising. The Seneca Falls Historical Society was reticent about taking on this role, so the newly formed Women's Rights Historic District Committee also agreed to raise \$43,500 to purchase the house from Peters within one year. To do this, the committee needed to reorganize as a non-profit corporation, which became the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation (ECSF).²⁷

²⁷ Shultis statement of park history, in Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Advisory Commission Meeting [hereafter Park Advisory Commission], May 9, 1984, 139-141; Hanns Kuttner, "Some random reminiscences about the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation and the Women's Rights National Historic Park," July 8, 1982, typescript, Papers of Corinne Ann Guntzel, ECSF Collection. Corinne Guntzel, in "Community Involvement in Establishing the Women's Rights National Historical Park," a paper presented at the Second Seneca Falls Women's History Conference, July 16, 1982, states that "outsider interest" also was a stimulus to community activity. She quotes Mary Curry, a lifelong Seneca Falls resident and Stanton Foundation board member as saying that Ralph Peters's purchase of the Stanton House "touched a nerve of local pride." See Appendix C.3 for the full text of Guntzel's paper.



Figure 4. Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation Board and guests, c. 1980. L-R front row: Judith Wellman, SUNY Oswego; Judy Hart; Lucille Povero, president; Karen DeCrow, honorary trustee; Patricia Haines. L-R back row: Corinne Guntzel, treasurer; Judy Jensvold; Harlene Gilbert Karsten; Robert Staley-Mays; Pat Chiodo. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

Lucille Povero served as the first president of ECSF, which filed formal articles of incorporation in 1979. She also served as caretaker of the Stanton House through a separate arrangement with Peters. During the first year, the organization grew to a group of about twenty people representing several community organizations. Others active during the early years included Ann Hermann, who succeeded Anne Ackerson as director of the SFHS; Dr. Corinne Guntzel, economics professor at Wells College; Dr. Suzanne Cusick, music professor at Eisenhower College; and Dr. Judith Wellman, history professor at SUNY-Oswego, who would go on to document the park's founding and become one of the park's most constant supporters. Through alliances with Wellman and others, Hart was able to expand the park's budget for programming in the early years and to build a cadre of women's historians who would bolster the site's national significance. In choosing to adopt Stanton's name, for example, the organization set out to attract national attention rather than depend solely on local support.²⁸ Appendix C contains three documents—the full text of Betsy Shultis's 1981 letter to Marjorie Smith, a conference paper by Nancy Dubner delivered at the Organization of American Historians' 1982 conference, and a conference paper by Corinne Guntzel delivered at the Second Seneca Falls Women's History Conference in 1982—conveying the passion that inspired the women of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation. These documents are first-person

²⁸ "Stanton Foundation Incorporation Nears; Park Prospects Bright," *The [Seneca Falls] Reveille*, January 3, 1979; Lucille Povero to Richard L. Butler [Seattle attorney], August 25, 1981, Papers of Lucille Povero, ECSF Collection. The Stanton Foundation received its state charter in July 1979. Appendix C contains a list of early ECSF members.

accounts of the founding of Women's Rights NHP written closest in time, and even though there are inconsistencies, they provide the best sense of events as they unfolded. Even greater is their value as a record of the deeply personal issues that stirred second-wave feminism.

REVITALIZING DOWNTOWN SENECA FALLS

The ECSF emerged in tandem with a broader community effort to identify and research historic districts in connection with plans to revitalize downtown Seneca Falls. According to August Sinicropi, interest in downtown improvement began in 1976 when the Bicentennial Barge, a state bicentennial project, docked at Seneca Falls for three days. Visitors reportedly flocked to the canal to see the historical exhibits onboard. At the same time, the village and the town of Seneca Falls cooperated to secure a \$300,000 community development grant to spruce up the downtown business district with new sidewalks and more parking. A preservation planning workshop organized in conjunction with Cornell University also helped Sinicropi and others realize that "simply by increasing parking and re-doing sidewalks, we were not going to do the best thing for Seneca Falls in the long run in terms of keeping this a viable small community." Not only were downtown businesses facing increasing competition from the development of outlying shopping malls, but there was a growing sense that "we could not go much longer without being recognized as the birthplace of the women's rights movement, due to the movement itself, the fact that it . . . had made incredible leaps in the '60s and '70s." As Sinicropi puts it, the community "wanted to be ready for that recognition so that we were in control of the changes as they occurred."²⁹

Out of the bicentennial spruce-up came the Seneca Falls Revitalization Committee (SFRC), organized in 1976. The SFRC represented the interests of local businesses, but its members also included representatives of the Seneca Falls Historical Society, the National Women's Hall of Fame, and Eisenhower College. It adopted a bold four-phase plan for reviving the local economy by preserving the Stanton House and other historic places associated with the women's movement and moving the National Women's Hall of Fame from Eisenhower College to the downtown area. The intent was to "create a national monument to the women's rights movement. In frankness," Sinicropi notes, "certain elements of this were economic, undoubtedly. We were concerned with the wellbeing of the village."³⁰

²⁹ August Sinicropi statement concerning park history, in Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Advisory Commission Meeting, May 9, 1984, 167-170. See also, "Downtown Revitalization Seen as Top Factor in Progress," *The Reveille*, February 15, 1978.

³⁰ Sinicropi statement, May 9, 1984, 170. Note that when Sinicropi spoke of "the community," he was referring to the historic Village of Seneca Falls, although there seemed to be an assumption that anything benefitting the Village of Seneca Falls also would benefit a larger undefined area.

Thus, when Berg and Hart visited Seneca Falls in December 1978, “they found a community ready to demonstrate its fitness as a park site.”³¹ National Park Service interest in the Stanton House underscored the importance of local efforts. In turn, the National Park Service began to see the landmark Stanton House as part of a larger collection of historic places associated with the women’s rights movement.

CONVERGENCE

Momentum built throughout 1979. In January, Charles Breuel of the New York State Office of Parks and Recreation met with the Revitalization Committee and other community groups to discuss a new state initiative to create urban cultural parks.³² Seneca Falls was under consideration as one of six demonstration communities for this initiative, through which the state hoped to stimulate private investment in urban areas by channeling seed money to community projects that integrated adaptive reuse of historic buildings with environmental education, urban recreation, and neighborhood revitalization. Seneca Falls caught the agency’s attention because potential visitors had easy access via the New York Thruway and the Erie Canal system and because the community already was gravitating toward economic development through historic preservation and heritage tourism.³³ Also in January 1979, the NPS Washington Office notified NAR Director Jack E. Stark to proceed with a full “alternatives study” of Seneca Falls to explore a range of options for preserving the Stanton House and associated historic resources through local, state, or federal means, or some combination thereof.³⁴

During the next several months a planning team from the Regional Office—Shary Berg as team captain, Judy Hart, historian Marlene Rockmore, and Terry Savage—conducted several meetings. In addition to consulting with other professional staff members in the Regional Office, the team met with various representatives from the New York Office of Parks and Recreation; the town and village boards of Seneca Falls; members of the Seneca Falls Downtown Revitalization Committee and Chamber of Commerce; board members of the Seneca Falls Historical Society, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, and the National Women’s Hall of Fame; the Young People’s

³¹ Guntzel, “Community Involvement in Establishing the Women’s Rights National Historical Park.”

³² Under the New York Urban Cultural Parks Act of 1977, the state legislature directed the Office of Parks and Recreation to develop a plan for a statewide system of urban cultural parks; see “Preface” to *Seneca Falls Urban Cultural Park Work Program*, by The Whole Duck Catalogue for the Village of Seneca Falls [c.1979].

³³ “Falls Eligible for Parks Program; Reps Here Today,” *The Reveille*, January 10, 1979.

³⁴ Regional Director Jack E. Stark to Lucille Povero, January 31, 1979, Papers of Corinne Ann Guntzel, ECSF Collection; see also ECSF Newsletter, February 1979, NPS Park History Office, Washington, D.C.

Committee for Historic Seneca Falls; preservation planning staff from Cornell University; and staff from the offices of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Rep. Gary Lee.³⁵

Coordinated local, state, and federal activity continued throughout the year. In June, representatives from three state agencies came to Seneca Falls to review progress on the urban cultural park. Joining Charles Breuel from the Office of Parks and Recreation were representatives from the Department of State and the Department of Commerce. The community had additional support from the New York Department of Transportation through Nancy Dubner, who had moved from the lieutenant governor's office to become the department's executive director.³⁶ By this time, Seneca Falls had been designated as a primary "pilot" community for intensive study, which meant that it received an incentive grant from the Office of Parks and Recreation to develop a community work program. Bert Fortner and Phil Prigmore of the Whole Duck Catalogue, a planning firm based in Ithaca, New York, were hired to prepare the work program, which was unveiled in November 1979.³⁷

In 1980, the Village of Seneca Falls took formal steps to become part of the proposed statewide urban cultural park system by submitting a feasibility study and passing an ordinance to establish a local historic district encompassing about 475 acres, the boundaries of which are shown in Figure 5.³⁸ In February 1980, the New York State Historic Preservation Office certified the NRHP district nomination for a discontinuous group of five structures referred to as the Women's Rights Historic District.³⁹ Three sites

³⁵ *Study of Alternatives: Women's Rights Historic Sites, Waterloo and Seneca Falls, New York* (NPS: Denver Service Center, October 1979), 39, 52.

³⁶ "Officialdom Looks at Unified Effort in Seneca Falls," *The Reveille*, June 6, 1979.

³⁷ *Seneca Falls Urban Cultural Park Work Program*, [n.d., c.1979]; "Need for Professional Planning Stressed for Falls Development," *The Reveille*, November 21, 1979.

³⁸ *Seneca Falls Urban Cultural Park: Feasibility Study* (New York: Village of Seneca Falls, October 1980). In 1991, following a complete survey of the local historic district, a considerably smaller Seneca Falls Village Historic District was listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The NRHP district covered 174 acres, slightly more than one-third of the 475-acre local historic district. The reduced size was largely the result of a 1986 determination by the NYSHPO that the Fourth Ward neighborhood, located south of the Seneca River/Van Cleef Lake, lacked sufficient architectural integrity to meet National Register criteria for eligibility. Importantly, the Fourth Ward neighborhood included the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House. See National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Fourth Ward School, Seneca Falls, NY, prepared by Nancy Todd, National Register Program Assistant, NYS Division for Historic Preservation, certified by NYSHPO, March 10, 1986 and by the Keeper of the National Register, March 19, 1986; Seneca Falls Village Historic District, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, prepared by preservation consultant Spurgeon King for the NYS Division for Historic Preservation, certified by the NYSHPO, February 5, 1991, and by the Keeper of the National Register on April 5, 1991.

³⁹ National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form for Women's Rights Historic District, Seneca Falls and Waterloo, New York, prepared by Hanns Kuttner and Anne Ackerson, consultants for the NYS Division for Historic Preservation, February 1980, certified by the NYSHPO, February 28, 1980.

were located in Seneca Falls: the Stanton House, the Wesleyan Chapel, and a house believed to be associated with Amelia Jenks Bloomer, advocate for women's dress reform and founder of *The Lily*, the first newspaper established exclusively for women, which Stanton used as a medium of advocacy for women's rights.

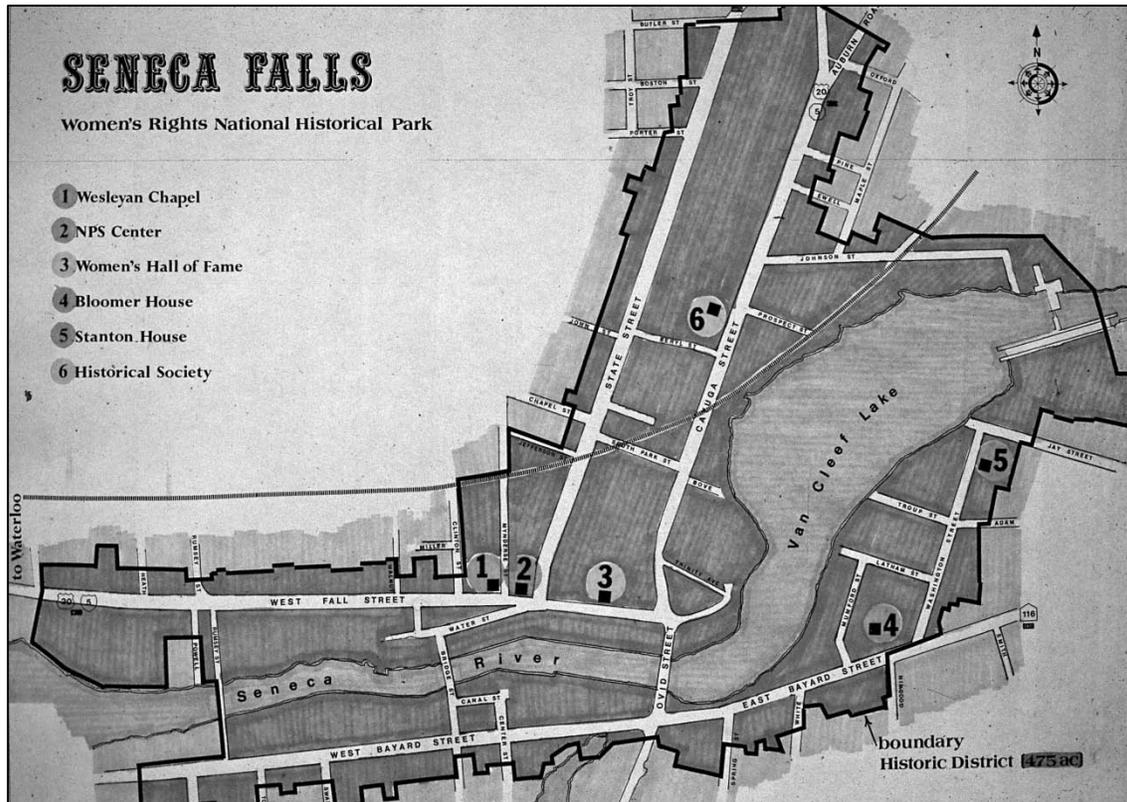


Figure 5. Map of park sites in Seneca Falls in relation to Seneca Falls Historic District, National Women's Hall of Fame, and Seneca Falls Historical Society. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

The other two sites were located in nearby Waterloo: the Richard P. and Jane C. Hunt House, where the idea for a women's rights convention was conceived, and the Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock House,⁴⁰ where the Declaration of Sentiments was written.⁴¹

⁴⁰ "M'Clintock" is the spelling that Thomas and Mary Ann used during their period of residence in Waterloo and is the spelling used throughout the administrative history except where "McClintock" appears in titles or quotations. For documentation, see Barbara A. Yocum, *M'Clintock House Historic Structure Report* (Lowell, MA: North Atlantic Region, Building Conservation Branch, Cultural Resources Center, 1993).

⁴¹ *Study of Alternatives*, 25-28. Historic preservation activity in Seneca Falls earlier in the 1970s produced the 14-acre Fall Street-Trinity Lane Historic District, listed on the National Register in 1973. The NRHP nomination for Women's Rights Historic Sites, prepared by Anne Ackerson and Hanns Kuttner, was approved by the NYSHPO in February 1980; however, the five properties were listed on the NRHP individually, not as a district, on August 29, 1980.

effort to save four historic houses had failed, Corinne Guntzel speculated that part of the reason was the founding of Eisenhower College in 1965, which brought, in her estimation, a “new element” into the community. She noted that Eisenhower faculty, especially faculty women, had been “disproportionately active in the efforts to preserve Seneca Falls history and ha[d] been quick to link this history to their curriculum.”⁴⁴ Although Eisenhower College closed its doors in 1983, during the critical years of the park’s founding and establishment, in the beginning it provided an important locus of academic support that was strongly tied to community support.

The NPS planning team built its study of alternatives around the five sites locally identified as the Women’s Rights Historic District and also focused its attention on the Stanton House and the Wesleyan Chapel. There is no indication, for instance, that the NPS planning team formally consulted with village officials or community groups in Waterloo. Even so, the study was conducted in accordance with instructions for “new area proposals” contained in NPS service-wide management policies in effect as of February 1978. These instructions, developed in response to the congressional mandate contained in the 1976 General Authorities Act, required studies to address significance, suitability, feasibility, and management alternatives for new areas being proposed for inclusion in the National Park System.⁴⁵

The statement of significance contained in the *Study of Alternatives* forwarded to Congress in late 1979 was based almost entirely on limited research conducted by Ackerman and Kuttner for the Women’s Rights Historic District nomination and the Stanton House’s existing status as a National Historic Landmark. Citing a handful of additional scholarly works, the study asserted that the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention was an event of national significance “because it mark[ed] the formal beginning of the struggle of women for their equal rights.”⁴⁶ Subsequent research would begin to reveal a more complex evolution of the women’s rights movement and also prove that Amelia Bloomer had not lived in the historic house to which her name had been attached. However, the field of women’s history was still young, and the NPS had just begun to develop professional guidelines for determining significance under National Register criteria. In the late 1970s, the level of documentation cited in the *Study of Alternatives* was consistent with NPS guidelines for “new area proposals” then in effect.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Guntzel, “Community Involvement in Establishing the Women’s Rights National Historical Park.” Eisenhower College, established with a combination of private funds and federal grants, opened its doors in 1968. Facing financial difficulty in the late 1970s, it became a satellite campus of the Rochester Institute of Technology in 1979, and RIT closed the college in 1983.

⁴⁵ *Management Policies*, National Park Service, 1978.

⁴⁶ *Study of Alternatives*, 1. This clause appears verbatim in the enabling legislation; see P.L. 96-607 (96th Cong., 2nd Sess.), Title XVI, Sec. 1601.

⁴⁷ NPS Management Policies established in 1978 specified that a new area proposed for its cultural resources “must possess outstanding national significance as determined by a professional evaluation, the National Park System Advisory Board, and the Secretary of the Interior. Significance must relate to the themes contained in the National Park System Plan, or

The Wesleyan Chapel as well as the Hunt and M'Clintock houses were deemed nationally significant for their association with the historic 1848 Women's Rights Convention. The Stanton House and the Bloomer House were deemed nationally significant for their association with important leaders in the women's rights movement. The study identified the Wesleyan Chapel, not the Stanton House, as the most significant resource and the one that "should be the focus of any National Park Service involvement commemorating women's rights in Seneca Falls."⁴⁸

At that time, the Wesleyan Chapel was hardly recognizable as the Methodist house of worship constructed in 1843. After the congregation sold the chapel in 1871, subsequent owners repeatedly altered the building. In 1872, the front façade was extended to the street and the roof was raised to convert the building into a commercial block, with stores on the street level and a public hall on the second floor. In 1890, the owner constructed a second addition, at the rear, and renovated the upper level for use as an opera house. A new owner converted the street level to a garage and automobile repair shop in 1919. Over the next four decades, seven different owners made numerous building modifications. Frank Ludovico, the owner at the time the National Park Service became involved, installed a coin-operated laundry and dry-cleaning business in the front portion of the lower level in 1961 and, in 1971, converted the second story into apartments.⁴⁹ Successive commercial property owners had adapted to market changes and maintained profitability by adding to and remodeling the building. In this way, the Wesleyan Chapel, or at least a portion of it, had survived.

in the case of a historic property, to new themes that may be approved as history continues to unfold. To be suitable for inclusion in the System, an area should represent themes presently unrepresented or poorly represented in the System, or should transcend related units of the System in resource values or interpretive potential." National Register criteria for significance are referenced only indirectly.

⁴⁸ *Study of Alternatives*, 22-24.

⁴⁹ Barbara Yocum and Terry L. Wong, *Historic Structure Report, Wesleyan Chapel* (Boston, MA: North Atlantic Region, North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center, 1992), 7-8, 61, 85, 127, 160.



Figure 7. Seneca Falls Laundromat/Wesleyan Chapel, c. 1980. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

The Stanton House, situated in a residential area east-southeast of the downtown commercial district and on the other side of the Cayuga-Seneca Canal, also had been altered significantly. Elizabeth Cady Stanton made many changes and additions to an existing vernacular house during the time she owned it, 1847-1862, and these alterations would later be considered an important element of the structure's architectural significance. After she sold the property, originally two acres in size, it was subdivided, and two houses subsequently were built adjacent the Stanton House on the north and east. In the post-Stanton years, the house, which now sat on a lot measuring approximately 90 x 230 feet, was used as a rental until 1900, when it was purchased by Hugh and Mary Gilmore. The Gilmores altered the house extensively to modernize its appearance and accommodate family needs, and they lived there for forty years. Subsequent owners Stanley and Helen Burroughs, who lived in the house for thirty years, made additional improvements. When Ralph Peters purchased the Stanton House from the Burroughs in 1978, the house had an undistinguished turn-of-the-century appearance, quite unlike the house that Elizabeth Cady Stanton created.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Barbara A. (Pearson) Yocum, *The Stanton House, Historic Structure Report* (Boston, MA: Building Conservation Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center, Northeast Region, 1998), 16-17, 24-30.



Figure 8. Mumford House, Seneca Falls, a.k.a. "Bloomer House," c. 1980, which was deleted from the Park's enabling legislation in 1996. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*



Figure 9. Hunt House, Waterloo, c. 1980. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

The Richard and Jane Hunt House, constructed in 1828, was still owner occupied. It, too, had been altered considerably, from a two-story, side-gable brick house with late-Federal and Greek Revival details into a more architecturally grand home, chiefly by the addition of a two-story Classical Revival portico on the front façade. At the time it was

constructed, the house was part of the Hunts' 145-acre farm, which extended from the outskirts of the Village of Waterloo to the Cayuga-Seneca Canal. After Richard Hunt died in 1856, the land was subdivided, and land use gradually changed from agriculture to mixed residential, municipal, and commercial uses. By 1979, the house, with some additions removed and others still in place, sat on a 2.7-acre parcel. Twentieth-century outbuildings and structures included a 1938-1939 cottage/pool house, a 1954 concrete-block garage, and a 1962 in-ground concrete swimming pool.⁵¹



Figure 10. M'Clintock House, Waterloo, c. 1980. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

The M'Clintock House, constructed ca. 1835, was on the market as part of an adjacent Baptist church.⁵² The house was one of several built by Richard Hunt, a prominent Waterloo businessman as well as gentleman farmer. Hunt sold many lots and houses to machinists and laborers on contract, no doubt to secure a stable workforce for the Waterloo Woolen Manufacturing Co., of which he was the principal stockholder and managing partner. This house, however, was leased and occupied by Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock. During the time the M'Clintocks occupied the house, it was enlarged with the addition of a rear wing. In 1875, the Waterloo Baptist Church acquired the property from the Hunt Estate and proceeded to erect a new church immediately adjacent

⁵¹ PAL, Inc., *Women's Rights National Historical Park National Register Documentation* (January 2011), 19-20.

⁵² *Study of Alternatives*, 25.

to the house, which was repurposed as the parsonage and later used as the church nursery.⁵³

The NPS planning team addressed the criterion of feasibility primarily by citing the extent of local support for community revitalization and historic preservation through the activities of the Downtown Revitalization Committee, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, the National Women's Hall of Fame, and the Seneca Falls Historical Society. Particular emphasis was placed on potential opportunities for partnership should Seneca Falls be included in the state's multifaceted urban cultural park program. These included the possibility of "surveys of historic resources, comprehensive planning, interpretive trails and markers, and development of the canal side area." The public-private partnership authorized at Lowell NHP, cited in the study as a model, clearly shaped the conclusions, which called attention to "opportunities . . . far greater than what is presented by the resources that we traditionally call nationally significant," specifically the "opportunity . . . for a creative partnership, with both public and private interests," particularly if Seneca Falls were designated as a New York State urban cultural park.⁵⁴

Four alternatives for resource protection were proposed, each based on a three-part objective: preserving the Wesleyan Chapel, interpreting the women's rights movement as manifested locally, and supporting ongoing preservation, interpretation, and revitalization efforts. Alternative One, the most limited approach, proposed that the NPS acquire only the Wesleyan Chapel, preserve as much of its historic fabric as possible, and develop the site as an interpretive center that would focus on the 1848 convention and the women's rights movement. Inasmuch as the NPS would have no direct involvement with the other four sites and no local or state partnerships, this option offered the most freedom for community efforts.

Alternative Two added the Stanton House, which would be restored and the grounds re-landscaped to the historic period. Here, the life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her role in the women's rights movement would be interpreted. Under this option, the NPS would own and manage the chapel but might enter into a cooperative agreement with a private group, presumably the ECSF, which would own and/or manage the Stanton House. Lack of house furnishings associated with Stanton's occupancy prompted hedging. NPS policies prohibited "conjectural furnishing" of historic house interiors, but private ownership or management would allow some flexibility.

Alternative Three, the "dispersed park concept," included all five sites in the proposed Women's Rights Historic District. Using Boston National Historical Park as a model, this alternative proposed a more abstract approach that would "portray the physical distribution of events leading up to the convention." Acquisition of the Wesleyan

⁵³ Barbara A. Yocum, *M'Clintock House Historic Structure Report* (National Park Service, North Atlantic Region, Cultural Resources Center, Building Conservation Branch, 1993), 15-16, 31-43, 51-54, 85-86.

⁵⁴ *Study of Alternatives*, 25-29.

Chapel and the Stanton House were the same as under Alternative Two, but the NPS would attempt to interpret the Hunt and M'Clintock houses from the exterior through cooperative agreements with their owners. The location of the Bloomer House would simply be identified on a tour map. Under Alternative Three, NPS involvement would increase to provide research and interpretive services for the Hunt, M'Clintock, and Bloomer houses.

Alternative Four, the "historical park concept," drew on Lowell National Historical Park as a model, specifically by including a proposed downtown preservation district in order to protect the setting of the 1848 convention. Under Alternative Four, the five sites of the proposed Women's Rights Historic District would be preserved and interpreted as specified in Alternative Three, but the NPS would provide extensive research and technical assistance to the local community in order to stimulate private preservation efforts.⁵⁵

P.L. 96-607

After the *Study of Alternatives* went to Congress, Judy Hart and Nancy Dubner, in her capacity as chair of the ECSF Legislative Committee, coordinated the effort to round up congressional sponsorship for a bill to create a women's rights national park.⁵⁶ Interest coalesced around Alternative Four, for which there was strong local support. Rep. Gary Lee (R-NY), who represented the district in which Seneca Falls was located, initially indicated that he would sponsor a House bill, but then withdrew the offer. At this point, Sen. Moynihan (D-NY), who supported the proposed park enthusiastically, persuaded Rep. Jonathan Bingham (D-NY), a member of the House Subcommittee on National Parks, to serve as the lead cosponsor in the House.⁵⁷

Judy Hart was asked to draft the legislation. In this effort, she worked closely with the NPS Office of Legislative Services in Washington.⁵⁸ Like Alternative Four in the *Study*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 30-36.

⁵⁶ Hart retained at least some of Nancy Dubner's correspondence in Women's Rights NHP files. See Dubner to Hon. Jonathan Bingham, letter, January 10, 1980; Dubner to Ms. Caroline Miller, c/o Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan, January 11, 1980; Dubner to Ms. Helen Byrd, National Parks & Conservation Association, January 11, 1980; Dubner to Ms. Betty Parsons Dooley, Executive Director, Congresswomen's Caucus, January 25, 1980; and Dubner to Ms. Elizabeth Chittick, Executive Director, National Women's Party, January 25, 1980.

⁵⁷ Howard Van Kirk, "Financial Support, Planning Keys to Parks Development," *The Reveille*, January 23, 1980; Hart interview, October 2, 2008 4.

⁵⁸ Hart interview, October 2, 2008, 4; Judy Hart to Eldon Reyer, Legislation/WASO, record of telephone conversation, December 10, 1979. To the telephone record are attached two typed sheets, one of them outlining membership in a proposed advisory board and the other specifying five properties proposed for fee acquisition and three properties for proposed cooperative agreements. The record of telephone conversation indicates that Hart "related the attached information to [Eldon Reyer] by phone" and then sent the sheets to the legislative

of *Alternatives*, the bill's initial provisions were modeled on the 1978 enabling legislation for Lowell NHP. Most importantly, the original language included a commission to oversee the related 475-acre historic preservation district in Seneca Falls, similar to the fifteen-member Lowell Historic Preservation Commission established by congressional authority to administer the Lowell Historic District for a period of ten years.⁵⁹ This provision, however, was deleted during the internal review process and replaced with language providing for a park advisory commission comprising eighteen people "that would bring attention, and hopefully momentum, to develop the park" rather than administer the local preservation district.⁶⁰ Although the reasons for this change are a matter of conjecture, Hart points to Mike Lambe, Chief of Legislation in the Washington Office, as being the person who ultimately decided that there was "not going to be a preservation commission in Seneca Falls" and would not budge from this position.⁶¹

According to Hart, there was considerable discussion about the park's name and status because a few high-ranking NPS officials did not believe the history of the women's rights movement was nationally significant.⁶² Lambe favored substituting "Women's Rights" with "Seneca Falls," but Hart successfully argued for the former because the proposed park sites were located in two separate villages and because the name Seneca Falls was not synonymous with the history of women's rights, thus, "no one would know what the park was about." Although Women's Rights National Historical Park survived the naming debate, Lambe was "absolutely ferocious," again in Hart's words, that the language of the bill itself stress the history of women's rights in order to allay any concern that the park would "become the site of demonstrations and meetings and conferences and you name it about current issues of women's rights."⁶³ Hart also recalls that there was "pushback about calling it a national historical park" as opposed to a "national historic site" because, in the complex hierarchy of National Park Service unit labeling, the NHP

office. Unfortunately, the earliest draft of the bill that seems to have survived is the version sent on January 22, 1980, to the Office of Management and Budget as well as to Congressman Jonathan Bingham; see Diane S. Greenberg, for Legislative Counsel, National Park Service, to Hon. James T. McIntyre, Director, Office of Management and Budget, letter, January 22, 1980, with copy of draft legislation enclosed.

⁵⁹ See P.L. 95-290, An Act to provide for the establishment of the Lowell National Historical Park in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, June 5, 1978, Title III, Role of the Commission, which details commission composition and responsibilities with respect to developing a park preservation plan, making loans to the Lowell Development and Financial Corporation, and acquiring and disposing of property.

⁶⁰ Hart interview, October 2, 2008, 11.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 6. Charles Clapper agrees that there was internal opposition, although the sources are unnamed; see Charles Clapper interview, 4. It is possible that internal memoranda generated by or directed to Peggy Lipson could shed more light on the individuals who opposed creating Women's Rights NHP.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 6; see also Greenberg, NPS, to McIntyre, OMB, January 22, 1980.

designation conferred more stature than some NPS officials in Washington thought it merited. The NHP designation survived, in part, because there were sites in two different communities, not just in Seneca Falls. However, as Hart notes, "the whole review process of the Park Service is so many-fingered you're really hard pressed ever to know who made what final decision, [and] certainly based on what."⁶⁴

Crafting of the bill took slightly less than two months. It was introduced on February 5, 1980 in the House of Representatives by Bingham as H.R. 6407, with twenty-nine co-sponsors including Gary Lee and Phillip Burton, and simultaneously in the Senate by Moynihan and Jacob Javits as S. 2263.⁶⁵ Within Congress, Burton and Moynihan lent particularly strong support. The local coalition also demonstrated tremendous support for the park bill along with the Genesee/Finger Lakes Regional Planning Council and the New York State Commissioner of Parks and Recreation.⁶⁶ The Stanton Foundation, however, favored broadening the scope of the proposed park to include sites elsewhere that also were significant to the history of women's rights, including the homes of Susan B. Anthony (Rochester, NY), Elizabeth Blackwell (Geneva, NY), and Harriet Tubman (Auburn, NY).⁶⁷ Congressman Burton also requested, possibly at the behest of the Stanton Foundation, that the NPS draft an amendment authorizing the study of other sites associated with women's rights, and there was talk among Senate subcommittee staff of adding an amendment that would authorize either study or acquisition of a specific site in South Pass City, Wyoming.⁶⁸ After H.R. 6407 was heard before the House Subcommittee

⁶⁴ Hart interview, October 2, 2008, 6-7.

⁶⁵ S. 2263 (96th Cong., 2nd Sess.); H.R. 6407 (96th Cong., 2nd Sess.); Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks [Robert Herbst] to Legislative Counsel [John M. Powell], memorandum [n.d.] recommending that the Department of Interior support the enactment of both bills as introduced, all in Papers of Theodore R. McCann, University of Maryland (College Park), Hornbake Library [hereafter cited as McCann Papers]. Nancy Dubner made a special effort to get women in Congress to co-sponsor the bill, and Judy Hart states that women staffers on the Hill were generally enthusiastic about it, but there is no indication in surviving records that congresswomen were instrumental in negotiating its passage. In the House, 7 of the 29 co-sponsors were women, out of 16 congresswomen total in the 96th Congress.

⁶⁶ In addition to Dubner letters previously cited, see Carol N. Stallone, Executive Director, National Women's Hall of Fame, to Judy Hart, letter, May 30, 1980; Robert G. Freeland, Mayor, Village of Seneca Falls, to Hon. Dale Bumpers, Chair, Senate Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs, letter, April 28, 1980; Frank Saracino, Town of Seneca Falls, to Sen. Jacob Javits, letter, December 6, 1979; William E. Teall, Chairman, Genesee/Finger Lakes Regional Planning Council, to Honorable Daniel Patrick Moynihan, letter, January 18, 1980; Teall to Honorable Jonathan Bingham, January 18, 1980; Teall to Honorable Gary A. Lee, January 18, 1980; Orin Lehman, Commissioner, State of New York Parks and Recreation, to Sen. Dale Bumpers, letter, April 15, 1980.

⁶⁷ Testimony of Lucille Povero before the House Subcommittee on Insular Affairs, May 9, 1980.

⁶⁸ Judy Hart, Legislative Specialist, NAR, to Regional Director, NAR [Richard L. Stanton], memorandum re: Status of Legislative Program for North Atlantic Region, April 30, 1980.

on Insular Affairs on May 9, it was incorporated into H.R. 3, an omnibus parks bill, which passed the full House on May 20 with minor amendments, but which did not expand the scope of the park beyond Seneca Falls and Waterloo.⁶⁹

Legislation then stalled in the Senate, which did not hold a hearing on S. 2263 until September 8. NPS Acting Director Ira Hutchison and Judy Hart appeared before the Subcommittee on Parks, Recreation, and Renewable Resources to confirm the agency's support for the House amendments, which included changes in the language affecting cooperative agreements and further scaling back the provision for a park advisory commission. Appearing at the hearing to give statements of support were Rhoda B. Jenkins, representing the Stanton Foundation; Charlotte Conable, administrator of the Women's Studies Program and Policy Center at George Washington University; and Barry Bradshaw, deputy mayor of the Village of Seneca Falls. Subcommittee Chair Paul Tsongas (D-MA) grilled Bradshaw on the extent and firmness of community support, stating that he had witnessed considerable back peddling at Lowell NHP. At the close of the hearing, Tsongas expressed only lukewarm support, noting that the subcommittee would likely restructure the bill to make establishment of a national park contingent on local efforts and state involvement so as not to "set a precedent that will be unduly attractive to communities who would get into it because their community was the first place that something happened and that is a way of getting urban renewal accomplished."⁷⁰ Although Tsongas expressed little enthusiasm for the park bill, it passed out of committee, largely, in Hart's estimation, because the bill had the support of NPS Director Whalen.⁷¹

In any case, nothing further happened until after the November election. When Ronald Reagan won the presidency, Democrats began to press legislation through Congress before the administration changed. Phillip Burton promised Lucille Povero that he would get the bill passed before the lame-duck session adjourned, which he did in his usual method.⁷² The provisions of H.R. 3, the House omnibus bill that included Women's Rights NHP, were wrapped into a larger omnibus bill that passed the Senate on December 3. President Carter signed the bill, which became P.L. 96-607, on December 28, 1980.⁷³

Title XVI of P.L. 96-607 established a park consisting "initially" of the five historic sites (in nine separate parcels) named in the *Study of Alternatives*. Rather than authorize a

⁶⁹ H.R. 3 (96th Congress, 2nd Sess.), as amended [Report 96-1024], McCann Papers; see also Summary of Legislative Actions for S. 2363, 96th Congress, Library of Congress/Thomas, online at <http://thomas.loc.gov>.

⁷⁰ Hearing before the Subcommittee on Parks, Recreation, and Renewable Resources of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate, on S. 2263, S. 3092, and H.R. 7105, September 8, 1980 (96th Cong., 2nd Sess.), 39-41, 109-131, McCann Papers. Carol N. Stallone, executive director of the Women's Hall of Fame, sent a written statement of support to be entered into the record.

⁷¹ Hart interview, October 2, 2008, 4.

⁷² Povero interview, 1982 (untranscribed).

⁷³ See Appendix I for provisions of P.L. 96-607 that pertain to Women's Rights NHP.

formal public-private partnership to coordinate preservation efforts, such as that prescribed for Lowell NHP, the legislation simply authorized the Secretary of the Interior to “encourage State and local governmental agencies to develop and implement plans for the preservation and rehabilitation of sites designated as part of the park and their immediate environs” and to provide “technical and financial assistance to such agencies in the development and implementation of such plans” so long as financial assistance did not exceed 50 percent of the cost. To develop the park, the Secretary was authorized to acquire by donation, purchase, or transfer from another federal agency those parcels that would preserve the Wesleyan Chapel and the Stanton House. Any property owned by a state or “political subdivision thereof” could be acquired only by donation. The legislation expressly prohibited the purchase, or acquisition by fee simple title, of the Hunt, M’Clintock, and Bloomer houses, which were then in private ownership. Instead, the Secretary was empowered to enter into cooperative agreements with the owners of these three sites in order to “mark, interpret, improve, restore, and provide technical assistance” for the purposes of preservation and interpretation. The legislation did not, as provided in the original bill, authorize the Secretary to enter into cooperative agreements with nonprofit organizations to develop interpretive and educational programming. To fund the park, the enabling legislation included a land acquisition ceiling of \$490,000 and a development ceiling of \$500,000. The land acquisition authorization was exactly what the NPS had requested, but the development authorization was less than a third of the \$1.6 million that the NPS had sought.⁷⁴

P.L. 96-607 also authorized an eleven-member advisory commission. The Secretary of the Interior was directed “to consult with the Commission from time to time with respect to his responsibilities and authorities” under the act, and the Commission was vaguely instructed “to advise the Secretary with respect to matters relating to the administration of the park.”⁷⁵ The language conveyed an open-ended purpose and a commission with no specific functions. In reality, the provision codified an internal compromise over the need for an advisory commission and set the stage for a perplexing experiment. Judy Hart initially had sought the creation of a historic preservation advisory commission modeled on the commission established for Lowell NHP in its 1978 enabling legislation. Although there is an incomplete record of the various drafts of the bill to authorize Women’s Rights NHP before it was introduced on February 5, 1980, a draft dated January 22 states that “The Secretary, or his designee, shall from time to time but at least annually, meet and consult with the Advisory Commission on matters relating to the development of the park and the preservation district and with respect to carrying out the provisions of this Act.” To facilitate this purpose, the proposed park boundaries

⁷⁴ Hart to Regional Director [Richard L. Stanton], Status of Legislative Program for North Atlantic Region, April 30, 1980.

⁷⁵ Section 1601(h)(4).

duplicated the boundaries of the Seneca Falls Historic Preservation District, although the National Park Service was authorized to acquire only specified properties.⁷⁶

The final language was of no small consequence given the discontinuous nature of the historic resources tapped for national park status, the fledgling status of historic preservation in Seneca Falls and Waterloo, and the prospects for an urban cultural park in the Village of Seneca Falls, which would make state funds available for preservation planning and implementation. Lowell Historic Preservation Commission (LHPC), which also had a ten-year sunset clause, had both carrot and stick powers. It was authorized to carry out specific functions: prepare a preservation plan, prepare standards and guidelines for preservation, evaluate the historical significance and integrity of buildings in the park to determine their eligibility for assistance, and require the City of Lowell to take adequate responsibility for preserving its own historic resources.⁷⁷

In 1980, of course, the LHPC was barely up and running, and no one really knew how effective it would be in forging a successful preservation partnership. The strategy was untested. Additionally, the Washington legislative office objected to the additional cost that would be required to support an operating commission similar to the LHPC.⁷⁸ Thus, sometime between January 22 and February 5, the provision was rewritten, and the revised language represented a compromise: four meetings per year were specified, but the reference to the preservation district had been dropped.⁷⁹ Hart nonetheless wanted a mechanism that would help give the park “strength, substance, and shape” because, in her view, its base of support was primarily local, and even that base did not go very deep. The letter-writing campaign and personal appearances at congressional committee hearings gave the appearance of broad-based support, but she worried that this support structure was akin to a “house of cards” and felt strongly that the NPS needed something to bring national attention to the park and generate momentum for development.⁸⁰

By the time the omnibus bill passed in December, several provisions had been amended, although the reasons behind changes are not always a matter of record. The purpose of the park had been broadened to include cooperation with local and state entities to preserve the historic setting of sites associated with the women's rights movement, rather than the historic setting of Seneca Falls. To encourage cooperation, the NPS had authority to provide up to fifty percent of the cost of preparing and implementing preservation plans. The park boundaries, however, had been reduced to nine specified properties in five separate locations, demarcating a clear line between the NPS and local jurisdictions. Cooperative agreements were allowed with owners of

⁷⁶ NPS Legislative Counsel to James T. McIntyre, Director, Office of Management and Budget, letter of transmittal, January 22, 1980, with attached draft bill.

⁷⁷ See the provisions of P.L. 95-290 relating to Lowell NHP's enabling legislation.

⁷⁸ Judy Hart, comments on draft manuscript, January 30, 2011.

⁷⁹ S.2263 (96th Cong., 2nd Sess.), Sections 2(a) and 4(d).

⁸⁰ Hart interview, October 2, 2008, 10.

properties within the park, but not with nonprofit organizations. This change appears to have been initiated, or at least sanctioned, by the Washington Office inasmuch as Acting Director Ira Hutchison testified that the NPS was “concerned that federal funds and facilities could under the Senate language [S.2263] be used for purposes not related to the interpretation and study of the beginnings of the women’s movement.”⁸¹ The advisory commission had been retained, but its purpose and functions were open-ended and its relationship to the NPS administrative hierarchy largely undefined. Additionally, the size of the advisory commission had been reduced from eighteen to eleven members; the provision that all of them be women had been dropped; the provision for representatives from Eisenhower College, Wells College, Cornell University, the U.S. Department of Transportation, and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers had been dropped; and the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation’s five representatives had been reduced to one.⁸²

In sum, Congress enabled the creation of Women’s Rights NHP because the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention held at Wesleyan Chapel “marked the formal beginning of the struggle of women for their equal rights” and because the Declaration of Sentiments was “a document of enduring relevance, which expresses the goal that equality and justice should be extended to all people without regard to sex.” Congress further decreed that the purpose of recognizing the five historic properties named in the legislation was to “preserve and interpret for the education, inspiration, and benefit of present and future generations the nationally significant historical and cultural sites and structures associated with the struggle for equal rights for women and to cooperate with State and local entities to preserve the character and historic setting of such sites and structures.”⁸³ The law, however, in stating that the park “initially” would consist of the five named sites, left open the possibility of future park expansion. Additionally, although the stated purpose was to preserve and interpret five specific sites, the legislation gave the NPS limited authority to do so. It could enter into cooperative agreements with property owners but not with nonprofit organizations. Similarly, it could provide technical assistance and financial assistance to “encourage State and local governmental agencies to develop and implement plans for the preservation and rehabilitation of sites designated as part of the park and their immediate environs,” but it could not form a joint commission to carry out this function. Finally, the legislation created a park advisory commission without any specific function. The language of the law and these provisions would become points of debate in the years to come.

The effort to pass enabling legislation took two years, a seemingly arduous task to many of those involved but comparatively swift compared to the creation of countless

⁸¹ Statement of Ira Hutchison, Acting Director, NPS, Department of the Interior, before the Senate Subcommittee on Parks, Recreation, and Renewable Resources, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, on S. 2263 and Section 104 of H.R.3, September 8, 1980, McCann Papers.

⁸² Comparison of S.2263 with H.R.3, Section 104.

⁸³ See Appendix I.

other national parks. Although certain provisions encountered a degree of opposition within the NPS, the overall proposal had unwavering support from the North Atlantic Regional Office, support from the director's office, strong local support, and solid support from Sen. Moynihan. All things considered, the bill moved through Congress rather effortlessly once it was swept into Burton's log-rolling machine. It would take another year and a half to open Women's Rights NHP, and, in some respects, that was a more daunting task.

A TENUOUS BEGINNING: 1981

The National Park Service prepared to move forward to activate the park as soon as the president signed the omnibus park bill into law.⁸⁴ Within a month, Regional Director Richard L. Stanton had directed Hart to meet with community leaders in Seneca Falls and requested the assistance of historian Heather Huyck, then an interpretive specialist with the Cultural Resources Office in Washington, D.C., to "bring important professional depth in women's history" to the task of developing park plans.⁸⁵ The timing of congressional authorization meant that FY 1983 was the earliest fiscal year for which the park could request operating funds under the normal budget-planning cycle, so Hart sought to have \$75,000 reprogrammed for start-up operations in 1981 and another \$125,000 reprogrammed for FY 1982.⁸⁶ The change of presidential administrations, however, threw the whole question of park opening up in the air. In July, Secretary of Interior James Watt, acting on presidential orders to reduce federal spending, issued a memorandum on "Management of the National Park System" to NPS Director Russell Dickenson directing him to "emphasize management in the National Park System . . . to [achieve] efficiency, [serve] visitors, and [protect] park values, rather than expanding the System."⁸⁷ By the time Watt issued the formal decree, however, Dickenson had already placed a moratorium on land purchases and shifted the spending focus to park restoration and improvement.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Legislative Specialist, NAR [Judy Hart] to Regional Director, NAR [Richard L. Stanton], memorandum re: Activation of Women's Rights NHP, December 10, 1980.

⁸⁵ Regional Director, NAR [Richard L. Stanton] to Associate Director, Management and Operations, WASO, memorandum re: Assistance for Women's Rights NHP Activities, January 15, 1981; Associate Director, Management and Operations [Stanley T. Albright] to Regional Director, NAR, memorandum, January 26, 1981, NPS History Office.

⁸⁶ Women's Rights NHP Fiscal 1982 Budget Briefing Statement, January 20, 1981.

⁸⁷ Emphasis in the original. Secretary of the Interior [James Watt] to Director, National Park Service [Russell Dickenson], July 6, 1981, reproduced in Larry M. Dilsaver, ed., *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1994), available online at www.nps.gov/history/online_books/anps/index.htm.

⁸⁸ NPS Director Russell E. Dickenson to Regional Directors, general memorandum, April 16, 1981, Papers of Lucille Povero, ECSF Collection. As director, Dickenson did not pursue an expansionist policy, as had his predecessors during the 1960s and 1970s, preferring instead to

The Regional Office nonetheless did what it could, chiefly through Hart's efforts, to establish an NPS presence in Seneca Falls. The most the Regional Office could do the first year was submit a request to the Washington office for \$5,000 in park start-up funds and reprogram an additional \$12,500 from the regional budget, which provided \$17,500. Of this amount, \$8,000 was expended as a grant to the Village of Seneca Falls to begin preservation planning, and another \$4,730 went to the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation to gather and organize historical materials pertaining to Stanton and the Stanton House.⁸⁹ In May 1981, Hart was formally detailed to Seneca Falls part-time and given the title of park coordinator. For nearly a year, she traveled from the Regional Office in Boston to Seneca Falls once a month for week-long visits.⁹⁰

Much of Hart's time in Seneca Falls was spent establishing working relationships with community leaders, meeting regularly with the Stanton Foundation to monitor progress in raising funds to obtain the Stanton House, and being the NPS presence at community planning meetings while waiting for funding. During 1981, graduate students from Cornell University's Historic Preservation Program began surveying the historic resources of the Village of Waterloo. Hart expressed concern that the survey was proceeding "without Service input" because the information would be critical for determining whether a local district was eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, which would be the foundation for NPS cooperation in local preservation efforts.⁹¹ However, no NPS technical support was forthcoming. Meanwhile, the Village of Seneca Falls, aided by the \$8,000 NPS grant, worked on developing a preservation zoning code in order to guide planning and development in the historic district.

Even though the National Park Service considered the Wesleyan Chapel to be the most significant resource, the Stanton House initially received top priority because its preservation was threatened. Hart met regularly with the Stanton Foundation, which had expected to be able to purchase the home from Ralph Peters within a year, and then

address a backlog of deferred maintenance. Thus, Dickenson did not balk at Watt's directive. However, during Watt's tenure as Secretary of Interior, Dickenson found himself in a defensive position to protect national parks from commercial exploitation. See Michael Frome, *Regreening the National Parks* (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1992).

⁸⁹ Acting Regional Director, NAR [Steven H. Lewis], to Associate Director, Administration, WASO [Nancy C. Garrett], memorandum re: Budget Request for Women's Rights NHP, Start Up for Fiscal 1981, March 25, 1981; Briefing Statement, Women's Rights NHP, November 24, 1981. See also Purchase Order PX1600-1-0642, National Park Service, NAR, Boston to Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, September 17, 1981, ECSF Collection, Papers of Lucille Povero. Judy Hart recalls, in comments dated January 30, 2011, that the "Office of the Secretary of Interior ordered that the 1981 budget for Women's Rights NHP be cut to \$5,000 rather than the funding requested by the Park Service."

⁹⁰ Park Coordinator, Women's Rights NHP [Judy Hart] to Acting Regional Director, NAR [Steven H. Lewis], memorandum re: NPS Presence in Seneca Falls, October 30, 1981.

⁹¹ Briefing Statement, November 24, 1981. The survey was completed in 1982; see Cornell University, Preservation Planning Workshop, "Historic Resources Survey, Village of Waterloo, Seneca County, New York," 1982.

transfer it to NPS. However, by May 1979 the Foundation had received only \$25,450 in cash contributions and pledges.⁹² A grant application to the New York Parks and Recreation agency, submitted mid 1979, yielded another \$16,785 in federal NRHP re-grant funds.⁹³ As welcome as this grant was, the Foundation was still short of the needed \$43,500, and legal fees were chipping away at the acquisition fund. As 1979, and then 1980, passed, Marjorie Smith began to consider other options for the house.⁹⁴

Concerned that Peters and Smith might put the house back on the market, the Regional Office requested, in January 1981, that \$50,000 allocated to Lowell National Historical Park be reprogrammed for acquisition of the Stanton House. The request was denied because P.L. 96-607 specifically stated that Women's Rights NHP could not receive appropriations for acquisition or development until October 1, 1981.⁹⁵ The burden of fundraising for property acquisition thus remained on the shoulders of the Stanton Foundation, which had yet to attract national attention. Lucille Povero then used personal connections to approach actor Alan Alda and ask him to make an appearance in Seneca Falls on behalf of the Stanton Foundation. Although sympathetic, Alda declined to make a public appearance; instead, he sent a check for the remaining \$11,000 needed to purchase the house.⁹⁶ With funds for acquisition finally in hand, preservation of the Stanton House seemed assured, and the Stanton Foundation tendered an offer of purchase in late July.

What came next was unforeseeable. Ralph Peters suffered a stroke early in 1981, and Marjorie Smith, now his former wife, began to take a more active role. In July, she met with the Stanton Foundation and indicated that she was considering a permanent move to Seneca Falls to operate the Stanton House as a private museum.⁹⁷ Further complicating the situation, Peters changed his mind about selling the property to the

⁹² Application for Grant-in-Aid Funds for Historic Preservation under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation to New York State Parks and Recreation, May 13, 1979, Papers of Lucille Povero, ECSF Collection.

⁹³ Robert F. Gonet, Finger Lakes State Park and Recreation Commission to Corinne Guntzel, December 30, 1979 and State Historic Preservation Officer Orin Lehman to Lucille Povero, January 18, 1980, series 14, Papers of Lucille Povero, ECSF Collection.

⁹⁴ Lucille Povero to Marjorie Smith, November 3, 1979, Papers of Lucille Povero, ECSF Collection.

⁹⁵ Regional Director, NAR, Richard L. Stanton to Director [Russell Dickenson], January 5, 1981; Acting Chief of Land Acquisition Paul K. Cotter to Judy Hart, NAR, February 10, 1981; Associate Director Stanley Albright to Acting Regional Director, NAR [Steven H. Lewis], February 10, 1981; all Papers of Lucille Povero, ECSF Collection.

⁹⁶ Jack Rosenberry, "Alan Alda Outdoes Sinatra, Gives \$11,000 to Stanton Foundation," *Finger Lakes Times*, March 27, 1981. According to this article, the ECSF had received \$5,000 from Goulds Pumps, a local manufacturer, \$5,000 from Rhoda Jenkins, Elizabeth Cady Stanton's great great granddaughter, \$6,000 from local donations, and a \$16,000 grant from the state.

⁹⁷ "Birthplace of Women's Rights Hopes for Its Day," *New York Times*, August 13, 1981; J. Sheldon Fisher (former director, Rochester Historical Society Museum), to Judy Hart, May 1, 1984. See also Povero interview, 1982; Dubner interview, May 13, 1986.

Stanton Foundation because “he [did] not want his house under the control of the current Administration.”⁹⁸ Peters was adamant that the house either would deteriorate further if transferred to NPS control while James Watt was Secretary of the Interior or that the Reagan administration would impose “political limitations” on the interpretation of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The Stanton Foundation’s attorney, Emil Bove, concluded that negotiations had come to an impasse and urged the NPS to investigate acquiring the property through eminent domain.⁹⁹

Lucille Povero tried to shame Peters into honoring his promise, while Bove took legal precautions necessary to protect the Stanton Foundation from further financial loss, inasmuch as the Foundation had spent about \$2,400 in maintenance, taxes, and insurance.¹⁰⁰ Concerned that the relationship between Peters and the ECSF had deteriorated to the point of dissolution, the Regional Office intervened. Acting Regional Director Steven H. Lewis, in consultation with Judy Hart, arranged a meeting with Peters in Seattle and then asked NPS Director Russell Dickenson for written assurance that the Washington Office was committed to supporting the park. Lewis also asked Dickenson for assurance that the park would receive adequate operating funds if the ECSF acquired the Stanton House and donated it to the NPS in timely fashion. Dickenson responded, in writing, that, “when the Park Service owns the property in Seneca Falls, funding will be adequate for on-site staffing, and for maintaining the structure(s) and for beginning resource studies.” Peters and Smith were unmoved. Although neither Hart nor the Regional Office was ready to give up, the NPS informed Peters and Smith that it could not “be responsible for a vacant privately owned house.”¹⁰¹

Dickenson, new NAR Director Herbert S. Cables, Deputy Regional Director Steven H. Lewis, and Judy Hart met personally with Peters in Seattle on December 4, 1981. It was an extraordinary demonstration of support for the park from the Regional Office and the NPS Director. According to Hart, Dickenson personally promised Peters that the Stanton House would be safe in the hands of the National Park Service and that restoration would begin as soon as the NPS owned the home. Peters finally agreed, verbally, to sell the house to the Stanton Foundation, provided that it transferred the

⁹⁸ Lewis to Dickenson; Emil J. Bove to Regional Director Steve Lewis, October 26, 1981, Papers of Lucille Povero, ECSF Collection.

⁹⁹ Bove to Lewis, October 26, 1981.

¹⁰⁰ Lucille Povero to Ralph Peters, September 20, 1981 and Emil J. Bove, Jr. to Richard L. Butler, Cook, Berst, Landeen & Butler, Seattle, October 15, 1981, Papers of Lucille Povero, ECSF Collection.

¹⁰¹ Acting Regional Director Steven H. Lewis to Ralph Peters and Marjorie Smith, October 30, 1981, with undated memorandum from NPS Director Dickenson attached, Papers of Lucille Povero, ECSF Collection.

property to the NPS on the same day.¹⁰² The same-day transfer proved to be impractical, but Peters nonetheless signed the foundation's purchase offer a few days later.¹⁰³

In addition to developing a working relationship with community leaders in Seneca Falls, Hart reached out to women's historians at the regional and national levels. Judith Wellman, in particular, helped to establish a connection with the Organization of American Historians. She was then serving as chair of the OAH Committee on the Status of Women in the Historical Profession as well as on the executive board of the newly formed Seneca Falls Consortium, a group comprising several local and regional groups that sponsored the first Seneca Falls Women's History Conference in 1979. Immediately after Women's Rights NHP was authorized, these groups came together to form the Seneca Falls Consortium for the purpose of creating outreach programs to "augment the National Park's offerings." During the summer of 1981, the Consortium and the Regional Conference of Historical Agencies co-sponsored a symposium on "Seneca Falls: the Second Revolution" with support from the New York State Council for the Humanities. Later that year, the Consortium, in collaboration with the OAH, began to seek major funding to develop an ambitious multi-year program called the Seneca Falls Women's History Project.¹⁰⁴ At the 1981 Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, the Upstate New York Women's History Group, the Seneca Falls Consortium, and the OAH Women's Committee cosponsored a reception for Women's Rights NHP. At least 300 people attended the reception, during which time the OAH collected signatures on a petition for Women's History Week, which was sent to Sen. Moynihan.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Hart interview, October 2, 2008, 18-19.

¹⁰³ Carol Ritter, "Owner Agrees to Sell Stanton House," Rochester *Democrat and Chronicle*, December 8, 1981; Acting Regional Director Herbert S. Cables, Jr. to Emil Bove, December 22, 1981 (two separate letters, same date); Emil Bove to Herbert Cables, December 14, 1982; Emil Bove to Herbert Cables, December 18, 1981, with copy of Purchase and Sale Contract for Elizabeth Cady Stanton House attached; Papers of Lucille Povero, ECSF Collection.

¹⁰⁴ Briefing Statement, November 24, 1981; Minutes, Executive Board, Organization of American Historians, November 1981, OAH Files, Bloomington, IN; "The Seneca Falls Women's History Project: Interpreting Women's History in the Community," grant application submitted by the Organization of American Historians and the Seneca Falls Consortium, to the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, December 14, 1981, Records, Organization of American Historians, Ruth Lilly Archives, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis [hereafter OAH Records, IUPUI]. The Consortium comprised the Upstate New York Women's History Conference, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, the National Women's Hall of Fame, the Seneca Falls Historical Society, the Women's Studies Program of Eisenhower College and the New York State Studies Group. As a formalized coalition, the Consortium failed to thrive, presumably because it was not able to secure funding to support the Seneca Falls Women's History Project to the full extent envisioned.

¹⁰⁵ Minutes, OAH Women's Committee Meetings, Berkshire Conference, June 1981, Organization of Historians Records, OAH Files, Bloomington, IN.



Figure 11. Although the source caption reads, “Smith College, Women’s History Conference, April 1981,” the OAH Women’s Committee records identify the event as the reception at the June 1981 Berkshire Conference at Vassar. Judy Hart and Corinne Guntzel are standing in the center. *Courtesy Women’s Rights NHP.*

During 1981, NPS support for collaborating with local governments primarily consisted of the \$8,000 preservation planning grant to the Village of Seneca Falls and Judy Hart’s monthly work sessions in the community. Nevertheless, there was enough good will to sustain a spirit of cooperation. Then, in November 1981, Ross Holland, NPS Associate Director for Cultural Resources in the Washington Office, was in Seneca Falls along with Judy Hart, Nancy Dubner, and Heather Huyck to make the rounds during the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation’s annual meeting. During a live radio interview at the local station, Holland found himself in the awkward position of announcing that the NPS would be unable to provide \$200,000 in operating funds. Holland, Hart, and Huyck made immediate assurances that the NPS was committed to establishing the park as soon as funding was available and had no intention of abandoning Seneca Falls. However, Goulds Pumps, the town’s major corporate employer, withdrew its donation to the Stanton House purchase fund (later it was restored), and community leaders began to question the degree of NPS commitment.¹⁰⁶

Hart, equally frustrated by the lack of adequate NPS funding, prepared a briefing statement for the Regional Office detailing the preservation investment in Seneca Falls. Although sources for her figures are not documented, she claimed that more than \$2.3 million had been invested in preservation efforts by private concerns, the Village and Town of Seneca Falls, and the State of New York—whereas NPS had provided only the

¹⁰⁶ Briefing Statement, Women’s Rights NHP, November 24, 1981.

\$8,000 matching grant for preservation planning plus the \$4,730 to the Stanton Foundation for research on the Stanton House.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, Seneca Falls was poised to receive substantially more state funding for planning and development under pending legislation to establish pilot community projects through the Urban Cultural Park initiative.¹⁰⁸

Independently, Heather Huyck submitted her own analysis of the local situation to the Washington Office. Although she had no way of knowing how much the community had invested financially to help establish the national park and secure designation as a New York urban cultural park, she was nonetheless surprised by the depth of local support. She also had witnessed firsthand just how quickly community anger was aroused by the very idea that park funding might not be forthcoming, which led her to emphatically request that the NPS establish a visible presence in the community as quickly as possible in order to “keep the community working for us.”¹⁰⁹ Former village planner Francis Caraccilo echoes her assessment of community support: “When Park Service personnel started showing up, especially in uniform . . . there were people who would sometimes refer to the Smoky the Bear hats, and make the not-so-nice comments, but in general, there was absolute pride that Seneca Falls was hosting a National Park.”¹¹⁰

SUMMING UP

In the end, the FY 1982 approved budget for Women's Rights was \$60,000, which Hart used judiciously to open the park in July 1982. Time and again, she had enlisted community support to establish a park presence in Seneca Falls. This took considerable energy and creativity on her part, but it was not an uphill task because the interests that converged to establish Women's Rights NHP also needed one another in order to succeed.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. The June 1985 Draft GMP, p. 9, contains a similar statement: “Private preservation investment totaled over \$2 million from 1980 to 1984, including restoration of the downtown hotel and the park's visitor center and headquarters.” This statement indicates that much of the \$2.3 million cited by Hart in 1981 most likely came from George Souhan, owner of the Gould Hotel and the commercial building at 116 Fall Street, where the first park headquarters/visitor center was located.

¹⁰⁸ The 1977 legislation called for the New York Office of Parks and Recreation to develop a plan for a statewide system of urban cultural parks. Based on this plan, communities competed to become pilot UCPs. Approximately 200 communities submitted applications. From this pool, the field was winnowed to thirteen pilot areas, and in 1981 the state legislature began to consider additional legislation to establish and fund the actual system. See Jeanne S. Fagan, *New York State Urban Cultural Park System* (Master's thesis, Rochester Institute of Technology, 1992).

¹⁰⁹ Heather Huyck, Interpretive Specialist, Cultural Resources, WASO, to Associate Director, Management and Operations [Daniel J. Tobin, Jr.], and Assistant Director, Cultural Resources Management [F. Ross Holland], letter of report re: Trip to Women's Rights National Historical Park and NAR, November 20, 1981.

¹¹⁰ Francis Caraccilo interview by Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth D. Smith, July 17, 2008, 11.

The Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation needed the National Park Service in order to preserve the Stanton House. The Village of Seneca Falls needed the National Park Service to create a viable urban cultural park. Still, Hart's educational background in law and her four years as the region's legislative specialist, working with the Washington Office and congressional staff, were instrumental in the development and enactment of park enabling legislation. Her expertise and connections in Washington continued to benefit the park as she aggressively pursued legislative amendments and congressional appropriations for park development. Likewise, Hart was adept at cultivating local alliances in order to develop a broad base of community support, and she held an informal coalition together throughout her tenure as superintendent.

Community goodwill was essential because the park, with assistance from the Regional Office and the Denver Service Center, would struggle to establish a workable framework for cooperating with the Village of Seneca Falls to carry out the preservation mandate articulated in and limited by the enabling legislation. Preservation of the park's most prominent historic sites—the Stanton House and the Wesleyan Chapel—would become Hart's major concerns during this period. For these efforts, she had support from the NPS Director and influential members of Congress as well as from the Regional Office. The first development project, preserving the Stanton House, also would trigger internal debate over NPS cultural resource management policies, which carried on into preservation treatment of the Wesleyan Chapel and the M'Clintock House. The chapel, in particular, would raise challenging questions about resource integrity and preservation treatment that the *Study of Alternatives* had not fully developed.

CHAPTER THREE

SUBSTANCE AND SHAPE, 1982 – 1988

With \$60,000 in reprogrammed funds from Washington, Judy Hart got down to work as the official park superintendent in March 1982. She had no park operations experience other than her year as park coordinator, but the seamless transition from coordinator to superintendent meant there was no break in momentum. The same sources of community support for creating the park, which came primarily from Seneca Falls, continued without interruption. The pace of park development was phenomenal considering that the federal government did not own any property in Seneca Falls or Waterloo, so there was no obvious place to establish even a park office in 1982. Moreover, acquisition of the first park site, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, hung in the balance. Three parties—Ralph Peters, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, and NPS Director Russell Dickenson—still had to transform good will and verbal agreements to actual deeds, literally and figuratively.

From a tenuous beginning, Hart, in the course of seven years, provided leadership to negotiate the acquisition of three of the five historic sites named in the enabling legislation plus a fourth historic building for use as permanent park headquarters. Within three years, the park had acquired and restored the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, acquired the Wesleyan Chapel as well as a nearby historic building housing the municipal offices of the Village of Seneca Falls, and acquired the M'Clintock House. Hart also challenged the prevailing preservation philosophy among NPS professionals and led the park through a contested design competition in search of an inventive preservation treatment for the Wesleyan Chapel. Park development both outpaced and drove park planning during her superintendency, but when she left, there was no doubt that the National Park Service had a presence in Seneca Falls. She was able to accomplish much because of strong community support, equally strong support from Regional Director Herbert S. Cables, Jr. and Deputy Director Steven H. Lewis, and continual assistance from two influential members of Congress: Sen. Patrick J. Moynihan and Rep. Frank Horton. What she did not accomplish was a written interpretive plan, or even a clear interpretive vision, to match the park's physical development. Hampered by an advisory commission that often seemed to operate at cross purposes, apprehensive of entangling park interpretation with feminist politics, and preoccupied with site acquisition and preservation issues, Hart was unable to

give interpretive planning her full attention or the attention that a newly established park needed.

OPENING SEASON

Thanks to the generosity of George Souhan, owner of the historic Gould Hotel and the historic Seneca Knitting Mills, Hart was able to open a one-room park office immediately. Souhan, who also owned the local radio station, loaned her his office there for three months so she could prepare for the summer season.¹ Rather than request assistance from NPS interpretive design specialists at Harpers Ferry Center, Hart hired historian Judith Wellman and Nancy Hewitt, then a graduate student in history at the University of Pennsylvania, to develop exhibits and interpretive programs.² Although she stepped around normal protocol by hiring two outside historians, Hart had no subject expertise in women's history herself, and there was little such expertise in the National Park Service at the time. By bringing into the park a scholar with specialties in nineteenth-century social history, women's history, and historic preservation, and a promising young scholar in women's history, Hart was able to create a learning environment for seasonal rangers. The park hired four seasonal workers from women's studies programs at nearby universities, paying half of their weekly hours with the other half donated. Hart also strengthened ties with the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation by hiring Wellman as well as Patricia Haines, who served as temporary staff to coordinate the Second Seneca Falls Women's History Conference. The conference was scheduled for July in conjunction with Convention Days, a new community celebration to commemorate the 1848 Women's Rights Convention. This annual event, begun in 1979 when the National Women's Hall of Fame moved into its downtown location in the Village, clearly indicated that community leaders intended to link heritage tourism with Seneca Falls's reputation as the birthplace of the women's rights movement.

Events happened quickly. The sale between Peters and the Stanton Foundation was officially transacted on April 2, 1982. Mayor Robert Freeland declared April 21 as Ralph Peters Appreciation Day, by which time Peters had recovered sufficiently to attend and receive a ceremonial key to the Village of Seneca Falls. Festivities began with a champagne reception in the Stanton House

¹ Superintendent's Annual Report, Women's Rights NHP, January 1, 1982 – January 1, 1983.

² "Nat'l Park Supervisor Introduces Nine Staffers," *The Reveille*, June 2, 1982, Papers of Mary Curry, ECSF Collection. Additional information about 1982 staffing provided by Judy Hart.

and ended with dinner at the Gould Hotel.³ In May, Senator Moyihan toured the park as the first official visitor and received in-house honors for his role in moving park legislation through Congress.⁴ Title to the Stanton House officially passed to the NPS on June 29, 1982, as a gift from the Stanton Foundation with a donation value of \$35,000.⁵ Later in the year, John Barney and Rhoda Barney Jenkins, great-great-grandchildren of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, purchased an adjacent property and donated it to the NPS.⁶

By mid June, seven staff members were working out of Souhan's one-room office in the radio station. To ease the crowding, Hart arranged a short-term lease on a historic barn (the Kline Barn) until more permanent quarters were ready. For six weeks, park staff operated in conditions that were less than ideal—no heating or cooling or restroom facilities. Hart had begun working with the General Services Administration, lease agent for the federal government, on a visitor center location even before moving to Seneca Falls in March. When she could find no suitable sites, George Souhan came to her aid a second time. He purchased a vacant commercial building at 116 Fall Street, in the heart of the Village and conveniently located approximately half a block from the Wesleyan Chapel.⁷ While park staff made do with working conditions at the Kline Barn, Souhan worked with GSA to rehab the commercial building to meet federal standards, creating space for a visitor center on the first floor with administrative offices on the second. Souhan's gestures represented the kind of community support Hart cultivated. She felt strongly that it was imperative to build a "strong power center in the community and a community of support" around her for the park to demonstrate its importance to those in the ranks of the National Park Service who continued to question the park's legitimacy in the system.⁸

The Visitor Center was ready for the public by Convention Days. Despite an afternoon downpour on the official opening day, an estimated 5,000 people crowded onto Fall Street for the dedication ceremony to hear the keynote speaker, actor Alan Alda, whose generosity had helped the Stanton Foundation meet its fundraising goal. Lucille Povero, founding president of the Foundation, introduced Alda. Following his speech, president Corinne Guntzel presented Hart

³ "Village Honors Ralph Peters," [Syracuse] *Herald Journal*, April 22, 1982; Guntzel interview, October 16, 1985.

⁴ Judy Hart, comments on draft manuscript, January 30, 2011.

⁵ Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation to United States of America, Warranty Deed, 32 Washington St., Seneca Falls, Seneca County Liber 394, p. 607, June 29, 1982.

⁶ John Barney and Rhoda Barney Jenkins to United States of America, Warranty Deed, 28 Washington Street, Seneca Falls, Seneca County Liber 396, p. 449, December 29, 1982.

⁷ Superintendent's Annual Report, January 1, 1982 – January 1, 1983. The park still leases this building.

⁸ Judy Hart interview with Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth D. Smith, October 30, 2008, 7.

with a key to the Stanton House and a symbolic deed of transfer. Thirty-one people took part the ribbon-cutting ceremony, many of them community leaders and representatives of those local organizations and groups that had been involved in activating the park.⁹



Figure 12. Visitor Center, 116 Fall St., Seneca Falls, early 1980s. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

⁹ The planned events of Convention Days 1985 are amply covered in a souvenir section of *The Reveille*, July 14, 1982. See also, "Women's Rights Park Opens Upstate," *New York Times*, July 19, 1982, B2.



Figure 13. Ribbon-cutting ceremony, Women's Rights NHP Grand Opening, July 17, 1982. L-R: Herbert Cables, Regional Director, NAR, Judy Hart, Alan Alda. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

The July 1982 dedication marked two milestones, opening the Visitor Center and acquisition of the park's first historic site. It also showcased the early involvement of academic historians in developing the initial interpretive program, overseen by Judith Wellman, who not only served as the first park historian but also continued to provide research and interpretive services throughout Hart's tenure as superintendent. Of necessity, interpretation took place at the Visitor Center because the Stanton House was closed for restoration until 1985. Based on the legislative mandate, as it was understood at the time, the purpose of the park was to "tell the story of the women's rights movement in the United States, with special focus on the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention in both its local and its national context." Two main themes were defined to carry out this purpose: (1) the 1848 Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls and (2) the women's rights movement, which Hart insisted not go beyond ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 in order to steer clear of political backlash. Supporting themes included (a) ideas related to the movement, (b) individuals active in the movement, (c) community context, (d) national context, and (e) evidence and its interpretation.¹⁰ Wellman, Nancy Hewitt, and the four seasonal rangers produced several interpretive materials the first year. From June 1 to July 16, the day before the grand opening, the group met daily to discuss assigned readings on Seneca

¹⁰ Judith Wellman, Park Historian, "Summary Statement on Interpretive Program, Women's Rights NHP, Summer 1982," October 1982, 1-2.

Falls, the early women's rights movement, and interpretive techniques. Sometimes these meetings were structured around lectures by college professors, who volunteered their time. During this period the interpretive staff also developed an exhibit for the Visitor Center explaining the purpose and nature of the park and providing basic historical information about the 1848 convention: what happened, what caused it, and why it was important. The group also developed a slide show on the Stanton House restoration project and four tours: a Village walking tour that included interpreting the Wesleyan Chapel, still encased in the Seneca Falls Laundromat; a Stanton House tour; a mill and neighborhood boat tour, which interpreted the canal, manufacturing area, and Stanton's neighborhood; and a bike tour of the main park-related sites in Seneca Falls and Waterloo. To help build interest in the community, Wellman and Hewitt gave brief talks in local schools and held a brown-bag lunch series for the general public. After the Visitor Center officially opened in mid-July, park staff, assisted by about twenty volunteers, greeted visitors and gave guided tours of Seneca Falls Village.¹¹

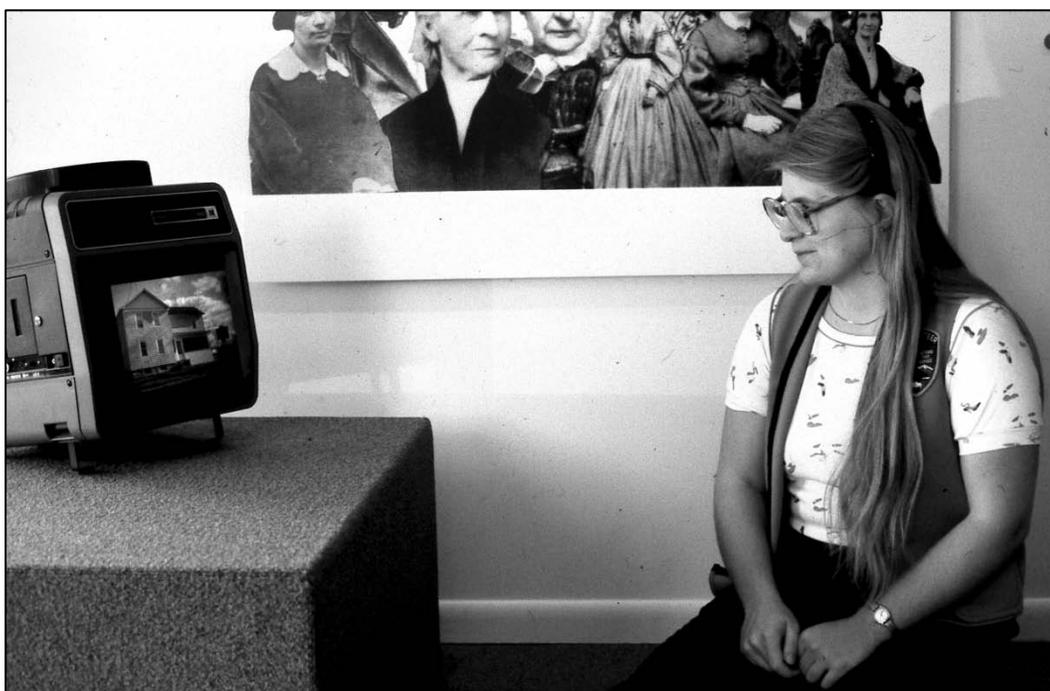


Figure 14. Volunteer Carrie Lavarney seated in front of Stanton House slide show, Visitor Center, c. 1982. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2-4. See also "Neighborhood and Mill Tour (suggested outline)," prepared by Nancy Hewitt, Summer 1982 and "Village and Church Tour: Sample One," prepared by Judith Wellman, Summer 1982, McCann Papers.



Figure 15. Nancy Hewitt leading interpretive boat tour, 1982. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

A number of leading scholars in women's history and community history were present for the Second Seneca Falls Women's History Conference, co-sponsored by the park and the Seneca Falls Consortium. Under the theme of "Women and Community," the conference featured sessions on linking scholarship with the public, historical perspectives on women and community, the interpretation of historic sites, various topics of women's history, and sources of research data for women's history. Invited participants included Gerda Lerner, Elizabeth Fox Genovese, Ellen DuBois, Sara Evans, William Chafe, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Thomas Dublin. The conference also featured the premier performance of *Seneca Falls 1848*, a dramatization of the 1848 convention. Written by Elizabeth Shultis, the dramatic performance was an independent interpretive program funded in part by a grant from the New York Council for the Humanities with additional support from the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation. Wellman and Patricia G. Holland, editor of the Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, served as historical consultants to Shultis.¹² Another non-park interpretive program was a walking-tour brochure,

¹² Program, Second Seneca Falls Women's History Conference: Women and Community, July 15-17, 1982. The consortium comprised the Women's Studies Program of Eisenhower College, the National Women's Hall of Fame, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton

“Women’s Rights Tour of Seneca Falls and Waterloo,” produced by the Young People’s Committee for Seneca Falls with a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.¹³

Despite difficult working conditions for the first half of the season, park staff developed a small library of interpretive resources, wrote and presented four interpretive tours, and wrote and produced exhibits for the walls of the storefront Visitor Center. Hart also recalls that Wellman, Hewitt, and the rangers “chafed all summer” to interpret the history of the women’s rights movement beyond the 1920 suffrage amendment. In particular, they wanted to interpret the 1977 National Women’s Conference in Houston, which opened when the torch from Seneca Falls entered the convention center. The 1977 conference had stirred strong sentiment for Seneca Falls as a place of origins, and that passion fueled much of the park’s outside support. However, Hart was quick to draw a line between the free expression of outside supporters and the role of park staff in carrying out the interpretive intent of the enabling legislation as she understood it. Thus, she “insisted no because of the fight in Washington over the legislation, and the emphasis ending up in the legislation that the park should interpret the history of women’s rights.”¹⁴

During the post-season, Wellman organized a core library of books on women’s rights and Seneca Falls as well as twenty-one notebooks containing all the research and interpretive material accumulated during the summer. She also developed “some thoughts” on the Stanton House, including information about several items of interior furnishings documented as or believed to be associated with the house and in the hands of local organizations or individuals. Wellman’s thoughts revealed a preference for reconstructing a missing wing of the house, believed to have been the kitchen wing based on preliminary architectural and archaeological evidence. Her reasoning centered not on architectural details, however, but on how the Stanton House functioned. She believed that reconstructing the kitchen wing would facilitate the interpretation of what had once been functional space. Wellman saw the house as a place that Stanton had used “to integrate her public and private selves.” Thus, the house had many meanings. Stanton had made several physical alterations to the house for the purpose of opening it up and bringing fresh air inside, a reflection of her beliefs about health and wellbeing. The house also was a busy social center, which spilled over into Stanton’s reform work; hospitality was always mixed with social

Foundation, the Seneca Falls Historical Society, the Upstate New York Women’s History Conference, and the New York State Studies Group.

¹³ Lynn Curtis and Hanns Kuttner, “Women’s Rights Tour of Seneca Falls and Waterloo” (Young People’s Committee for Seneca Falls, [1982?]).

¹⁴ Judy Hart, “A Brief Summary of the Creation of Women’s Rights National Historical Park,” written statement sent to Rebecca Conard, September 23, 2008.

activism. And it was a center of domestic management, especially a place where Stanton tried to instill the ideals of equality and egalitarianism in her children.¹⁵

Wellman drafted a separate set of “interpretive concepts” to provide a framework for the overall interpretive program until the park could develop a plan. It is worth examining her concepts because they as well as her “thoughts” on the Stanton House were prepared not just for the interpretive staff but also for Judy Hart’s use. It is difficult to know whether Wellman was setting down “thoughts” and “concepts” that were solely her own or giving form to ideas that emerged from the intensely focused group work of the interpretive staff under Hart’s direction. In either case, Wellman saw the park as being “at the forefront of efforts to integrate women’s history and community/social history.” She also saw the park as reflecting a common trend in social history and historic preservation to “emphasize not individual people or individual buildings but the interlocking web of relationships—physical, institutional, emotional—that created and reflected the complex ecology of life in the past.”¹⁶

Wellman’s thoughts did not address how park sites other than the Stanton House could be used to interpret an intangible web of relationships. Nonetheless, both documents speak to the role played by women’s historians who advised Hart in shaping her thinking about the interpretation of cultural resources. Like many park managers, Hart did not have the subject-area expertise to make informed decisions about interpretation. Wellman’s ideas about the relationship between public and private life at the Stanton House, for instance, very much presaged the position Hart would take in debates about reconstructing the kitchen wing.

Another major accomplishment in 1982 was a draft Statement for Management (SFM). Under the General Authorities Act of 1976 and in accordance with management policies then in effect, day-to-day park operations were to be guided by a statement for management until a general management plan (GMP) was completed and approved.¹⁷ The National Park Service had no prescribed schedule for transitioning from an SFM to a GMP. However, in the case of Women’s Rights NHP, the enabling legislation stipulated that the Secretary of the Interior was to submit a GMP “within three complete fiscal years” to the House and Senate committees overseeing NPS affairs.¹⁸ Because Congress passed the

¹⁵ Wellman, “Summary Statement of Interpretive Program,” 4; Judith Wellman, Park Historian, “Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s House: Some Thoughts,” September 1982, esp. 10, 13-15.

¹⁶ Judith Wellman, “Women’s Rights National Historical Park, Interpretive Concepts: Draft,” September 1982, esp. 6-8.

¹⁷ See *NPS Management Policies*, 1978, II-2.

¹⁸ This provision is found in Title V of P.L. 96-607. The two committees were (and are) the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

enabling legislation during the 1981 fiscal year, the clock started running with the 1982 fiscal year, which gave the NPS a deadline of September 30, 1984, the end of FY 1984. This provision imposed a tight schedule because the NPS budget-planning process required one complete fiscal year in advance of the congressional appropriations process; thus, the earliest that funding could be programmed for general management planning was FY 1983. Funding might have been reprogrammed to begin the process sooner; however, Russell Dickenson's promise to provide funds for preserving the Stanton House placed the Regional Office in the position of reprogramming funds to establish an NPS presence in Seneca Falls-Waterloo as quickly as possible. As a result, park planning became entangled with park development.

NPS management policies did not, at the time, provide guidelines for developing a statement of management, but Suzanne Stutzman, landscape architect with the Denver Service Center (DSC) Northeast Team, assisted Hart in preparing a draft document. The draft was never approved, however, in large part because use of the term "preserve" triggered an internal debate over preservation philosophy. With respect to cultural resources, the SFM called for "preserv[ing] the shell of the Wesleyan Chapel . . . to its 1848 appearance in so far as possible" and "preserv[ing] the Stanton House, interior and exterior, to its 1848 appearance." The latter would require reconstruction of missing wings, an approach that Judith Wellman supported, but professional staff in the Regional Office would soon challenge this concept as restoration of the Stanton House proceeded. The draft document also called for preserving "the entire context of the historic Village of Seneca Falls" and the Bloomer, Hunt, and M'Clintock houses "to the degree possible on the exterior."¹⁹ Management objectives for interpretation did not raise similar questions. Hart's understanding of the park act was very much shaped by her experience in crafting the legislation and, in particular, by her sense that support for the park was fragile—locally, politically, and in certain quarters of the NPS. She therefore approached the interpretive mandate cautiously. Management objectives set forth in the SFM called for limiting interpretation to the nineteenth century, grounded in "specific facts and also the larger context of social history." The "four major issues" to be interpreted were the 1848 Women's Rights Convention and the Wesleyan Chapel, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her home, the Declaration of Sentiments, and the subsequent women's rights movement in the nineteenth century.²⁰

By the end of the FY 1982, Hart had spent a total of \$90,000, which was \$30,000 more than the Regional Office had reprogrammed for the park. At the direction of Dickenson, in order to meet his promise to Ralph Peters, the Regional

¹⁹ *Draft Statement for Management, Women's Rights National Historical Park* [1982], 6-7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

Office also committed \$200,000 in project funding to begin restoring the Stanton House. This included \$35,000 for a historic structure report and \$165,000 in construction funds. This, too, represented a departure from NPS cultural resource management procedures, which called for completing an HSR before deciding on a treatment plan.²¹ For FY 1983, the first year the park operated with programmed funds, the approved base operating budget was \$81,800.²² Project funds to begin work on the GMP were not forthcoming.

CONVENING THE PARK ADVISORY COMMISSION

Members of the Women's Rights NHP Advisory Commission were appointed in 1982, and the commission held its first meeting in late October. As legislated, the eleven members of the commission were to include a mix of local, state, and national representatives: one representative each from the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation and the National Women's Hall of Fame, one representative each from the Village of Seneca Falls and the Town of Seneca Falls, two appointees of the Governor of New York, and five appointees of the Secretary of the Interior. Secretary Watt appointed Dorothy Duke as commission chair. It is not clear how Watt came to select her as chair, but she was known in Republican circles for her involvement in housing issues.²³ Also appointed were Charlotte Conable, coordinator of Public Policy Projects at the Women's Studies Program and Policy Center, George Washington University, and wife of Congressman Barber Conable (R, NY); Dr. Carrie George, coordinator of Research for Student Services at Georgia State University; Neal Peden, director of Administrative Services for the Republican National Committee; and Donna Carlson West, member of the Arizona House of Representatives, 1974-1982, and Republican candidate (unsuccessful) for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1982. New York

²¹ Of the \$165,000 in construction funds, \$65,000 was earmarked for fire and intrusion alarm systems and a fire suppression system. Additional project funding to complete the project came in subsequent years.

²² Superintendent's Annual Report, January 1, 1982 - January 1, 1983. Allocations for base operating funds, or Operations of the National Park Service (ONPS), are established through the fiscal cycle of budget planning and congressional appropriations, a process that takes two complete fiscal years. Any park's ONPS budget covers staff salaries and other routine park operations. Project funds enable parks to accomplish specific planning and development projects.

²³ Duke, married to Norman Duke, a senior executive with B.F. Goodrich Chemical Company in Cleveland, Ohio, had been active for twenty years organizing housing programs for low-income families and the elderly by using federal housing subsidies. Presidents Nixon and Ford, as well as HUD Secretary Mitt Romney, Sr., had appointed her to a number of national boards and advisory groups, and she was well known in Washington, D.C. as a housing consultant. She also was a member of the National Organization for Women.

Governor Hugh Carey appointed Eileen Wilmot and Nancy Dubner. Judy Jenvold represented the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, Marilyn Bero the National Women's Hall of Fame, Harold Bartran the Town of Seneca Falls, and August Sinicropi the Village of Seneca Falls.²⁴

Legislation stipulated that the advisory commission would terminate on December 28, 1990. Because the commission did not convene until in late 1982, it lost two of its allotted ten years at the beginning. More important was the dynamic that developed at the initial meeting. According to Hart, Dorothy Duke informed her, when they first met, that she intended to "prevent the Park from being developed."²⁵ It is not clear that Duke meant this threat literally, but a transcript of the commission meeting reveals that she did intend to inject a populist celebration of women's contributions to American history into park interpretation. The minutes also suggest that she cultivated a frosty relationship with NPS staff in general. In response to welcoming remarks by Regional Director Cables, in which he characterized the commission's purpose as helping to "move the Park forward, involve other groups, and develop a broader recognition of what it (the Park) stands for," Duke offered a brief response: "We understand there are budget constraints. Our job is to see where we can go from here." Later in the meeting, she chastised NPS staff for not including suggested resolutions in the meeting packets.²⁶ One reason resolutions were not prepared in advance is that the commission had no specific charge, and did not develop a charter until 1985. Moreover, the meeting proceeded without a set agenda. Only late in the second day did discussion turn to the need for specific plans. Exchanges between various commissioners and Hart, as well as with preservation specialist John Darcy, who was supervising work on the Stanton House, reveal considerable distance between the types of support NPS staff sought and the projects that commission members, especially Duke, wanted to pursue. Hart listed several ways the park needed assistance, including additional support for the local preservation district, interpretive exhibits, highway signs, maintenance support, and fundraising to acquire the Wesleyan Chapel as well as the property adjacent to the Stanton House and additional land for parking. The commission went on record as supporting

²⁴ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Advisory Commission Meeting, October 27-28, 1982, McCann Papers. See Appendix D, "Members, Women's Rights National Historical Park Advisory Commission, 1982-1990." The commission never operated with a full complement of eleven members. West was not appointed until after the October 1982 meeting and was never very active. Wilmot and Bartran never attended any meetings, and Neal Peden attended only two meetings before resigning. ECSF representative Judy Jenvold resigned in late 1983 and was replaced by Suzanne Cusick. Lucille Povero sat in for Bartran for a time, but in August 1985 the Town of Seneca Falls recommended John Becker as his replacement.

²⁵ Hart interview, October 2, 2008, 11.

²⁶ Minutes, Park Advisory Commission, October 27-28, 1982, 1-2, 4.

these needs but focused most of its attention on Duke's proposal to use the park as "a repository for one-page biographies on women who have contributed to the growth of America" and further suggested that the project be designed by presidents of national women's organizations in consultation with representatives of the Reagan administration. Duke's rationale was completely transparent: "We need some kind of action to expand your constituency . . . to reach more than those involved in the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment]." Hart, Darcy, and one or two members of the commission saw this as an attempt to redirect NPS time and energy from preserving specific historic sites and perhaps compromising its responsibility for interpretation. Others supported Duke's proposal enthusiastically. While all commission members and NPS staff agreed on the need to build a national constituency, the strategies for doing so were in contest.²⁷ Duke adjourned the meeting without scheduling the next because "until there was travel in the budget there may be no need to meet every quarter."²⁸ Commission members served without compensation except travel expenses, and no explicit provision had been made for funding those, so the park assumed responsibility for \$1,000-\$2,000 in commission expenses per year. In relation to the park's small operating budget during the first few years, this was not an insignificant investment of funds.



Figure 16. Women's Rights NHP Advisory Commission, c. 1983. L-R: Judy Hart, Judy Jenvold, August Sinicropi, Marilyn Bero, Suzanne Stutzman (NPS Denver Service Center), Dorothy Duke, Charles Clapper (Associate Regional Director, NAR), Charlotte Conable, Carrie George, Donna Carlson West. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

²⁷ That the Advisory Commission role was purely advisory would not be clarified until 1985.

²⁸ Minutes, Park Advisory Commission, 8-9.

STANTON HOUSE RESTORATION

Ironically, Secretary Watt's 1981 directive to halt spending on property acquisition and redirect NPS funds toward maintaining the existing system created an opportunity to fast track restoration of the Stanton House. Operating funds were extremely hard to obtain during the first few years, but more money was available system-wide for rehab/restoration projects. With transfer of title complete in 1982, the park now had a historic resource that needed immediate preservation treatment. Management policies then in effect stated that, "research shall precede planning and development affecting the cultural resources of any unit of the System."²⁹ In this particular case, however, the house was a designated National Historic Landmark, and the NPS director's word superseded stated policy. Thus, with funds in hand and the NPS director's promise to Ralph Peters, restoration of the Stanton House proceeded in tandem with research for the historic structure report (HSR) and with development of the GMP. Although this ran counter to standard NPS practice, the process of conducting building research while the house was being dismantled for restoration proved to be an advantage because the house had been altered many times. Research and preservation began in June 1982, and restoration was completed in March 1985 at a total cost of approximately \$300,000.³⁰

Based on limited research, the 1979 *Study of Alternatives* had concluded that, despite several alterations, the house retained sufficient historic fabric to be restored. In 1980, while the property was still under Peters's ownership, Corinne Guntzel and Paul Grebinger, from Eisenhower College, respectively conducted research on the domestic economy of the Stanton House and a related archaeological survey.³¹ Still, much basic research remained to be done. In June 1982, the Historic American Buildings Survey prepared architectural drawings to document the house's existing condition. This project was funded through the regional office at a cost of \$5,000.³²

²⁹ *NPS Management Policies*, 1978, V-6.

³⁰ The total amount is reported as \$307,000 in the 1984 Annual Report, but there is no itemization of expenditures. The Superintendent's Annual Report for January 1, 1982 – January 1, 1983 states that, in addition to the \$35,000 for the HSR and \$165,000 in restoration funds, \$25,000 "apparently" had been promised for FY 1984 to complete restoration of the Stanton House as it existed and another \$80,000 would be requested to reconstruct the missing kitchen wing. The kitchen wing was not re-created; however, the Park did receive additional project funds in FY 1984 to finish the house.

³¹ Grebinger also conducted an archaeological investigation of cellar features in 1983, which confirmed speculations based on earlier work but added no new information.

³² Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables] to Associate Director, Archaeology and Historic Preservation [Ross Holland?], memorandum re: Historic American Buildings Survey, May 5, 1982, NPS-HIST.

The North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center (NAHPC) conducted architectural investigations under the direction of historical architect E. Blaine Cliver.³³ Architectural investigations began in July 1982 to determine the feasibility of restoring the exterior and interior to the period of the Stantons' occupancy, 1847-1862. This study, conducted by Barbara (Pearson) Yocum, working under Cliver's direction, concluded that although the house had been extensively remodeled in 1902-03, sufficient physical evidence and historical documentation existed to support restoring the house core and the south wing to its c. 1848 appearance in keeping with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*. Problematic were a missing north wing, removed c. 1864, a presumed missing porch on the east side of the house core, and a missing east wing, believed to have been used as a kitchen and replaced with a smaller wing in 1902-03. Yocum's 1982 report concluded that there was insufficient evidence, at that time, to re-create the north wing or east porch, but left open the possibility that archaeological investigations would supplement a c. 1900 photograph of the house providing clear evidence of the south façade of the kitchen wing to allow sufficient data to permit its reconstruction. Based on these findings and recommendations, Section 106 clearance was completed in February 1983, and work began in August.³⁴

³³ The NAHPC was established in the mid 1970s when Blaine Cliver joined the National Park Service. It was one of two such centers set up at about the same time the NPS reorganized the system into ten regions. In the staff organization of each region, a Division of Cultural Resources included a regional historian, regional architect, and regional archeologist to handle compliance with federal laws and regulations governing cultural resources management. However, in the two regions where historical parks and historic sites were concentrated, the Southwest and North Atlantic, the NPS established preservation centers, in Santa Fe and Boston respectively, to help address technological issues. The Santa Fe center specialized in preservation of historic archaeological materials, and the NAHPC in Boston specialized in architectural conservation. Under Cliver's direction, the NAHPC built up a staff of preservation specialists ("exhibition specialists" in NPS classification terminology) and, in any given year, might have 20-30 projects underway, both within and outside the region. To a certain degree, the center was in competition with the Denver Service Center, which had a large staff of cultural resource specialists and provided many of the same services system-wide. In order to reduce friction, NAHPC and DSC had an understanding that NAHPC would handle projects under \$250,000 and DSC would take projects over that amount. See Blaine Cliver interview with Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth D. Smith, September 26, 2008, 10-13.

³⁴ Barbara A. Pearson, *The Stanton House: Preliminary Historic Structure Report* (Boston: North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center, October 1982), 19-20, NER-HAP. For a more detailed account of the process, see Barbara A. (Pearson) Yocum, *The Stanton House Historic Structure Report: Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York* (NPS Northeast Region: Building Conservation Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center), written 1989, published 1998, esp. xii, 3-4, 16-23, 53, 196. Regarding Section 106 clearance, see Regional Director Herbert Cables to Orin Lehman, New York State Historic Preservation Office, letter, November 29, 1982, with addendum, January 4, 1983; Herbert Cables to Don Klima, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, letter,

Preservation specialist John Darcy, and later, Stephen S. Spaulding supervised restoration construction. In more than one way, restoration of the Stanton House interior set the bar for architectural documentation in the Northeast Region during the 1980s and early 1990s: careful removal of non-historic fabric; meticulous architectural investigations; strict adherence to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards; vigorous oversight by cultural resource professionals from history, architecture, and archeology; and preservation specialists working side-by-side with construction crews. Architectural information critical to the restoration process sometimes emerged only when alterations were removed. Thus, had the HSR been prepared in advance of planning and development, considerable additional research would have been required during the construction phase. Spaulding, who joined the NPS as a carpenter-helper working on the Stanton House, recalls that,

The way that we came to understand the building configuration details, interior finishes, and layout of the interior, was through a careful analysis of the overall structure. That [included] the removal of obviously non-historic fabric and investigating, analyzing [everything] to make sure that it was not reused material; paint analysis and wallpaper analysis that was found, both of its period and construction type and fabrication type; nails, architectural details and evidence that existed within the remaining historic fabric, which helped us to understand a lot of different things about the building—both pre-Stanton, during her time, and post-Stanton. A historic architectural conservator/historian was chief of the group at the time, with the preservation specialist and the crew that were actually on site. For over a year and a half after the archival research had been completed, a detailed understanding of the building was developed. From that standpoint, that was a very unique approach that was not employed very often in the preservation profession, which in a lot of ways also set the standard, at least for the old North Atlantic Region, as to how a building would be investigated and documented in order to understand its evolution.³⁵

January 13, 1983; Don Klima to Herbert Cables, letter, February 2, 1983; and Associate Regional Director Charles Clapper to Superintendent Judy Hart, memorandum, February 8, 1983. See also Barbara A. Pearson, "Photomicrography and the Stanton House Restoration," *APT Bulletin* XVI, nos. 3-4 (1984): 27-30.

³⁵ Stephen Spaulding, interview with Rebecca Conard, March 23, 2010, 2-3. Spaulding rose through the ranks and succeeded historical architect Blaine Cliver when he retired as Chief of the North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center in 1990. Spaulding's current title is Chief of Architectural Preservation, Engineering, and Maintenance for the Northeast Region.



Figure 17. Stanton House, c. 1900. *Courtesy Seneca Falls Historical Society.*

While research for the HSR was taking place, Hart began working on the draft SFM. The initial draft, circulated during the latter part of 1982, touched off an internal discussion about whether the park’s cultural resources would be “preserved” or “restored.” This discussion focused not only on the Stanton House, but also on the Wesleyan Chapel, which presented even more challenging preservation issues.³⁶ The basic disagreement stemmed from confusing language in the draft, which called for preserving the park’s cultural resources. Under NPS management policies, to “preserve” a resource meant sustaining “the existing form, integrity, and material of an object or structure.” In reality, the historic core of the Stanton House was undergoing restoration, and the NAHPC staff had opened up the possibility that there might be enough evidence to support partial reconstruction to create a structure that looked as much as possible like the house the Stantons had occupied.

In late 1984, more than a year after restoration of the Stanton House began, the Regional Office took a firm position that “restoration/reconstruction” of the

³⁶ Chief, Cultural Resources, NAR [Francis McManamon] to Chief, Planning and Design, NAR [Terry Savage], memorandum, November 1, 1982, McCann Papers; Suzanne M. Stutzman, Landscape Architect, DSC-TNE, to Judy Hart, Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP, memorandum re: Statement for Management, August 30, 1983, McCann Papers; “Interim Statement for Management, Women’s Rights National Historical Park,” October 20, 1983, Women’s Rights NHP files; Acting Chief, Cultural Resources, NAR [Dwight T. Pitcaithley], to Chief, Planning and Design, NAR [Terry Savage], memorandum re: Interim Statement for Management, Women’s Rights NHP, February 16, 1984, NAR Cultural Resources Management Division files.

park's cultural resources was an "unrealistic" approach because it was "out of step with the Service's current attitude which stresses the preservation of cultural resources whenever and wherever possible."³⁷ The Cultural Resources Division in particular was troubled that Hart was pursuing "restoration of buildings and landscapes and the reconstruction of missing structures . . . not in keeping with either the legislation or current policies and philosophies of the National Park Service."³⁸

In this instance, strict adherence to NPS policies ruled. Professional staff in the Regional Office held different philosophies, and both represented legitimate points of view that had been debated among preservationists since the 1930s. Based on the results of restoration efforts at Colonial Williamsburg and elsewhere, one side argued that reconstruction tended to freeze a place in time, thereby deemphasizing the processes of change. Reconstruction also tempted preservationists to "improve" the appearance of historic structures. In the case of ruins, reconstruction inevitably destroyed archeological evidence. Those who saw positive benefits in reconstruction argued for their educative potential. Reconstructed structures were more interesting to visitors and therefore had greater interpretive value. Until the 1970s, NPS policies allowed for reconstruction under certain circumstances. In 1978, management policies became much more restrictive, allowing reconstruction only when it was "essential for public understanding and appreciation of the historical associations for which the park was established."³⁹ There was no evidence that reconstruction was essential for interpreting the Stanton House. The NAHPC staff, utilizing state-of-the-art investigative techniques, was massing evidence that would raise the level of discussion, and that discussion would continue it well beyond completion of the Stanton House restoration project in May 1985.

Continuing research turned up more information about the house. In 1983, archaeologists Linda Towle and Dick Ping Hsu of NAR supervised investigations of the north and east wing areas as well as an area on the east side of the core structure where interior French doors suggested a porch had once been

³⁷ Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NAR [Charles P. Clapper] to Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Judy Hart], memorandum, November 26, 1984.

³⁸ Chief, Cultural Resources, NAR [Francis P. McManamon] to Management and Operations, NAR [Len Bobinchock], memorandum re: Review of Resource Management Plan for Women's Rights NHP, November 23, 1984. See also Acting Chief, Cultural Resources, NAR [Dwight T. Pitcaithley] to Chief, Planning and Design, NAR [Terry Savage], memorandum re: Review of Interim Statement for Management, Women's Rights NHP, February 16, 1984.

³⁹ Barry Mackintosh, "To Reconstruct or Not to Reconstruct: An Overview of NPS Policy and Practice," *Cultural Resources Management* Vol. 13, No. 1 (1990) n.p. [Text only .pdf without page numbers available at <http://crm.cr.nps.gov/archive/13-1/13-1-all.pdf>]. Pertinent sections of the 1978 management policies appear in Appendix G.

located. In the latter area, Towle and Hsu found evidence of a cellar entrance but no evidence of a porch, creating further mystery about the French doors that now seemingly led to nowhere. Research conducted between 1980 and late 1982 had led to speculation that the Hawker House, situated on the adjacent lot to the north, might once have been the north wing. Because the Park Service had not yet acquired the Hawker property, Towle and Hsu conducted limited testing to determine the precise dimensions of the wing. After the Hawker House was purchased, which took place in 1986 after the restoration project was finished,⁴⁰ further architectural investigations ruled out any possibility that it could once have been attached to the Stanton House. While this was a disappointing discovery, it simplified the range of appropriate preservation options. Eventually, the NAHPC team recommended “a simple treatment . . . such as highlighting the north wall of the main house” where the wing had intersected or “outlin[ing] the basic shape of the wing based on its known dimensions” with an open framework, similar to the preservation treatment of the Benjamin Franklin house site at Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia.⁴¹

Investigation of the east (kitchen) wing area yielded more historic material remains—two foundation walls, an area paved with bricks, and another area paved with fieldstone slabs—but here NAHPC archaeologists and architects interpreted the evidence differently. The difference hinged on the c. 1900 photograph of the house that showed the west front and south side, including the entire south elevation of the kitchen wing. Using the reverse-perspective technique for analyzing photographic evidence, the architectural team determined that the kitchen wing would have been approximately twenty-eight feet long, which placed the east wall of the wing between the two foundation walls, creating an additional puzzle. Thus, the NAHPC left options for preservation treatment open. One was to employ the same treatment as the north wing. The other was to reconstruct the kitchen wing, “if differing professional opinions as to the dimensions of the wing

⁴⁰ Hawker House, 34 Washington Street, Warranty Deed, Seneca County Liber 420, p. 93, September 29, 2986.

⁴¹ Yocum, *Stanton House HSR*, 53-56, 69-70, 116-117, 196; see also Barbara Pearson, *Architectural Survey: Women’s Rights National Historical Park* (Boston: North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center, March 1984), 29-35, NER-HAP; Dick Ping Hsu and Linda Towle, *Report on the Archeology of the Stanton House* (Boston: NAR Division of Cultural Resources, November 1983), 7-8, 21-25, NER-HAP; Chief, Historic Preservation, NAR [Blaine Cliver] to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NAR [Charles Clapper], Trip Report, Women’s Rights, April 6, 1987, NER-HAP.

[could] be reconciled,” and adapt the interior space for administrative use, e.g., offices, restrooms, exhibits.⁴² Hart favored the second option, as did the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, but she was overruled by the Regional Office, which, during this period, had the responsibility for applying the *Secretary of Interior’s Standards* and for Section 106 review. A minimal treatment was adopted to finish the project in 1985—“ghosting” or using a contrasting paint color on the exterior walls of the restored house core to denote where the missing north and east wings would have extended.

Restoration of the interior was as complicated as the exterior because Stanton herself had repeatedly remodeled the house between 1847 and 1862. With no images of the interior earlier than 1890 and only sketchy references to interior details in written documents, the architectural team relied heavily on physical evidence contained in the house itself. As the restoration team removed modern alterations, scrutinized architectural elements, and stripped away layers of paint and wallpaper, puzzle pieces of interior design gradually were fitted together. The discovery of a stairway prominently located in the center of the house, for instance, explained pieces of a balustrade cached in the basement. An original window located in the second-story bathroom provided a model for the rest of the house. Likewise, pieces of a decorative front doorway provided the pattern for creating matching pieces. Impressions of window locks visible in window frames provided clues for fabricating custom-made replacements. A considerable volume of discarded building material was discovered in wall cavities. Over the years, nearly two hundred items had been reused in various locations throughout the house.⁴³

⁴² Yocum, *Stanton House HSR*, 54-55, 97; Hsu and Towle, *Report on the Archeology of the Stanton House*, 8-11, 21-25.

⁴³ Yocum, *Stanton House HSR*, 47-42. See also Martin Toombs, “House Reveals Stanton Myth,” [Auburn, NY] *Citizen*, October 28, 1982; Martin Toombs, “Stanton House Puzzle Grows,” *Finger Lakes Times*, February 2, 1984.



Figure 18. Stanton House as restored. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

Restoration was completed in May 1985, and a grand opening celebration took place in June. The park, in keeping with NPS policies, adopted a strategy of using the Stanton House as an architectural platform for interpreting Stanton's roles as wife, mother, and reformer through ranger-led tours, although it was not quite the platform that Judith Wellman or the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation had envisioned. Barbara Yocum's exhaustive architectural investigations turned up paint and plaster samples, pieces of woodwork, pieces of wallpaper, and tacks with cotton fibers attached along the perimeters of some rooms. Using these remnants of physical evidence, the walls of the Stanton House were covered with accurately reproduced wallpapers, and the floors of indicated rooms covered with fiber floor cloths. But with only patchy evidence to suggest how individual rooms were furnished and used, there was no basis for re-creating the interior furnishings.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Yocum, *Stanton House HSR*, 198-222.



Figure 19. Pianoforte displayed in the Stanton House. Maker, T. Gilbert & Co., Boston. Except for this piece, which is from Stanton's period of residency, the Park displays items from her later life in the restored Stanton House. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

Site research continued after the house opened to the public. A separate analysis of the historic grounds conducted in 1985-1986 indicated that the south and east sides of the Stanton property had been bounded by a board fence, with a hedge lining the front (west) side. Both the fence and hedge were long gone by 1982, as were the wood shed, smoke house, and barn, the latter of which had contained a gymnasium and billiard table to occupy the Stanton boys' idle time. Although no outbuildings remained, some mature trees appeared to be old enough to have been alive when the Stantons lived there.⁴⁵ Thus, when the NAHPC prepared the final *Historic Structure Report* in 1989, it included documentary evidence concerning the grounds and recommended that a cultural landscape report be prepared for the property as soon as possible.

⁴⁵ William A. Patterson, III, Nancy Gordon, and Petrus Veneman, *An Analysis of the Historic Grounds of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Homestead* (University of Massachusetts, Cooperative Park Studies Unit, October 1986); Yocum, *Stanton House HSR*, 22-25, 190, NER-HAP.



Figure 20. Stanton House interior furnishings – display case containing a selection from Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s library. *Courtesy Women’s Rights NHP.*



Figure 21. Stanton House interior, second story – stairway entrance in center middle ground. *Courtesy Women’s Rights NHP.*

DEBATING INTERPRETATION: WOMEN'S RIGHTS AS AN "IDEA PARK"

At the Park Advisory Commission's inaugural meeting, Dorothy Duke had introduced the idea of collecting and displaying biographies of women of achievement. Her concept was not based in social history, the professional practice of historic preservation, or even the park's legislative mandate. When the commission met next in April 1983, the discussion continued, focusing on a proposal submitted by Aileen Clarke Hernandez, titled "A Precious Gift Deserves a Home."⁴⁶ The title echoed President Reagan's proclamation of the previous year designating the week of March 7, 1982, as Women's History Week; in the proclamation, he used the term "precious gifts" in reference to women's diverse contributions to America's development.⁴⁷ Hernandez proposed that Women's Rights NHP become a home for these "gifts" by creating "a living monument to the women of America and a stimulus to local efforts in behalf of documenting women's history . . . from [America's] earliest beginnings until the ratification of the Women's Suffrage Amendment in 1920." The actual resolution adopted by the commission was less specific about what this living monument would be, but it did commit the commission and the NPS to planning a national event, initially scheduled for spring 1984, that would be tied to fundraising for acquisition of the Wesleyan Chapel.⁴⁸

It is not clear whether Duke and Hernandez collaborated on the initial "precious gift" proposal, but in any case Duke asked Hernandez to develop it further. Hart pushed back. In a lengthy commentary, she asserted that the legislative mandate was to interpret "the history, especially in the 19th century, of equal rights for women, and the organized movement for equal rights for women" emphasizing that, "The movement [was] about all 300 who attended the 1848 convention, not just the great leaders who organized it."⁴⁹ Hart went on to state that some of the park's active supporters—defined as members of the community

⁴⁶ Aileen Clarke Hernandez, a civil rights activist, was the first woman appointed to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the second national president of the National Organization for Women.

⁴⁷ Ronald Reagan, Proclamation 4903: Women's History Week, 1982, February 26, 1982. Reagan, known for his ability to communicate effectively with the American public, often used the term "precious gift" in his speeches.

⁴⁸ "A Precious Gift Deserves a Home," draft for discussion purposes, April 10, 1983; Minutes, Park Advisory Commission Meeting, April 18-19, 1983; "Resolution concerning State of Mission, First Step," Park Advisory Commission Meeting, April 18-19, 1983; Dorothy Duke to James G. Watt, Secretary of the Interior, letter, August 22, 1983 [including "summary minutes" of the April 1983 meeting and related documents].

⁴⁹ Judy Hart, "The 'Precious Gift Proposal': Commentary by Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP," June 1, 1983, attached to Dorothy Duke's August 22, 1983 letter to James Watt.

who had “fought hard to create” the park and academicians who saw it “as a place to share their knowledge with the public”—were concerned that commission members might be “purposefully designing the project to downgrade the substance of the Park . . . because the history of gaining the right to vote is too controversial or too powerful, or possibly connected with current political concerns.” Pressing on, she questioned the choice of title, noting that the term “precious gift” might invite “ridicule . . . rather than creating esteem” because it was a “euphemism at times for virginity, and at other times . . . for pregnancy.” Hart also reminded the commission that the National Women’s Hall of Fame was specifically created “to commemorate individual women of extraordinary achievement” and, therefore, the proposal would compete with the Hall of Fame’s mission and jeopardize the park’s working relationships with the local community.⁵⁰

Although the “precious gift” proposal was far different from the interpretive program that Wellman and Hewitt began developing in 1982, the Regional Office attempted to work with the commission and Hernandez to shape their proposal into something that would help interpret the women’s rights movement. Hernandez revised the proposal and renamed it the Women’s History Project.⁵¹ Duke’s initial idea for one-page biographies was now anchored to the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments. Biographies were to be of individuals, both men and women, who had contributed to achieving the goals of the declaration through 1920, once again implicitly ending the campaign for women’s rights with ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. This effectively assured that the project would steer clear of then-current politics over women’s right’s issues or living women involved in them. The biographies were to be collected in “books of honor” for each state, the District of Columbia, U.S. territories, and American Indian nations. State historians or appropriate historical organizations would compile the books, and a national review panel of historians would check the contents for accuracy. Funding was to come from private donations, and the whole was to be completed by August 1985 as a concluding project of the International Decade of Women, which began in 1975. Discussion of the new plan

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Hernandez, who was from San Francisco, may have patterned this project after early efforts of the California-based National Women’s History Project (NWHHP). Certainly, she would have been aware of the NWHHP’s effort to establish an annual commemorative week. In 1980, President Jimmy Carter issued the first presidential proclamation declaring a Women’s History Week. The NWHHP then led the coalition that successfully lobbied Congress to designate, in 1987, the entire month of March as National Women’s History Month. Today, the NWHHP remains active as a clearinghouse for information aimed at educators and community organizations. Among other things, NWHHP sets the annual theme for Women’s History Month and coordinates observances nationwide. Hernandez was a 2006 Honoree of the NWHHP.

took place at the November 1983 meeting. The prospect of private funding raised concerns about possible meddling from a politically conservative donor, especially because Duke, who did not attend the November 1983 meeting, had indicated that fundraising would be a “snap.” However, concerns were somewhat allayed because William Patrick Clark had just been named to replace James Watt as Secretary of Interior. Additionally, Regional Director Cables made it clear that the NPS, not the advisory commission, would be responsible for fundraising.⁵²

Duke generated further controversy by sanctioning a \$408,000 Women’s History Project without presenting the final plan to the entire commission for approval. This caused a rift among commission members that spilled into the local press. An unnamed New York corporation reportedly was approached as sole sponsor, but no funds materialized.⁵³ Nonetheless, the proposed Women’s History Project had the effect of focusing attention on the complexity of the park’s interpretive mission and the pitfalls that attended it. What, for instance, was the relationship between the local events of 1848 and ensuing episodes across the nation in the ongoing struggle for women’s rights? Where did the history of women’s rights begin and end? At what point did history bleed into current policy issues? Would linking the Declaration of Sentiments closely with the Suffrage Amendment obscure the many goals set forth in 1848, or, conversely, would it increase public awareness of how boldly nineteenth-century reformers were thinking? Would it be possible to separate politics from interpretation? Importantly, the discussion never focused on how the “book of honor” was related to the park’s historic resources although everyone seemed to assume that the books would be displayed in or in association with the Wesleyan Chapel. NPS Senior Urban Planner Theodore McCann, who attended the November 1983 meeting, juxtaposed the interpretive challenge in these terms:

The neat thing about this Park is that you’re talking about an idea and a movement at the same time . . . It’s also the most difficult thing in the world to interpret by the formal methods that the Park Service is used to interpreting by. You know, it’s simpler to do Yorktown than it is to do Ellis Island.

Judy Hart rejoined,

⁵² Women’s History Project, Women’s Rights NHP, discussion draft proposal, November 17, 1983 and Minutes, Park Advisory Commission Meeting, November 29, 1983, pp. 43-70, Papers of Suzanne Cusick, ECSF Collection; see also “Women’s History Project: Women’s Rights National Historical Park,” final proposal by Aileen C. Hernandez Associates, San Francisco, CA, December 1, 1983.

⁵³ Martin Toombs, “\$408,000 Project Would Make Public Aware of New Park,” *Finger Lakes Times*, May 10, 1984.

This issue . . . is one of the major issues in the Park, never mind this project. And there are two sides to it, at least. One is the perception of the public; does the public want this Park to be a lightning rod for current political issues And the other side is . . . to what extent can we [the National Park Service] become involved with political issues?"⁵⁴

In one sense, the controversial Women's History Project was a major digression. The commission had no formal charge, and there was a great deal of confusion among the members about its purpose. A public forum held in conjunction with the May 1984 meeting finally provided commissioners with important local context. Organized by Kathleen Johnson, then president of the Stanton Foundation, more than a dozen people who had contributed to the park's creation either spoke or sent letters describing their respective roles in the greater effort.⁵⁵ This, more than anything else, may have provided some focus for the commission. The following year, the Secretary of the Interior finally issued an official charter, which reiterated the vague purpose contained in the authorizing legislation, specified that its duties were "solely advisory," and directed the commission to report to the North Atlantic Regional Director rather than the Secretary. The 1985 charter also reaffirmed the termination date of December 28, 1990 and further directed the commission to file a renewal charter every two years.⁵⁶

In another sense, the controversial Women's History Project tended to expose and more sharply delineate issues of current public debate over women's rights and mirror ambivalence within the NPS about the appropriate scope of interpretation for telling the history of the women's rights movement. Overall, commission minutes do not reveal clear patterns of alignment among members. Much of the turmoil in the early years stemmed from Dorothy Duke's desire to organize women's groups nationwide for the purpose of building a broad base of support and to use the Declaration of Sentiments loosely as a platform for celebrating the contributions of women to American history. She did not support the acquisition or preservation of historic sites in Seneca Falls and Waterloo, although the park's core preservation mission was clearly articulated in the enabling legislation. Her opposition to historic preservation was so vehement that

⁵⁴ Minutes, Park Advisory Commission, November 29, 1983, pp. 63, 68.

⁵⁵ Minutes, Park Advisory Commission Meeting, May 9-10, 1984. See also J. Sheldon Fisher to Judy Hart, May 1, 1984; Ann M. Hermann [former director, Seneca Falls Historical Society] to Kathy Johnson, April 25, 1984; and Anne W. Ackerson [former director, Seneca Falls Historical Society] to Kathy Johnson, April 30, 1984.

⁵⁶ Charter: Women's Rights National Historical Park Advisory Commission, signed July 30, 1985 by Donald Paul Hodel, Secretary of the Interior and filed August 22, 1985. At that time, the commission had seven active members: Marilyn Bero, Charlotte Conable, Suzanne Cusick, Nancy Dubner, Carrie George, August Sinicropi, and Donna West.

she publically chastised the NPS for “rebuilding Seneca Falls.” To her, the Declaration of Sentiments was the most important thing that happened in Seneca Falls, not houses, and she strongly suggested that the NPS do something like Epcot Center instead of fixing buildings.⁵⁷

THE TWISTED PATH TO A GENERAL MANAGEMENT PLAN

The Stanton House project was well underway before the park could begin developing a general management plan. Work on a land protection plan took immediate precedence so that the Regional Office could comply with a May 1982 policy directive issued by the Department of Interior, which required each federal agency using or seeking funds from the federal portion of the Land and Water Conservation Fund to meet several funding criteria. The National Park Service, in response, determined that all park units with authorized responsibility for non-federal lands must prepare a land protection plan in order to provide the agency with information needed to consider all available techniques for protecting and preserving those non-federal lands that fell within any park’s authorized jurisdiction. In the North Atlantic Region this included Women’s Rights NHP, which was given until May 1, 1985, to complete its plan.⁵⁸ Hart started work in September 1983 and by November had a draft plan ready for internal and public review.⁵⁹ The park held a public information meeting in mid-November, and Hart contacted several landowners directly to set up personal meetings.⁶⁰ Her target was to complete the plan by early 1984, but the internal review and revision process stretched this out, and the land protection plan ultimately was incorporated into the GMP.

⁵⁷ [Judy Hart], handwritten transcript, Park Advisory Commission meeting, December 3-4, 1985. By this time, the Park had acquired and restored the Stanton House, purchased Wesleyan Chapel, purchased the M’Clintock House, and acquired the Village Hall by donation from the Village of Seneca Falls.

⁵⁸ Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], to Director, NPS [Russell Dickenson], memorandum re: Land Protection Policy, May 21, 1982; Land Protection Plan guidelines, *Federal Register* vol. 48, no. 92, pp. 21121-21130, May 11, 1983; Charlie Clapper [Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NAR] to Terry Savage [Chief, Planning and Design, NAR], internal memorandum, May 22, 1983.

⁵⁹ Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP [Hart] to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], memorandum re: Task Directive for Land Protection Plan, September 27, 1983; *Draft Land Protection Plan: Women’s Rights National Historical Park*, November 13, 1983.

⁶⁰ NPS News Release, Women’s Rights NHP, November 3, 1983; Judy Hart to various private landowners in Seneca Falls and Waterloo, letter requesting meeting to discuss the Land Protection Plan, November 3, 1983.

A CONGRESSIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR LAND ACQUISITION

In the meantime, the park achieved a major funding breakthrough that also began to drive park development. In November 1983 Rep. Frank Horton (R-NY 29th district) secured a \$500,000 add-on appropriation for land acquisition. The size of the appropriation, which exceeded the maximum authorized by Congress under P.L. 96-607, signaled that the park had influential supporters on Capitol Hill. This came about when New York's congressional districts were redrawn after the 1980 census, and Horton acquired Seneca County, replacing Gary Lee, who had been lukewarm about the park.⁶¹ As Horton became acquainted with the new territory in his district, he developed an interest in the park, which Hart cultivated. Undoubtedly, he also saw a determined local constituency that he was in a position to help. Hart notes that when Horton held open office hours in Seneca Falls, "half of the people in his office . . . were asking him to come up with the funds to buy the chapel." Members of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation led the lobbying effort. A good bit of the motivation came from Secretary Watt's position against creating new parks and acquiring new park properties. Should its lobbying fail, the Stanton Foundation was prepared to undertake another fundraising campaign to purchase the property, but Horton's quick success made this unnecessary.⁶² His success also added urgency to developing a GMP as quickly as possible because the appropriation required raising the \$490,000 limit for acquisition set by the 1980 park act.

Good publicity was a priority of Hart's in the early years. Before the \$500,000 congressional appropriation, which brought the press to her, she courted the local media. In 1983, for instance, she logged more than one hundred news and feature articles in the local press and about a dozen radio and television broadcasts featuring the park. Similar figures were reported for 1984.⁶³ She also kept key political officials personally informed about park needs and made sure

⁶¹ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 1983. Frank Horton (1919-2004) was elected to the House of Representatives in 1962 and reelected to 14 additional terms. Redistricting placed him in the 29th District beginning in 1983. He retired in 1992 when another redistricting placed him in the same district as his long-time friend, Rep. Louise Slaughter.

⁶² The Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation formed a Park Support Committee to direct lobbying efforts, which included meeting with Horton whenever possible and writing letters to Horton, New York senators D'Amato and Moynihan, and anyone in the NPS who was in a position to make decisions on matters relating to the park. The Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation Papers, Penfield Library, SUNY-Oswego, attest to the vigor of these efforts. See also Judy Hart interview, September 26, 2008. Coincidentally, the appropriation came at about the same time James Watt resigned as Secretary of the Interior. His departure was welcomed by Hart and many park supporters who perceived his policy of favoring system maintenance over expansion to be an impediment to park development.

⁶³ Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1983 (calendar year) and 1984 (calendar year).

they received public recognition when it was due. As a result, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, and Representative Horton developed an effective working relationship in Congress to advance park development. Hart was particularly attentive to Horton because funding bills originated in the House and because he was, as she recalls,

one of those quiet, receptive congressional members He wasn't in the headlines all the time, but he did good work and had good connections. He knew how to make things work. He was enormously helpful to the Park. He was out in front the whole time we were trying to get money.⁶⁴

Hart also was careful to shield the Park from negative publicity. For instance, shortly before Horton secured the \$500,000 appropriation, an anti-nuclear war demonstration took place at the Seneca Falls Army Depot. On October 22, 1983, approximately 5,000 people gathered in a nearby state park for a day-long rally with headliner speakers that included former congresswoman and ardent liberal Bella Abzug as well as Dr. Benjamin Spock. The demonstration caused considerable stir in Seneca Falls and alarm in the park when a contingent announced that it would stage a march to the Wesleyan Chapel. Because the chapel was not yet in National Park Service hands, Hart did not want the park or the NPS associated with the demonstration in any way. Corinne Guntzel came to her aid, spending hours in discussion with demonstrators to persuade them not to carry their activities into Seneca Falls.⁶⁵

Even though the park's base funding was low for the first few years, its future looked much different with a \$500,000 appropriation for land acquisition, and the pace of park development began to snowball. Purchase of the Wesleyan Chapel and adjacent properties had priority because this was the primary site for park interpretation. However, the M'Clintock House and adjacent church building in Waterloo, both owned by the Waterloo Baptist Church, also were on the market. Under the provisions of P.L. 96-607, the National Park Service was not authorized to acquire the M'Clintock House in fee simple ownership, but its availability and possible change of ownership brought an immediate need to think about how best to preserve the house, which sat just inches from the church. Hart met with community leaders and interested citizens in Waterloo. Although the decision-making process is not documented, it appears as though no organized

⁶⁴ Hart interview, September 26, 2008, 2. Shortly after Hart left the park in 1989, she tallied Horton's contributions to the park. By her account, his support was instrumental in securing nearly \$13 million for park development between 1983 and 1990; see [Hart], "Frank Horton, U.S. Congress: Support for the Women's Rights National Historical Park," undated typescript [1990].

⁶⁵ Superintendent Judy Hart to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], memorandum, October 31, 1983.

group in Waterloo was prepared to purchase the properties for the purpose of donating them to the park. The Town of Waterloo, however, stepped in to make emergency repairs when the Waterloo Baptist Church said it could not afford the expense.⁶⁶

As a result of community discussions, local citizens approached Frank Horton and ask him to introduce legislation to amend P.L. 96-607 in order to authorize the NPS to acquire the two properties by outright purchase. Horton agreed, and Moynihan introduced a companion bill in the Senate. Although the Regional Office was hesitant, it nonetheless agreed to support amending legislation if it also directed the NPS to remove the adjacent church on the basis that it was unrelated historically to the M'Clintock House.⁶⁷ To the surprise of some, broad congressional support materialized from all corners. On May 1, 1984, H.R. 4596 passed the House with only thirteen nays. The Senate passed the House bill on August 9 without amendment, and the bill became P.L. 98-402 on August 28, 1984.⁶⁸ Purchase would come in the following year.

Local support for park development put more pressure on the park, Regional Office, and Denver Service Center to hasten planning. Although Hart had support for development in the Regional Office and from the DSC Eastern Team, critical questions were raised from the very beginning. Suzanne Stutzman, who was working with Hart on the SFM, voiced "major concern" about the lack of cultural resource data for making management decisions and called for a comprehensive historic resource study.⁶⁹ Frank McManamon, NAR chief of Cultural Resources, also deemed a park-wide historic resource study "essential" and raised another issue he considered "so basic" that it was being lost in the rush. His concern was whether the NPS would be the sole agent for preservation and interpretation of sites associated with the history of the women's rights movement, or whether it would be one participant among a group of local and national organizations. In his opinion, consensus on that issue was needed in order "to resolve most of the other issues successfully."⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Steven Levine, "Town Crews Help Save McClintock House," *Waterloo Citizen*, November 29, 1983; "Park Could Buy House Under Horton Proposal," *Finger Lakes Times*, November 29, 1983; Martin Toombs, "Horton Files McClintock House Bill," *Finger Lakes Times*, January 25, 1984.

⁶⁷ Minutes, Park Advisory Commission, May 9, 1984, pp. 6-11.

⁶⁸ See Library of Congress, <http://thomas.loc.gov>, for summaries of H.R.4596 and S.2331 (98th Cong.); P.L. 98-402, An Act to amend section 1601(d) of Public Law 96-607, August 28, 1984.

⁶⁹ Suzy Stutzman to Terry [Savage], handwritten note regarding her "shopping list" of issues for the GMP task directive, April 28, 1983, NER-HIST.

⁷⁰ Chief, Cultural Resources, NAR [Francis P. McManamon] to Chief, Planning and Design, NAR [Terry Savage], memorandum, May 17, 1983, NER-HIST.

The overall management approach eventually evolved so that the NPS became sole agent, and site-specific resource studies informed the GMP. Regional Director Herb Cables asked regional staff to work with Hart to determine “the real minimum requirements to allow us to proceed with the GMP.”⁷¹ After some deliberation, the Regional Office determined that the minimum requirement was an architectural survey of the historic buildings the park was authorized either to acquire or to provide technical assistance for preservation. The Regional Office funded the architectural survey and a structural evaluation of the Wesleyan Chapel, conducted by structural engineer Terry Wong of the DSC.⁷² In 1984, Barbara (Pearson) Yocum completed the architectural survey, Terry Wong completed the structural evaluation, and Sandra S. Weber completed the historical study, the latter of which complemented and built on earlier work conducted by Wellman and Hewitt for the interpretive program but did not address the resources themselves.⁷³ Throughout this flurry of activity, Hart continued to operate the park with the draft SFM, revised in 1984 but still not approved, and the draft Resource Management Plan, developed in 1984.⁷⁴

JOINT NPS-UCP MANAGEMENT PLANNING

Preparation of the GMP effectively demanded coordination with the Village of Seneca Falls because it had jurisdiction over the local historic district. P.L. 96-607 gave the NPS latitude to work with state and local agencies “in order to preserve the historic character of the setting” of the Park’s specified historic sites in Seneca Falls and Waterloo, including funding up to one-half the cost of the development and implementation of preservation plans.⁷⁵ Under this provision,

⁷¹ Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables] to Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP [Hart], memorandum re: Requests for Planning Funds, September 20, 1983, NER-CRD; Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation [Charles Clapper] to The Files, memorandum re: Record of Discussions with Superintendent WORL on October 24 and 25 [1983], November 16, 1983, NER-HIST.

⁷² Assistant Manager, NE Team, DSC [Gerald D. Patten] to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], memorandum re: Revised Final Task Directive, June 13, 1984.

⁷³ Barbara E. Pearson, *Architectural Survey: Women’s Rights National Historical Park* (NPS North Atlantic Regional Office, 1984); Terry L. Wong, *Structural Evaluation Report, Women’s Rights National Historical Park* (NPS Denver Service Center, 1984); Sandra S. Weber, *Women’s Rights: Special History Study* (NPS Denver Service Center, 1984).

⁷⁴ Internal memoranda indicate growing dissatisfaction in the Regional Office over the lack of attention to management planning at the Park. In a memorandum of November 23, 1984, Francis P. McManamon, NAR Chief of Cultural Resources, cited a lengthy list of problems with the park’s draft Resource Management Plan, a different document but related to the Statement for Management. Among his comments, McManamon made a pointed remark that, contrary to the superintendent’s statement, the Statement for Management had not been approved.

⁷⁵ P.L. 96-607, Sec, 1601(i).

the NPS collaborated with the Village to develop and implement preservation planning for the Seneca Falls Historic Preservation District and for the Seneca Falls Urban Cultural Park, authorized by state law in 1982. In 1980, the Village had submitted its feasibility study to the New York Department of Parks and Recreation. On the strength of this study, the Village was included in the 1982 legislation, which authorized the Seneca Falls Urban Cultural Park specifically to encompass “the cohesive geographical area of the Village of Seneca Falls . . . associated with and revealing of the community’s place in the development of the women’s rights movement.”⁷⁶ Geographically, the extent of the UCP coincided with the 475-acre historic preservation district, which, in turn, constituted the historic setting (in Seneca Falls) referenced in the authorizing legislation for Women’s Rights NHP.

The New York State Legislature also authorized funds to cover up to 50 percent of planning costs for new UCPs. Historic preservation as a function of municipal governance was a new enough concept, however, that the Village of Seneca Falls was unable to come up with sufficient local match to obtain full state funding. As of 1981, NPS had provided an \$8,000 grant to fund preliminary work on preservation guidelines for the historic district, the overall goal of which was to preserve the nineteenth-century character of the Village. In 1983, Hart and Stutzman sought additional NPS funding for a historic resource study of the park’s historic setting in Seneca Falls and Waterloo. The intent was to use funds as match for the Village to obtain state funds for UCP planning. Initially, Hart and Stutzman sought \$50,000, but this was scaled back first to \$28,000, then to \$14,000. In the end, no NPS funding for the HRS came in 1983.⁷⁷

In this set of circumstances, then, the idea for developing a joint management plan for the park and the UCP began to take shape. In late 1982 or early 1983, discussions took place between Judy Hart and August Sinicropi, and later Bert Fortner and Fran Caraccilo of the planning firm Whole Duck Catalogue.

⁷⁶ *Seneca Falls Urban Cultural Park: Feasibility Study*, October 1980, McCann Papers; Urban Cultural Parks, Chapters 541 and 542, Laws of New York, 1982 Regular Session, approved and effective July 20 1982; also New York Urban Cultural Parks Law, Article 35, Section 35.03(j). Lowell National Historical Park also was the inspiration for the UCP concept, now called heritage areas. Each heritage area was developed around a theme, such as transportation, natural environment, or, in the case of Seneca Falls, reform movements. Within communities, heritage areas link traditional parks, historic neighborhoods, landmarks, and historic sites, such as canals, mills, and churches to create cohesive visual character.

⁷⁷ John Debo to Superintendent Judy Hart, memorandum on village zoning and historic district ordinances, August 23, 1984; Development/Study Package Proposal for Historic Resource Study, Women’s Rights NHP, August 18, 1983; Minutes, Park Advisory Commission, November 28-29, 1983, p. 12.

Fortner was then serving as village planner on a contractual basis.⁷⁸ To a great extent, effective park management depended upon the Village of Seneca Falls establishing a sound preservation program for the local historic district, thus Hart suggested to the Regional Office that “if the Park Service beg[an] its GMP for the same area, the State would in all probability consider NPS work as matching its funding.”⁷⁹ As much as anything, she was angling for money to start work on the park’s GMP, which still had not been funded as of early 1983. Approval of the UCP opened up another opportunity to emphasize the need for funding. Accordingly, \$30,000 was requested to fund a comprehensive task directive for developing the park’s GMP cooperatively, with the Denver Service Center, State of New York, and Village of Seneca Falls being the three cooperating agencies.⁸⁰ The NPS Director’s Office responded with a much more modest allocation of \$3,000 so that the DSC could work with the park in an advisory capacity in 1983 and then “pick up the work at full speed in FY 84.”⁸¹

Suzanne Stutzman, who led the planning team, was open to a coordinated planning effort.⁸² She worked hard to lay the groundwork for developing a joint plan, but, at the same time, she assessed the impediments realistically. The park’s enabling legislation authorized the NPS to support preservation planning at the local level only with technical and limited financial assistance; it did not provide a legal framework for defining a joint planning relationship. Moreover, the purpose of Women’s Rights NHP was to interpret a story of national significance in relation to a limited number of historic places, located in two communities, while the UCP was focused on preserving hundreds of properties in the Village of Seneca Falls that were mostly of local and state significance. Additionally, the NPS had to follow more stringent planning guidelines than did the Village. Stutzman also detected political undercurrents that would affect the process. Village trustees were reluctant to enter into the planning process for fear that developing the UCP would carry a hefty price tag, thus raising the specter of back-peddling that Senator Tsongas had warned against when Mayor Freeland appeared before

⁷⁸ Director, Park Program Evaluations, Charles F. Breuel, to August Sinicropi, March 31, 1983, McCann Papers; Hart interview, October 30, 2008; Caraccilo interview, July 17, 2008. The Village of Waterloo, which had not taken measures to adopt a historic preservation ordinance, was not a party in these discussions.

⁷⁹ Superintendent Judy Hart to Chief of Planning and Design [Terry Savage] and Acting Regional Director [Charles Clapper], memorandum, February 18, 1983.

⁸⁰ Regional Director Herb Cables to Director [Russell Dickenson], March 23, 1983, memorandum, McCann Papers; Superintendent Hart to [Terry] Savage and [Charles] Clapper, February 23, 1983, memorandum.

⁸¹ [NPS] Acting Director Mary Lou Grier to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], memorandum, April 6, 1983, McCann Papers.

⁸² Suzanne M. Stutzman to Superintendent Judy Hart, memorandum, August 30, 1983, McCann Papers.

Congress to support national park legislation. Instead, the trustees proposed acquiring a vacant school and converting it to a visitor center as the Village's sole contribution to the UCP development. At the same time, the Reagan administration's policy of promoting cooperative agreements in lieu of land acquisition was forcing the NPS into transferring significant development costs to the local level and private sectors. Stutzman cautioned that both sides must "go into a planning process with realistic goals and expectations." The Village, she noted, needed a plan in order to keep its UCP status. The National Park Service, for its part, "must also be willing to commit to acquiring and managing some land, providing some development, and maintaining a presence."⁸³

Between October and December 1983, planning efforts became more visible. Four public workshops were held in November and December to get a sense of local issues and concerns that would need to be addressed in developing alternatives for park development. In November, the park also held a public meeting in Seneca Falls to discuss local concerns in relation to developing the Land Protection Plan. By early December, the draft Land Protection Plan and a revised Statement for Management had been submitted for review.⁸⁴ It was during this period that the \$500,000 appropriation came. The Washington Office also followed through and allocated \$70,000 for the GMP in FY 1984, although actual costs ran much higher.⁸⁵

When Stutzman was reassigned to Alaska, Bonnie Campbell took over as the planning team leader. Core team members included landscape architect Marc Malik, also from DSC, Hart, and Bert Fortner for the Village of Seneca Falls. The core team was assisted by a variety of consultants from the Regional Office, DSC,

⁸³ Team Captain Suzy Stutzman to Chief, Branches of Planning and Design Terry Savage, June 9, 1983, memorandum, McCann Papers. Emphasis in the original.

⁸⁴ *Interim Statement for Management: Women's Rights National Historical Park*, October 20, 1983; *Planning Workbook, Women's Rights National Historical Park* (U.S. Department of the Interior: National Park Service, 1983); Women's Rights NHP Superintendent [Judy Hart] to "All Interested Individuals and Agencies," memorandum re: public meeting on land protection plan, November 3, 1983; Superintendent's Annual Report, 1983. See also Minutes, Park Advisory Commission, November 28-29, 1983, [23-35]. The public meetings were held in Seneca Falls, Ithaca, Rochester, and Boston.

⁸⁵ Total NPS cost of the joint planning effort to produce the Women's Rights NHP General Management Plan was estimated at \$188,305 in payroll costs for NPS planners, including overhead costs for the DSC staff. Additionally, the NPS provided a \$4,000 grant to the Village of Seneca Falls to survey historic properties, \$720 to the Village to reproduce historic maps, and \$714 to the Village to contract for current aerial photographs of the Village. See "Certification of Funds Expended by the National Park Service for its General Management Plan for Women's Rights National Historical Park in coordination with the Management Plan for the New York State Urban Cultural Park in Seneca Falls, New York," November 25, 1986.

and the Washington office.⁸⁶ Among the latter was architectural conservator Barbara (Pearson) Yocum, who was then conducting the architectural survey in addition to working on the Stanton House HSR. Her research conclusively disproved local lore that Amelia Bloomer and her husband once lived in the house at 53 East Bayard Street in Seneca Falls.⁸⁷ Misidentification of the house was a minor embarrassment, but overall it underscored the limited data that park advocates had at their disposal in the late 1970s.

The task directive for the GMP specified that the NPS planning team would work closely with the Village in the management planning effort, and that parts of the GMP would be “directly applicable” to the UCP management plan.⁸⁸ Presumably, this was Bert Fortner’s function: to provide guidance for coordinating the GMP with the UCP plan and vice versa. However, NPS planners did most of the actual work until the latter part of 1984. Although the Village had received a \$39,000 grant in October 1983 from the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation to prepare the UCP management plan, it did not issue a request for proposals (RFP) to prospective bidders until July 1984. The same was true for an \$8,000 NPS grant received in 1983 to prepare preservation guidelines. By mid-summer, there was considerable concern in the Regional Office about the degree to which the Village was relying on NPS contributions to complete its own plan components. Hart, for her part, was concerned that the NPS general management planning guidelines were too conceptual to address on-the-ground issues the park shared with the UCP and Village of Seneca Falls.

⁸⁶ Gerald D. Patten, Assistant Manager, Northeast Team, Denver Service Center to Regional Director NAR [Herbert Cables], January 13, 1984; see also Judy Hart to Rep. Frank Horton, February 3, 1984.

⁸⁷ In 1983, Hanns Kuttner called attention to the urgent need for research on the house at 53 East Bayard Street, noting, “All that we have to associate the house with Bloomer is local hagiography.” Hanns Kuttner to Superintendent [Judy Hart], memorandum, August 18, 1983, NER-HIST. Kuttner’s memorandum, copied to Suzanne Stuzman, is what prompted the GMP planning team to seek Yocum’s assistance. Yocum subsequently worked with historian Sandra Weber to help resolve questions on all of the historic resources covered by the GMP. See Assistant Manager, NE Team, DSC [Gerald D. Patten] to Regional Director NAR [Herbert Cables], memorandum, January 13, 1984; Associate Regional Director, NAR Planning and Resource Preservation [Charles Clapper] to Assistant Manager, NE Team, DSC, memorandum, January 30, 1984, NER-HAP. See also Regional Director [Herbert Cables] to Superintendent Judy Hart, July 11, 1984, NER-PPSS.

⁸⁸ Task Directive, Package 101, Park General, Women’s Rights NHP General Management Plan, approved April 14, 1984, revised June 13, 1984.

In any case, NPS Planner John Debo was detailed to the park for five weeks to help the planning team resolve a number of issues.⁸⁹ During this time, Debo reviewed the Village's bid documents for preservation guidelines and the UCP draft management plan. He also prepared a white paper on NPS involvement in the local preservation district for Hart's use in ongoing discussions with the Village, a second white paper on village zoning and historic district ordinances, and a third on the transportation element of the (working) draft GMP. Debo also directed park staff in writing the Resource Management Plan.⁹⁰ Debo's contributions to the planning effort also signaled a shift in the decision-making process. From this point forward, the Regional Office was much more involved, although technically the DSC still had the lead. One reason the Regional Office stepped in was because the "vagueness" of the UCP concept "carried over into Village RFP efforts to hire a consultant." Also of concern was the NPS financial and technical services commitment; the Regional Office wanted to make sure that the planning team kept proper records in the event of an audit. Of greatest concern, however, was a provision in the April 14, 1984, task directive stating that, "portions of the GMP will be 'directly applicable' to the UCP management plan and that there will be 'close interaction throughout both planning processes.'" As of late August, Deputy Regional Director Steven Lewis concluded, "neither seem[ed] to be occurring."⁹¹

When the Village of Seneca Falls contracted with Whole Duck Catalogue to prepare preservation guides and draft the UCP management plan, the NPS called a meeting to "more clearly define" the responsibilities of team members. The scoping document prepared for this meeting, which took place at the end of October, indicates that the NPS was still committed to a joint planning effort. Assessments of work completed and work remaining for each plan element,

⁸⁹ Hart recalls that she requested and made arrangements for John Debo's detail. He had previously resolved similar issues when he was planner for Lowell NHP. She especially wanted him to analyze prospects for waterborne tours connecting the Visitor Center with the Stanton House and sites in Waterloo; see Judy Hart, comments on draft manuscript, January 30, 2011.

⁹⁰ Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation [Charles Clapper] to Terry Savage, Judy Hart, and John Debo, Task Directive for Assistance to Women's Rights NHP, July 17, 1984; Charles Clapper to Regional Director [Herbert Cables], Trip Report-Women's Rights NHP (July 23, 1984), memorandum, July 25, 1984; Deputy Regional Director [Steven H. Lewis], Field Visit-Women's Rights NHP (August 23, 1984), memorandum to Files, August 24, 1984; John Debo to Superintendent [Judy Hart], memorandum, August 24, 1984. See also Debo to Hart, [white paper] Village Zoning and Historic District Ordinances, August 23, 1984; Debo to Hart, [white paper] Preservation District, August 23, 1984; Debo to Hart, [white paper] Transportation, August 23, 1984; and Debo to Hart, [white paper] UCP, August 24, 1984.

⁹¹ [Steven] Lewis, Field Visit-Women's Rights NHP, August 23, 1984.

however, confirmed that much of the progress to that point was the result of NPS effort.⁹² The impediments to joint planning that Stutzman had pointed out a year earlier were beginning to involve the National Park Service inappropriately in Village issues. All agreed that the park needed close working relationships with both local communities, but each party needed to understand its own responsibilities and respect jurisdictional boundaries. In the end, two separate management plans emerged from the planning process. In the absence of a legislated, formal joint-planning structure such as the one established for the Lowell Historic Preservation District, this was the only option. Lacking legal authority for joint planning also implied that park-UCP coordination would depend on effective working relationships through successive changes of leadership. As the management objectives of the park and the UCP changed over time, relations also shifted in gradual and sometimes subtle ways. Nevertheless, the process of joint planning was immensely helpful to the Village of Seneca Falls. Francis Caraccilo, who became Village planner in 1984, considers the \$8,000 grant and NPS assistance with developing preservation guidelines as vital. He states, unequivocally that, “if that hadn’t happened, we probably never would have gotten around to developing guidelines and standards for the program.” He also notes that through Linda Canzanelli’s tenure as superintendent (1989-1994), his office routinely relied on the National Park Service for advice on “sticky preservation issues.”⁹³

VILLAGE HALL ACQUISITION

Working out the planning relationship with the Village of Seneca Falls slowed progress, as did other developments in 1984 and 1985. One was the possibility of obtaining the Village Hall, located two doors from the Seneca Falls Laundromat/Wesleyan Chapel. As a result, the mission of preserving the Wesleyan Chapel swelled to a larger development concept known as the Wesleyan Chapel Block, which included preserving the chapel, converting the Village Hall into a new visitor center, and developing the space in between the two buildings, then occupied by a theater, into a connecting plaza.

⁹² “UCP/NPS Scope of Work,” October 30, 1984. The NPS provided an estimated \$53,000 of in-kind services to produce the UCP management plan; see Whole Duck Catalogue’s monthly report to the Seneca Falls Village Board of Trustees, February 7, 1985.

⁹³ Francis Caraccilo interview, 7.



Figure 22. Seneca Falls Village Hall, c. 1991, after the Strand Theater, located to the rear of the adjacent lot, was demolished. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

Acquisition of the Village Hall took nearly a year. When the Village decided to move its offices to the vacant train station, located about two blocks away, it precipitated a community-wide debate over what to do with the existing building. Because the Village Hall sat two doors from the laundromat/chapel, it seemed to many people an ideal place for a park visitor center. At the time, park visitation numbers of upwards to 200,000 a year were being freely tossed about and accepted almost without question. If these numbers were to materialize, the leased space at 116 Fall Street would be inadequate, so no one doubted the need for larger quarters to house the visitor center. The community, however, was split. Not only would selling the building generate revenue that the Village of Seneca Falls needed, but selling it to a commercial developer also would create new jobs for the local workforce. The debate went on for months, until the UCP Advisory Committee took a vote on several options. By then, the committee had reached a general consensus to work with the National Park Service rather than sell the building for commercial development. However, while several members favored donating the building to NPS for use as a combined NPS-UCP visitor center, the majority favored leasing the building to NPS for twenty years and then turning it over.⁹⁴ These two options were presented to the Regional Office for consideration, and Regional Director Herbert Cables immediately responded that leasing the building was feasible only if the Village rehabilitated the buildings to federal

⁹⁴ Sale of the building to the NPS was not an option because the NPS was prohibited from purchasing the Village Hall by federal policy and the specific provisions of P.L. 96-607.

specifications.⁹⁵ With all options except donation exhausted, the Village Board of Trustees voted unanimously on October 17, 1985 to donate the property to the National Park Service. For a time, village officials proceeded on the assumption that the UCP would share use of the building with the park in order to house their respective visitor centers, but this idea did not come to fruition.⁹⁶

While village trustees debated what to do with the hall, the general management planning team added another layer of complexity. Everyone realized that the Wesleyan Chapel would be a tremendous preservation challenge because the original building was nearly obscured by additions and alterations. The GMP team came up with the idea of holding a design competition as a strategy for stimulating creative solutions from a wide pool of design professionals, and, in the process, generating national publicity for the park.⁹⁷ Congressman Horton was briefed on the concept in his Seneca Falls office in January 1985, and cost figures were presented at a second meeting in his Washington, D.C., office in late February. At that time, the whole project, including planning and construction, was estimated at approximately \$3.65 million, assuming that the DSC provided design and construction services.⁹⁸ In early April, Campbell returned to Denver to

⁹⁵ Superintendent [Judy Hart] to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], memorandum re: Proposals for Former Village Office Building, August 23, 1985; August P. Sinicropi, Chairperson, UCP Advisory Committee to Superintendent [Judy Hart], memorandum re: August 27, 1985 Meeting of the Village of Seneca Falls' Urban Cultural Park Advisory Committee, September 4, 1985; Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables] to Superintendent [Judy Hart], memorandum re: Village Office Building Options, September 4, 1985; Judy Hart to August P. Sinicropi, letter, September 6, 1985.

⁹⁶ Scott A. Smith, Village Clerk-Treasurer to Judy Hart, letter, October 17, 1985; Village of Seneca Falls, Resolution donating the Village Hall to the National Park Service, October 16, 1985; Scott A. Smith to Esther Strachman, New York State Conference of Mayors, letter, November 22, 1985 with handwritten note by Judy Hart attached indicating that the Village must discuss joint use and joint funding with the National Park Service.

⁹⁷ In her interview of September 26, 2008, p. 12, Judy Hart states that Elayne Anderson, an architect with the DSC, "came to a meeting [of the GMP team] with a bunch of old pamphlets on design competitions, so at first it was informational, and then it evolved into the decision to do it." In *A Vision Realized*, 5, Hart identifies Bonnie Campbell as the person who proposed a design competition. Elayne Anderson recalls that it was Hart perhaps with Terry Savage, who instigated the connection with the National Endowment for the Arts. She also speculates that Hart and/or Savage may have felt that there was not enough design talent in the DSC to address the formidable preservation issues presented by the limited remaining historic fabric of the Wesleyan Chapel. See Elayne Anderson, record of telephone conversation with Rebecca Conard, January 5, 2010.

⁹⁸ Bonnie Campbell, Outdoor Recreation Planner, Alaska/Pacific Northwest/Western Team, DSC, to Judy Hart, cost estimate, January 15, 1985; Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Judy Hart] to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], memorandum re: Development of Wesleyan Chapel Block, January 31, 1985; Hart to Cables, memorandum re: Development of Wesleyan Chapel Block: Briefing with Congressman Horton February 28, 1985. See also Martin Toombs, "\$5 Million Park Proposal Wins Federal Approval," *Finger Lake Times*, May 31, 1985.

meet with DSC Manager Denis Galvin who indicated that he would allocate \$30,000 in FY 1985 to begin research on the Wesleyan Chapel HSR if the Regional Office would allocate \$45,000 to complete the study in 1986. A few days later, Galvin and Assistant DSC Manager Gerald Patten flew to Seneca Falls to inspect the proposed project site and attend a community meeting called to discuss disposition of the Village Hall. It was during this visit, according to Hart, that Galvin became committed to the whole project. The next morning, the three met for breakfast at the local Rexall Drugstore and informally outlined, on a placemat, a three-year strategy for planning, development, and construction of the Wesleyan Chapel Block.⁹⁹

Purchase of the Ludovico property also was completed in April 1985. This signal achievement was marked by a public transfer ceremony in the laundromat/chapel at which Frank Horton presided. In June the combined GMP and Environmental Assessment went out for public review and comment. The GMP/EA was prepared in accordance with the 1981 Programmatic Memorandum of Agreement (PMOA) of the National Park Service, the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, and the Advisory Council of Historic Preservation (ACHP), which required NPS to notify the appropriate state historic preservation office and the ACHP of planning activities and afford both offices an opportunity to review the selected alternative upon plan completion. Also in June, Congressman Horton requested a \$350,000 add-on appropriation for FY 1986 to begin planning the Wesleyan Chapel Block project, and a task directive was ordered for the historic structure report, including archaeological testing to determine the original dimensions.¹⁰⁰ Later that year, the DSC issued a task directive for a national design competition.¹⁰¹

By the end of 1985, the National Park Service had purchased the Wesleyan Chapel from Frank and Julia Ludovico for the sum of \$179,000, acquired the Village Hall by donation, with an estimated value of \$160,000, and purchased the M'Clintock House (and church) from the Waterloo Baptist Church for the sum of

⁹⁹ Hart interview, September 26, 2008, 11; placemat with planning notes dated April 8, 1985, courtesy of Judy Hart.

¹⁰⁰ Elayne Anderson, DSC, to Judy Hart, memorandum, June 12, 1985, with attached draft Task Directive for Historic Structures Report, Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Women's Rights NHP, NER-CRD; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 1985.

¹⁰¹ Chief, Cultural Resources, NAR [Francis P. McManamon] to Chief, Planning and Design, NAR [Terry Savage], memorandum re: Task Directive, Women's Rights NHP, Pkg. 106, November 9, 1985, NER-CRD; Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Hart] to Elayne Anderson, DSC, memorandum re: Task Directive for National Design Competition, Historic Structure Report, Archeological Research, Dated 10-31-85, November 18, 1985. Note: the final task directive for planning the national design competition was not discovered in park files or in Denver Service Center park planning and development documents.

\$53,000.¹⁰² The park also had another \$350,000 to undertake planning for the Wesleyan Chapel Block, and the draft GMP/EA was under public review.



Figure 23. Julia and Frank Ludovico with Judy Hart holding up the keys to the Seneca Falls Laundromat/Wesleyan Chapel, April 2, 1985. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*



Figure 24. Seneca Falls Laundromat/Wesleyan Chapel from the southwest corner as it appeared when the NPS acquired the property. The gable roof delineates the section of the structure containing the remnants of the Wesleyan Chapel. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

¹⁰² Wesleyan Chapel, Warranty Deed, Seneca County Liber 405, p. 947, April 2, 1985; Village Hall Warranty Deed, Seneca County Liber 427, p. 150, April 23, 1987; M'Clintock House, Warranty Deed, Seneca County Liber 408, p. 916.

FINALIZING THE GMP

Park development assumed dizzying proportions in 1985. In May, GMP Team Captain Bonnie Campbell debriefed the Park Advisory Commission on the status of the draft plan. By this time, not only was restoration of the Stanton House nearly complete, but land acquisition and project planning for the Wesleyan Chapel also were well underway. Thus, general management planning was thoroughly intertwined with project development, a decided departure from standard NPS planning policies. August Sinicropi, who was a member of the commission as well as involved in developing the Seneca Falls *UCP Management Plan*, also updated the commission on that effort. If this were not enough to digest, planning team member Marc Malik presented a slide show to prepare commissioners for discussing the design competition. Barraged by a massive amount of information even for a two-day meeting, the commission spent no time reviewing the GMP but instead engaged in a “lively discussion” of the design competition.¹⁰³ Later, commission chair Dorothy Duke submitted written comments, independently, that were highly critical of the draft GMP because, in her estimation, it was “too narrowly focused toward reconstruction of houses as the central theme.” She also faulted the NPS planning team for not involving key leaders of national women’s organizations.¹⁰⁴

Duke’s reaction underscored a critical debate that took place within NPS confines over preservation treatment of the Wesleyan Chapel, which came on the heels of the debate over reconstructing the north and east wings of the Stanton House. Comments received at the four public scoping meetings held in November and December 1983 had indicated moderate public support for adaptive reuse of the building in its existing form and strong support for restoring the chapel, which would have required conjectural reconstruction since there was not enough historic fabric to restore into a complete building and only scant documentation concerning its mid-nineteenth century appearance.¹⁰⁵ Until 1985, no one knew how much of the chapel’s original fabric remained. No definitive images of the chapel’s exterior were known to exist, although a few written sources contained descriptive snatches to complement an indistinct view of the chapel on an 1856 cadastral map and one photograph of Sabbath School teachers taken inside the chapel circa 1858. Much of the support for reconstruction came from members of the Stanton Foundation.

¹⁰³ Minutes, Park Advisory Commission meeting, May 30-31, 1985.

¹⁰⁴ Dorothy Duke to Women’s Rights National Historical Park, letter, July 23, 1985.

¹⁰⁵ Assistant Manager, NE Team, DSC [Gerald D. Patten] to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], memorandum re: Summary of Comments, February 17, 1984.

On the basis of public comment, the GMP planning team came up with a preservation treatment that would utilize the remaining original fabric, incorporating it into a newly constructed enclosed building. In the process of discussing alternatives, the team also came up with the idea of holding a design competition. This became the preferred alternative. As stated in the draft GMP, “preservation of the remaining, though somewhat limited, original fabric would be used along with non-historic fabric for the building’s completion,” and this solution would be achieved through an architectural design competition.¹⁰⁶ The rationale rested on interpretive needs –“easily conveying the chapel’s original size and layout”—and strong public opinion that the 1848 convention should be “interpreted at the site.” From the public comment, the GMP team perceived a public preference for “media-assisted interpretation” of “the vibrant, crowded atmosphere associated with the influx of the 300 people attending the convention.”¹⁰⁷

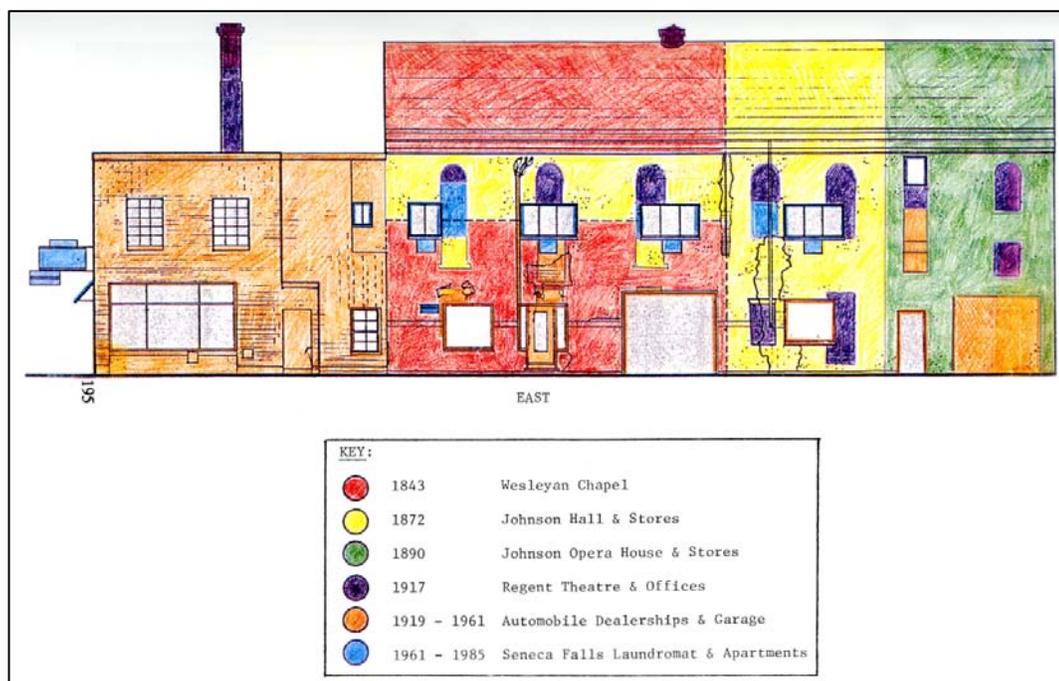


Figure 25. The Wesleyan Chapel, existing conditions, east elevation, 1988 (not to scale). *Courtesy Women’s Rights NHP.*

This rationale was met with skepticism at the highest levels of the NPS for both historical and architectural reasons. Chief Historian Edwin Bearss and Chief Historical Architect Hugh Miller questioned whether such treatment was

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Draft General Management Plan/Environmental Assessment, Women’s Rights National Historical Park* (June 1985), 45-46.

“essential to public understanding and appreciation” and further counseled against a design competition because, in their estimation, the design problem required “more stringent controls than those afforded in competition guidelines.” Dwight Rettie, special assistant for Policy Development, WASO, was critical of the whole premise for incorporating remnants of the chapel into a new building. In his estimation, it injected a “measure of ambiguity” into the development approach for the park. In language similar to Dorothy Duke’s, but for a different reason, Rettie wondered, “are we commemorating an idea (women’s rights) or are we preserving buildings?”¹⁰⁸

The debates over preservation of the Stanton House and the Wesleyan Chapel took place just as “anti-reconstructionism reached [its] apogee” among NPS professionals. Barry Mackintosh cites 1985 as a critical date, when a new edition of NPS-28, the *Cultural Resource Management Guideline*, explicitly declared that the agency did “not endorse, support, or encourage the reconstruction of historic structures.”¹⁰⁹ The 1985 policy statement reflected a preservation philosophy that had been steadily gaining adherence among NPS professionals at least since the 1960s. Although the 1935 Historic Sites Act gave the NPS authority to employ reconstruction as a preservation treatment, the language of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act omitted “reconstruction” from its definition of “historic preservation.”¹¹⁰ NPS professionals argued for interpretive alternatives because reconstruction restricted interpretation to one time period, typically entailed the destruction of archeological remains, often required large expenditures, and opened the door to conjecture that was disputable. Even so, practice often diverged from policy. As Mackintosh notes,

Typically, local community interests, aided by their elected representatives and often abetted by park personnel, have favored

¹⁰⁸ Special Assistant for Policy Development, [Dwight Rettie], to Chief, Division of Park Planning and Special Studies [John Coates], memorandum, December 20 1984; Chief Historian [Edwin Bearss] to John Coates, Park Planning and Special Studies Division, memorandum, January 30, 1985; Acting Director [Mary Lou Grier] to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], February 7, 1985; Associate Director, Cultural Resources [Jerry Rogers] to Associate Director, Planning and Development [David G. Wright], memorandum, April 12, 1985.

¹⁰⁹ Mackintosh, “To Reconstruct or Not to Reconstruct,” n.p.

¹¹⁰ Section 2(f) of the 1935 Historic Sites Act gives the NPS authority to “restore, reconstruct, rehabilitate, preserve, and maintain historic or prehistoric sites, buildings, objects, and properties of national historical or archaeological significance.” The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as Amended in 1980 defines “preservation” or “historic preservation” as including identification, evaluation, recordation, documentation, curation, acquisition, protection, management, rehabilitation, restoration, stabilization, maintenance, research, interpretation, conservation, and education and training regarding the foregoing activities, or any combination of the foregoing activities.”

reconstruction projects; CRM professionals in Washington, citing policies they have forged, have resisted; and management decisionmakers have come down on whichever side has seemed more likely to serve both the public interest and their personal survival.¹¹¹

Moreover, outside the National Park Service, historic sites increasingly embraced reconstruction for its interpretive value, often in conjunction with living history. Plimoth Plantation, established in 1947, even took conjectural reconstruction to a scholarly level. The English Village, opened in 1959, represented years of rigorous archeological investigations and historical research directed toward approximating as closely as possible the original sixteenth-century buildings, furnishings, and implements of the colony. Highly trained first-person interpreters situated in a replica village created a convincing illusion of time past. Based on the success of this interpretive strategy, the site continued to expand, opening the Wampanoag Homesite in 1973 to interpret the interconnected history of English colonists and the indigenous peoples they encountered.¹¹²

Nonetheless, in accordance with NPS policy, the draft plan specifically ruled out reconstruction for lack of supporting evidence. Still, the proposed treatment was close enough to satisfy the Stanton Foundation, which had “long urged reconstruction as the optimal treatment” and which was still hopeful that research then in progress for the historic structure report would “yield enough information to allow reconstruction.”¹¹³ Without definitive photographic or documentary evidence of the chapel’s appearance in 1848, however, reconstruction was not an option that the NPS could consider. The Stanton Foundation offered a \$500 cash prize for a mid-nineteenth-century photograph of the chapel, but no images surfaced, throwing reconstruction completely out of consideration.¹¹⁴

Hart had hoped to have the GMP finalized by the end of 1985. Dorothy Duke remained sharply critical. Given Duke’s disregard for the provisions of P.L. 96-607 that authorized acquisition of historic properties, her lack of respect for (or perhaps confidence in) NPS professionals, and her insistence that prominent woman leaders be brought into decision-making processes, there were legitimate concerns that inviting a protracted debate over treatment of the Wesleyan Chapel could result in a political free-for-all. Because Duke’s letter of objection

¹¹¹ Mackintosh, “To Reconstruct or Not to Reconstruct,” n.p.

¹¹² James Marston Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1990), 189, 202-203.

¹¹³ Suzanne G. Cusick, Chair, Park Support Committee, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, to Judy Hart, letter re: Draft GMP, July 25, 1985.

¹¹⁴ Sharon A. Brown, *Historic Structure Report: Historical Data Section, Wesleyan Chapel, Women’s Rights National Historical Park* (National Park Service, April 1987), x-xii, 163 (Illustration 6), 165 (Illustration 7).

concerning the draft GMP was a matter of public record, Hart decided to poll all advisory commission members individually. The poll was planned for the commission's December meeting, but inclement weather kept all but three members from attending, and it took until mid-February 1986 to secure the necessary responses. Every member except Dorothy Duke approved the proposed final plan.¹¹⁵

Securing the approval of individual commission members caused a slight delay in taking the final steps. Workshops had been held in July to solicit public comments, which were favorable overall. Section 106 compliance had been completed through the NYSHPO in October. After Hart had approvals by Park Advisory Commission members to offset Duke's personal letter of objection, she forwarded a Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI) to Regional Director Steven Lewis in late February. Lewis signed the FONSI to finalize the GMP.¹¹⁶

With the Stanton House restored and open, the GMP complete, and development planning for Wesleyan Chapel underway, Duke gave up her crusade. A month after the GMP was approved, she resigned from the commission citing philosophical differences:

The opportunity to use the Declaration of Sentiments as the foundation for recording and honoring the contributions women have made to build America is lost . . . Restoring houses and constructing a building will not fulfill this need.¹¹⁷

Duke steadfastly refused to accept the park's legislative mandate for preserving historic sites associated with the history of the women's rights movement, but she nonetheless had raised hard questions about audience and whether the park could or would tell a compelling story that made the Declaration of Sentiments resonate with contemporary women of all backgrounds.

Although Bearss, Miller, and Rettie in the Washington office had challenged the basic premises of the draft GMP, and the chair of the Park Advisory

¹¹⁵ Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Judy Hart] to Members, Advisory Commission to the Women's Rights NHP, memorandum re: Resolutions Proposed December 3 and 4, Now Requiring Your Response, December 20, 1985; the following commissioners subsequently submitted a "yes" vote to the resolution approving the proposed final GMP: Marilyn Bero, Donna Carlson, Charlotte Conable, Nancy Dubner, Carrie George, August Sinicropi.

¹¹⁶ Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Judy Hart] to [Deputy] Regional Director, NAR [Steven Lewis], memorandum re: Record of Decision, Finding of No Significant Impact, General Management Plan, Women's Rights National Historical Park, February 27, 1986; *General Management Plan: Women's Rights National Historical Park* (NPS, Denver Service Center, March 1986), signature page.

¹¹⁷ As quoted in "Advisory Commission Chairwoman Resigns," *Finger Lakes Times*, April 10, 1986.

Commission had publically denounced it, neither the GMP planning team, nor the Regional Office backed down. Alternative One, the preferred development alternative proposed in the draft, was generally endorsed through the public review process and adopted for the final plan. This alternative articulated the Wesleyan Chapel Block concept, whereby the chapel, the former Village Hall, and the space between them would be designed as a combined visitor center and interpretive site. It also called for a design competition, already in planning, that was “compatible with NPS policies regarding cultural resources,” to preserve the remaining historic fabric of the Wesleyan Chapel and design an appropriate setting to interpret the 1848 convention and the events surrounding it, and also to interpret the “convention [as] a result of women’s actions toward injustices and the beginning point of the ongoing women’s rights movement.” The overall interpretive concept for the park was to “convey the historical context, emphasize the evolution of women’s rights, and examine the forces that have accelerated or inhibited change.” In a departure from Hart’s earlier insistence on keeping the interpretive focus on the nineteenth century, no end point in that “evolution” was specified, only that it would be “carried into the 20th century.” Also signaling a departure from Hart’s caution with respect to public gatherings that might result in negative publicity, this alternative stipulated that the Wesleyan Chapel, “as the symbol of the beginning of the movement” and “likewise the symbol of its continuation,” might “be made available (guided by safety and policy procedures) for gatherings that continue the heritage of women’s rights and free speech.”¹¹⁸ The reasons for this shift are hard to pinpoint precisely because the document was the product of many people. However, language in the draft GMP indicates that opinions “voiced in the public meetings” held as part of the scoping process prompted the NPS to add the provision allowing public gatherings at the Wesleyan Chapel as “essential to the site’s true interpretation and heritage.”¹¹⁹

With respect to the Stanton House, the GMP, as approved, called for restoration to be completed, utilizing “appropriate means . . . to convey the home’s historic size and configuration,” a recommendation that resulted in the minimal treatment of “ghosting” the missing east and north wings and left considerable room for ongoing discussions among NPS professionals. The grounds also were to be restored to their historic appearance, and site development was to include support services for year-round visitation, including limited parking. Interpretation at the Stanton House was to be specified later through the development of an interpretive plan, although by implication interpretation at the Stanton House and the Wesleyan Chapel were closely linked by the overall

¹¹⁸ *Draft General Management Plan* (June 1985), 45, 47; *General Management Plan* (March 1986), 9-10.

¹¹⁹ *Draft General Management Plan*, 45.

concept. At the M'Clintock House, the GMP called for the house to be "preserved, opened for year-round visitation, and interpreted." As with the Stanton House, preservation of the M'Clintock house would not include reconstruction of the kitchen wing, but "some means [would] be employed to convey the original size and configuration." Interpretation here would focus on the Declaration of Sentiments, which was drafted in this house, but could also incorporate the M'Clintock's Quaker associations and in this manner interpret the link between religion and the women's rights movement. Also in keeping with plans for the Stanton House, the grounds at the M'Clintock House would be "returned to their historic appearance as much as possible" based on a historic grounds study. With respect to the Hunt House, except for documenting its historical significance, the GMP simply stated that "its use for interpretation or visitor support services [would] be decided later, depending on the desires of its owners and the evolution of the park." The Mumford House, mis-associated with Amelia Bloomer in the authorizing legislation, presented a bit of a problem. Bloomer's contributions to the women's rights movement were important, and she was historically associated with Seneca Falls. The GMP thus provided for interpreting her contributions through some appropriate means, and indicated that P.L. 96-607 should be amended to delete the Mumford House from the park's boundaries.¹²⁰

Alternative concepts considered and rejected during the planning process included a minimum development option, a limited development option that emphasized the mid-nineteenth century historical context, and the "no action" alternative required under federal policies. The minimum development option called for stabilizing the historic fabric of the Wesleyan Chapel to "provide a tangible symbol" for the beginning of the women's rights movement and converting the adjacent theater building, a modern structure, for use as a visitor center. A small house located behind the chapel would be used as park headquarters. Restoration of the Stanton House itself would be completed but not the grounds, the site would be open seasonally, and interpretation would be limited to Stanton's domestic life and her views on the domestic duties of women in the mid-nineteenth century. The M'Clintock House would be stabilized rather than preserved and interpreted from the exterior with a wayside exhibit. The Hunt House would remain in private ownership with no interpretation.¹²¹ The limited development alternative, which placed emphasis on the historical context, differed from the preferred alternative only in the scope of interpretation. Under this option, interpretation would be limited to the 1848 convention and the Declaration of Sentiments in the historical context of the mid-nineteenth century:

¹²⁰ *General Management Plan*, 16, 18, 20.

¹²¹ *Draft General Management Plan*, 55-58.

“why Seneca Falls was an area ripe for social action, the leading personalities who coalesced into a dynamic force, and the associated social reform causes.” Interpretation would not venture beyond the beginnings of the women’s rights movement.¹²²

The preferred alternative was presented as the option best satisfying the “intent and provisions” of the authorizing legislation by allowing “the most comprehensive interpretive program” and “the highest degree of preservation of important historic structures.”¹²³ However, the “degree of preservation” to be carried out at Women’s Rights NHP was actually a matter of ongoing debate in the Regional Office. Hart and others wanted the missing wings of the Stanton House to be reconstructed. Likewise, some park supporters wanted to see the Wesleyan Chapel reconstructed, although the GMP planning team understood the enormous difficulty this would pose. For those who favored restoration and reconstruction, however, the “most comprehensive interpretive program” could only be carried out if both structures fully represented their 1848 appearance, even if the evidence for doing so was thin.

Preserving the historic setting of the Village of Seneca Falls was the chief rationale for pursuing a joint planning effort, and, importantly, the GMP outlined several cooperative efforts aimed at achieving this goal. Specifically, the GMP committed the National Park Service to assisting Seneca Falls and Waterloo in identifying “thematically important 1848 structures” in order to define the boundaries of the historic setting. Once this was done, the NPS would provide technical and financial assistance to help preserve significant properties of the 1848 period.¹²⁴ Significance depended on any given property’s association with at least one of five themes: reform movements, industrialization, the development of transportation networks, signers of the Declaration of Sentiments, and early urbanization and socioeconomic development. Technical assistance to property owners would be provided in coordination with the UCP. Finally, the NPS and UCP would have “complementary and supportive interpretation concerning the history of women’s rights.” The National Park Service was to focus on “the history and personalities involved in the 1848 events, with the evolution of ideas

¹²² Ibid., 58-59.

¹²³ Hart to Lewis, memorandum re: Record of Decision, Finding of No Significant Impact, General Management Plan.

¹²⁴ This provision appears to have been based on alternatives worked out by John Debo. In a memorandum to Judy Hart, dated August 23, 1984, Debo discussed Section 1601(f) of P.L. 96-607 and sections of House Report #96-1029 that gave the NPS a clear rationale to provide extensive technical and financial assistance for preservation planning and management of the local historic district, even though P.L. 96-607 did not explicitly address either. He also outlined a range of alternatives for NPS preservation activity within the preservation district, most of which focused on preserving significant structures from the 1848 time period.

concerning women's rights." The Urban Cultural Park was to "interpret the historical regional context."¹²⁵

The "Preservation of Historic Setting and Cooperative Activities" element of the GMP attempted to establish a relationship between the park and the two communities that came as close to creating a formal structure for preservation planning as the enabling legislation allowed. The GMP acknowledged as much, noting that, "technical assistance will encompass more general planning." Technical assistance to private property owners was to be the back door to "involv[ing] continuous Park Service input on a broad spectrum of planning/development issues in the community, including addressing threats to the historic resources, preservation district planning, transportation, and zoning."¹²⁶

Transportation circulation was another plan element that called for cooperation inasmuch as the number of visitors was estimated to reach more than 200,000 by 1992. Actual visitation numbers never approached this estimate, but in 1984 the figure was supported by an economic trend analysis conducted by Economic Research Associates.¹²⁷ With historic sites scattered in two communities and visitor projections of 200,000, the park had to give serious thought to a visitor transportation system in order not to burden local thoroughfares and circulation patterns. Three options were considered: a rail transport system of some sort, shuttle busses, and boat service that would move visitors from the Wesleyan Chapel across Van Cleef Lake to the Stanton House and to the M'Clintock and Hunt Houses via the Cayuga-Seneca Canal. The first alternative was rejected on the basis of cost, the second on the basis of aesthetics and appropriateness. Canal boat service was considered relatively cost effective, attractive to visitors, and the "most thematically related to the park and its interpretive stories." However, because the visitor pattern still was not firmly established and there was some uncertainty within the NPS about visitor projections, the GMP called for the National Park Service to run a canal boat operation on an experimental basis until visitor numbers were sufficient to support the operation without a subsidy.¹²⁸

The park followed through in 1985, operating canal boat tours in Seneca Falls for ten days during the summer. During this time, boats carried a total of about 650 visitors at a cost of \$2,000. A subsequent economic feasibility study cast more doubt on this option. Based on actual visitor statistics for 1986, roughly

¹²⁵ *General Management Plan*, 24-25.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Draft General Management Plan*, 43, 78.

¹²⁸ John Debo to Superintendent [Hart], memorandum, August 23, 1984; *Draft General Management Plan*, 47-52; *General Management Plan*, 21-22.

17,000 for the fiscal year, the DSC Concessions Branch concluded that the operating costs of a water shuttle during the warm-weather months probably would exceed projected revenue and recommended that feasibility be reexamined when park visitation numbers increased.¹²⁹ The park continued to provide interpretive boat tours during Convention Days, and in 1988, after visitation topped 22,000, the DSC updated its economic feasibility study. The follow-up study came to the same conclusion; it also addressed an alternate bus shuttle system and found that this, too, would not even come close to being profitable.¹³⁰ Nonetheless, community leaders looking for ways to promote local tourism still would welcome an NPS-funded infrastructure to provide continuous water shuttle service during the summer months.¹³¹

Increased numbers of visitors would affect traffic circulation throughout the two villages and require planning for alternate forms of surface transportation, such as biking and walking trails. To this end, the GMP stipulated that the NPS “would join with the UCP and villages in signing routes or producing a walking/biking trail map.” The park and the UCP did in fact co-produce a series of thematic walking, biking, and boat tours the following year. However, this element of the plan also was subject to demand from visitors. The language, therefore, was left open, noting simply that, “local towns and villages [would] play a critical role” in the type of development that occurs in response to increased tourism.¹³²

The Seneca Falls Urban Cultural Park Management Plan, also completed in 1986, envisioned a joint NPS-UCP visitor center located in the former Village Hall. By this time, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Park, the UCP’s visual center, had been developed across Fall Street and down an incline from the Wesleyan Chapel, and the UCP plan described the village and national parks as an undifferentiated experience for visitors. From Fall Street, visitors could look toward the water and see Elizabeth Cady Stanton Park below, a historic bridge crossing the Cayuga-Seneca Canal, and Seneca Falls Knitting Mills, a historic stone building on the opposite shore. From the water, visitors could see the Visitor Center and the Wesleyan Chapel. To reach the Stanton House, visitors would cross Elizabeth Cady Stanton Park, board a boat shuttle, and be carried across Van Cleef Lake to a

¹²⁹ *Concessions Economic Feasibility Study, Canal Barge Visitor Transportation: Women’s Rights National Historical Park* (NPS, Denver Service Center, Concessions Branch, July 1987).

¹³⁰ *Economic Feasibility Study Update: Canal Barge Visitor Transportation, Women’s Rights National Historical Park* (NPS, Denver Service Center, Concessions Branch, April 1989).

¹³¹ August Sinicropi interview, August 27, 2009.

¹³² *Draft General Management Plan*, 51-52; *General Management Plan*, 22-23; Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP [Judy Hart] to UCP/GMP Planning Associates, memorandum, May 1, 1985.

wooded park along the bank. State law required urban cultural parks to be developed with interpretive themes appropriate to their settings. The Seneca Falls UCP had adopted women's rights as its primary theme, with secondary themes of transportation, industrialization, and community development. Full development of the UCP plan was estimated at \$15.4 million, and the Village anticipated that the National Park Service would fund nearly half the cost.¹³³

The Village of Seneca Falls also completed a reconnaissance-level survey of the local historic district while both management plans were being developed. Whole Duck Catalogue coordinated a collaborative effort with the Seneca Falls Historical Society and the NPS, funded in part by a \$4,000 state grant and a \$4,000 NPS matching grant. The National Park Service provided an additional \$1,000 grant, plus office space and staff assistance for photography and historic architectural expertise. An exceedingly modest outlay of cash and in-kind match enabled Hanns Kuttner (project director) and Michael West (historian) to conduct a NYSHPO "blue form" survey of 450 structures, completed in 1989.¹³⁴

The "blue form" survey informed preparation of the Seneca Falls Village Historic District nomination, which was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1991. Whereas the local historic preservation district covered 475 acres, the National Register district encompassed a much more modest 174 acres including 198 contributing and 99 non-contributing resources "associated with the industrial, commercial and residential growth of Seneca Falls between 1800 and 1930." The nomination did not address reform movements as a significant theme, and, architecturally, it focused on resources that reflected the prosperity of industrialization, excluding those associated with industrial workers. The boundaries of the district included the Wesleyan Chapel (listed on the NRHP 1980) and the Fall Street/Trinity Lane Historic District (listed on the NRHP 1974), which extended into Van Cleef Lake to capture submerged resources associated with canal-related industrial development. On the south side of the canal and Van Cleef Lake, the district boundaries were narrowly drawn to include only Seneca Falls Knitting Mills as the sole surviving example of early industrial development.¹³⁵ This eliminated the entire Fourth Ward neighborhood, to which the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House belonged. Exclusion of the Fourth Ward neighborhood was the result of a 1986 determination by the NYSHPO. Based on an examination of houses in the Fourth Ward, the NYSHPO determined that "due

¹³³ *Seneca Falls Urban Cultural Park Management Plan*, 1986, see esp. A 1-4.

¹³⁴ Judy Hart to Mayor Robert Freeland, letter, November 16, 1984; Minutes, Seneca Falls Historic District Commission, October 29, 1984; "Certification of Funds Expended by the National Park Service" November 25, 1986; Whole Duck Catalogue, Monthly Report to Seneca Falls Village Board of Trustees, February 7, 1985.

¹³⁵ *Seneca Falls Village Historic District*, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (1991).

to extensive alterations, they lack sufficient architectural integrity as a group to meet the National Register criteria for evaluation,” and the Fourth Ward neighborhood “[would] not be included as part of the proposed Seneca Falls National Register District.”¹³⁶ The 1986 determination did not affect the Stanton House, individually listed on the NRHP in 1980 and designated a National Historic Landmark in 1966, but it made preservation of the historic setting more difficult.

THE WESLEYAN CHAPEL DESIGN COMPETITION

The “measure of ambiguity” that Dwight Rettie rightly perceived in the draft GMP stemmed from a conviction among planning team members that treatment of the Wesleyan Chapel was more than a preservation problem to be solved in accordance with agency management policies. In advocating reconstruction, the Stanton Foundation staked out what was considered an extreme position in relation to NPS policies at the time, but the rationale behind it—that the chapel was as important, historically and symbolically, as Independence Hall—resonated with many of those involved in the Wesleyan Chapel Block project. Judy Hart called the Wesleyan Chapel the park’s “spirit spot.” Accordingly, the design program sent to 751 registrants for the 1987 design competition listed the primary requirement as developing a solution that would transform the chapel remnant into “a landmark and a touchstone that is symbolic of women’s rights.” Preserving the architectural remains was only one of the objectives. The larger goal was to stimulate as much creativity as possible in an open competition. The design challenge was huge: to preserve a building remnant that was imbued with transcendent qualities and to conceptualize “a place that commemorates the events of 1848, celebrates the historic vision and struggle of women for equal rights, [and] provides inspiration for the visitor.”¹³⁷ Working from the GMP, which specified that the Wesleyan Chapel might be used for “gatherings that continue the heritage of women’s rights and free speech,” staff at Harper’s Ferry Center (HFC) prepared interim interpretive guidelines for the design competition stipulating that submissions were to include the Declaration of Sentiments in a visually prominent manner and also provide an assembly area “for the expression of free speech.”¹³⁸ Not only might this provide a place for contemplation, celebration, and inspiration; it opened a window for allowing

¹³⁶ *Fourth Ward School*, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (1986), 7-1.

¹³⁷ National Park Service and National Endowment for the Arts, *Women’s Rights National Historical Park Design Competition Program* (n.p., July 1987), 1-7.

¹³⁸ Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meeting Minutes, June 9, June 23, and July 7, 1986; *Women’s Rights National Historical Park Design Competition Program*, 1-7, 1-8.

public gatherings and the unfettered expression of ideas and opinions so long as individuals and groups desiring to use this designated free speech area had the required NPS permit.

Technically, the GMP did not commit the NPS to a design competition, but with support from the regional director and from within the Denver Service Center, this was a foregone conclusion.¹³⁹ When the DSC issued a task directive for the design competition in June 1995, three members of the GMP planning team—Elayne Anderson, Marc Malik, and Judy Hart—became the core NPS contingent for its planning. Terry Savage from the Regional Office rounded out the planning team.¹⁴⁰ Thus, regardless of NPS management policies, months in advance of an approved final GMP in February 1986, the GMP planning team had seamlessly become the design competition planning team.

The National Endowment for the Arts very early was brought into the process to manage the design competition. At the time, the NEA was seeking opportunities to partner with other federal agencies under its Design Arts Program. This program represented a strategy to improve the design of federal buildings that had its genesis in the Task Force for Federal Architecture established in 1974 by the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities at the request of President Richard Nixon.¹⁴¹ Meetings between the NPS and the NEA began in October 1985, and by February 1986 a draft interagency agreement, budget, and competition schedule were under review.¹⁴² In mid-1986, the NEA assigned Peter Smith to the planning team.¹⁴³ Smith brought a wealth of

¹³⁹ The “limited development” alternative proposed in the draft GMP also called for a national design competition as part of preserving the chapel. Thus, the two alternatives that were most likely to be adopted in the final GMP entailed a design competition for the Wesleyan Chapel; see *Draft General Management Plan*, 45-60.

¹⁴⁰ Others participating in meetings included Gerald Patten and Terry Wong from the Denver Service Center, Regional Director Herbert Cables, and Sharon Brown from Clara Barton NHS, who was working with Anderson on the HSR; see Meeting Notes, National Design Competition, December 18, 1985.

¹⁴¹ Helene R. Lipstadt, *Making Competitions Federal: The Contributions of Law, Policy, Politics, Beliefs and of the NEA Innovation, 1792-1991* (NEA Grant No. 88-4216-0110, 1991), 157-168, 200.

¹⁴² Draft Guidelines for National Design Competition, October 20, 1985; Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP [Hart] to Task Group on Design Competition [Terry Savage, Elayne Anderson, Charles Zucker (Deputy Director, Design Arts Program)], memorandum re: Revised Preliminary Draft of Outline for Design Program for Design Competition, December 20, 1985; Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP [Hart] to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], memorandum re: NEA & NPS Interagency Agreement for Design Competition, January 27, 1986; Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP [Hart] to Regional Director, NAR [Cables], memorandum re: Budget and schedule for a one-stage Design Competition, February 13, 1986.

¹⁴³ Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP [Hart] to Chief, Planning and Design, NAR [Savage], memorandum re: Task Group on Design Competition, June 18, 1986.

knowledge and experience about historic preservation at the federal level, having worked for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the House Committee on Banking and Historic Preservation before joining the NEA.¹⁴⁴

The DSC took the lead on planning and development of the Wesleyan Chapel Block project in accordance with standard NPS protocol. While the draft GMP was under public review, the NEA-NPS design competition task force worked on a number of procedural and technical issues.¹⁴⁵ Everyone understood there would be problems associated with holding an open competition in an institutional environment that ordinarily procured design services through more rigid federal procurement standards. The NPS wanted a competition that would be open to any individual, whether or not qualified under federal procurement standards, to produce the best design and also to promote an egalitarian spirit felt to be in keeping with the site and its historical significance. The NEA's experience with design competitions and working knowledge of federal contracting practices were a decided advantage in achieving this goal.¹⁴⁶

Three issues took months to resolve: (1) the requirement to design an enclosed building, (2) the question of whether the competition would obligate the NPS to build the winning design, and (3) what to do about the brick wall of the Village Hall facing the chapel. On the first issue, language incorporated into the final GMP stipulated that the chapel's "somewhat limited original fabric [was to] be used along with non-historic fabric" in the design of a modern building with "functional interior spaces."¹⁴⁷ The design competition program, however, contained no such requirement. Internal memoranda documenting discussions that took place between Hart and the Regional Office indicate that the question of allowing an open-wall chapel (an unenclosed building) as the NEA apparently insisted in order to facilitate design freedom, was unresolved as of May 1987.¹⁴⁸

Regarding NPS commitment to build the winning design, Regional Office staff wanted the competition structured to produce design submissions aligned with NPS management policies, which required internal approval before

¹⁴⁴ Smith's professional biography is contained in the Sole Source Justification for the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House Development Concept Plan; see Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Hart], to Chief, Planning and Design, NAR [Savage], July 29, 1988.

¹⁴⁵ Chief, Planning and Design, NAR [Savage] to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NAR [Charles Clapper], Trip Report, Women's Rights Design Competition, May 29, 1986. At this point, the Task Group included Margo Vellecho and Peter Smith for the NEA, and Elayne Anderson and Terry Savage for the NPS.

¹⁴⁶ Lipstadt, *Making Competitions Federal*, 200-201.

¹⁴⁷ *General Management Plan*, 10.

¹⁴⁸ Superintendent [Judy Hart] to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NAR [Charles Clapper] memorandum re: Design Competition for Wesleyan Chapel Block, May 19, 1987, NER-PRP.

proceeding to development. The NEA dismissed this approach out of hand as a waste of time and money that would effectively reduce the competition to an intellectual exercise.¹⁴⁹ This issue more than any other demonstrated the degree to which the design competition pushed the envelope of NPS policies and preservation standards, threatening to undermine the entire enterprise. Debate continued long after the NPS and the NEA signed an interagency agreement in December 1986, which contained a clause exempting the NPS from constructing a design that was unacceptable under management policies.¹⁵⁰ Internally, however, Hart secured personal agreements to build the winning design from the “Regional Director, Manager of the DSC, NPS Associate Director for Planning, and NPS Director.”¹⁵¹ When the design program was finished, it specified that the NPS would follow procedures outlined in the Brooks Law (P.L. 92-582) in procuring architectural and engineering services for the actual design, as required under federal acquisition regulations. It also stated that the NPS “anticipated” retaining the competition winner “in a consultant capacity . . . to the selected A/E firm” or under separate contract as a design consultant to the NPS. The latter clause gave assurance that the competition winner, in addition to receiving a cash prize, could assist in transitioning design concept to buildable structure.¹⁵²

Treatment of the exterior brick wall of the Village Hall facing the Wesleyan Chapel, an imposing visual element of the overall site, was another point of internal NPS discussion. The NPS did not actually acquire title to the building until April 1987. Nonetheless, the building was more than fifty years old, having been constructed in 1915, and therefore potentially eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. A Determination of Eligibility from the NYSHPO was required before any changes could take place. Thus, for the design competition, the only feasible option was to exclude the building from consideration. Designers simply had to accept the east exterior wall as an unalterable element of the site.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Interagency Agreement between National Park Service and the National Endowment for the Arts, Document #I.A.1600-7-0001, December 22, 1986.

¹⁵¹ Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP [Hart] to Associate Regional Director Charlie Clapper, memorandum, May 9, 1987. Judy Hart, in comments on the draft manuscript dated January 30, 2011, added information confirming the depth of internal personal agreements. In May 1987, the following people held those positions: William Penn Mott, NPS Director; [?], NPS [Acting] Associate Director for Planning; Herbert Cables, NE Regional Director; and Gerald Patten, DSC Manager.

¹⁵² *Design Competition Program*, 1-18.

¹⁵³ Chief, Cultural Resources, NAR [Francis McManamon], to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation [Charles Clapper], memorandum re: WORL Competition, May 22, 1987, NARA-CP; Chief, Cultural Resources, NAR [McManamon], to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resources Preservation [Clapper], memorandum re: Follow-up to WORL Competition Meeting of May 28, 1987, May 28, 1987, NER-HIST; *Design Competition Program*, 1-10.

By fall 1986 the task force had moved on to discussion of budget and jury selection criteria. The NEA preferred a jury composed entirely of people with design backgrounds, but the NPS insisted that any project involving a significant historic structure required the perspective of a historian. The compromise was a jury of seven to comprise four architects, one developer, one landscape architect, and one cultural historian. Jurors were to have experience with previous design competitions and were expected to demonstrate sensitivity to preservation issues, the community, and issues of women's rights.¹⁵⁴ Because the seven jurors selected were from outside the Seneca Falls area,¹⁵⁵ the NPS and the NEA agreed to create an advisory panel made up of preservationists, historians, and local citizens to provide historical context and perspective on site significance. Hart wanted to include in the design program packet brief statements from advisory panel members presenting their points of view and expectations for the design competition, but this conflicted with the commitment to an open competition.¹⁵⁶

The NPS-NEA interagency agreement, executed in December 1986, stipulated that the North Atlantic Regional Office would hold the power to make final decisions regarding all aspects of the design competition, including its organization and structure, competition rules, jury selection, announcements and advertising, and the contents of the competition package. The responsibilities of the park, the Denver Service Center, and the NEA were to "draft," to provide "input and review," to "assist and advise," and to "suggest and review." The interagency agreement further articulated NEA's responsibilities to include the following: (1) enter into a cooperative agreement with a non-profit organization to hire a competition advisor and to accomplish the day-to-day project coordination of the competition, with prior approval of the NPS, (2) select a design jury, with

¹⁵⁴ Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Hart] to Design Competition Task Group, memorandum re: September 10 Meeting of Task Group at NEA, September 12, 1986; Judy Hart to Task Group for Design Competition for Women's Rights NHP, memorandum re: Ideology of the Jury for the Design Competition, September 25, 1986.

¹⁵⁵ The panel of seven jurors included Cheryl Barton, president-elect of the American Society of Landscape Architects; Martin Friedman, director of the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis; Robert Campbell, architecture critic for the *Boston Globe*; Adele Santos, chair of the Department of Architecture, University of Pennsylvania; John Belle, FAIA of Beyer Blinder Belle Architects and Planners, New York; Reese Fayde, president of Real Estate Enterprises, Inc.; and Joan Hoff Wilson, Ph.D., Executive Director of the Organization of American Historians; see Judy Hart, ed., *A Vision Realized: The Design Competition for Women's Rights National Historical Park* (Seneca Falls, NY: SFS Printing for the National Park Service and the National Endowment for the Arts, [c. 1990]), 39.

¹⁵⁶ As listed in *A Vision Realized*, 39, the panel included Cynthia Grassby-Baker, chair of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation; historian Judith Wellman; Marilyn Bero of the Park Advisory Commission; August Sinicropi, chair of the Urban Cultural Park of Seneca Falls; and Mayor Robert G. Freeland, Village of Seneca Falls.

prior NPS approval, (3) draft the competition rules, and (4) advise on all aspects of the design competition process.¹⁵⁷

The NPS also provided funding for the design competition, and the NEA was to use these funds to hire a competition manager through a cooperative agreement with an outside non-profit organization. Design competition funding in the amount of \$150,000, which the NPS transferred to the NEA, came from the \$350,000 add-on appropriation that Rep. Frank Horton had been instrumental in securing in 1985. Regional Director Cables subsequently requested that Peter Smith serve as competition manager rather than hiring an outside consultant. At this point, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation was formally brought into the process, which gave the community a greater stake in the competition. A one-year cooperative agreement between the NEA and the Stanton Foundation, executed in February 1987, stipulated that the NEA would allocate \$110,000 to the ECSF to produce and issue the competition package; produce and issue all announcements, publicity, and publications; contract with the jury and for the awards events; present entries to the jury; and provide overall management coordination under the direction of Peter Smith.¹⁵⁸ The Stanton Foundation hired Mary Kelly Black to handle the day-to-day work. Then, in August 1987, the park hired Black as a clerk typist to continue the day-to-day support work. In reality, Hart managed much of the competition with the assistance of Black, which had the effect of entangling a responsibility of the Stanton Foundation with park management.

In March 1987, the competition was announced with much fanfare at the U.S. Capitol, fittingly in front of the *Portrait Monument to Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B Anthony*, the marble sculpture by Adelaide Johnson that had been on display in the Capitol crypt since its unveiling in 1921.¹⁵⁹ Appearing with Hart and the NEA's Adele Chatfield-Taylor were Senator Moynihan, Representative Horton, and NPS Director William Penn Mott, Jr. Although the ceremonial announcement did not create quite the media stir that the design competition team anticipated, it did make the *New York Times*, which quoted Moynihan as saying, "I don't want to see a symbolic representation of the

¹⁵⁷ NPS-NEA Interagency Agreement, December 1986, and addenda: (1) Tasks and Responsibilities Chart, (2) list of NEA responsibilities in the interagency agreement, (3) list of NEA responsibilities in the cooperative agreement, and (4) Regional Director Herb[ert] Cables to Adele Chatfield-Taylor, memorandum requesting that Peter Smith manage the competition, January 20, 1987. The NPS-NEA design team included Peter H. Smith of NEA; Terry Savage, Chief of Planning and Design, NAR, Elayne Anderson of the Denver Service Center; and Judy Hart, Park Superintendent.

¹⁵⁸ Cooperative Agreement between The National Endowment for the Arts and the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, February 2, 1987.

¹⁵⁹ The sculpture was moved to the Capitol Rotunda after Congress adopted House Concurrent Resolution 216 in September 1996.

spirit of 1848. I want to see that Methodist church restored.”¹⁶⁰ Moynihan’s public comment, given his support of design competitions for federal buildings, may have confused an intense discussion that was brewing between the design team and staff in the NAR Cultural Resources Division.¹⁶¹



Figure 26. Rep. Frank Horton announcing the design competition in Washington, D.C., March 31, 1987, in front of *The Portrait*. Courtesy Women’s Rights NHP.

The NPS-NEA interagency agreement stipulated that the Denver Service Center would draft the design program and the NEA would draft the competition rules, with assistance and review from the other parties and final approval by the

¹⁶⁰ Clifford D. May, “Design Contest Announced for Park on Women’s Rights,” *New York Times*, March 31, 1987; “Designing Women” (announcement), *USA Today*, March 31, 1987; Martin Toombs, “Falls Historic Design Competition Launched in D.C. Ceremony,” *Finger Lakes Times*, March 31, 1987; photo and caption of D.C. announcement, *The Reveille*, April 15, 1987.

¹⁶¹ Moynihan championed design competitions for federal buildings. He supported the Architecture Excellence Act of 1979, which required federal competitions for buildings costing more than \$25 million, introduced 1979 legislation for a Public Building Act (unsuccessful), and co-sponsored the 1981 bill for a Public Building Act, which, had it passed, would have required federal competitions for work on buildings of historic, architectural, or cultural significance; see Lipstadt, 168-170.

Regional Office.¹⁶² However, competition manager Peter Smith actually drafted both the design program and the competition rules. When the program came to the Cultural Resources Division of the Regional Office for review in early April 1987, red flags went up. Overall, division staff felt that “a clear and direct statement of design intent” was missing and that the program did not “offer the prospective competitors a clear idea of what the National Park Service want[ed].” Additionally, the HSR, due in September 1986, still was incomplete.¹⁶³ These were serious issues, but the competition registration nonetheless proceeded on schedule with a ceremony on April 22, 1987, at the former Village Hall. Peter Smith accepted the first \$45 registration check from architect Rhoda Barney Jenkins, great-great-granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, symbolically connecting the chapel’s past with its future. At the same ceremony, Village Mayor Robert G. Freeland presented the deed to the Village Hall, officially handing the building over to the National Park Service after all village offices had been relocated.¹⁶⁴

Meanwhile, staff in the Cultural Resources Division spent four days, May 12-15, poring over the draft design program, trying to resolve conflicts with the GMP, figure out how much more research was essential to establish satisfactory design requirements, and prepare cost estimates for that research.¹⁶⁵ In the midst of this, Terry Savage was detailed to Olmsted NHS to serve as acting superintendent, although he remained on the competition design team. Hart, in a move to keep the competition on schedule, prepared a lengthy summary of unresolved issues and required decisions.¹⁶⁶ Her effort appears to have been effective. Regional Historian Dwight Pitcaithley and Regional Archaeologist Dick Hsu were assigned to work with Peter Smith to determine which portions of the history and archaeology sections of the HSR would be included as appendices, and

¹⁶² “Duties of Competition Manager, Women’s Rights National Historical Park Design Competition,” attachment to NPS-NEA interagency agreement.

¹⁶³ Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, NAR [Myra Harrison] to Chief, Division of Planning and Design, NAR [Terry Savage], memorandum, April 9, 1987, NER-HAP.

¹⁶⁴ Janice Mall, “Equal-Rights Site Has Come a Long Way,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 12, 1987; Martin Toombs, “Stanton Relative is Architect for ‘Family,’” *Finger Lakes Times*, April 23, 1987; David L. Shaw, “Stanton’s Great-Granddaughter Enters Chapel Contest,” *Cayuga/Seneca Post-Standard*, April 23, 1987; “National Design Competition for Women’s Rights Park Starts,” *Register Star* [Hudson, NY], April 23, 1987; “Women’s Rights Park Salutes Fight,” *Wichita Eagle-Beacon*, May 10, 1987; Rebecca Weiner, “The Women’s Rights Park: Plans for a Seneca Falls National Park are Open for Public Competition,” *New Haven Advocate*, June 22, 1987.

¹⁶⁵ Chief, Cultural Resources, NAR [Myra Harrison] to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation [Charles Clapper], memorandum, May 22, 1987, NARA-CP.

¹⁶⁶ Superintendent [Judy Hart] to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation [Charles Clapper], memorandum, May 19, 1987, NER-PRP.

Pitcaithley agreed to conduct enough research to facilitate a determination of National Register eligibility for the Village Hall.¹⁶⁷

To resolve the scheduling dilemma, the design program was mailed two weeks later than planned, but the target date for design submissions remained the same, October 14, in order to avoid having to reschedule the jury dates. Smith was not at all pleased with the Regional Office's assertion of authority, which, in his estimation, undermined a "sense of vision for the future of the WRNHP." In a long memorandum to Adele Chatfield-Taylor, director of the Design Arts Program, Smith charged that, in the space of two weeks, the NPS had "redefined" the competition and was "in many respects, doing business in the same old way but calling it something new." He went on to speculate that, "By limit[ing] design options, the competition cannot hope to attract the hundreds and hundreds of entries that had originally been envisioned."¹⁶⁸

Bearing in mind that the authority the Regional Office exercised was clearly specified in the interagency agreement, Smith's memorandum might be considered as an outburst of personal frustration. However, in the larger picture, his memo speaks to difficulties that Ed Bearss, Hugh Miller, and others had anticipated. The NEA and the NPS were established to carry out different federal policies and missions, and, as a result, each agency had its own culture and values. Smith, in his own way, was restating the same clash of interests that divided members of the planning team from the beginning. The real question is why the NPS proceeded with a design competition when there were indications from the beginning that it would be a difficult undertaking with no guarantee of a workable preservation solution at the end. Although there is no easy answer to this question, the evidence suggests that Hart and other NPS professionals believed the Wesleyan Chapel deserved special preservation treatment. This place of origins had been de-sanctified and pillaged nearly to the point of no return. In words selected for the GMP, the Wesleyan Chapel would "symbolize the ideal of

¹⁶⁷ Chief, Cultural Resources, NAR [Myra Harrison] to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation [Charles Clapper], memorandum, May 29, 1987, NER-HIST. Blaine Cliver and Barbara Yocum assisted in the effort by preparing the *Summary of Architectural Data* on short notice; see Barbara A. Yocum and Terry L. Wong, *Wesleyan Chapel, Women's Rights National Historic Park, Seneca Falls, New York: Historic Structure Report* (Boston, MA: North Atlantic Region, North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center, 1992 [written 1988]). On February 13, 1989, the Regional Office was notified that the NYSHPO had determined the Village Hall to be eligible for the National Register; see Julia S. Stokes, Deputy Commissioner for Historic Preservation, NYSHPO to Herbert S. Cables, Regional Director, NAR, letter, February 13, 1989. The Village Hall subsequently was listed on the National Register in 1991, not as an individual building but as a contributing resource to the Seneca Falls Village District.

¹⁶⁸ Peter H. Smith to Adele Chatfield-Taylor, memorandum, June 1, 1987, ACHP Records, NARA-CP.

women's rights."¹⁶⁹ The preservation challenge, therefore, was something more than preserving the remnants of a historic building; it was to re-sanctify the Wesleyan Chapel. This challenge was considered important enough to warrant a divergence from NPS protocol, particularly because the Denver Service Center had the lead on the Wesleyan Chapel Block project and, at the time, the DSC did not have a good reputation for design talent.¹⁷⁰ Hart, in particular, felt there was no option but to pursue a design competition. On a more prosaic level, the design competition approach had backing from the regional director and NPS Director Mott as well as Representative Horton and Senator Moynihan, and the NPS had a special congressional appropriation to pay for it.

In any event, Peter Smith's fears proved to be unfounded. When registration closed on July 20, the Stanton Foundation had received a total of 751 requests, from 48 states, for the competition program. The packet that each of these interested parties received included a program booklet describing the context, objectives, and conditions of the competition; identifying the members of the jury and advisory panel; listing the schedule; and providing a recommended reading list that included works written by and about Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the women's rights movement, and the surrounding areas of Seneca Falls. Four appendices included site photographs, the Cliver-Yocum-Ofenstein "Summary of Architectural Data" (June 1987), excerpts from Sharon Brown's "Historical Data Section" for the HSR, and excerpts from Paula Zitzler's "Archeological Data Section" for the HSR. An envelope of supplementary material included drawings of the competition site from different vantage points in the streetscape and the building's appearance at different time periods, a copy of the Declaration of Sentiments, the official Report of the Convention, and the final GMP. In what may have been a concession to the NEA, neither the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Structures* nor specific information about NPS cultural resource management policies was included. The section on design objectives articulated the essential preservation standards to be met, albeit in distilled language.¹⁷¹ Minimizing NPS policies and standards probably invited the level of creativity that the design team was seeking. At the same time, the interagency agreement gave the NPS an escape clause; the agency was not legally committed to constructing a design that could not be engineered to conform to management policies.

Less than a third of those requesting design packets actually submitted entries, but it was still a large competition: 212 entries from 41 states. The vast

¹⁶⁹ *General Management Plan* (1986), 10.

¹⁷⁰ Elayne Anderson to Rebecca Conard, telephone conversation, January 5, 2010.

¹⁷¹ *Women's Rights NHP Design Competition Program and Supplementary Material*, packet.

majority came from professional architects, landscape architects, and urban planners. Several entries came from architecture or design students, and a few from artists. More than half of the entrants were women or design teams that included women. A smattering of non-professionals submitted designs—one unemployed technician, one carpenter, three teachers, one exhibit handler, and one general contractor—fewer, perhaps, than Hart and Smith might have wanted to validate the claim to have orchestrated a competition that attracted “the greatest possible public participation.” However, nationwide representation among entries did achieve one of Hart’s specific goals, to raise the profile of the park. By this measure, the competition was an unqualified success.¹⁷²



Figure 27. Jurors, the Wesleyan Chapel Design Competition, October 18-21, 1987. L-R: John Belle, Principal, Beyer, Blinder, Belle, Architects and Planners, NYC; Thomas Vonier, Principal, Thomas Vonier Associates, Washington, D.C.; Reese Fayde, President, Real Estate Enterprises, Inc., NYC (chairwoman); Cheryl Barton, President, American Landscape Architects and Planners; Joan Hoff Wilson, Executive Director, Organization of American Historians; Grove Mouton, artist and Assistant Professor of Architecture, Tulane University; and Adele Santos, Chair, Department of Architecture, University of Pennsylvania. *Courtesy Women’s Rights NHP.*

The seven competition jurors arrived on October 18 to begin work, starting with a tour of the park and dinner with the stakeholders. In addition to NPS and NEA officials and members of the competition advisory panel, the dinner party included official representatives of the Village of Seneca Falls, Park Advisory Commission, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, and New York State Urban

¹⁷² Judy Hart, Briefing Notes: National Design Competition for the Wesleyan Chapel Block, Women’s Rights NHP, October 1, 1987, NPS-PPSS; see also Hart, *A Vision Realized*, 71-73.

Cultural Park Advisory Committee.¹⁷³ On Monday morning, October 19, jurors began the daunting task of individually examining all 212 entries displayed visually on easels, analyzing specific details at their own pace. For the initial examination, which had to be completed in the space of a few hours, jurors were allowed to work behind closed doors, during which time they narrowed the field to approximately fifty designs. Discussion of these began Monday afternoon with members of the public invited to watch their deliberations, and the entire proceeding was recorded. By the end of the first day, jurors had selected seventeen finalists.¹⁷⁴

Jurors continued deliberations on Tuesday, October 20, again in a forum-like setting open to the public. After winnowing the field to twelve, the jurors held a special closed session in the evening. The next day, in open session, they selected first place, second place, and honorable mention awards. An audience of about one hundred people packed into the empty Village Hall. Juror Adele Santos announced the winning design in the presence of NPS Director William Penn Mott, Jr., a direct descendant of Lucretia Mott, the Quaker abolitionist and women's rights advocate whom Stanton first met in London at the 1840 anti-slavery convention. The winners, Ray Kinoshita and Ann Wills Marshall, students at Harvard Graduate School of Design, happened to have driven from Cambridge to attend the ceremony. Conveniently for news reporters, they arrived in time to hear Santos praise their design as "one of the few that you could honestly say balanced architecture, landscape, urban design, art, a sense of history and a sense of mood, and did so extremely elegantly." Most of the media coverage was regional, but the competition also drew national coverage, with articles in *The New York Times*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Boston Globe*, *Washington Post*, and *USA Today*.¹⁷⁵

The Kinoshita-Marshall design called for bracing the remaining side walls of the historic chapel with steel reinforcing members and covering the exposed

¹⁷³ Presenters included Village of Seneca Falls Mayor Robert Freeland, UCP Director August Sinicropi, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation President Suzanne Cusick, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation representative Judith Wellman, Park Advisory Commission Chair Charlotte Conable, Park Advisory Commission representative Marilyn Bero, NEA Design Arts Director Adele Chatfield Taylor, NPS regional Director Herbert Cables, DSC Manager Gerald D. Patten, and NPS Park Superintendent Judy Hart, *Wesleyan Chapel Design Contest*, videocassette.

¹⁷⁴ Martin Toombs, "Chapel Designs Judged," *Finger Lakes Times*, October 20, 1987; Hart, *A Vision Realized*, 26-27; *Wesleyan Chapel Design Contest*, videocassette.

¹⁷⁵ Hart, *A Vision Realized*, 30 (quote); Kara Swisher, "Restoring Women's Rights: Design Picked for Park Project at Suffragette Site," *Washington Post*, October 26, 1987; Debbie Howlett and Sherrie Negrea, "Designing Women's Tribute," *USA Today*, October 22, 1987; "2 Women Win Prize in Rights Park Design," *New York Times*, October 22, 1987; "Design is Chosen for Monument," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 22, 1987; "Cambridge Women Win Design Contest," *Boston Globe*, October 27, 1987.

roof trusses with a protective roof. Concrete infill would support the walls. A twenty-foot dressed stone wall in front of, but not touching, the chapel on the south would wrap around the east sidewall, the height necessary to buffer the chapel remains from the noise of Fall Street. Another stone wall, water gently pouring over its face, whereon the Declaration of Sentiments was inscribed, was to parallel the east wall of the Village Hall/new Visitor Center. A grassy slope connected the chapel and the water wall. Behind the chapel an open-air amphitheater faced the water wall, as far removed from Fall Street as possible to provide a place both for reflection and assembly.

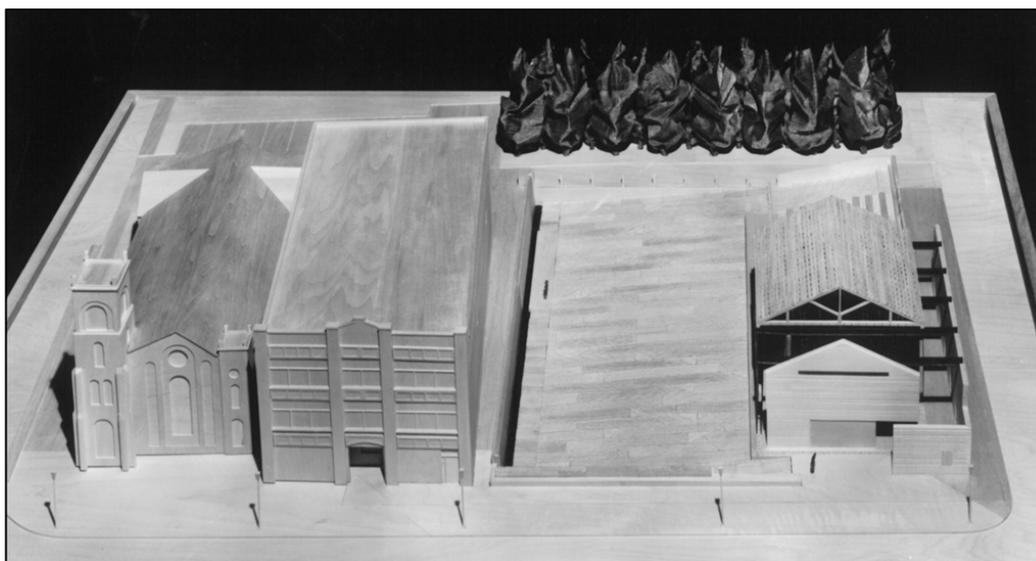


Figure 28. Kinoshita-Marshall Design Model for the Wesleyan Chapel Block. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

As an art critic later observed: “It was a devil of a design problem . . . the building had been eaten alive.”¹⁷⁶ In statements prepared for publicity purposes, Marshall and Kinoshita explained that their architectural solution was based on:

two fundamental convictions. We believe that the freedom to hold meetings is at the heart of all human progress. The Wesleyan Chapel marks a significant place and event in time, yet we believe it is the result of this meeting, the Declaration of Sentiments, that provides timeless inspiration for the Women's Movement and should be the focus of our solution.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Patricia Wright, “Resurrection With an Agenda,” *Daily Hampshire Gazette* [Northampton, MA], July 29, 1993.

¹⁷⁷ Ann Wills Marshall and Ray Kinoshita, “Comment on Their Winning Design,” attached to “Summary Statement: The Design Competition for the Wesleyan Chapel Block in the Women's Rights National Historical Park, Cosponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Park Service,” [1990]; see also Hart, *A Vision Realized*, 35.

The competition winners also were introduced to the Park Advisory Commission, which met in conjunction with the competition. With Director Mott in attendance, the meeting was devoted to a summing up of accomplishments during the park's first seven years as well as a lengthy discussion of escalating park operating costs and the need for a external fundraising. By this time most of the commissioners' terms had expired, with reappointments still pending. As events were to transpire, this would be the commission's last meeting.¹⁷⁸



Figure 29. Ray Kinoshita and Ann Marshall, September 1988. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

To help the community visualize the design concept, create public interest in the design competition process, and build support for funding, Marshall and Kinoshita constructed a three-dimensional model that was unveiled at a ceremony at the park (Fig. 27). Their model subsequently was displayed at various conferences, gatherings, and public events. Regional Director Cables presented the winners with a \$15,000 check at a ceremony at NPS offices in Boston. Senator Moynihan and Representative Horton hosted a congressional reception in Washington, D.C. on March 23, 1988. Kinoshita and Marshall, second-place winner Diana Balmori of Cesar Pelli & Associates of New Haven, Connecticut, and

¹⁷⁸ Minutes, Park Advisory Commission Meeting, October 21, 1987 [not transcribed until March 9, 1989]. Secretary of Interior Manuel Lujan reportedly appointed a new commissioner (unnamed) in November 1989—see Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, November 20, 1989—but there were no commission meetings to attend.

the ten honorable mention winners were presented to members of Congress and the press.¹⁷⁹

The most public event took place in Seneca Falls as part of the 140th anniversary of the Women's Rights Convention in July 1988. All 212 boards were on display, and a symposium gathered together some of those involved in staging the competition along with Representative Horton, Ann Marshall, and Ray Kinoshita. Asked to speak about their winning design, Kinoshita asked, "How do you express not only the moment but what's eternal? Making monuments has been a male-oriented endeavor. How do you build a monument for a movement with an incomplete past and an uncertain future?" Clearly, they saw their contribution as something more than a creative preservation solution. In language that recalled the central unresolved question of whether the park was established to interpret an idea or interpret historic buildings, Marshall added, "We viewed the Wesleyan chapel as part of that larger democratic idea. But we didn't see the chapel as the only focus—there was also the Declaration of Sentiments, the struggles we still address every day. We're riding on the energy of the women who came before us."¹⁸⁰

Hart was named Outstanding Regional Superintendent of 1987 for the instrumental role she played in the design competition. In presenting the award, Regional Director Cables cited her work in securing widespread public interest in the park as well as the "goodwill of the New York Congressional delegation." The honor, however, primarily recognized her role in staging the "first federally sponsored design contest ever in a national park." Mary Kelly Black, who initially was hired by the ECSF to manage day-to-day competition activities and then became a park employee, was named the region's Clerk-Typist of the Year.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Kara Swisher, "More of Women's Park," *Washington Post*, March 28, 1988; "Competition Winners Will be Honored," *Finger Lakes Times*, March 8, 1988; "Design Competition Winners Toasted," *Ithaca Journal*, March 25, 1988; "Women's Rights Park Unveils Chapel Model," *The Reveille*, April 27, 1988; Martin Toombs, "Chapel Block Design to be Shown," *Finger Lakes Times*, April 26, 1988.

¹⁸⁰ "Hundred-and-Fortieth," *The New Yorker* (September 19, 1988): 30-31.

¹⁸¹ Martin Toombs, "Two Local National Park Service Workers Honored," *Finger Lakes Times*, April 27, 1988; "Hart, Kelly Black Win Park Service Honors," *The Reveille*, April 27, 1988. Cables was technically correct in stating that it was the first "federally sponsored" design competition in the sense that the competition was funded and managed in its entirety by two federal agencies, the National Park Service and the National Endowment for the Arts; see Lipstadt, 184-205. The Jefferson Expansion Memorial Association, a private group, sponsored the 1947 design competition for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, and the NPS was not obliged to construct the winning design. Federal law (P.L. 86-214) created the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission in 1955 and authorized it to carry out a design competition, which the commission turned over to an advisory committee headed by the Dean of the School of Architecture and Planning at MIT. A private non-profit organization, the Vietnam

FROM DESIGN COMPETITION TO CONSTRUCTION DESIGN

In accordance with federal contracting policies, Marshall and Kinoshita were given the option of competing for the architectural and engineering contract as part of a firm or of taking design-consulting positions with the National Park Service. They chose the former and developed a team with The Stein Partnership (TSP) of New York City. This meant that they risked losing an opportunity to work on design implementation; however, The Stein Partnership subsequently was selected from a field of eighteen architectural and engineering firms who competed for the contract award. The winning team also included [Ivan] Chermayeff and [Tom] Geismar of New York, interpretive planning; A[rthur] E[dwin] Bye, landscape architecture; Robert Silman Associates of Washington D.C. and New York City, structural engineering; Howard Brandston of Brandston Partners Inc., New York City, lighting design; and Goldman Copeland Batlan and Oxman, New York City, mechanical engineering.¹⁸²

The Denver Service Center managed the contract, with Patrick Shea as project manager. The project called for a three-phase comprehensive package: research and comprehensive design, construction contract documents, and construction. By 1988, the estimated cost of construction had escalated to \$9 million. To secure the necessary funds for construction design, estimated by DSC to total \$573,000 in FY 1988 with more needed in FY 1989, Hart and Terry Savage met with NPS Deputy Director Denis Galvin in October 1987 and received his commitment for at least \$400,000. Based on Galvin's commitment, Hart and Savage then met with Senator Moynihan and Representative Horton to alert them that NPS would probably seek an add-on appropriation for design funds in FY 1989, followed by a construction add-on in FY 1990.¹⁸³

Veterans Memorial Fund, Inc. raised the \$8.4 million in private donations to design and construct the memorial on land Congress set aside for this purpose in 1981.

¹⁸² The Denver Service Center Review Board made the selection in May 1988; see Superintendent [Judy Hart] to Regional Director [Herbert Cables], memorandum, May 5, 1988. However, the contract award was not announced until October 1988, one year from the date of the design competition, and also the beginning of the federal fiscal year; see Martin Toombs, "Firm Hired for Chapel Design," *Finger Lakes Times*, October 22, 1988; David L. Shaw, "Architects Hired for Rights Park," *Cayuga/Seneca Post-Standard*, October 22, 1988; "Stein Partnership to Complete Wesleyan Chapel Block Design," *The Reveille*, October 26, 1988. The official contract (CS-2000-8-0016), sometimes referred to as Contract 106 or Project 106, was executed on July 12, 1988 by the Denver Service Center. Chermayeff and Geismar, specialists in trademark design, also worked on exhibits for Ellis Island and the Kennedy Library; A.E. Bye was professor of landscape architecture at Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art.

¹⁸³ Superintendent [Judy Hart] to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], memorandum re: Commitment for Design of Wesleyan Chapel Block in FY '88," January 4, 1988, NARA-CP.

In the meantime, the North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center finalized the HSR for the Wesleyan Chapel and started work on the HSR for the Village Hall. The latter entailed calling in structural engineer Terry Wong of the DSC Eastern Team to assess structural problems with the building. During the summer, the Historic American Buildings Survey completed architectural recordation of the Wesleyan Chapel, funded through the NAHPC at a cost of \$30,000.¹⁸⁴

From the contract start up meeting in August 1988 through January 1989, Shea held bi-weekly project meetings with Judy Hart, Terry Savage, Richard Stein from TSP, Ann Marshall, and Ray Kinoshita. Others attended as necessary to focus on specific design or structural issues. During this period, several problem areas surfaced. With respect to the Village Hall, the east exterior wall and an interior elevator were of particular concern. Because the building had been determined architecturally and historically significant under National Register criteria, the NPS wanted to retain both as part of the building's historic fabric. As of January 1989, when the nearly complete design schematics were under review, it appeared as though it would be possible to repair and repoint the exterior brick wall. This was constructed as a party wall, and it retained the outline of an adjoining theater destroyed by fire in 1972. However, the interior elevator was determined to be unsafe, so the project team agreed to use the elevator cab and enclosure on the third floor as a staff lounge.

By January 1989, when Hart left the park, considerable progress had been made in translating the Kinoshita-Marshall design concept to a buildable structure. They had proposed a system of steel beams and plates to reinforce what remained of the chapel's side walls. Engineering tests, however, indicated that if some weight-bearing material were used to fill in missing historic fabric, the walls not only would stand on their own but also would support the historic roof trusses. This led to a substantial change in the design that eliminated steel reinforcing members, allowing the visual focus to rest on historic fabric, not the support

¹⁸⁴ Architectural Conservator, NAHPC [Barbara Yocum] to Chief, Historic Preservation, NAR [Blaine Cliver], trip report, January 19, 1988, NER-HAP; Architectural Conservator, NAHPC [Barbara Yocum] to Chief, Historic Preservation, NAR [Blaine Cliver], trip report, March 2, 1988; Architectural Conservator, NAHPC [Stacey A. Matson] to Chief, Historic Preservation, NAR [Blaine Cliver], trip report, March 7, 1988, NER-HAP; Terry Wong, Structural Engineer, DSC Eastern Team, to Assistant Manager, DSC Eastern Team [Donald Falvey], trip report, March 10, 1988; Assistant Manager, DSC Eastern Team [Donald Falvey] to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], memorandum re: Monitoring of Wall Movement [in Village Hall], April 8, 1988; Structural Engineer, DSC Eastern Team [Terry Wong] to Assistant Manager, DSC Eastern Team [Donald Falvey], trip report, May 20, 1988; Memorandum of Agreement between the North Atlantic Preservation Center, Women's Rights National Historic Park, and the Historic American Buildings Survey, June 13, 1988; Architectural Conservator, NAHPC [Barbara Yocum] to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NAR [Charles Clapper], memorandum re: Meeting to Discuss the Village Hall, Women's Rights NHP, July 11, 1988.

system. There still was need for additional support to carry the weight of a protective cover, and the method to be used for this purpose was one of the details remaining to be worked out. Other issues yet to be resolved included adequate protection for the wood trusses, how to protect the historic fabric of the side walls from harsh weather, and how to baffle the noise from Fall Street.¹⁸⁵

INTERPRETATION

In FY 1986, the park received \$7,000 in project funding so that the Harpers Ferry Center could begin work on an interpretive prospectus.¹⁸⁶ Interpretive Planner Linda Finn served as team captain. In addition to several HFC interpretive specialists, the team included Architect Elayne Anderson of the DSC Eastern Team, Terry Savage and Interpretive Specialist Cynthia Kryston from the Regional Office, and, from the park, Judy Hart and Chief of Interpretation Margaret McFadden, who held an undergraduate degree from Wells College with a minor in women's studies.¹⁸⁷ NPS management policies addressed interpretation as one aspect of visitor use until late 1988. New management policies, which went into effect in December of that year, stated for the first time that NPS considered interpretation to be "an educational activity that aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media."¹⁸⁸ The *Interpretive Prospectus* for Women's Rights NHP, approved in August 1988, thus represents something of a transition document.

Overall, the *Interpretive Prospectus*, written primarily by Harpers Ferry staff, lacked the philosophical and scholarly reach of Judy Wellman's 1982 "interpretive concepts" thought piece. Importantly, neither Wellman nor any

¹⁸⁵ Architectural Conservator, NAHPC [Barbara Yocum] to Chief, Historic Preservation, NAR [Blaine Cliver], trip report, August 11, 1988; Minutes of Meeting No. 1, Women's Rights NHP, September 14, 1988; Minutes of Meetings No. 2 and No. 3, Women's Rights NHP, September 28, 1988; Minutes of Meeting No. 4, Women's Rights NHP, October 12, 1988; Patrick Shea, A/E Manager, to Richard Stein, TSP, 30% Submittal Review Comments, November 1, 1988; Superintendent [Judy Hart] to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], submittal: Design Program for Wesleyan Chapel Block, November 8, 1988; Patrick Shea to Richard Stein, 50% Submittal Review Comments, December 6, 1988; Patrick Shea to Richard Stein, letter re: 95% Schematic Design Presentation, December 14, 1988; Terry Savage, NAR, to Patrick Shea, DSC, compiled comments on TSP's 95% Schematic Submission, facsimile transmission, January 23, 1989, NER-HIST.

¹⁸⁶ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 1986.

¹⁸⁷ *Women's Rights National Historical Park: Interpretive Prospectus* (NPS, Harpers Ferry Center, August 1988), 27; Judy Hart interview, October 30, 2008, 19-20. McFadden currently teaches American studies at Colby College.

¹⁸⁸ *Management Policies, National Park Service, Department of the Interior* (December 1988), Chapter 7, "Interpretation and Education."

other academic historian was consulted in developing the prospectus. Although the park “leaned heavily on Wellman” during Judy Hart’s superintendency,¹⁸⁹ Harpers Ferry had the lead in producing the *Interpretive Prospectus*. Nonetheless, much of the groundwork laid by Wellman and Hewitt is evident in the historical overview section, written by McFadden as the park’s one unmistakable contribution to the document. This section clearly summarized the park’s purpose as stated in the enabling legislation. It also contained synopses of the Women’s Rights Convention and the historical context in which it occurred: industrialization, abolitionism, religious revivalism, and the increasing involvement of women in public life through church work. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was presented as the driving force behind the convention and the spread of the women’s rights movement afterward. Only two other post-convention leaders were mentioned by name: Susan B. Anthony and Alice Paul, president of the National Woman’s Party and writer of the Equal Rights Amendment (1923). Although the scholarship was not completely up to date,¹⁹⁰ McFadden concluded the overview with a comparatively lengthy statement of significance. Here, the language picked up tempo. She described the women’s rights movement as “one of the most powerful and far-reaching movements for social change in American history.” The convention was “ground-breaking.” The Declaration of Sentiments “envisioned a reform of society even more far-reaching and radical than that proposed by Jefferson in 1776.” And she linked the “empowering message” of the convention—“that a just society should and can be created, and that ordinary

¹⁸⁹ Judy Hart interview, October 30, 2008, 20.

¹⁹⁰ *Interpretive Prospectus*, 1-9, 28-29. Newer works cited in the bibliography for this section include Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: Morrow Publishing Co., 1984) and Dorothy Sterling, *“We Are Your Sisters”: Black Women in the 19th Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984) along with a recently published biography of Stanton, Elizabeth Griffith’s *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984). Other pertinent works that appeared prior to 1988 but were missing from the bibliography include Norma Basch, *In the Eyes of the Law: Women, Marriage, and Property in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982); Mary Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983); Nancy Hewitt, *Women’s Activism and Social Change, Rochester, New York, 1822-1872* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women’s Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984); Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Joan Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1780-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); and Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

citizens can join together to bring it into being”—to the “present-day, ongoing struggle for equality and justice the world over.”¹⁹¹

The statement of significance was the heart of the *Interpretive Prospectus*. However, it came at the end of the historical overview, which was disconnected from the rest of the document.¹⁹² Overall, the prospectus treated interpretation as a visitor service, with considerable space devoted to how visitors would move from location to location, how interpretive space would be utilized, and what types of interpretive programs might be offered in each location. The prospectus called Women’s Rights NHP an “idea park” but did not elaborate on this point or even suggest interpretive themes beyond the general statements included in the GMP. It did not include a copy of the Declaration of Sentiments, the primary document containing “ideas” that drove various factions of the women’s rights movement.

The general statements to be found in the GMP were, for the park, to “focus” on the events of the 1848 convention but also to interpret “women’s rights issues, as outlined in the Declaration of Sentiments and as carried into the 20th century.” The Visitor Center was to be used for “central interpretation.” The chapel was to be the site for interpreting the 1848 convention and, “because of its historical ties with free speech and reform movements, it [could] be made available (guided by safety and policy procedures) for gatherings that continue the heritage of women’s rights and free speech.” In this manner, public use as a spot for free assembly and free speech was gathered together with the interpretation of events that happened in 1848. Interpretation of the Declaration of Sentiments was to be tied specifically to the M’Clintock House, and, “because of the owner’s Quaker associations, the theme of religion and the women’s rights movement [might] also be addressed.” Interpretation at the Stanton House was not even addressed.¹⁹³ None of these statements gave more than general direction. Rather, the GMP deferred to a future interpretive plan:

When the park’s interpretive plan is produced, each site will be studied to determine the best means for conveying its historical significance

¹⁹¹ *Interpretive Prospectus*, 7-9.

¹⁹² Handwritten comments on the draft prospectus, written by McFadden and dated May 27, 1988, detailed a number of interpretive matters she felt were inadequate or limiting in some way. They also indicate that staff at Harpers Ferry apparently had ignored suggestions contained in an earlier draft response McFadden had written for Judy Hart’s review, also included with her May 27 comments. No documents were found in park records to indicate that Hart sent formal comments on any version of the draft prospectus to HFC Team Captain Linda Finn, but it is possible that HFC staff received feedback from the Park through meetings or phone conversations. In any case, the tone of McFadden’s handwritten comments indicates that she had limited input into developing the prospectus.

¹⁹³ *General Management Plan*, 9, 16.

and any special relationship it may have to earlier or later women's rights issues.¹⁹⁴

To be sure, the *Interpretive Prospectus* was not an interpretive plan. Still, the prospectus provided no clarity concerning interpretive themes. Actually, it rather casually opened the door to any number of unspecified possibilities by noting that, "themes related to women's rights are numerous and in some cases will be handled solely by publications."¹⁹⁵

The *Interpretive Prospectus* was approved in August at the urging of the Regional Office in order not to delay work under contract.¹⁹⁶ Importantly, it was completed just as the park was about to embark on developing a new visitor center with a costly permanent exhibit, when the need for interpretive direction was greatest. Although the prospectus explicitly stated, "This is an idea park," there was no statement of the ideas that were to be interpreted. Rather, content was specified in general terms and without reference to scholarly apparatus. Given all the discussion and debate about interpretation that had taken place since 1982, one is left to conclude that the *Interpretive Prospectus* was more reflective of where the NPS as a whole had been—viewing interpretation as a visitor service—and less reflective of where it was going—toward interpretation as an educational function. Focusing more on visitor needs and failing to address interpretive themes adequately or clearly demonstrated the degree to which the Park Service's qualifications for professionals working in interpretation were out of alignment with the needs of Women's Rights NHP. Although Margaret McFadden had written a strong statement of significance for the document, Hart, in contrast to her involvement in preservation matters, could provide little vision for interpretive planning. She relied on Judy Wellman, in particular, to be the park's scholarly anchor. To be fair, it must be said that historians generally did not use material culture analysis in their scholarship, which contributed to a divide between academic scholarship and professional practice.¹⁹⁷ As a result, when in-

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁹⁵ *Interpretive Prospectus*, 12-13.

¹⁹⁶ Superintendent Judy Hart to Regional Director [Herbert Cables], memorandum, May 5, 1988; Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables] to Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Judy Hart], memorandum re: Interpretive Prospectus, July 7, 1988; Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables] to Manager, Harpers Ferry Center, memorandum re: Women's Rights NHP, Interpretive Prospectus, August 3, 1988. Hand written notes attached to the July 7 memorandum mandate McFadden's continued concerns, some of which were convened in the August 3 approval memo.

¹⁹⁷ John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), is widely regarded as a path-breaking work of new social history in large part because Demos introduced material culture as historical evidence. Demos, along with archeologist James Deetz, were among the then-young scholars

house interpretive specialists handled interpretive planning, park-specific scholarship was not integrated into the development process.

CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

By late 1988, the park was operating with a general management plan, a resource management plan, and several related planning documents and baseline studies. A special history study, completed in 1984, provided an overview of the historic setting and historical summaries of the 1848 convention, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Amelia Bloomer, Richard and Jane Hunt, and Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock. Historic structure reports were available for the Stanton House, the Village Hall, and the Wesleyan Chapel, the latter of which included separate historical data and archeological data sections. A draft historic furnishings study combined information on the Stanton House, the Wesleyan Chapel, and the M'Clintock House. Additionally, researchers from the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, with funding from Eastern National Park and Monument Association, had prepared three short reports. One report detailed the boundaries of the historic Stanton lot, another detailed the same for the M'Clintock House lot, and a third confirmed that no site in Seneca Falls could be documented as having been associated with Amelia Bloomer. For the Stanton House, studies also included Grebinger's and Gunzel's 1982 report on Stanton's domestic economy in relation to her house, an analysis of the historic grounds, and a draft development concept plan, the latter submitted in late 1988.

When the GMP was finalized in 1986, treatment of the Stanton House was left open, "based on the findings of the historic structures report, grounds report, and archeological survey." Depending on these studies "appropriate means [would] be selected to convey the home's historic size and configuration."¹⁹⁸ Likewise, additional research was to inform restoration of the grounds to their historic appearance, and interpretive themes would be determined through the development of an interpretive plan.

Hart kept pushing for a reconstruction of the east wing, but she sent conflicting messages to the Regional Office. To justify reconstruction, she stressed the interpretive value, citing the importance of the kitchen to Stanton's ideas about domestic economy, the vast amount of daily activity that took place in the kitchen, and the importance of kitchens to women's status in the nineteenth century. In this justification, she had the support of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation. She also had the support of staff at NAHPC, who were of the opinion that

associated with interpretive development at Plimoth Plantation. In the 1980s, historians were still awakening to value of material culture studies.

¹⁹⁸ *General Management Plan*, 16.

sufficient architectural and archaeological evidence existed to meet the NPS standards for reconstruction. However, in terms of functional space, it was clear that Hart intended to use the wing as work space for park rangers, lavatories for visitors, and unspecified exhibits and interpretive programs, not as a space to interpret Stanton's kitchen. Cultural resource professionals in the Regional Office disagreed that the evidence was sufficient to satisfy NPS management policies. Hart's inconsistent reasoning also troubled them.¹⁹⁹ By mid-1988, the Regional Office had taken a firm position against reconstruction, but neither Hart nor vocal friends of the park were ready to give in. Several allies sent letters imploring Regional Director Herbert Cables and Associate Regional Director Charles Clapper to reconsider the decision. The Regional Office maintained that evidence produced by the architectural and archaeological investigations "often raised more questions than it answered" and therefore "could not meet the Service's basic policy of 'minimum conjecture,' which allows for reconstructions only if they can be built with a minimum of guesswork."²⁰⁰

Because restoration of the Stanton House proceeded with little advance planning, the preservation issues raised by the missing wings prompted the Regional Office to agree to fund a development concept plan in FY 1988 and, in FY 1989, up to \$40,000 to mark the missing wings. After several consultations with Hart, the Regional Office engaged Peter Smith, the same consultant who managed the design competition, to write the plan at a cost of \$10,000. By then, the scope of the project had expanded. In order to develop the boat transport element of the GMP, the National Park Service would need to acquire property near the Stanton House for boat docking facilities. For this purpose, the NPS began to consider a nearby property located on the shore of Van Cleef Lake. The property, locally known as the Baldwin House (for the owners at the time), contained an old house

¹⁹⁹ Historical Architect, NAHPC [Richard Crisson] to Chief, Historic Preservation, NAR [Blaine Cliver], Trip Report to Women's Rights NHP (November 9, 1987), November 23, 1987; Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, NAR [Myra Harrison] to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NAR [Charles Clapper], memorandum re: Reconstruction of Stanton House kitchen wing, December 4, 1987; [Judy Hart], White Paper on Elizabeth Cady Stanton House Kitchen Wing, January 29, 1988; Myra Harrison, Trip Report, Women's Rights, February 9, 1988, all NER-CRD. See also, Regional Historian, NAR [Dwight Pitcaithley] to Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, NAR [Myra Harrison], memorandum re: Review of "White Paper on Elizabeth Cady Stanton House Kitchen Wing," February 11, 1988, NER-HIST.

²⁰⁰ Charles P. Clapper, Associate Regional Director, Planning & Resource Preservation, to Judy Wellman, June 13, 1988. Clapper sent the same letter to Suzanne Cusick, Ann D. Gordon, Faye E. Dudden, and Sally Roesch Wagner in response to letters sent to him and to the Regional Director. See also Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables] to Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP, memorandum re: Reconstruction of the East Wing, Stanton House, April 18, 1988, NER-HAP, which indicates that the decision, internally, was actually to "postpone the decision . . . until the completion of the DCP for the Stanton House area."

and a few outbuildings, and there was speculation that the house may have an historic association with Jacob P. Chamberlain, a signer of the Declaration of Sentiments and a leading citizen of Seneca Falls who had been active in reform politics. Additionally, research on the historic grounds of the Stanton House indicated that the barn, a driveway, and the fruit orchard might have been located on a portion of the historic lot known as the Nies Property, a narrow strip behind the Stanton House and fronting on Seneca Street. To complete the historic lot, the NPS would need to acquire this property, too. Neither property was authorized for acquisition under the park act, which meant a lengthy process to amend the GMP and then seek a congressional amendment to the park act. As a result, development planning for the Stanton Site now included two properties that the NPS did not yet own: the Baldwin and Nies properties.²⁰¹

In October 1988 Smith met with Hart and nine experts from the Regional Office to review his report and preferred recommendations. Although Hart was deeply committed to reconstructing the east wing, as were park interpreters who had to deal with visitors inconvenienced by the lack of comfort facilities, Smith sided with the Regional Office. His recommendation was to interpret the missing wings with three-dimensional outlines, using as models Franklin Court at Independence NHP and the Hartwell House at Minute Man NHP. Additionally, Smith recommended outlining the footprints of outbuildings, if their locations could be documented, with a hard material to contrast with the lawn, and placing waysides along a pathway to interpret the grounds, but here there was a true lack of research data, not a difference of opinion. The recommendations also called for developing visitor services on the Baldwin property. Smith's recommendations met with overall approval, in large part because now there was a concept that included some place for visitor services. However, further development awaited additional funding, resource studies, and land acquisition.²⁰²

Throughout the 1980s, park resources in Seneca Falls received almost all of the attention. After the NPS obtained the M'Clintock House in 1985, Waterloo began to receive nominal attention. A full historic structure report was in process by the late 1980s. NPS project funds covered emergency work at the M'Clintock House in 1986, when the roof was stabilized, repaired, and resingled at a cost of

²⁰¹ Chief, Planning and Design Division [Terry Savage] to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation [Charles Clapper], memorandum re: Women's Rights NHP, December 14, 1987; Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Judy Hart] to Chief, Planning and Design, NAR [Savage], memorandum re: Scope of Services, DCP Overview, Stanton Site, July 29, 1988; Revised Draft: Scope of Work dated August 2, 1988. See also Meeting Agenda, Elizabeth Cady Stanton House Draft Development Concept Plan, September 19, 1988, NER-HAP.

²⁰² Memorandum of Meeting on Elizabeth Cady Stanton Site Draft Development Concept Plan, October 17, 1988; Peter H. Smith, Draft Site Program for Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, Women's Rights National Historical Park, November 10, 1988.

\$15,000.²⁰³ Further work was performed only as needed pending completion of the necessary studies to begin preservation work. In 1987 several non-historic windows were replaced with custom-built louvered panels to allow ventilation and alleviate the accumulation of moisture in the interior. The Waterloo Baptist church building finally was dismantled in 1988, at which time architectural investigations of the house began.²⁰⁴ All of this would have been a full agenda during the park's first seven years, but from 1986 on, the spotlight was on the Chapel Block Project.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Judy Hart liked community organizing, and the park had a legislative mandate to work with local agencies to preserve the park setting. She was particularly attentive to good will in the Village of Seneca Falls, where park headquarters was located and where park development was focused in the 1980s. Her success turned on developing personal relationships that she was willing to obligate herself to maintaining. There is no indication that local organizations and groups in Seneca Falls competed for a special relationship with the park, although certainly the Stanton Foundation had played an important role in helping to create the park and continued to serve as the park's chief advocacy group.

Even though the Stanton Foundation differed with the National Park Service over preservation issues, it remained a strong park supporter during Hart's tenure as superintendent. Among other things, the Stanton Foundation provided research services for the park. In 1985, when the Stanton House was set to open to the public, the Stanton Family lent the Stanton Foundation a chair and a set of china that had belonged to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, which the Foundation then lent to the park. In 1986-1987, the Foundation served as a conduit for NEA funding to manage the design competition. Judith Wellman, who was invited to join the Stanton Foundation board, became an important liaison between the Foundation, the park, regional historical organizations, and the Organization of American Historians. Charlotte Conable also sat on the Stanton Foundation Board as well as the Park Advisory Commission. In 1987, she and Suzanne Cusick, then serving as Foundation president, sought to develop a major fundraising campaign to support the park.²⁰⁵ Their efforts resulted in a draft memorandum of

²⁰³ Yocum, *M'Clintock House HSR*, 95-96; see also Section 106 Compliance Report, April 16, 1986; see also Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1986, 1987, 1988.

²⁰⁴ Contract CX 1600-8-0007, Demolition of Waterloo Baptist Church and Hawker House [Seneca Falls], 1988; Yocum, *M'Clintock House HSR*, 96-98.

²⁰⁵ Suzanne G. Cusick, President Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, to Herbert S. Cables, Director, North Atlantic Region, letter, January 5, 1987; "Project to Begin a National Fundraising & Promotional Campaign on Behalf of the Women's Rights

agreement between the Foundation and the NPS for fundraising and other philanthropic activities.²⁰⁶ Although the MOA went through several drafts, it was never finalized.²⁰⁷ Had it been executed, it would have effectively established the Stanton Foundation as a non-profit friends organization of the park.

Hart also maintained a close working relationship with the Village of Seneca Falls, particularly the staff and community advisory board affiliated with the Urban Cultural Park. The park provided walking tours of the Village and boat tours during Convention Days. With NPS assistance, the UCP was able to develop preservation guidelines based on the Secretary of the Interior's standards. The UCP also "relied very heavily" on the park for advice in developing its visitor center and interpretive displays.²⁰⁸ Although the joint management planning effort with the UCP frustrated the Regional Office and many of the NPS professionals who were involved, the working relationship with the park never frayed because of Hart's involvement in an informal group known as the Trinkets Alliance. This Seneca Falls-centered group included community leaders associated with the National Women's Hall of Fame, the Seneca Falls Historical Society, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, the Mynderse Library (Seneca Falls), and the Urban Cultural Park. Throughout Hart's tenure, the Trinkets Alliance met regularly for lunch to socialize as well as talk about projects and planning. In the words of former Village Planner Francis Caraccilo, the Trinkets Alliance "kept everything human, and it was a very good way to share information and enlist help."²⁰⁹

National Historical Park," Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, January 1987; Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Hart] to Regional Director, NAR [Cables], memorandum re: Fund Raising Project by the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, February 13, 1987; Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Hart] to Nancy Nelson, Special Assistant to the Regional Director, NAR, memorandum re: Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation Fundraising Project [including draft Memorandum of Understanding], February 20, 1987; Regional Director, NAR [Cables], to Suzanne Cusick, letter, July 8, 1987.

²⁰⁶ Regional Director, NAR [Cables], to Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Hart], memorandum re: Revised Memorandum of Agreement Between the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation and the National Park Service," April 20, 1988.

²⁰⁷ The Papers of Emil Bove, ECSF Collection, contain draft MOA and associated correspondence, but neither park records nor ECSF records hold a signed, final agreement. Bove served as the Foundation's attorney.

²⁰⁸ Francis Caraccilo interview, July 17, 2008, 4-5.

²⁰⁹ Because the Trinkets Alliance was an informal group, there are no minutes or other official records. Information comes from the Caraccilo interview; Superintendent's Annual Report, 1983; and a list of Trinkets Alliance names and telephone numbers attached to a handwritten schedule of meeting dates for an unidentified year. According to Caraccilo, the name "Trinkets Alliance" came from a shared activity at Convention Days, when the Seneca Falls cultural groups set up a booth to jointly promote their groups by selling buttons, t-shirts, and other items. Considering that the population of the Town

VISITOR SERVICES, STAFFING, AND BASE FUNDING

OPERATIONAL SUPPORT

While managing millions of dollars in project funds, Hart also attended to visitor services and book sales as well as staffing and base funding. In FY 1984, she negotiated a cooperative agreement with Eastern National Park and Monument Association to supply a small bookstore in the Visitor Center at 116 Fall Street, and the regional director authorized park staff to “spend necessary amounts of time” managing it.²¹⁰ The duty of Eastern National coordinator (or agency representative) fell to the chief of interpretation until 1988, when it became collateral duty for the lead ranger. Seasonal staff assisted at the sales counter on a part-time basis. Eastern National’s practice of establishing percentage donation accounts for cooperating parks, based on a percentage of net proceeds, yielded minimum amounts for Women’s Rights NHP the first two years. Even this provided welcome funding for such things as park brochures and event flyers. In 1986, a portion of the percentage donation defrayed the cost of providing interpretive boat tours from Seneca Falls to the Stanton House during the annual Convention Days celebration. Additionally, as previously noted, the park received a \$2,500 Eastern National grant to contract with the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation for research on the historic boundaries of the Stanton House, M’Clintock House, and what was then still considered to be the Bloomer House, and still a designated park site.²¹¹ In 1986, Eastern National also published “Women’s Rights Trail,” a self-guided walking tour of Seneca Falls and Waterloo. In 1988, Eastern National instituted credit-card sales and a mail order system to facilitate operations, and gross receipts topped \$11,000. A percentage donation of

of Seneca Falls was approximately 10,000 in the 1980s and that the same circle of people tended to belong to multiple civic groups and cultural organizations, informal gatherings of this nature would have been ample communication to keep a much larger contingent informed.

²¹⁰ Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP [Hart] to Executive Secretary, Eastern National Park and Monument Association [George Minnucci], memorandum re: Designation of ENP&MA at Women’s Rights NHP, December 19, 1983, approved by Regional Director [Herbert Cables], January 3, 1984. Eastern National Park and Monument Association, which now goes by the shortened name Eastern National, is a non-profit organization that helps to underwrite the cost of interpretation in approximately 150 national parks with revenue from museum stores it operates in park visitor centers.

²¹¹ Executive Director, ENP&MA [George Minnucci], to Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP [Judy Hart], memorandum re: Fiscal Year 1986 Approved Research Donation, February 3, 1986; Scope of Work: Research Project on M’Clintock, Bloomer and Stanton Houses, Women’s Rights National Historical Park, n.d.; Douglas Bruce McHenry, Chief of Interpretation, NAR, to George Minnucci, ENP&MA, letter approving research reports prepared by members of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, January 22, 1987.

\$650 that year paid for educational materials, ranger-led educational programs, and a half-dozen site bulletins. With the Wesleyan Chapel Block project underway, the park also began making plans with Eastern National to upgrade and expand the sales area in the new visitor center.²¹²

STAFFING

Until 1986, Hart's full-time staff consisted of an administrative clerk and a chief of interpretation. Hart recalls that she had "a big fight" with Regional Director Herbert Cables over the need to hire a Chief of Interpretation at the GS-9 level, finally convincing him that she must someone with experience to develop an interpretive program from the ground up. Gina Moriarity, hired October 1983, had interpretive experience but no background in women's history.²¹³ Positions authorized in 1984 and 1985 went unfilled because of tight operating budgets, and then the NPS imposed a service-wide hiring freeze in 1986 under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985. Despite the freeze, Hart was able to fill four new positions in 1986: a maintenance mechanic, a historical architect to assist with the GMP and provide technical assistance to the local historic district, a lead park ranger, and a part-time clerk typist. When Moriarity left, Margaret McFadden replaced her as Chief of Interpretation.²¹⁴

From 1986 to 1990, permanent staff members were organized as shown on Chart 1. This small staff of six permanent employees, assisted by seasonal employees, handled all responsibilities for the park, which then consisted of one operative site, the Stanton House, in addition to the park headquarters/visitor center. Park expansion clearly would require more hands, so Hart once again worked with Representative Horton to secure a \$100,000 add-on appropriation

²¹² Percentage Donation Summaries and Annual Reports of Eastern National Operations, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988.

²¹³ Judy Hart interview, October 30, 2008, 17, 19-20.

²¹⁴ Women's Rights NHP Organization Roster, June 30, 1984; Deputy Associate Regional Director, Management and Operations [Marie Rust] to Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Judy Hart] memorandum, November 21, 1984; Women's Rights NHP, FY 1985 Financial Plan-Operating Program, December 4, 1984; Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Hart] to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables] and Position Review Board, memorandum re: Historical Architect for Women's Rights NHP, January 29, 1985; Women's Rights NHP, FY 1986 Financial Plan-Operating Program, January 24, 1986; Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Hart] to Regional Director, NAR [Cables], memorandum re: Hiring Lead Park Ranger, August 6, 1986.

for operations in FY 1989 in order to hire additional staff.²¹⁵ Mardi Butt joined the staff in August 1989 as a GS-7 supervisory ranger.²¹⁶

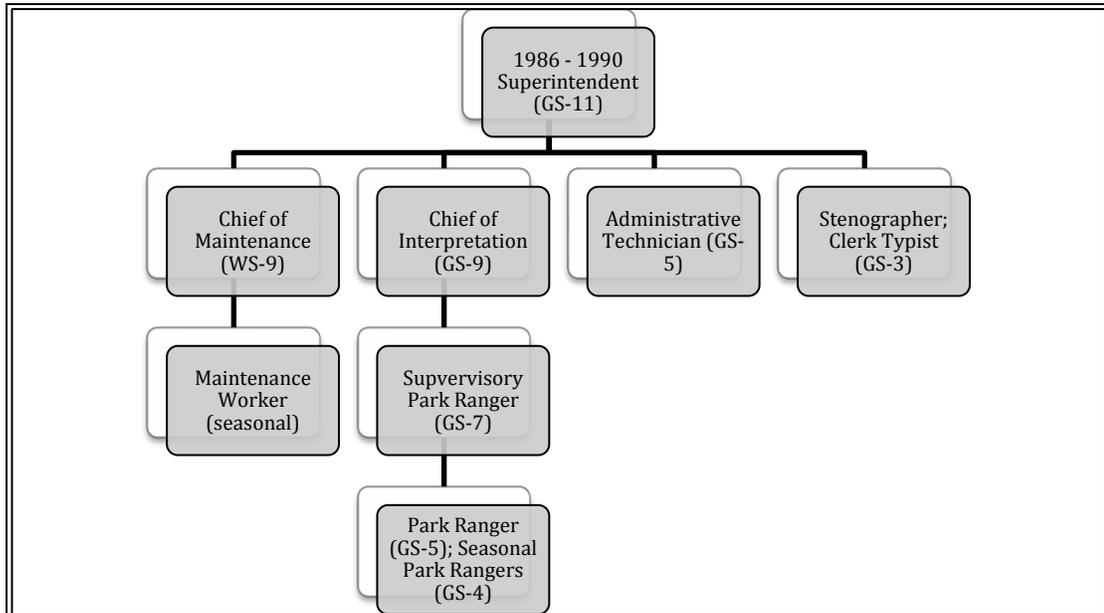


Chart 1. Staff organization, 1986-1990. *Compiled from administrative records, Women's Rights NHP.*

PARK FUNDING

During Hart's tenure, the park's base operating funds increased from \$81,800 to \$245,500, and more than \$1.5 million in special appropriations had been spent on property acquisition, building preservation, and site development. Park visitation increased substantially when the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House opened in 1985, and more than quadrupled from 1982 through 1988. Considering that the park experience during these years was limited to the Stanton House and the Visitor Center at 116 Fall Street, these numbers lent credence to expectations that park visitation would reach 200,000 in the not-too-distant future. Table 1 recaps park visitation numbers, staffing levels, and various sources of park funding.

²¹⁵ Superintendent [Judy Hart] to NAR Regional Director [Herbert Cables] and Operations Evaluation Team, memorandum re Staffing Plan for Increased Park Workload, November 9, 1988.

²¹⁶ Minutes Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, August 2, 1989, Women's Rights NHP files.

Substance and Shape 1982-1988

TABLE 1. PARK STATISTICS, 1981-1988								
	1981	FY 1982	FY 1983	FY 1984	FY 1985	FY 1986	FY 1987	FY 1988
Visitors, Recreational		5,700	6,759	8,115	14,035	17,237	15,235	24,284
Staff								
FTE authorized†					7.95	8.25	8.25	8.25
FTE used				6.6	5.94	7.8		
# perm staff positions*		3	3	3	3	7	6	6
# temp/seasonal positions		6	3	4	5	5	5	6
# volunteers		4	3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Operating Funds								
Reprogrammed Funds/Park Start-up	\$17,500	\$94,100	\$25,800	\$57,000				
Authorized Operating Budget (ONPS)**			\$81,800	\$87,200	\$230,900	\$222,300	\$242,200	\$245,500
Fee Collection								\$4,400
Eastern National				\$350	\$350	\$2,856	n/a	\$650
Other Donations				\$360				
Acquisition & Development Funds								
Cong. Appropriations				\$500,000		\$350,000		
NPS-WASO			\$3,000	\$70,000				
Regional Project Funds								
Repair/Rehab		\$165,000	\$100,000	\$50,000				
Cyclic Maintenance						\$15,000		
Cyclic Cultural		\$35,000				\$68,000		
† FTE-Full Time Equivalent								
* actual number of employees; some filled part-time or part-year								
** estimated from annual and misc. budget reports								
Sources: Superintendent's Annual Reports, 1982-1988; Women's Rights NHP Financial Plan-Operating Program, FY 1984-1986; budget tracking sheets, FY 1987, 1988; fiscal year park visitation data from NPS Public Use Statistics Office, www.nature.nps.gov/stats except for 1982, which come from park records.								

SUMMING UP

At the end of 1988 Hart announced that she was leaving Women's Rights NHP to take a position in the Washington office. The need to be closer to aging parents was a factor in her decision, but she also felt as though she had succeeded in accomplishing all the necessary steps to launch the park and chart a course for its future development.²¹⁷ She had set ambitious goals, and the park was poised for substantial growth when she left in early 1989. The *General Management Plan* was complete, as were several resource planning studies to support park development. The Stanton House had been restored; the Wesleyan Chapel, Village Hall, and M'Clintock House had been acquired; the design competition for the Wesleyan Chapel site had yielded an innovative solution, and construction design planning was underway. Baseline studies also were underway for the M'Clintock House. Rep. Horton and Sen. Moynihan were ready to help secure even more funding.

Throughout her seven-year tenure as superintendent, Judy Hart guided the development of Women's Rights NHP from a historic house with an uncertain future to a national park firmly planted in Seneca Falls and sprouted in Waterloo. In many respects, it had been a frenetic seven years with development greatly outpacing planning. This was particularly evident in preservation and development. Despite initial resistance during the Reagan administration, Hart was able to ply her legislative skills to considerable effect. Congressional add-on appropriations enabled the physical park to develop remarkably quickly, which required a good bit of coordination among the park, the Regional Office, the NPS service centers in Denver and Harpers Ferry, and the Washington office. Although internal NPS working relationships were sometimes rocky, Hart received strong support from the Regional Office, especially from Regional Director Herbert Cables and Chief of Planning and Design Terry Savage, which enabled her to keep moving forward. She also built a solid base of support within the local community.

Preservation of the Stanton House and the Wesleyan Chapel took place at a time when "anti-reconstructionism" was the prevailing philosophy among NPS professionals. At the same time, park supporters, particularly those in the local community, wanted to see these two historic places returned to their mid-nineteenth century appearance. Hart, who favored reconstruction of the missing Stanton House wings, challenged professionals in the Regional Office to the point of mutual exasperation. In a bid to secure a preservation solution that befitted the Wesleyan Chapel's significance, she maneuvered around professionals in the Regional Office. In both cases, she had ample support within the NPS to push the envelope. Subsequent superintendents would likewise take advantage of divided

²¹⁷ Hart interview, September 26, 2008.

opinion among professionals in the Regional Office and follow her in arguing for reconstruction of the Stanton House wings. Subsequent superintendents also would address new preservation problems spawned by the innovative preservation treatment for the Wesleyan Chapel.

Hart also left the park with limited direction for interpreting the historic sites that were quickly being developed. In the beginning, she insisted on an interpretive approach strictly aligned with the legislative mandate to avoid entangling the park in contemporary feminist politics. However, the *General Management Plan* strongly suggests that her interpretive philosophy began to change as the park took on shape and substance. To be sure, Hart had to contend with inappropriate proposals that came through the Park Advisory Commission, and her concerns about steering clear of political debate were well founded. Under the circumstances, she probably accomplished as much as was possible. Still, lack of interpretive clarity created a situation that her successor felt compelled to address almost immediately.



Figure 30. This group photo, c. 1985, suggests the team relationship Hart established with staff and community members. L-R ascending, back row: Hanns Kuttner, Corinne Guntzel, Margaret McFadden, Suzanne Cusick. L-R ascending, front and middle: Janice Friebaum, Sam Orlando, Lucille Povero, Suzanne Stutzman, Tedd McCann, Margaret Bourke. R-L descending: Judy Hart, Anne Ritter, Terry Savage. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

CHAPTER FOUR

THOUGHT-PROVOKING INTERPRETATION: 1989-1994

Linda Canzanelli, who succeeded Judy Hart as superintendent, came to Women's Rights NHP after a swift rise up the career ladder. She entered the National Park Service in 1977 as a GS-3 clerk-typist at Boston National Historical Park while working on a master's degree in public administration at Northeastern University. She also held a bachelor's degree in history. From Boston she moved to New Orleans in 1980 and served as the first manager of the French Quarter Visitor Center at Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve, then as park manager at Chalmette Battlefield and National Cemetery. From there, she became chief of interpretation and visitor services at Gateway National Recreation Area in 1985. Her desire to become a park superintendent eventually brought her to Women's Rights NHP. She had just completed the eighteen-month executive leadership-training program for federal government employees when Judy Hart resigned. Canzanelli was offered a six-month detail in early 1989. During that time, she developed an affinity for the area and the challenges of developing a young park; in her words, "it just all came together" career-wise. At the end of her detail, she was offered, and accepted, the superintendency as a permanent position.¹

Canzanelli, like Hart, was ambitious and tended to think big, but the focus of their efforts differed. Hart brought legislative skills and an intuitive sense of how to create something from scratch. She directed her energies at cultivating local and congressional support, acquiring property for park development, and generating public awareness of the park's presence. Canzanelli brought organizational skills as well as experience in interpretation and educational outreach. During her tenure as superintendent, she oversaw the construction and development of the Wesleyan Chapel Block, including the design and installation of permanent exhibits and the creation of an interpretive film. She also managed the first phase of development at the M'Clintock House, and moved forward as best she could with development at the Stanton House. To keep pace with park development and plan for future growth, she worked with the Regional Office to expand and reorganize the staff, first adding the position of park historian and raising the professional level of the chief of interpretation, later adding an education specialist and an assistant superintendent. As part of staff reorganization and expansion, she also implemented the NPS Ranger Careers program. Park growth and development required amending the *General Management Plan*, which Canzanelli also managed. Additionally,

¹ Linda Canzanelli, interview by Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth D. Smith, September 26, 2008, 1-2.

she worked with community partners to initiate an ambitious outreach effort to establish an educational center and to launch Women's Equality Day.

Development of the Wesleyan Chapel Block and the M'Clintock House demanded much of Canzanelli's time, but she directed considerable attention to interpretation and educational outreach. From her perspective, the park had a mandate to interpret the women's rights movement in relation to contemporary women's issues. This differed markedly from Hart's approach, which had focused on the people associated with the 1848 convention and the women's rights movement in its nineteenth-century historical context. The politics of getting the park established certainly contributed to Hart's cautious initial approach, but it also fit comfortably into local efforts to encourage economic development through historic preservation and heritage tourism.² Canzanelli's interpretive emphasis thus challenged working relationships that Hart had cultivated locally. Nonetheless, she found a base of support in the community, notably in the National Women's Hall of Fame, and she worked to create partnerships that, in her view, would most benefit the park in expanding its interpretive and educational programs.

WESLEYAN CHAPEL BLOCK: DESIGN ISSUES

The opportunity to manage a major development project was one of the things that drew Canzanelli to Women's Rights NHP. After managing two small units of Jean Lafitte NHP and interpretation and visitor services at the 26,000-acre Gateway NRA, she was prepared for a bigger challenge. When she arrived, the design development phase for the Wesleyan Chapel Block was well along. Although not overly enthusiastic about the chapel design itself—an “open air structure in upstate New York on a very busy street [was] not my first thought of what a good design would be”—she nonetheless supported it because “the Wesleyan Chapel was less important as a building than it was as a place where a critical idea and message was developed and discussed and carried forth from that place.”³ Canzanelli was not suggesting, like Dorothy Duke, that preserving the park's historic buildings was unimportant. She was echoing a thought others had been trying to express when they called Women's Rights NHP an “idea park” or a “spirit spot.” It was a thought that the Wesleyan Chapel was significant not for its architecture but because it happened to be the place where a simple yet powerful principle of political, economic, and social justice was enunciated—that, as citizens of the United States, women were entitled to the same rights and privileges as men—and because the believers in this principle carried their convictions wherever they went, created a movement that rippled across space and reverberated through time. The Wesleyan Chapel was a place of origins, but it also

² The definition of “heritage tourism” as used by federal agencies is “the business and practice of attracting and accommodating visitors to a place or area based especially on the unique or special aspects of that locale's history, landscape (including trail systems), and culture.” See Section 7 of Executive Order 13287 (2003).

³ Linda Canzanelli interview, 14.

represented something even more intangible, a principle that lived in people's hearts and minds irrespective of time and place. The park's enabling legislation even acknowledged this timeless quality of significance by referring to the Declaration of Sentiments as "a document of enduring relevance."

Finishing design development in order to move on to the construction design stage proved to be a difficult process. The Stein Partnership's comprehensive design services contract included designing the interpretive components, which TSP subcontracted to the well-known New York City design firm of Chermayeff & Geismar Associates (CGA). When CGA began working on the Wesleyan Chapel Block project, it also was designing the interpretive components for Ellis Island Immigration Museum in New York,⁴ so the firm had some experience working with the National Park Service, although it was better known as a corporate identity consultancy with an international clientele.⁵ The Wesleyan Chapel Block project was a tall order for a design firm that specialized in creating iconic imagery, even more so because CGA's project team, led by John Grady, did not include a historian. For the Chapel Block, interpretive components included interior and exterior exhibits, an audio-visual program, lighting, signage, and building graphics. The contract identified the interpretive focus as the 1848 women's rights convention along with "women's rights issues, as outlined in the Declaration of Sentiments and as carried through the 19th and into the 20th century." The overall goal was "to convey the evolution of ideas regarding women's rights."⁶ Thus, the contract specifically called attention to the convention and the Declaration of Sentiments as the starting place for interpretive development, but the rest was vague.

CGA was hired in May 1988 with actual design work slated to begin in July, which was pushed back to August so the firm would have the completed *Interpretive Prospectus* as a guide. Equipped with this document and the *General Management Plan*, which, presumably, CGA's team leader also had for reference, it would have been clear that the Declaration of Sentiments was the beginning point for interpretive development at the Chapel Block. Beyond this, there was little guidance. The grievances contained in the Declaration of Sentiments were not outlined and no end point in the twentieth century was specified. For someone trained in history, this might have been enough information to work with, but CGA's team did not include such expertise. From the beginning, there was a serious communication gap, and the problem magnified as work proceeded.

The Wesleyan Chapel and connecting plaza, named Declaration Park, required little additional creative input. Here, the *Interpretive Prospectus* called for minimal

⁴ Ellis Island Immigration Museum opened in late 1990.

⁵ The firm was founded by Ivan Chermayeff and Tom Geismar, who began working together on exhibit design in the 1950s. For more information on Chermayeff & Geismar, see www.cgastudionyc.com.

⁶ Contract No. CX-2000-8-0016, Design Services for Wesleyan Chapel Block, 6. The phrase "to convey the evolution of ideas regarding women's rights" comes directly from the *General Management Plan*, 6.

interpretation in keeping with the contemplative design envisioned by Kinoshita and Marshall—quite simply, the “primary facts of the convention . . . conveyed so that this information is available at all hours,” as a complement to the Declaration of Sentiments incised on the surface of a long wall paralleling the Visitor Center. Declaration Park was characterized as a “unifying” space connecting the Wesleyan Chapel to the Visitor Center and a place where formal and informal activities could occur.⁷

At the Visitor Center, interpretive design required almost full conceptualization. This the *Interpretive Prospectus* did not provide. Instead, it specified format. “The centerpiece of interpretation” was to be a 15 – 25 minute audiovisual program “dramatiz[ing] the social and economic context of the convention,” screened regularly in an enclosed theater on the first floor. Another open space was to be used for exhibits, including video programs and interactive displays.⁸ The thinking in 1988 was that interpretation would be limited to the ground floor. The second floor was to hold functional areas accessible to the public—a research library, multi-purpose meeting room, and classroom—in addition to office space. Because artifacts directly associated with the convention, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and other prominent leaders were few in number, interpretation of the women’s rights movement was to be impressionistic: historic photos and period cartoons might be displayed as large graphics and serve as a backdrop to display copies of *The History of Woman Suffrage*, *The Woman’s Bible*, and, perhaps, a Bloomer costume. Interactive stations might fast-forward in time to compare the current status of women’s rights, state-by-state or country-by-country. Another video station might highlight women of accomplishment. Beyond the events of 1848 and its immediate historical context, the *Interpretive Prospectus* provided only sketchy guidance in terms of interpretive content.⁹

By late 1988, when the design was 50 percent complete, the NPS project team was dismayed to find that the interpretive elements were still “in a shopping list manner with unclear relationships to women’s rights issues” and that, overall, the contractor seemed to “over simplify the interpretative challenge with an over reliance on architectural components.”¹⁰ It became evident to Canzanelli that management leadership for interpretive development was needed to move forward. Importantly, she brought a bolder perspective concerning interpretation. In her words, she liked “controversial, uncomfortable topics.” Equally important, she brought a background in American history to park management.¹¹

⁷ *Interpretive Prospectus*, 15.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 12, 14.

¹⁰ Patrick Shea, A/E Manager to Richard Stein, The Stein Partnership, Letter re: 50% Submittal Review Comments, December 6, 1988, NPS Park Planning Office.

¹¹ Linda Canzanelli interview, 2.

Canzanelli arrived in time to comment on The Stein Partnership's "95% schematic submission" for structural design. Many details still had not been resolved. Interior design schematics for the Visitor Center did not appear to meet the Secretary of the Interior's standards. The potential for archeological deposits at the site had not been considered. Regional historical architect Blaine Cliver disagreed with TSP on the need to place a waterproof coating on exposed historic brick walls. Perimeter walls and the south entrance to the chapel were not configured to sufficiently baffle noise from Fall Street. Protection for the chapel's historic roof trusses was considered inadequate. It was not clear that steel knee braces to support the chapel roof could be anchored so as to avoid damaging the extant historic brick walls. And the proposed infill for the chapel side walls, concrete faced with steel panels, was considered incompatible with extant materials.¹² Canzanelli was particularly concerned about the infill panels. Her concern was in part technical—would metal panels damage the historic fabric—and in part based on interpretive principles—would infill panels "be obtrusive and require continual explanation?"¹³ Under the terms of their contract, TSP was to develop recommendations for preserving historic building fabric, and, when there were "significant options" for preservation treatment, develop alternatives for NPS management to review and select. Patrick Shea, the project manager, thus requested TSP to present an infill alternative using contrasting brick masonry.¹⁴

In mid-March TSP submitted what it considered to be final schematic drawings, but enough problems remained that the NPS asked for re-submission at a later date.¹⁵ The Regional Office still was dissatisfied with the schematics that came back for review in April. Especially problematic were the interior plans for rehabilitating the Village Hall, which still did not appear to meet the Secretary of the Interior's Standards, and the infill

¹² Chief, Division of Cultural Resources [Myra Harrison] and Chief, Division of Historic Preservation [Blaine Cliver], NAR, to Assistant Regional Historical Architect, NAR [Richard Crisson?], memorandum re: Review of 95% Schematic Submission, January 17, 1989; Chief, Historic Preservation [Blaine Cliver] and Architectural Conservator [Barbara Yocum] to Chief, Planning and Design, NAR, memorandum re: Review of 95% Schematic Submission for Women's Rights National Historical Park by The Stein Partnership, January 17, 1989; Deputy Chief, Cultural Resource Management, NAR [Blaine Cliver] to Patrick Shea, Eastern Team, DSC, memorandum re: A&E Comments on Masonry Testing, Women's Rights NHP, February 12, 1989.

¹³ Acting Superintendent [Linda Canzanelli] to Patrick Shea, A/E Manager, DSC, memorandum re: Final Comments on 95% Submission on Wesleyan Chapel Block," February 10, 1989.

¹⁴ Contract CX-2000-8-0016 (July 12, 1988), Women's Rights NHP, Design Services, Visitor Center, Wesleyan Chapel and Associated Areas, Title I Services; Patrick Shea to Richard Stein, 95% Submittal Review comments, February 28, 1989.

¹⁵ Minutes, Meeting No. 8 [bi-weekly meetings for Comprehensive Design Phase], March 13, 1989.

panels for the chapel's side walls, still shown as "steel and concrete sandwich panels," not brick as NPS management had requested.¹⁶

At this point, project funding was running short. Comprehensive design was supposed to be completed at the end of FY 1989. By March, it was clear that design development would run into FY 1990. The \$604,000 in project planning funds that had been allocated for the entire project was nearly spent. Thus, DSC requested another \$805,000 to keep moving toward construction in FY 1990 – 1991. The delay in completing the schematic design, along with the discovery of large amounts of asbestos in both structures necessitated re-estimating project costs. What had been a \$9 million project rose to somewhere between \$11 million and \$13 million, depending on a number of contingencies.¹⁷

At Canzanelli's insistence, the NPS directed CGA to retain a women's historian as consultant to John Grady and the interpretive design team.¹⁸ CGA subsequently selected Louise Newman, then finishing doctoral studies at Brown University, and the NPS gave its approval.¹⁹ Newman rather quickly prepared research reports to inform five exhibit areas that covered a broad sweep of time, from before the convention to the late twentieth century, and created a thematic framework that included politics, education, work, and marriage and family.²⁰ CGA's progress report of September 1989 incorporated Newman's research, but took issue with the expanded scope, insisting that the "common goal for all the various design components" was to focus "on the special significance of the 1848 Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention." This position mischaracterized the language of the contract slightly, although no one disagreed on the central importance of the

¹⁶ Chief, Historic Preservation, NAR [Blaine Cliver] to Chief, Planning and Design, NAR [Terry Savage], memorandum re: Review of 100% Schematic Submission for Women's Rights NHP by The Stein Partnership, April 21, 1989, NER-HIST; Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, NAR [Myra Harrison] to Chief, Division of Planning and Design, NAR [Savage], memorandum re: Review of Final Schematic Drawings and Report, Women's Rights NHP, April 21, 1989.

¹⁷ Assistant Manager, DSC Eastern Team [Donald Falvey] to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], memorandum re: Project Update, Women's Rights NHP, Package No. 106, April 14, 1989, NER-HIST; Manager, DSC [John J. Reynolds] to Deputy Director, NPS [Denis Galvin], memorandum re: Women's Rights NHP, Package 106, Develop Wesleyan Chapel Block, Project Type 06, May 25, 1989; Deputy Director, NPS [Herbert Cables] to Acting Deputy Director, NAR [Marie Rust], memorandum re: Women's Rights NHP, Package 106, Wesleyan Chapel Block, Briefing Statement, May 26, 1989.

¹⁸ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, August 10, 1989.

¹⁹ Louise Newman received her PhD (1992) and her M.A. (1986) from Brown University. After teaching at Brown and Harvard University, she joined the history faculty at the University of Florida in 1993. She is the author of *White Women's Rights: Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

²⁰ Cherymayeff & Geismar Associates, "Women's Rights National Historical Park Interpretive Design Report on Work in Progress," September 15, 1989, North Atlantic Historic Preservation Files, Lowell, MA.

Wesleyan Chapel and the 1848 convention. In the Visitor Center, however, Canzanelli was asking for a “thought-provoking” exhibit that would challenge visitors to think about the ideas and ideals inherent in the ongoing struggle for women’s rights.²¹ The terms “idea park” and “thought provoking” repeatedly appear in NPS review comments from this point forward, and these terms capture the essence of what Canzanelli and other NPS reviewers consistently found missing in every revision that emanated from the CGA design team.

The next exhibit design review occurred early in 1990. This time, Canzanelli and the rest of the NPS project team found the design to be “too intellectual.” Additionally, the team was very concerned that CGA seemed unable to “transition . . . Louise Newman’s subject matter research into . . . proposed exhibits” that met NPS expectations for clearly organized themes, dynamic visuals, and accommodation for a variety of learning styles.²² As a result, Canzanelli, with staff input, drew up a new list of themes and interpretive objectives for CGA to follow.²³ Six exhibit areas on the second floor would compare past and present thematically. The first, “Thine in the Bonds of Womanhood,” would examine “the stereotypical image of women in the mid-1800s” and ask probing questions about the “cult of true womanhood,” then and now. The second, “Inauguration of a Rebellion,” would address the history of women’s activism before 1848 and examine the concept of “women’s rights” as understood by Stanton and her contemporaries. “Women and Work” would examine the differences through time in the patterns of employment among men, women, whites, and minorities. “Fashioning Women” would examine the relationship between women’s health and clothing fashions, asking questions about social influences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries on clothing that is physically limiting, if not harmful. “Men Their Rights and Nothing More, Women Their Rights and Nothing Less” would follow the women’s rights struggle from 1848 to 1920 and ask questions about the significance of women’s enfranchisement. “School Matters,” the sixth and final theme, would examine education as both a right and an opportunity, and school as an institution that both reinforces stereotypes and challenges traditional ways of thinking.²⁴ This interpretive framework remained in place throughout exhibit planning for the Visitor Center.

²¹ *Ibid.*, see esp. 1, 166-167, 172.

²² Patrick Shea, A/E Manager, Eastern Team, to The Stein Partnership, letter, March 5, 1990; Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meeting, March 5, 1990.

²³ In her interview (September 26, 2008), Canzanelli states that she was the driving force behind all aspects of interpretive development in the Visitor Center. Meeting minutes indicate a higher degree of staff involvement.

²⁴ “Exhibits – New Visitor Center,” February 14, 1990.

STAFF REORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT

A rapidly growing park required a larger staff. Thus, while Canzanelli was addressing historic preservation concerns at the Wesleyan Chapel and shaping an interpretive concept for the Visitor Center, she simultaneously worked on staff development to manage park resources and prepare for increased visitation. Within a few months it was clear that yet-to-be-funded construction and development projects—the Wesleyan Chapel Block and M’Clintock House as well as site development at the Stanton House and acquisition of a new maintenance facility—required a larger staff and operating budget. Canzanelli immediately requested increases in both, projecting that for FY 1990 she would need a staff of ten, plus seasonal workers, and an operations budget increase of approximately \$60,000.²⁵ Although no increases were immediately forthcoming, she submitted to the Regional Office a staff reorganization plan that called for gradually increasing the staff over a three-year period to a maximum of twenty-eight permanent and eight seasonal positions.²⁶ The NAR Position Review Board approved it as a “conceptual” plan in March 1990, noting that only a few additional permanent and seasonal positions were needed for FY 1991, which required an increase of \$105,000 in the base budget and which Rep. Frank Horton secured as an add-on appropriation.²⁷

Only two staff changes occurred in 1990, but these changes almost completely recast the interpretation staff. After Margaret McFadden left the park in September 1989 to attend Yale University, the supervisory ranger served as acting division chief until October 1990, when Terry Roth joined the staff as the new chief of interpretation, at which time the position was reclassified from GS-9 to GS-11. Additionally, one new position was allowed, an administrative technician.²⁸

Canzanelli again sought an increase in the FY 1991 base operating budget to \$435,000, and this time it was approved. With McFadden gone, her first priority was to hire a women’s historian to assist with developing the interpretive exhibits at the new

²⁵ Superintendent [Canzanelli] to Regional Director, NAR [Gerald Patten], memorandum re: Annual Statement on Internal Accounting and Administrative Control, August 28, 1989; “Report of the Operational, Legislative and Developmental Needs of Women’s Rights National Historical Park,” final draft, September 12, 1989.

²⁶ Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meeting, November 1, 1989; Proposed Park Reorganization, Women’s Rights National Historical Park, n.d. See also, Canzanelli’s summary of achievements for the period 1/1/1989 to 12/31/1989 attached to a general memorandum concerning annual performance appraisal conferences sent to all superintendents in the North Atlantic Region, December 3, 1990.

²⁷ Minutes, Position Review Board Meeting of March 27, 1990, NAR, approved by Gerald Patten, Regional Director, April 20, 1990; Progress Report, Women’s Rights NHP Operations Evaluation, May 1990.

²⁸ Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meetings, June 28, 1990, July 24, 1990, and September 11, 1990.

Visitor Center.²⁹ Her own background in history and experience in interpretation certainly predisposed her to consider staff expertise in the park's subject matter as essential for carrying out its legislative mandate to interpret both a place and a social movement. Still, it was unusual for historical parks to place a historian in the interpretive division, or even to have a historian on staff. The position initially was classified as a "term" appointment not to exceed four years.³⁰ Vivien Rose joined the interpretive division in August 1991. Rose brought a background in exhibit development, curriculum, and teaching at the college level; she also was working on a Ph.D. in U.S. history at SUNY Binghamton.

Rose's responsibilities were to support exhibit development for the new Visitor Center and nurture connections between the park and the historical profession. She also began working closely with seasonal park rangers, who had limited background in women's history and research methodology. During the early years, historians Judith Wellman and Nancy Hewitt had worked with seasonal interpreters, mostly college students studying women's history. Margaret McFadden had continued this work. By 1990, however, the interpretation staff had been regularized in accordance with NPS employment criteria and personnel training practices. Accordingly, Rose prepared an assessment of research needs and requested that the park hire a second historian to provide research for programming and planning, which is normally the responsibility of a chief of interpretation. She also requested that the history program have a separate budget line, calling attention to the importance of historical research for interpretation and educational programming.³¹ By mid-1992, she was attending the weekly meetings of division heads along with Chief of Interpretation Terry Roth. In this manner, the park historian position was included in internal planning and decision-making processes.

²⁹ Memorandum, Breakdown of where Women's Rights National Historical Park will use \$105,000 operating increase, May 25, 1990; Canzanelli interview.

³⁰ In March 1990, one of the Position Review Board's stipulations was that the historian position would be "temporary or term" and subject to reevaluation "to determine if the position needs to be a permanent one."

³¹ Vivien Rose, interview by Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth D. Smith, July 17, 2008, 2-3; Historian [Vivien Rose] to Chief of Interpretation and Superintendent [Terry Roth and Linda Canzanelli], memorandum, December 15, 1991 and accompanying statement of "Research Needs, Women's Rights NHP, FY 1992."

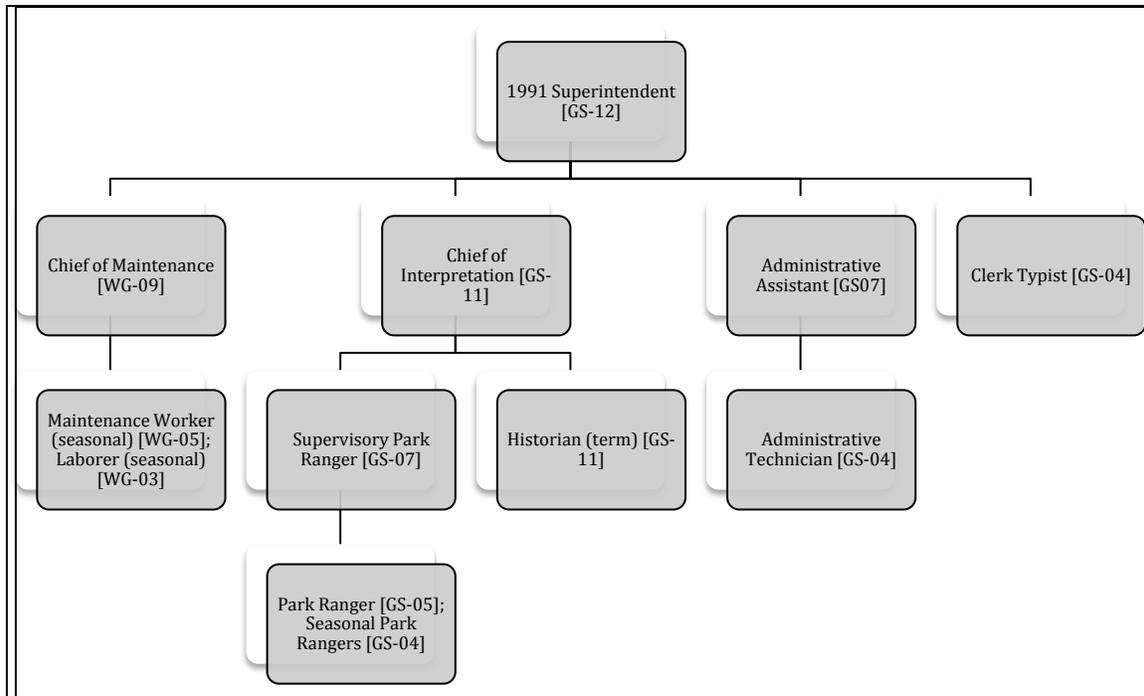


Chart 2. Staff Organization as of 1991. Compiled from staff organization charts, *Women's Rights NHP*.

In the midst of Canzanelli's staff reorganization negotiations, the NPS director's office established, in January 1992, a Ranger Futures Steering Committee to address agency-wide professional staff issues. Canzanelli's tenure coincided with the 75th anniversary of the National Park Service, the chief outcome of which was a major internal review, published as *National Parks for the 21st Century* but more commonly known as the Vail Agenda, referring to Vail, Colorado, the working site for discussions. The Vail Agenda followed close on the heels of The Conservation Foundation's 1985 report, *National Parks for a New Generation: Visions, Realities, Prospects*, which called attention to the difficulty of maintaining NPS core values in a system grown quite large and diverse.³² The Ranger Futures Steering Committee studied a number of alternatives to

³² In 1991, NPS Director James Ridenour organized a symposium in Vail, Colorado to examine internal and external problems facing the Park Service. In keeping with the director's overall conservative approach to system expansion and promotion of public-private partnerships, the agenda of the symposium included envisioning a role for the private sector and modernizing internal management to make the agency function more effectively. To a certain extent, the NPS was already addressing internal management issues, but inadequate funding and inadequate personnel had a demoralizing effect throughout the ranks. Six strategic objectives structured the work of participants—resource stewardship and protection; access and enjoyment; education and interpretation; proactive leadership; science and research, and professionalism. The resulting plan was a list of 140 specific recommendations with little overall strategy other than to seek a massive increase in federal spending. Among other things, the Vail Agenda laid the groundwork for the Heritage Area program, emphasized the need to professionalize park rangers, and led to some agency restructuring, notably creation of a strategic planning office in Denver, far removed from the Washington Beltway. However, one

address an increasing perception that the position of park ranger was something less than a professional occupation. In the end, the committee, and the director, emphatically rejected the notion that rangers represented a “dying breed.” Instead, the term “park ranger” was re-valued as a “resource-based occupation” and presented as the “ranger of the future” or “new park ranger.” To implement this concept, a bachelor’s degree would remain the entry-level requirement for most positions, but every new hire was to go through a “residential educational” orientation followed by “structured on-the-job training.” Although the Ranger Futures Program helped to upgrade permanent ranger positions, another policy implication was to do more with limited funding by recasting park rangers as educators who were expected “to spontaneously educate the public about an historical site, an archaeological phenomenon, tropical ecology or a mountain flora.” The steering committee had noted that, “public and private educators often teach outside their disciplines.” Park rangers would now be expected to do so as well, with additional specialized training provided from within NPS resources, human and budgetary.³³ At the park level, this meant that base funding would be stretched to accommodate newly reclassified GS5/7/9 ladder positions.

Canzanelli sought to build the staff at Women’s Rights NHP within this general personnel policy framework. For FY 1992, she requested and received another substantial increase in base funding to more than \$580,000. After a revised reorganization plan was approved in January 1992, three new permanent positions were approved: a GS-9 education specialist, a GS-5 secretary for the maintenance division, and a second GS-5 secretary for the superintendent’s office.³⁴ In April 1992, Mary Kelly Black moved from her GS-4 position in the main office to a GS-5 clerical position in the Maintenance

internal observer noted that, overall, “the executive branch and agency leaders showed little enthusiasm for major change.” See “James M. Ridenour’s Philosophical Thoughts on National Park Service,” April 17, 1989, in James M. Ridenour, *The National Parks Compromised: Pork Barrel Politics and America’s Treasures* (Merrillville, IN: ICS Books, Inc., 1994), Appendix 1, 213-218; Janet A. McDonnell, “Reassessing the National Park Service and the National Park System,” *George Wright Forum*, vol. 25:2 (2008): 6-14. See also William E. Brown, “Report and Reflections on Vail,” November 22, 1991, NPS Park History Office files; *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (NPS, Harpers Ferry Center, 2005), 84-87; and Larry M. Dilsaver, ed., “America’s National Park System: The Critical Documents,” <http://www.nps.gov/history/>, accessed February 9, 2009.

³³ Acting Director [Herbert Cables] to Directorate, Regional Directors and Park Superintendents, memorandum re Ranger Futures Concept Paper, May 13, 1993, see esp. p. 27. Under Charles Mayo, who served as NPS Chief of Interpretation from 1993-2009, the NPS instituted specialized training under the Comprehensive Interpretive Plan requirement and the Interpretive Development Program.

³⁴ Women’s Rights NHP Superintendent [Canzanelli] to Associate Regional Director, NAR [Steven Lewis?], memorandum, April 22, 1992, with attached “Position Management Plan, 1992.”

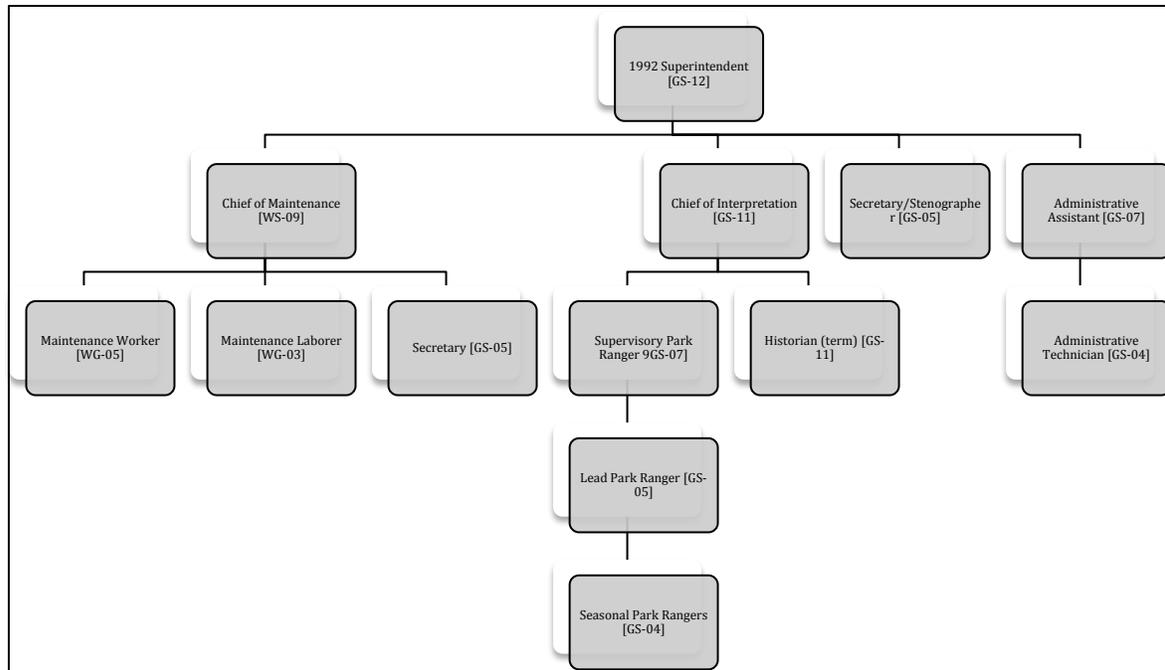


Chart 3. Staff Organization as of 1992. *Compiled from staff organization charts, Women's Rights NHP.*

Division. Dorothy Fenton replaced Black as secretary/stenographer reporting directly to the superintendent.³⁵ Caroline Caito was hired as an education specialist in June, but only in a seasonal position using project funds awarded through the NPS Educational Initiative Fund. Caito, who was then working on a master's degree in education at Nazareth College, was assigned to develop on and off-site educational programs for a proposed Women's Educational and Cultural Center.³⁶

The staff reached its peak of eighteen permanent positions in 1993, justified on the basis of opening the Wesleyan Chapel Block. Base-level funding also increased to more than \$720,000, which allowed the maintenance division to fill two new permanent positions: a WG-10 maintenance mechanic, Robert Fenton, and a WG-2 custodian. Changes in the interpretive division reflected not only staffing needs but also directives emanating from the Ranger Futures Program: the division upgraded its supervisory park ranger position from GS-7 to GS-9 and added two permanent GS-4 park rangers. Additionally, Canzanelli was able to hire an assistant superintendent, Laura Rotegard, a landscape architect by training, who joined the staff in August 1993. The superintendency was upgraded to GS 13.³⁷

³⁵ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings, March 30, 1992 and April 8, 1992.

³⁶ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, June 1, 1992.

³⁷ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, October 5, 1992 and November 9, 1992; Women's Rights NHP Superintendent's 1993 Annual Report, transmitted to Regional Director, NAR, March 17, 1994.

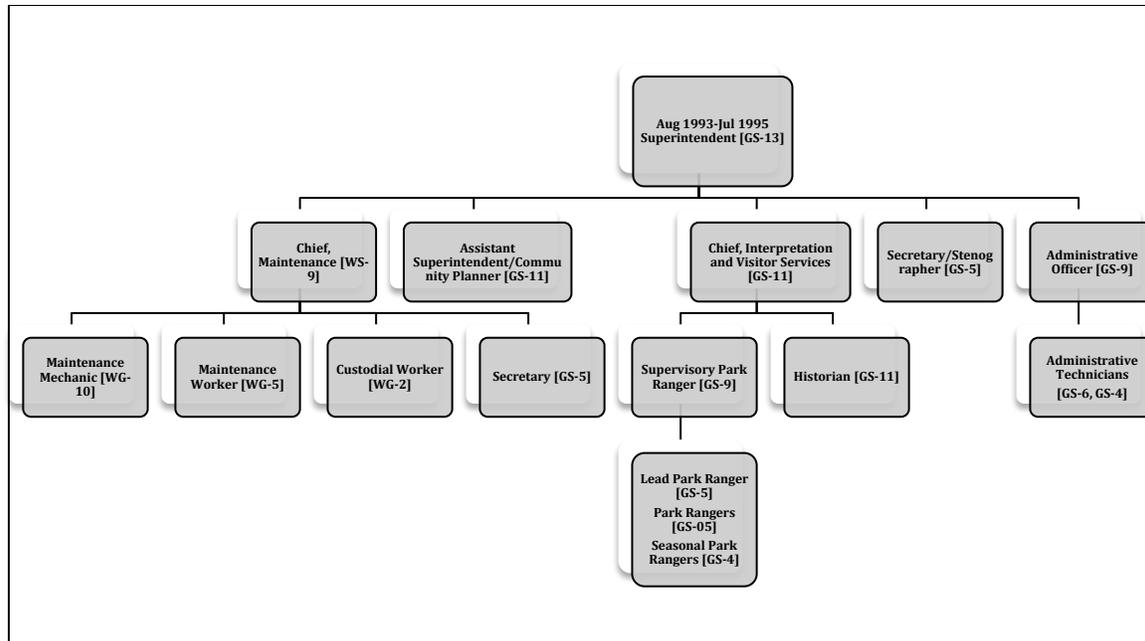


Chart 4. Staff organization, 1993-1995. *Compiled from staff organization charts, Women's Rights NHP.*

Canzanelli's reorganization plan also included the formation of park "districts," anticipating the establishment of a separate visitor contact station at the Stanton House. However, for a variety of reasons, this project stalled, and park visitation numbers did not increase to anticipated levels with the opening of Wesleyan Chapel and the new Visitor Center, making it difficult to justify additional staff. Canzanelli therefore requested no new positions for FY 1994.³⁸ The most significant change was in the position of historian, which became permanent in 1994. Rose recalls that the rapidity with which the field of women's history was growing prompted Canzanelli to make the position of park historian permanent.³⁹ However, this change also coincided with the release of "Humanities and the National Parks: Adapting to Change," a special report commissioned by the National Park System Advisory Board to provide direction to the NPS for implementing strategic objectives of the Vail Agenda with respect to interpreting historic resources in national parks and improving public education. Among other things, the report led to a formal agreement between the NPS and the Organization of American Historians to provide scholarly input into NPS planning and programming.⁴⁰ While there is no evidence directly

³⁸ Superintendent [Canzanelli] to NAR Associate Regional Director, Administrative Management [Steven Lewis], memorandum re 1994 Position Management Plan, November 3, 1993.

³⁹ Vivien Rose interview, 2.

⁴⁰ E. Shannon Barker, James O. Horton, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley, "Humanities and the National Park System," *CRM* Vol. 18, No. 2 (1995). The National Park System Advisory Board commissioned this report and another, "National Performance Review of the National Historic Preservation Partnership," at the request of NPS Director Roger G. Kennedy; see

linking this report to Canzanelli's decision to create a permanent historian position, enhancing scholarly content of park exhibits, films, publications, and programs was an important goal.

One management weakness identified by the Regional Office when Canzanelli arrived was the lack of minority representation among park staff. Minority populations had been routinely targeted for permanent and seasonal positions under Hart. However, the local labor pool for permanent non-supervisory positions was predominantly white. Hart also took the position that because the park was established to recognize the historical significance of the women's rights movement and because "the vast majority" of applicants for park positions were women, the recruiting and hiring of men was, therefore, a "legitimate" equal opportunity goal. Accordingly, she set the park's Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program (FEORP) goals for seasonal employment at 20 percent minority, 20 percent male, and 80 percent female.⁴¹ During the late 1980s, the NPS began to collect more detailed information on the recruitment and placement of handicapped individuals as well as the removal of barriers to effective job performance. Although the permanent staff was white and informally gender segregated, Hart's efforts to develop racial and ethnic diversity resulted in the appointment of one African American female, one African American male, and three white male seasonal employees during her tenure.⁴²

Park expansion gave the Regional Office an opening to reemphasize minority recruitment and hiring. "Given the high priority service-wide for showcasing women and minorities," and "given the special nature of Women's Rights NHP's primary theme," the Regional Office observed that park expansion "present[ed] an opportunity for leadership in this endeavor." Accordingly, Canzanelli stepped up efforts to recruit minorities strategically. Announcements for ranger positions were routinely sent to about 450 women's studies and ethnic studies programs in colleges and universities throughout the nation, but very few minority applicants materialized. Finally, in FY 1993, when a large staff increase created an opportunity to recruit for several new permanent employees,

Director [Kennedy] to Roger L. Williams, Chairman, National Park System Advisory Board, letter, January 12, 1994; Roger L. Williams to Marty Blatt, Historian, Lowell National Historical Park, letter, January 13, 1994; Dwight T. Pitcaithley, Chief, Cultural Resources, to Marty Blatt, letter, January 13, 1994. The committee, chaired by historian James O. Horton of George Washington University, comprised approximately twenty well-known scholars and NPS historians and cultural resource managers.

⁴¹ Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Judy Hart] to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], memorandum re: Fiscal Year 1985 Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program Plan, April 16, 1985.

⁴² Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], to Superintendents, NAR, memorandum re: Special Emphasis Program, October 15, 1988; Women's Rights NHP, FEORP Accomplishment Report, FY 1988; Women's Rights NHP, FEORP Plan, FY 1989.

minority women were successfully recruited to park ranger, supervisory park ranger, and administrative technician positions.⁴³

LAND ACQUISITION

Overall park development depended on legislative authority from Congress, appropriations of funding, and a general management plan. Representative Horton continued to make park development one of his legislative priorities. Consequently, Women's Rights NHP ranked high on the region's funding priority list. In FY 1988, the NPS had allocated \$525,000 for design work and an additional \$604,000 in FY 1989 for design development. In 1989, Horton was instrumental in securing a \$1.4 million congressional appropriation to fund the completion of construction documents and removal of asbestos from the chapel and the new Visitor Center. Cost of construction was then estimated at \$11.7 million.⁴⁴ Other legislative needs included a boundary amendment to the park's authorizing legislation to allow acquisition of a permanent maintenance facility as well as the Baldwin and Nies properties near the Stanton House so the park could expand the site to include the historic grounds and build a canal-side visitor contact station. The park also needed legislation to raise the land acquisition ceiling in order to acquire these properties as well as a needed right-of-way at the M'Clintock site. Additionally, the park needed to raise the development ceiling in order to remain eligible to compete for NPS internal funding for development. Finally, the park needed an amendment deleting the misidentified Bloomer House from the park as a designated historic site, and an appropriation of \$435,000 to build or renovate an existing building for use as a maintenance facility.⁴⁵

Before introducing legislation to cover all of the park's needs, Horton put pressure on Regional Director Gerald Patten to make Women's Rights NHP a "top priority," which

⁴³ Superintendent [Linda Canzanelli] to Regional Director, NAR [Gerald Patten], memorandum re Annual Statement on Internal Accounting and Administrative Control, August 28, 1989; Superintendent [Canzanelli] to Regional Director, NAR [Patten], memorandum re Human Resource Development Program Reports, November 18, 1989; [Women's Rights NHP] Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program: Accomplishment Report FY '91; Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Equal Employment Opportunity Committee, January 30, 1992; [Women's Rights NHP] Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program, Accomplishments Report FY '92; [Women's Rights NHP] Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Plan, FY '93; Women's Rights NHP Superintendent's Annual Report 1993; see also, Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings, March 23, 1993 and April 19, 1993.

⁴⁴ Report of the Operational, Legislative and Developmental Needs [Women's Rights NHP], October 1989. See also Frank Horton to Hon. Sidney R. Yates, Chairman, Appropriations Subcommittee on Interior, letter, April 5, 1990.

⁴⁵ Report of the Operational, Legislative and Developmental Needs [Women's Rights NHP], October 1989. Women's Rights NHP's initial land acquisition ceiling of \$500,000 had been raised to \$700,000 in FY 1988 by congressional passage of H.R. 2952.

he did.⁴⁶ Budget planning for FY 1991 was just beginning when Canzanelli arrived in 1989. She asked for a total increase of \$258,000 in the base operating budget and \$250,000 to acquire a park maintenance facility.⁴⁷ The park's operating budget subsequently increased to \$435,000 in 1991 and climbed steadily thereafter. Horton then requested from the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Interior an earmarked appropriation of approximately \$12 million for construction of the Wesleyan Chapel Block.⁴⁸ These funds enabled the park to move from design development to construction of the Chapel Block without interruption.

As of late 1989, Canzanelli also was working with the Trust for Public Land (TPL) and the NPS Land Resources Division to negotiate acquisition of several properties needed for park development and operations: the FJL Building, located near the Chapel Block, for use as a maintenance facility; the Baldwin/Chamberlain (1 Seneca Street) and Nies (10 Seneca Street) properties near the Stanton House; and the Young property (12 E. Williams Street) adjacent to the M'Clintock House in Waterloo.⁴⁹ Additionally, in January 1991, she received a call from the owners of the Hunt House in Waterloo, who expressed a willingness to sell this property to the National Park Service. Thus, Canzanelli and her staff began researching this house and laying the groundwork for its eventual acquisition.⁵⁰

Canzanelli also proposed NPS acquisition of the Harriet Tubman House in Auburn and the Susan B. Anthony House (SBAH) in Rochester, but in the end both remained in private hands. Neither site was authorized for NPS acquisition, although the provisions of P.L. 96-607 specified that the park would consist "initially" of nine designated properties in Seneca Falls and Waterloo and did not set geographic limits on future expansion. Thus, when the Tubman House came on the market in early 1990, Canzanelli immediately contacted the regional director and began to take steps to involve

⁴⁶ Frank Horton to NAR Regional Director Gerald Patten, letter, November 21, 1989; NAR Regional Director Gerald Patten to James M. Ridenour, Director of National Park Service, memorandum re Legislative Priorities, December 1, 1989.

⁴⁷ Acting Superintendent [Linda Canzanelli] to NAR Regional Director [Gerald Patten], memorandum re: Fiscal Year 1991 Budget Call, February 28, 1989; Acting Regional Director, NAR [Steven H. Lewis] to Superintendents, North Atlantic Region, memorandum re Fiscal Year 1991 Budget Call, April 28, 1989.

⁴⁸ Congressman Frank Horton to Honorable Sidney R. Yates, Chairman of Appropriations Subcommittee on Interior, letter, April 5, 1990; Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings, May 15, 1990 and June 26, 1990.

⁴⁹ See the following Minutes of Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings: November 20, 1989; January 2, 1990; January 29, 1990; February 26, 1990; April 10, 1990; April 16, 1990; May 8, 1990; May 15, 1990; June 26, 1990; July 17, 1990. As of 1993, Canzanelli was still working with TPL to acquire the Baldwin property; see Superintendent's Goals FY 1994.

⁵⁰ Superintendent [Linda Canzanelli] to Regional Director [Gerald Patten], memorandum, January 28, 1991. Note that fee purchase of the Hunt House was not included in the 1991 amendments to the GMP because the amended plan was in the final approval stage when Olmstead contacted Canzanelli to express his intent to sell the house.

the NPS in the property's future. At the same time, Metropolitan AME Zion Church of Kansas City expressed interest in purchasing the house, and subsequently did. The church also preferred to continue operating the site independently.⁵¹

WESLEYAN CHAPEL BLOCK: CONSTRUCTION DESIGN PHASE

Meanwhile, the unresolved issue of appropriate preservation treatment for the chapel's remnant walls carried over from the comprehensive design phase to the design development phase. The NPS kept pressing for brick infill, but TSP responded by proposing poured-in-place concrete, which the NPS found just as unacceptable as steel sandwich panels.⁵² The disagreement continued throughout the summer of 1989, escalating to a series of pointed exchanges. Richard Stein, Ann Marshall, and Ray Kinoshita argued that a concrete infill solution was in keeping with their "archeological approach" to preserving the original fabric and adding "only what [was] necessary to structurally stabilize the fragments." They also pointed to concrete's structural and technical advantages.⁵³ NPS management responded that in preserving the historic remains of the chapel, it wanted a solution that did not compromise interpretation of the site's historic significance.

The debate over infill material once again illuminated the complicated relationship between preservation philosophy and the park's interpretative mission. An archeological treatment that preserved building fragments *in situ* was in keeping with general NPS management policies. However, new management policies for the preservation of historic structures, which took effect in 1988, relaxed the agency's stance to allow:

several basic treatments, including preservation as is, restoration to earlier appearances by the removal of later accretions and replacement of missing elements, and reconstruction or reproduction to replicate absent original resources.⁵⁴

Appropriate treatment, according to the 1988 policies, was to be determined by considering the "significance of the resource, its condition, its interpretive value, its research potential, and the availability of data."⁵⁵ In the debate over treatment of the chapel walls, the NPS based its opposition to steel-and-concrete infill on interpretive

⁵¹ Linda Canzanelli interview, 21-22; Minutes Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings: February 20, 1990; February 26, 1990; March 12, 1990.

⁵² Minutes, Meeting No. 1, Design Development Phase, June 7, 1989; Minutes, Meeting No. 2, Design Development Phase, June 9, 1989; Minutes, Meeting No. 4, Design Development Phase, June 27, 1989.

⁵³ Richard G. Stein to Patrick Shea, letter, August 14, 1989, NER-HIST.

⁵⁴ Management Policies, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1988 (NPS: DSC), Chapter 5:5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

principles. Noting that “the significance of the convention is the Declaration of Sentiments not necessarily the chapel” and that the chapel “represented a legacy of free speech,” the NPS argued that “using a monolithic material” to infill missing brick on the east and west walls would “distract from the primary interpretive event.”⁵⁶ The 1988 policy change was more in tune with preservationist aesthetics that were repeatedly expressed as a desire for the Wesleyan Chapel and the Stanton House to be restored to the appearance of their period of significance, but the NPS had already closed off that option for the Wesleyan Chapel. At the same time, the policy change also enabled the NPS to compromise the winning design in the interest of interpretation.

In any case, TSP dug in its heels, and Canzanelli continued to raise the question of visitors’ reactions to concrete, noting that “as an interpreter” she was “concerned that even with complementary coloring” concrete would “look modern,” and visitors would focus on the dissimilarity of materials. TSP countered that the infill was supposed to appear modern and continued to press the technical merits of concrete. In order to avoid an impasse, TSP agreed to discuss the issue further with Blaine Cliver. Finally, in late October, after Cliver made clear his preference for brick infill, TSP gave in.⁵⁷

In the meantime, NPS management continued to discuss ways to cut costs and get the project on a feasible construction schedule. In order to avoid unnecessary delay, NPS managers decided it would be less expensive to have the Regional Office, in cooperation with DSC, perform the demolition work in FY 1990. This also would facilitate additional architectural research on building interiors, enable the NPS to monitor the buildings structurally for a period of time, and allow the construction contractor to start new construction with less disruption.⁵⁸ The process of removing non-historic building materials from the chapel began in May 1990 and continued throughout the fall.⁵⁹ Site investigations in preparation for construction led to more discussion about the east wall of the Village Hall. At the very last stage, just before construction design drawings were finalized, Patrick Shea notified TSP that the Regional Office, the park, and the DSC had

⁵⁶ Patrick Shea to The Stein Partnership, letter re: Wesleyan Chapel Infill Material, August 22, 1989.

⁵⁷ Minutes, Meeting No. 7, Design Development Phase, October 3, 1989; Minutes, Meeting No. 8, Design Development Phase, October 4, 1989; Minutes, Meeting No. 9, 95% Design Development Phase, October 23, 1989.

⁵⁸ Manager, DSC [Reynolds] to Deputy Director, NPS [Herbert Cables] through Associate Director, Planning and Development, WASO [Gerald Patten], memorandum re: Additional Project Briefing Material, Women’s Rights NHP, Package 106, Wesleyan Chapel, Project Type 06, Develop Wesleyan Chapel Block, May 30, 1989; Acting Supervisor, Building Conservation Branch, NAR [Stephen Spaulding] to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NAR [Charles Clapper], memorandum, November 15, 1989, NER-HAP.

⁵⁹ Architectural Conservator, NAHPC [Barbara Yocum] to Division Chief, Cultural Resources Management, NAR [Myra Harrison], trip report, May 18, 1990; Architectural Conservator [Yocum] to Division Chief, Cultural Resources Management [Harrison], trip report, August 13, 1990; Architectural Conservator [Yocum] to Division Chief, Cultural Resources Management [Harrison], trip report, November 28, 1990.

determined that the east wall section, which adjoined another commercial building, was so deteriorated that it had to be removed and replaced with new brick of complementary color.⁶⁰

1991 AMENDMENT TO THE *GENERAL MANAGEMENT PLAN*

In order to pursue further land acquisition and development at the Stanton and M'Clintock sites, as well as meet future development operational needs, the park first had to amend the 1986 *General Management Plan* and then seek expanded authority through federal legislation. To initiate this process, the park solicited initial public comment at an open house on April 10, 1990. Canzanelli and landscape architect Marjorie Smith from the Regional Office (not to be confused with Ralph Peters's former wife) then began writing a draft general management plan amendment (GMPA) for review. While the draft was in progress, a congressional budget battle put everything but the Wesleyan Chapel Block project on hold. Toward the end of August 1990, NPS Director James Ridenour notified all national parks of a pending federal hiring freeze and possible budget cuts in FY 1991. Responding to a raging congressional debate over the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings plan for reducing the federal budget deficit, the director's office began to prepare for possible employee furloughs and required all park employees to sign a statement acknowledging receipt of the proposed plan.⁶¹ Congress still had not passed a budget by the end of the fiscal year, but a continuing resolution kept federal agencies open through October 5.⁶² When Congress failed to pass a budget by then, the NPS, along with many federal agencies, suspended operations. All national parks were closed for the three-day Columbus Day weekend, October 7-9.⁶³ Additional continuing resolutions kept federal agencies on edge until Congress passed the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act on November 5.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Patrick Shea to Carl Stein, re: Review of 100% Construction Documents," April 11, 1991, NER-HIST.

⁶¹ NPS Director [James Ridenour] to All Employees, memorandum re Notice of Decision to Furlough, September 26, 1990; James A. Revaleon, NAR Personnel Officer to NAR Superintendents and Directorates, memorandum re Furlough Decision Letters, September 27, 1990. See also Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings, August 21, 1990 and August 28, 1990.

⁶² NAR Regional Director [Gerald Patten] to NAR Superintendents and Directorates, memorandum re Notice of Potential Shutdown, September 27, 1990; NPS Director's Statement re Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Sequestration, e-mail, September 28, 1990; Acting Director [Herbert Cables] to Directorate and Field Directorate, memorandum re FY 1991 Budget Situation, [September 30, 1990]; Bob Nash to Women's Rights NHP e-mail re Continuing Resolution, October 5, 1990.

⁶³ John H. Cushman, Jr., "The Budget Battle," *New York Times*, October 7, 1990.

⁶⁴ The Gramm-Rudman-Hollings resolution led to the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990, which Congress enacted as title XIII of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990, passed

Despite the 1990 budget battle, \$12 million was included in the FY 1991 NPS appropriation for construction and interpretive development of the Wesleyan Chapel Block. Subsequently, on the last day of the fiscal year, September 30, 1991, the DSC awarded the construction contract to Wellco, Inc. of Elmira, New York with a winning bid of \$5,363,350.⁶⁵ Looking back, Canzanelli attributed not only this appropriation but overall funding for park development to being “in the right place at the right time, when people wanted to be able to say they were supporting women; we were a warm and fuzzy way to do it, which definitely helped in getting the budget.”⁶⁶

By late 1991, the park also was ready to take the remaining formal steps leading to approval of the GMPA. Three public meetings were held during the required thirty-day public review period (October 23 - November 23) and another on January 8, 1991.⁶⁷ The final version of the *Amendment to the General Management Plan* (GMPA) was approved by the New York State Historic Preservation Office on January 31, 1991, and the Regional Office signed off on February 4.⁶⁸

Because the park comprised discrete properties in four separate locations, the GMPA recommended an “administrative” park boundary consistent with the boundaries of the Village of Seneca Falls Historic District (the local historic district) plus 10 Seneca Street (Nies property), and in Waterloo a like boundary consistent with the core historic building survey area plus the Hunt House. These recommendations were carefully worded to clarify that the NPS was seeking “administrative boundary adjustments,” not physical boundary changes, which the park felt was necessary to facilitate collaboration with both local communities. This was viewed as particularly critical in Seneca Falls where the park routinely worked with the Village on historic preservation matters, visitor parking and tour routing, and law enforcement at park-sponsored events in the community. The amendment also called for deleting the misidentified Bloomer House from the park’s enabling legislation and acquiring the following new properties: the FJL building (or a similar property) for a maintenance facility, the Baldwin/Chamberlain property to provide a visitor contact facility near the Stanton House, the Nies property to restore the historic setting at the Stanton House as nearly as possible, and the Young property to retain the historic setting of the M’Clintock House and mitigate park management problems.⁶⁹

November 5, 1990. In an effort to reduce the federal budget deficit, the Budget Enforcement Act created two new budget control processes: a set of caps on annually appropriated spending and a “pay-as-you-go” process for entitlements and taxes.

⁶⁵ Women’s Rights NHP Briefing Statement, February 19, 1992.

⁶⁶ Linda Canzanelli interview, 19.

⁶⁷ *Amendment to the General Management Plan*, 22.

⁶⁸ Julia Stokes, New York State Historic Preservation Office to Gerald Patten, Regional Director, memorandum, January 31, 1991.

⁶⁹ *Amendment to the General Management Plan*, 22-27.

These provisions of the GMPA were the basis for legislative requests in FY 1991, which remained unchanged in FY 1992 as Congress continued to debate the federal budget.⁷⁰ They included establishing an administrative boundary that more or less coincided with local historic district boundaries, authority to acquire additional properties (maintenance building, three dwellings associated with park historic sites, and easements adjacent to the Wesleyan Chapel Block), raising the acquisition and development ceilings, and deauthorizing the Bloomer House as a designated park site. The park also sought authority to enter into cooperative agreements for the purposes of education and research and an extension of the advisory commission through the year 2000. The Regional Office endorsed these requests, and, initially, so did NPS Director James Ridenour. Thus, the NPS legislative office began working with Rep. Horton's office to draft a bill.⁷¹

The Office of Management and Budget raised no objections to the draft legislation on behalf of the administration.⁷² However, the Office of Program Analysis in the Department of the Interior labeled it "pork barrel" legislation and recommended department opposition for three reasons: insufficient park visitation to justify expansion, substantial increases in operational costs if additional properties were authorized for acquisition, and "no indication of departmental priority."⁷³ The NPS director's office and the Regional Office spent the next few months answering questions and refuting these objections.⁷⁴ Additionally, Charlotte Conable and several other women with political influence wrote letters to Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan supporting continued development of Women's Rights NHP and the proposed bill as drafted by the NPS.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Legislative Support Data for Women's Rights National Historical Park, April 17, 1991.

⁷¹ Judy Hart to Sean Bersell, memorandum re: Status of Legislative Initiative for North Atlantic Region, July 11, 1991; James M. Ridenour, Director, to Frank Horton, letter, November 6, 1991; NPS Director [Ridenour] to Legislative Counsel through Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, memorandum re: Legislative Initiative for Women's Rights National Historical Park, November 12, 1991, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD (NARA-CP), RG 79, Legislative Case Files.

⁷² [Office of Management and Budget] to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, undated letter [early 1992], NARA-CP, RG 79, Legislative Case Files.

⁷³ Office of Program Analysis [Department of the Interior], review of draft bill "To Improve the Administration of the Women's Rights National Historical Park," February 11, 1992.

⁷⁴ NPS Director [Ridenour] to Regional Director, NAR [Gerald Patten?], memorandum re: Legislative Initiative for Women's Rights NHP, March 19, 1992; Acting Regional Director [Marie Rust] to Director, memorandum, April 9, 1992; Judy Hart, Issues Related to the Legislative Initiative for Women's Rights National Historical Park, internal briefing paper, June 17, 1992; Herbert Cables to Maryanne Bach [Office of Program Analysis, Department of the Interior], note, June 18, 1992; [Judy Hart], Possible Questions on Women's Rights Legislation, internal briefing paper for Herbert Cables, June 26, 1992, NARA-CP, RG 79, Legislative Case Files.

⁷⁵ Jennifer A. Salisbury, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife and Parks, letter to Susan Lowell Butler, National Executive Director, National Women's Hall of Fame, letter,

As a result, Interior dropped its opposition, but the record suggests that the NPS had to give up something. In any event, Rep. Horton requested that the NPS redraft the bill to incorporate all of the provisions except the administrative park boundary.⁷⁶ Horton introduced this bill as H.R. 5916 in September 1992. It added specified properties to the park, raised the appropriations ceiling, authorized cooperative agreements and funds for education and research facilities, and extended the park advisory commission to the year 2000. A competing bill introduced by Congressman Bruce Vento (D-MN), H.R. 5949, included a provision to authorize an extension of the advisory commission an additional five years, through 2005.⁷⁷ Neither bill passed.⁷⁸

In 1993, when the Wesleyan Chapel and the new Visitor Center opened, the park received a substantial increase in base operating funds, but half of what Canzanelli expected. The Regional Office supported an increase of \$440,000, but the House Appropriations Committee “as a part of the pressure of producing a budget which would be passed by the House, Senate, and President, cut most appropriations in half.”⁷⁹

Louise Slaughter, who replaced Horton as the U.S. Representative for the Seneca Falls district, reintroduced H.R. 5916, her predecessor’s bill, as H.R. 359 in the 1st session of the 103rd Congress.⁸⁰ The bill was referred to the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands, and a hearing took place on June 21, 1994. By October 1994, the bill had picked up twenty-five cosponsors and was reported out of committee. Sen. Moynihan introduced companion legislation in the Senate, S. 2001, which was referred to the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests, of the Senate Committee on

May 27, 1992; Manuel Lujan, Secretary of the Interior, to Charlotte W. Conable, letter, June 9, 1992, NARA-CP, RG 79, Legislative Case Files. Notes at the bottom of both letters indicate that similar letters were sent to Sarah Harder, Co-chair, National Conference Committee; Janie B. Taylor, Co-chair, National Women’s Conference Committee; Susan M. Whittaker, Karaka Bay Films; and Margery Tabankin, Executive Director, Hollywood Women’s Political Committee.

⁷⁶ Frank Horton to James Ridenour, letter, July 7, 1992; Horton to Ridenour, letter, August 4, 1992; Pamela E. Somers, NPS Legislative Counsel to Frank Horton, letter of transmittal for draft bill “To improve the administration of the Women’s Rights National Historical Park,” August 26, 1992; Pamela E. Somers to Richard G. Darman, Director, Office of Management and Budget, letter of transmittal with draft bill, August 27, 1992, NARA-CP, RG 79, Legislative Case Files.

⁷⁷ For bill tracking information on H.R. 5916 and H.R. 5949, see Library of Congress –Thomas, <http://thomas.loc.gov/>, under 102nd Congress.

⁷⁸ Failure to obtain needed legislation placed another strain on the park’s operating budget. Since the park absolutely needed a maintenance facility, it was forced to rent the FJL building at an annual cost of \$24,000, which initially came out of the annual operating budget; see 1993 and 1994 Reports of Operational, Legislative and Developmental Needs.

⁷⁹ Women’s Rights NHP Annual Report 1993; Linda Canzanelli interview, 19.

⁸⁰ Louise Slaughter is considered one of the most progressive members of the U.S. House of Representatives. With a background in microbiology, Slaughter’s top legislative priority has been health issues and care reform since she was first elected to the House in 1987. However, she also has been a staunch advocate for women’s issues.

Energy and Natural Resources, with a hearing on August 4, but the bill never made it to the Senate floor.⁸¹ In both committee hearings, NPS representatives gave identical prepared statements recommending that the bills be amended to delete the provision extending the advisory commission, a direct response to the Clinton administration's announced determination to end the practice of establishing advisory commissions for federal agencies.⁸²

Canzanelli would leave Women's Rights NHP two years before Congress finally passed the 1996 Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act, which included legislative provisions that allowed the park to move forward with development plans specified in the GMPA. During her tenure as superintendent, however, congressional politics began to assume a partisan cast. Conservative Republicans achieved a major breakthrough with the 1994 mid-term elections, which saw the Republican Party unite behind the conservative wing's Contract with America document, which pledged to shrink the size of the federal government and lower taxes. The Clinton administration also made downsizing the federal bureaucracy a top priority. In a political climate where Republicans were vying to take control of an issue that Vice President Albert Gore was already pursuing with determination, park legislation continually stalled in Congress, which, in turn, effectively slowed the pace of park development at Women's Rights NHP.

PRESERVING THE WESLEYAN CHAPEL: PROCESS AND PRINCIPLES

Congressional inaction from 1991 on effectively gave Canzanelli more time to focus on the Wesleyan Chapel Block project. As construction design drawings were being finalized in late 1990, the NYSHPO submitted a response to the Draft GMPA, raising serious objections to the proposed design of the Wesleyan Chapel. The SHPO argued that the design, even as modified to include brick infill, was "inconsistent with both the General Management Plan of 1986 and basic preservation policies." It objected to almost every aspect of the chapel design as being inconsistent with generally accepted historic preservation principles and expressed the agency's belief, "from field visits" and an

⁸¹ For bill tracking information on H.R. 359 and S. 2001, see Library of Congress –Thomas, <http://thomas.loc.gov/>, under 103rd Congress. See also NAR Regional Director Marie Rust to Ray Bane, Legislative Affairs Specialist, Legislative and Congressional Affairs, memorandum re: Draft Testimony on H.R. 359, June 6, 1994. See also a two-page typed document with handwritten notes re: Women's Rights Notes from Hearing, June 21, 1994.

⁸² Statement of Terry W. Savage, Acting Associate Regional Director for Planning, Development, and Engineering, North Atlantic Region . . . before the Subcommittee of National Parks, Forests, and Public Lands, House Committee on Natural Resources, concerning H.R.359 to improve the administration of Women's Rights National Historical Park, June 21, 1994; Statement of John Reynolds, Deputy Director, NPS . . . before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests, Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, concerning S.2001 to improve the administration of Women's Rights National Historical Park, August 4, 1994, NARA-CP, RG 79, Legislative Case Files.

examination of the HSR, that there was enough physical evidence to “re-establish” the “historic building envelope.” The letter also noted that the Village of Seneca Falls had “concerns” with the chapel design, and suggested that the NPS was being “inconsistent” with its own agency’s policies by not working more closely with local preservation groups.⁸³

Patrick Shea, Linda Canzanelli, and several staff members from the Northeast Regional Office subsequently met with staff from the SHPO to discuss these concerns, which did little to change minds. The SHPO held that the design for the Wesleyan Chapel was not aligned with the 1986 *General Management Plan*, which called for an enclosed building, and that the HSR provided enough information to reconstruct the exterior. Looking at the chapel as a historic building issue, the SHPO felt that the best design solution was an “interpretive reconstruction that produce[d] an enclosed building.” After detailing several specific design criticisms—the perimeter wall, proposed materials, and the “erector set concept for the roof and wall bracing”—the SHPO cautioned that it was “prepared to foreclose, go to the ACHP [Advisory Council on Historic Preservation], and go public on the issues of (1) an enclosed structure and (2) compatibility with the community.”⁸⁴ The latter concern was bound up with the National Register nomination for the Seneca Falls Village Historic District, which included the Wesleyan Chapel and the Visitor Center, and which was then under review. Nevertheless, the SHPO signed off on the GMPA, reiterating in its letter that the NPS should “coordinate with the Village of Seneca Falls, a Certified Local Government (CLG), for projects within the boundaries of their districts.”⁸⁵

A particular section of the GMPA concerning Section 106 review would shortly become the focus of a heated debate. The language reflected a new programmatic agreement executed in 1990 by the NPS, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation,

⁸³ Julia S. Stokes, Deputy Commissioner for Historic Preservation, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, to Gerald D. Patten, Regional Director, NAR, letter re: Draft Amendment/Environmental Assessment to General Management Plan, December 5, 1990.

⁸⁴ Regional Historian, NAR [Paul Weinbaum] to Regional Director, NAR [Gerald Patten], Summary of Meeting Between National Park Service and State Historic Preservation Office, January 23, 1991,” January 25, 1991; see also Richard M. Lord [NYSHPO] to Senior Staff, internal memorandum re: visitor Center and Wesleyan Chapel Rehabilitation, Women’s Rights NHP, January 17, 1991, Village of Seneca Falls Records.

⁸⁵ Julia S. Stokes, Deputy Commissioner for Historic Preservation, to Gerald D. Patten, Regional Director, NAR, January 31, 1991, NARA-CP. The designation “Certified Local Government” is not self-explanatory. It denotes community participation in the Federal Preservation Program, which is jointly administered by the NPS and the SHPO in each state. To become recognized as a CLG under 36 CFR 60, local communities work through a certification process, which includes passing a historic preservation ordinance and establishing a historic preservation commission. CLGs then become active partners in the Federal Historic Preservation Program and have greater access to funding and technical services. CLG-established commissions also function as a review board for preservation activities in their communities. The Village of Seneca Falls became a CLG on August 20, 1990.

and the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers. This agreement required that undertakings included in the GMPA be individually reviewed by the State Historic Preservation Office except in three cases: (1) undertakings that had reached the comprehensive design stage of implementation as of August 1990; (2) undertakings for which an assessment of effect had been resolved earlier in the planning process; and (3) undertakings covered by programmatic exclusions.⁸⁶

Not long after the January meeting between the NPS and the NYSHPO, Village Mayor Robert Freeland wrote to Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan expressing the community's concern that the south perimeter wall separating the chapel from Fall Street was "inappropriate for the historic streetscape" and "would attract vandals." Freeland also noted that the chapel remains were to be "left open to harsh weather."⁸⁷ About two weeks later, Julia Stokes, Deputy Commissioner for Historic Preservation, once again contacted Regional Director Gerald Patten, citing the design as "inconsistent with the historic and architectural character of the Seneca Falls Historic District," and requested a second meeting to explore an alternative that would avoid what the SHPO now considered an adverse effect, even though Section 106 compliance had been completed.⁸⁸

By May, 1991, the NPS and the NYSHPO were at an impasse. On May 2, the SHPO notified the Regional Office that it would formally ask the ACHP to intercede. The letter reiterated the SHPO's position that the design was inconsistent with the 1986 GMP and created an adverse effect on the Wesleyan Chapel and the Seneca Falls Historic District. It also asserted that the HSR for the chapel "provide[d] a sound basis for interpretive (vs. exact) restoration treatments that would preserve the historic materials that remain."⁸⁹ This was followed by a formal resolution adopted by the New York State Board for Historic Preservation charging that the chapel design had been "formulated prior to obtaining an Historic Structures Report and result[ed] in a very intrusive project in which preservation issues appear to have been totally ignored." The board also "expresse[d] great concern" that the Certified Local Government be able "to provide guidance to their community when the precedent set by the National Park Service so blatantly ignore[d] the Secretary of the Interior's Standards."⁹⁰ Although it is true that the HSR was not finalized

⁸⁶ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings, April 10, 1990 and April 16, 1990; NPS Associate Director, Planning and Development [Denis Galvin] to Regional Director, NAR [Gerald Patten], memorandum re: Policy Review of Draft Amendment/Assessment Alternatives to the General Management Plan of 1986 for Women's Rights NHP, September 21, 1990; *Amendment to the General Management Plan*, 14.

⁸⁷ Mayor Robert G. Freeland to Honorable Manuel Lujan, memorandum, March 14, 1991, ACHP Records, NARA-CP.

⁸⁸ Julia S. Stokes, Deputy Commissioner for Historic Preservation, to Gerald D. Patten, Regional Director, NAR, March 26, 1991, NARA-CP.

⁸⁹ Julia S. Stokes, Deputy Commissioner for Historic Preservation, to Gerald D. Patten, Regional Director, NAR, May 2, 1991, Village of Seneca Falls Records.

⁹⁰ David S. Gillespie, "NYS Board for Historic Preservation Resolution of March 7, 1991," ACPH Records, NARA-CP.

until 1988, registrants for the 1987 design competition did receive the architectural, historical, and archeological data sections. In his response to these charges, Regional Director Patten assured the Board for Historic Preservation that “while not brought together in a single Historic Structure Report until 1988, there [had been] no significant new information in the post-competition HSR.”⁹¹

Patten also briefed Robert Bush, ACHP executive director, on three fundamental issues of disagreement, as the NPS understood them to be. First, the NPS held that the design was consistent with the 1986 GMP and the 1981 Programmatic Agreement executed by the NPS, ACHP, and National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers. Under the terms of this programmatic agreement, the Regional Office believed that construction design plans “did not need to be reviewed as long as they were in conformance with a General Management Plan that had been reviewed and approved by the Council.” This clearly was the case, as evidenced by ACHP’s 1985 approval of the draft GMP, which noted that the plan element for Wesleyan Chapel was “highly appropriate” and further commented that “design of a new structure which will incorporate the remaining original fabric of the Wesleyan Chapel is preferable to an attempt at reconstruction,” although to be certain the NYSHPO correctly assumed the new structure would be enclosed. Patten went on to note that the superseding 1990 Programmatic Agreement exempted from review those actions that had “reached the comprehensive design stage.” Since the Wesleyan Chapel project had moved from the comprehensive design stage to design development in 1990, the NPS held that it was in compliance with the GMP and both programmatic agreements.⁹²

Patten also refuted the NYSHPO’s claim that the 1986 GMP required a four-wall enclosure to protect historic fabric. Indeed, the GMP did state that, “an enclosed structure will be necessary” but the rationale was not to protect historic fabric; rather, it was “to accomplish any media-assisted interpretation because of the chapel’s proximity to a heavily trafficked noisy state roadway [Fall Street].” Because the park subsequently had decided against media-assisted interpretation at the chapel site, it was the position of the NPS that enclosed walls were not necessary.⁹³ Finally, Patten addressed the SHPO’s contention that the chapel design would adversely affect the Village of Seneca Falls Historic District, which was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in early 1991. The 1986 GMP did obligate the NPS to assist both Seneca Falls in defining the boundaries of the historic setting and in implementing preservation planning. The NPS

⁹¹ Gerald Patten to David S. Gillespie, May 21, 1991, ACHP Records, NARA-CP.

⁹² Regional Director Gerald Patten to Robert Bush, Executive Director, ACHP, letter, May 2, 1991, ACHP Records, NARA-CP; Executive Director Robert Bush, ACHP, to Council Members, memorandum, May 30, 1991, ACHP Records, NARA-CP. See also Advisory Council on Historic Preservation to Regional Director Herbert S. Cables, Jr., letter approving *Draft General Management Plan/Environmental Assessment* for Women’s Rights National Historical Park, August 12, 1985.

⁹³ Patten to Bush, May 2, 1991.

had done so by helping to fund the state-level Blue Form Survey, and the park had provided technical assistance in the development of preservation guidelines. With respect to historic setting, the periods of significance established for the historic district in the NRHP nomination were quite broad: 1800 to 1930. The 1986 GMP, however, limited the NPS to maintaining the historic setting of specific structures present in 1848. The NPS thus took the position that the proposed design for preserving Wesleyan Chapel accomplished the plan specified in the 1986 GMP.⁹⁴

It was harder to discern the issues of contention locally, but comments aired publically suggest that dissatisfaction had been festering since the design competition. Village offices supplied the SHPO with local news articles that portrayed Superintendent Canzanelli as placing “less and less importance on the Chapel itself” and ignoring local history, meaning the beliefs of the Wesleyan Chapel congregation that had allowed the convention to meet in Seneca Falls in 1848. The design competition also was revisited with assertions that the jury had had a difficult time deciding on a winning design, and according to Gail Caraccilo, Village Coordinator for Educational Programs, “one [unidentified] juror simply gave up her position.”⁹⁵ The New York State Urban Cultural Park Advisory Council resolved that the design was “insensitive, impractical, and intrusive,” and “may jeopardize the original historic fabric.”⁹⁶

In late May, the ACHP responded to Patten that it found the wording of the GMP “sufficiently ambiguous and open to interpretation” to support “contention that the project [wa]s inconsistent with the intent of that document.” The Council therefore decided to undertake a formal review, to be conducted by a panel of three members who would visit the site, hear testimony from the NPS and SHPO, take public comment, and render a final decision to resolve the matter. ACHP Chairman John F.W. Rogers appointed a panel of three members: ACHP vice chair Joan Stein, ACHP member Lucille Clarke Dumbrill, and John Reynolds of the NPS Washington office. Their task was to investigate four critical issues: compatibility of the chapel design with the surrounding historic district; the merits of reconstruction versus contemporary commemorative design; the views of the local community and the consideration of local concerns in the management of federal property; and the inherent problem of framing a design competition around preservation of a historic property.⁹⁷

The panel arrived in Seneca Falls on Tuesday, June 11, 1991 and held an evening public meeting in order to allow as many community members as possible an opportunity

⁹⁴ Patten to Bush, May 2, 1991; *Amendment to the General Management Plan*.

⁹⁵ Gail Caraccilo, Village Coordinator for Educational Programs, to Julia Stokes, Deputy Director for Historic Preservation, May 15, 1991, Village of Seneca Falls Records.

⁹⁶ New York State Urban Cultural Park Resolutions, May 1, 1991, Village of Seneca Falls Records.

⁹⁷ Executive Director Robert D. Bush, ACHP, to Council Members, memorandum, May 31, 1991. ACHP Records, NARA-CP. See also “Advisory Council on Historic Preservation Meeting,” notice, *Federal Register*, May 28, 1991, ACHP Records, NARA-CP.

to voice their opinions. More than twenty speakers presented statements, revealing more clearly the lines of community division. Deputy Mayor Ann Cramer, also a trustee of the Village Board, believed that the design “could only improve the streetscape.” Others took a similar position. A representative of the Seneca Falls Historical Society felt that the chapel as designed could revitalize the Village and boost its tourist potential. The Board of Directors of the National Women’s Hall of Fame pointedly defined the real “adverse effects” as the “potential negative public relations and economic impact” that would be caused by a “delay in starting this high profile project.”⁹⁸

Community members representing the Urban Cultural Park were not of one mind. August Sinicropi, chair of the UCP Advisory Committee praised the design competition and the winning design. Fran Caraccilo voiced mild, personal opposition. Stronger opposition came from the Village of Seneca Falls Historic District Commission, which just did not like the open-air design in a “built-up, primarily nineteenth century commercial district.”⁹⁹ Speaking as a member of the competition jury’s advisory panel, Seneca Falls Mayor Freeland testified that he had never been asked to provide a community perspective during deliberations, although of course he had spoken on behalf of the community at the event on Sunday evening before jury deliberations began on Monday. Freeland also reiterated concerns about security and policing acts of vandalism to the Chapel Block.¹⁰⁰

Michael Tomlan, director of the Graduate Program in Historic Preservation Planning at Cornell University, appeared on behalf of the Society of Architectural Historians (SAH). Its position was that the “weight of professional opinion [was] clearly against the design proposed by the National Park Service.” Tomlan went on to assert that the NPS was ignoring its own preservation guidelines and standards. Like the NYSHPO, Tomlan advocated a design solution that adhered to professional historic preservation principles and ethics, not a “radical architectural statement.” He made a clear distinction between architectural design and appropriate preservation solutions and noted that, in the previous two decades, the historic preservation community had moved from “the idea that there must be a deliberate contrast between the old and the new—a modernistic concept” to “the concept of using more sympathetic schemes and materials—a post-

⁹⁸ Ann Cramer, Statement to Advisory Council Panel, Seneca Falls, New York, June 11, 1991, ACHP Records, NARA-CP; John Becker, Women’s Rights National Historic Park—Wesleyan Chapel Design, ACHP Records, NARA-CP; Nancy Woodhull, President, National Women’s Hall of Fame, to Robert Bush, Executive Director, ACHP, June 3, 1991, ACHP Records, NARA-CP.

⁹⁹ August Sinicropi to National Trust for Historic Preservation, May 19, 1988, ACHP Records, NARA-CP; Francis Caraccilo, “Statement to Advisory Council Panel, Seneca Falls, New York, June 11, 1991,” Village of Seneca Falls Records; Statement of Philip Olmstead, member of the Village of Seneca Falls Historic District Commission [June 11, 1991], ACHP Records, NARA-CP.

¹⁰⁰ Mayor Robert Freeland, “Statement to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation Panel,” June 12, 1991, Village of Seneca Falls Records.

modern approach.” The design adopted by the NPS, he concluded, “reduce[d] the building to a fragment and treat[ed] it as a sculptural object,” thus “denatur[ing] the value of the historic fabric.”¹⁰¹ The chapel, or course, was a building fragment, and Ann Marshall and Ray Kinoshita purposefully created a commemorative design that treated the chapel as an archeological site in order to emphasize its historical significance. Tomlan’s remarks thus speak to an intellectual and professional gulf that was pervasive at the time between strict preservationists and designers in general.

The following morning the ACHP panel toured the site and then resumed the hearing. Julia Stokes, appearing for the NYSHPO, dominated the session. She reiterated the SHPO’s position favoring a reconstruction of the chapel: “We are not suggesting that a literal reconstruction is possible or appropriate; rather we are suggesting that the design cues for the new construction should be taken from existing information.” The SHPO, like Tomlan, fundamentally objected to the modern architectural style but justified its position by charging that the design violated several standards of *The Secretary of Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*. If a historic re-creation of the chapel was not possible, the SHPO requested several design modifications, notably an enclosed building and a “neutral contemporary interior that would recall the traditional contemplative character of the Chapel.”¹⁰² Stokes also protested that the SHPO had not been included in much of the planning, including the design competition.¹⁰³

After listening to everyone who appeared to give statements, the panel adjourned for deliberation early in the afternoon. After about forty minutes of discussion, panel members presented their opinions verbally. Overall, they liked the design, were satisfied that historic fabric would be preserved, and expressed support for design competitions. There was, however, some concern that security issues had not been adequately considered. The Programmatic Memorandum of Agreement was faulted as the cause of a breakdown of communication.¹⁰⁴

The ACHP’s formal ruling, issued on July 8, 1991, upheld the position of the National Park Service. The Council found the design to be an “innovative and thoughtful approach to interpreting and honoring the 1848 Convention” and that “changes to the original winning design” were “not intrusive within the context of the historic

¹⁰¹ Michael Tomlan, Chair, Preservation Committee, Society of Architectural Historians, to James M. Ridenour, Director, NPS, letter and comments presented at the June 11, 1991 hearing, June 30, 1991, ACHP Records, NARA-CP. In his role as Director of the Historic Preservation Planning Program at Cornell, Tomlan had provided assistance to the Village when it began downtown revitalization efforts in the late 1970s.

¹⁰² “New York State Historic Preservation Office Position Paper to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation for the Wesleyan Chapel Project, Women’s Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, Seneca County,” May 13, 1991, ACHP Records, NARA-CP.

¹⁰³ Julia Stokes, “Seneca Falls: Wesleyan Chapel,” June 11, 1991, ACHP Records, NARA-CP.

¹⁰⁴ Regional Historian, NAR [Paul Weinbaum] to Chief, Cultural Resources Management Division, NAR [Herbert Olson], Trip Report, Women’s Rights National Historical Park, June 10-12, 1991 Advisory Council Meeting, June 17, 1991.

streetscape,” which extended from 1800 well into the twentieth century. The Council also found that “the design competition was a creative and appropriate approach to resolving the interpretive dilemma posed by the chapel.” On the technicalities of compliance, the Council found that the NPS was in compliance with Section 106 requirements for consultation under the programmatic agreement then in effect, but also noted that those provisions, superseded in 1990, did “not require or promote” a level of coordination with the local community and the NYSHPO that “could have come sooner and been more productive.”¹⁰⁵ Based on these findings, the Council recommended that the NPS investigate the possible use of locally quarried stone to “enhance the project’s visual compatibility with its historic surroundings” and also to “amplify the symbolic linkage of the present project and the historical development of Seneca Falls.” It also recommended that the NPS “develop a plan for lighting and security,” and that ACHP and the NPS “enter into discussions regarding the challenges and opportunities that design competitions pose for historic preservation in general and the Section 106 process in particular.”¹⁰⁶

Inasmuch as the lighting and security issues had already been addressed during the construction design phase, only one of the Council’s recommendations required attention. The Stein Partnership subsequently investigated the use of stone and stone trim in the Village Historic District and determined that red sandstone would be the most visually compatible. TSP also investigated the availability of locally produced sandstone of similar color and found that the closest source was a quarry in Massachusetts, which had produced sandstone of a “strong orange” color. The quarry, however, was no longer active, and although there might be enough material stockpiled to complete the project, future availability for possible repairs was an unknown. TSP therefore recommended staying with the red Colorado sandstone specified on the construction design drawings. The Denver Service Center and the Regional Director concurred.¹⁰⁷

The ACHP’s ruling cleared the way for actual construction. Groundbreaking for the Wesleyan Chapel Block project officially took place on October 19, 1991. Project Manager Patrick Shea was reassigned shortly after groundbreaking, and Karen Wilson, also from DSC, replaced him for the construction phase.¹⁰⁸ John Milner Associates, Inc.

¹⁰⁵ John F. Rogers, Chairman, ACHP, to Manuel Lujan, Secretary of the Interior, letter of transmittal with “Comments By a Panel of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation Regarding Preservation and Interpretation of the Wesleyan Chapel by the National Park Service, Women’s Rights National Historical Park, June 11-12, 1991,” July 8, 1991, NER-CRD.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Carl Stein to Gerry Patten, memorandum, June 20, 1991, ACHP Records, NARA-CP; Manager, Eastern Team, DSC [Robert J. Shelley] to Regional Director, NAR [Gerald Patten], memorandum, September 5, 1991, ACHP Records, NARA-CP; Regional Director [Gerald Patten] to Robert Bush, Executive Director, ACHP, memorandum, September 11, 1991, ACHP Records, NER-CRD.

¹⁰⁸ National Park Service, DSC, Notice of Award to Wellco, Inc., Elmira, New York, Contract No. CX-1600-1-9006 to develop Wesleyan Chapel Block, September 30, 1991; Preconstruction

provided archeological monitoring of construction activities, and Environmental Resources Management, Inc. provided inspection, monitoring, and testing services for the removal of asbestos materials located in the basement of the former theater and the removal of underground storage tanks located behind the former Village Hall.¹⁰⁹



Figure 31. Wesleyan Chapel Block groundbreaking, October 19, 1991. L-R: George Minucci, President, Eastern National; Herbert Cables, then the NPS Deputy Director; Linda Canzanelli. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

Conference Minutes for Women's Rights NHP, Contract No. CX-1600-1-9006, October 21, 1991.

¹⁰⁹ Work Order No. 5, Contract CX-2000-1-0008, issued by National Park Service, DSC to John Milner Associates, Inc., West Chester, Pennsylvania, June 21, 1991; modified October 29, 1991; Work Order No. 22, Contract CX-2000-0-0027 [removal of underground storage tanks], issued by National Park Service, DSC, to Environmental Resources Management, Inc., January 2, 1992; Work Order No. 22, Contract CX-2000-0-0027 [removal of asbestos], issued by National Park Service, DSC, to Environmental Resources Management, Inc., December 10, 1991. See also the weekly Progress Meeting Minutes for Women's Rights NHP Contract No. CX-1600-1-9006, Develop Wesleyan Chapel, WOR1 106A, December 2, 1991 through July 7, 1993.

Only one major problem arose during construction that required technical assistance from the Regional Office and DSC. In the process of trying to stabilize the east exterior wall of the Visitor Center, it became apparent that the masonry was too deteriorated to retain without intervention.¹¹⁰ In keeping with the decision to rehabilitate, not restore, this building, the NPS decided to tie a third wythe of new brick into the existing wall in order to create a wall that was structurally sound. Initially, the NPS thought that replacing the exterior surface layer of brick would be sufficient, but engineers determined that the wall needed structural reinforcement.¹¹¹



Figure 32. Park staff in front of 1908 bronze plaque, Wesleyan Chapel Block groundbreaking day, October 19, 1991. Standing L-R: Jim Schumacher, Vivien Rose, Al Manino, Ron Naragon, Sylvia Manino, Leroy Renninger, Karen Wilson (DSC), Marcia Lerkins. Front, L-R: Mary Kelly Black, Toni Dufficy, Mary Ellen Snyder, Pat Dantona, Linda Canzanelli, Terry Roth.

¹¹⁰ Regional Historical Architect, NAR [Richard Crisson], to Chief, Cultural Resources Management Division, NAR [Herbert Olson] with concurrence by Olson and Associate Regional Director for Planning and Resource Preservation [Robert McIntosh], May 12, 1992, NER-CMD.

¹¹¹ Superintendent [Linda Canzanelli] to Project Supervisor, DSC [Karen Wilson], memorandum re: Preservation Issues, New Visitor Center, May 15, 1992. See also, Regional Historian, NAR [Paul Weinbaum] to Files, memorandum re: Section 106 compliance, Women's Rights NHP, Addition of 3rd Wythe of Brick to the Visitor Center East Wall, November 30, 1992, concurrence by Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation [Robert McIntosh], December 8, 1992.

INTERPRETATION AT THE VISITOR CENTER

From 1982 to 1993, the Visitor Center at 116 Fall Street and the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House were the park's operating interpretive sites. With completion of the Wesleyan Chapel Block, the center of interpretive activities moved to the Wesleyan Chapel, including Declaration Park, and the new Visitor Center, which functioned together as an interpretive unit. The chapel and the waterwall, inscribed with the Declaration of Sentiments and the names of its signers, were to be points of contemplation and inspiration. The new Visitor Center was to convey the dynamic spirit of determination that ushered forth from the doors of the Wesleyan Chapel in 1848—a conviction so strong that it propelled an enduring movement to secure civil rights for women equal to those enjoyed by men. Realizing this concept, however, was not an easy process.

VISITOR CENTER EXHIBITS

Re-conceptualizing interpretation in the Visitor Center went hand-in-glove with rethinking the use of interior space. A vastly expanded storyline required considerably more space, so the second floor was repurposed for exhibits, which meant finding a new space for the library, and moving all park offices to the third floor.¹¹² CGA subsequently, although unwillingly, revised the interpretive design in accordance with the expanded space.¹¹³ In this fashion, the focal point of the main exhibit progressed from the 1848 convention, on the ground floor, to the progress of women's rights on the second, with the Declaration of Sentiments as a constant point of reference. In part, the need to reach a very broad audience of all ages, income levels, and educational backgrounds drove this shift. Canzanelli was concerned with how visitors perceived the park, observing that many people, especially men, were "afraid, uncomfortable, and unwilling to walk in the front door." Watching this tentativeness at the entry point, she realized the Visitor Center "needed something even more inviting" than a momentous event and a document of enduring value.¹¹⁴ More importantly, Canzanelli wanted an exhibit that made visitors think about ideas and principles as intangible but nonetheless powerful forces driving deep changes in society.

By August 1990, the design plan included a contextual chronology to be displayed on a cluster of kiosks, or pylons, in the center of the exhibit space; and one theme, "Men Their Rights and Nothing More, Women Their Rights and Nothing Less" had been changed to "Campaigning Women." These elements were to be arranged on the second floor so that visitors could explore themes as they wished. The east wall of the Visitor

¹¹² *Interpretive Prospectus*, proposed floor plans for public use spaces inserted between pp. 15-16.

¹¹³ Patrick Shea, A/E Manager, to The Stein Partnership, letter, March 26, 1990.

¹¹⁴ Linda Canzanelli interview, 2-3.

Center from the first floor to the second also was designated as exhibit space to display a collage of photographs and other images, interspersed with quotations, conveying a “dynamic impression” of the roles that women had played throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹¹⁵ More specific content guidelines, however, did not solve underlying problems with the exhibit design. The chronology section was particularly vexing. NPS reviewers caught many factual errors and repeatedly asked CGA to select events and activities that would provide historical context germane to women’s history and the evolution of women’s rights. The NPS also kept asking for more inspiration and human emotion in the text and images to help visitors connect on a personal level.¹¹⁶ After Vivien Rose was hired as park historian in August 1991, she worked closely with Canzanelli and the CGA design team on content development.

An interactive video component was a crucial element for interpreting Women’s Rights NHP as an “idea park.” As re-conceptualized, the interactives were to examine selected contemporary issues germane to women’s rights and encourage visitors to consider different points of view.¹¹⁷ Here, too, CGA never was able to meet Canzanelli’s expectations for thought-provoking content.¹¹⁸ By early 1992, with the deadline for final exhibit design submission nearing, Canzanelli conferred with staff at HFC and DSC to come up with a plan for resolving what appeared to be an impasse. As a result, Canzanelli, Chief of Interpretation Terry Roth, and Vivien Rose prepared written specifications for the interactives that Harpers Ferry Center then incorporated into a “working paper” for ongoing design negotiations with CGA.¹¹⁹

In the end, the NPS staff developed most, if not all, of the content. Although Chermayeff & Geismar Associates completed its contract for design work, the firm was

¹¹⁵ “Women’s Rights National Historical Park Interpretive Design, 100% Submission/Phase II,” [introductory text refers to this as the 95% submission], Chermayeff & Geismar Associates, August 15, 1990, esp. 14, 17.

¹¹⁶ See Sharon Brown to Pat Shea, memorandum, March 6, 1991 and Linda Canzanelli to Chief of Interpretation [Sharon Brown], North Atlantic Region, memorandum, March 19, 1991, both attached to Patrick Shea, A/E Manager, to Carl Stein, The Stein Partnership, letter, April 4, 1991. See also Sharon Brown to Pat Shea, memorandum, June 27, 1991 in which she references Freeman Tilden’s fourth principle of interpretation, “the chief aim of Interpretation is not instruction, but provocation,” from his 1957 book, *Interpreting Our Heritage*; Linda Canzanelli to Patrick Shea, memorandum, July 9, 1991, and Women’s Rights NHP Interpretive Staff to Women’s Rights NHP Superintendent, memorandum June 26, 1991, all attached to Patrick Shea to Carl Stein, memorandum, July 22, 1991.

¹¹⁷ Chermayeff & Geismar Associates, “Women’s Rights National Historical Park Interpretive Design 100% Submission/Phase II,” August 15, 1990; *All Men and Women Area Created Equal: the Story of Women’s Rights National Historical Park Seneca Falls, New York* (Eastern National, 1997), 9.

¹¹⁸ Canzanelli interview.

¹¹⁹ Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meetings: February 2, February 11, February 20, and February 24, 1992.

not involved in exhibit fabrication.¹²⁰ Malone Displays Inc. of Atlanta, Georgia fabricated and installed the free-standing exhibits on the second floor and the stairway wall collage. New England Technology Group produced the interactive videos.¹²¹

Six exhibit areas on the second floor compared past and present thematically. “True Womanhood” integrated the prescriptive literature of nineteenth-century women’s magazines and child-rearing manuals with illustrations and quotes portraying the idealized social position of women and asking probing questions about the “cult of true womanhood,” then and now. “Inauguration of a Rebellion” examined the concept of “women’s rights” as understood by Stanton and her contemporaries, placing the women’s rights movement in the context of antislavery agitation, Transcendentalism and religious revivalism, the Free Soil Party, and other social and political reform movements of the 1830s and 1840s. “Women at Work” looked at the relationship between access to paid labor and women’s rights, and charted differences through time in the patterns of employment among men, women, whites, and minorities. “Fashioning an Image,” which highlighted clothing reforms advocated by Amelia Jenks Bloomer, illustrated the relationship between women’s health and clothing fashions, asking questions about social influences on clothing that limited women’s physical movement. “Campaigning Women”



Figure 33. Permanent Exhibits, Visitor Center, second floor, 2010. *Photograph by Rebecca Conard.*

¹²⁰ CGA does not list Women’s Rights NHP as one of its exhibit projects anywhere on its website, although Ellis Island, the Statue of Liberty, D-Day Museum, Kennedy and Truman library exhibits, and two Smithsonian Institution exhibits are prominently featured.

¹²¹ Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meetings: November 16 and November 23, 1992; February 1, March 2, March 23, March 29, April 19, and April 26, 1993.



Figure 34. Pay Equity Interactive Exhibit, Visitor Center, second floor, 2010. Photograph by Rebecca Conard.

followed the women’s rights struggle from 1848 to 1920 and asked questions about the significance of women’s enfranchisement. “School Matters” examined education both as a right and an opportunity, and school as an institution that both reinforced stereotypes and challenged traditional ways of thinking.¹²² Although slight revisions were made to the exhibits, they have been on display since 1993.

The First Wave

The NPS team and CGA also disagreed over interpretation on the first floor, a critical area for drawing visitors’ attention. For this element, Canzanelli came up with the idea of “capturing the moment” of the drafting of the Declaration of Sentiments with life-size statues of Stanton, Mott, Hunt, M’Clintock, and Wright arranged around a reproduction of the table at the M’Clintock House.¹²³ She was seeking to create a “powerful interpretive story” from “the fairly distant 1848 Women’s Rights Convention.” Using statues of historical people was, for her, a way “to get people comfortable with

¹²² “Exhibits – New Visitor Center,” February 14, 1990; *All Men and Women are Created Equal: Visitor Center Exhibits at Women’s Rights National Historical Park*, exhibits catalog (Eastern National, 1997).

¹²³ Patrick Shea to The Stein Partnership, March 5 and March 26, 1990.

issues . . . to give [visitors] opportunities to say, “would I have been standing in this group? would I have been doing that?”¹²⁴ Exhibit Designer Dave McLean at the HFC was familiar with the bronze figure of Thomas Jefferson at the Museum of Westward Expansion in St. Louis, sculpted by Lloyd Lillie, whom he recommended to Canzanelli. She subsequently went to St. Louis to examine Lillie’s Jefferson piece and was impressed by its accessibility to visitors, who could just walk up and touch it.¹²⁵ CGA, however, did not like the idea and argued strongly against life-size sculptures on several points: it would be “expensive” and “difficult, if not impossible, to execute such a grouping in a convincing and pleasing way,” and they would become the “topic of discussion instead of the historical event [they were] supposed to commemorate.” CGA’s most cogent argument was that a grouping of sculptures in a central location would “give undue emphasis to the role of the women who organized the convention” and obscure the intended message that “many different kinds of people contributed to the women’s movement.” Instead of statues, CGA proposed a cluster of twenty illuminated pylons, each carrying the image of and biographical information about a woman or man who attended the convention, all arranged in front of a large wall mural depicting the five principal women.¹²⁶

The NPS was unswayed by CGA’s argument but nonetheless heeded the criticism about focusing too much attention on only five women. Judith Wellman also advised against portraying these five particular women because historical evidence was insufficient to identify unequivocally those who had participated in the M’Clintock House meeting.¹²⁷ After much foot-dragging on CGA’s part, Lillie was commissioned to produce a grouping of bronze sculptures. Canzanelli, and later Vivien Rose, worked directly with him in what Canzanelli remembers as “a great creative process You rarely find an artist willing to let others meddle in the process of creating as much as he was.”¹²⁸

Lillie’s eventual design, entitled *The First Wave*, increased the number of statues from five to twenty, depicting key people and anonymous participants, including two children, arranged as if they were leaving the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention. Instead of conveying the idea that five women acted alone in drafting the Declaration of Sentiments, Lillie and two associates, Vicki Guerina and Hilary Hutchinson, sculpted a group of figures designed to leave visitors with a sense that a great number of women and

¹²⁴ Linda Canzanelli interview, 5.

¹²⁵ Nancy Stapen, “Casting the Birth of Women’s Rights,” *Boston Globe*, August 27, 1992; Canzanelli Interview. Lillie, Professor of Art (now emeritus) at Boston University School of Fine Arts, also created the life-size sculpture of Booker T. Washington as a child and a smaller piece entitled “Emancipation Proclamation” at Booker T. Washington Birthplace National Monument in Hardy, Virginia as well as the bust of women’s suffrage advocate Lucy Stone at Faneuil Hall in Boston National Historical Park.

¹²⁶ Cherymayeff & Geismar Associates, “Women’s Rights National Historical Park Interpretive Design 100% Submission/Phase II,” August 15, 1990, esp. 11, 12. See also Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meeting, April 16, 1990.

¹²⁷ Patrick Shea, A/E Manager, Eastern Team, to The Stein Partnership, letter, May 18, 1990.

¹²⁸ Linda Canzanelli interview, 5.

men committed to a reform cause and a democratic ideal had “accomplished something meaningful” at Seneca Falls.¹²⁹ By April 1992, with design work nearing completion, HFC began preparing to let a bid for the fabrication and installation of bronze statues.¹³⁰



Figure 35. *The First Wave* by Lloyd Lillie, Visitor Center, first floor, 2010. Photograph: Rebecca Conard.

DREAMS OF EQUALITY

CGA also had contractual responsibility for producing a presentation video to be shown in the Visitor Center theater. The film was to be a stand-alone interpretive component, not solely an introduction and orientation to the floor exhibits. CGA’s initial understanding was that the film would tell the story of the convention in the context of “mid-nineteenth century reform movements, industrialization, changing economics, and women’s changing roles and social status.” A brief concluding section would summarize the women’s rights issues raised by the Declaration of Sentiments and address the degree to which those issues had been resolved.¹³¹

After reviewing the work of at least twenty filmmakers, CGA hired Nina Rosenblum of Daedalus Productions to develop the treatment. Rosenblum met with Canzanelli in March 1990 to go over NPS interpretive objectives. She came away with an understanding that the goal was to provide visitors with a sense of Seneca Falls as a dynamic place located in the midst of industrialization and reform activity. Accordingly,

¹²⁹ *All Men and Women Area Created Equal* (1997); Stapen, “Casting the Birth of Women’s Rights;” Canzanelli interview.

¹³⁰ Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meeting, April 27, 1992.

¹³¹ CGA, “Women’s Rights National Historical Park Interpretive Design Report on Work in Progress,” September 15, 1989, 166-167.

the 1848 convention was to be framed in the Northeast's emerging industrial landscape, the network of people similarly discontented with limitations society placed on women, the affinity between the abolition movement and women's rights advocates, and the general spirit of reform that swept across America in the early nineteenth century.¹³² Rosenblum's development of the film treatment, however, did not satisfy Canzanelli. After objecting to several drafts for emphasizing Stanton too much, focusing on the role of Frederick Douglass to the exclusion of other African Americans involved in the movement, and conflating labor history and the history of women's rights, Canzanelli called on Judith Wellman to critique the next-to-final version.¹³³ In the end, Rosenblum's treatment was dropped.

In late 1991, HFC started all over and issued a new request for proposals for the video. Canzanelli represented the park on the selection committee, which awarded the contract to Media Projects, Inc., an award-winning firm based in Dallas, Texas.¹³⁴ The working relationship with Media Projects proved to be more collaborative in nature. Canzanelli, Vivien Rose, and Terry Roth worked with the principals, Cynthia Salzman Mondell and Allen Mondell, to shape the film treatment of *Dreams of Equality*, which uses a thirty-year exchange of letters between a fictitious representative sister and brother as a vehicle for chronicling the nineteenth-century history of the women's rights movement and integrates dramatic re-creations of historic events with scenes of contemporary youth exchanging ideas about the roles of modern men and women.¹³⁵

Filming for the docu-drama took place at the Genesee Country Museum in Mumford, New York as well as in Seneca Falls and Waterloo, with a cast drawn mainly from the local area.¹³⁶ Additionally, the park arranged for several outside individuals and groups to review the rough cut. These comments were shared with the filmmakers before the final version was produced.¹³⁷ Although historian and filmmaker Selma Thomas would later fault the film for employing "the scripted drama of a fictitious life" rather than using archival images to present "a record that is incontestable, eloquent, and real," *Dreams of Equality* fully met NPS expectations.¹³⁸ The film was a finalist at the

¹³² Nina Rosenblum, Producer/Director, Daedalus Productions Inc. to Linda Canzanelli, Summary of Meeting, March 14, 1990.

¹³³ Superintendent Linda Canzanelli to Judy Wellman, Memorandum, May 7, 1990; Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, March 5, 1990.

¹³⁴ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings, January 21, February 24, and April 27, 1992.

¹³⁵ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP, Division of Interpretation Staff Meeting, February 20, 1992; Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings, May 11, July 13, and July 21, 1992; Vivien [Rose] to Linda [Canzanelli] memorandum, July 28, 1992, facsimile transmission to Media Projects, Inc., July 30, 1992.

¹³⁶ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings, August 3, August 17, and September 8, 1992.

¹³⁷ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, February 22, March 4, and March 23, 1992.

¹³⁸ Selma Thomas, "Writing the Visual Record: Film and Video in a Historic Site," *The Public Historian* 17, no. 1 (Winter 1995): 145-146.

Birmingham International Educational Film Festival. It also earned the Mondells a Certificate of Merit at the 1994 San Francisco International Film Festival and a Certificate for Creative Excellence at the U.S. International Film and Video Awards Competition.¹³⁹



Figure 36. The Wesleyan Chapel, November 1996. *Photograph: The Stein Partnership. Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

Twenty-one months after groundbreaking, the Wesleyan Chapel Block officially opened on July 31, 1993. The remaining historic fabric of the Wesleyan Chapel—portions of the east and west brick walls, four wooden roof trusses, and a few brick lintels—were now protected and stabilized by a modern structure fabricated of metal, concrete, and sandstone. Infill of buff-colored concrete bricks stabilized the walls. A front gable roof covering of flat-seamed, lead-coated copper protected the roof trusses, which remained visible through panels of stainless steel mesh. Stainless steel knee braces carried the weight of the roof to a sandstone wall on the east side of the chapel remains. On the west side of the chapel, a grass amphitheater edged with bluestone sloped to a 140-foot bluestone waterwall, on which the Declaration of Sentiments was inscribed in stainless steel letters designed to be readable through a thin sheet of falling water. Perimeter walls of varying heights and planes, faced with red sandstone, served as a combined sound

¹³⁹ Media Productions, Inc. web site: <http://mediaprojects.org/home.htm>; "Women's Rights National Historical Park Wesleyan Chapel Block Project and Visitor Center Film Wins Awards," Women's Rights NHP press release, undated.

barrier and site entrance that was acceptably compatible with the surrounding streetscape.¹⁴⁰

The Declaration of Sentiments provided a framework for interpretation on the interior of the Visitor Center. On the first floor, visitors walked by, around, or through the twenty bronze statues representing “the first wave” of organizers and participants who gathered at the Wesleyan Chapel in 1848 to debate the Declaration of Sentiments. From *The First Wave*, visitors could proceed to the theater to see *Dreams of Equality* or survey The Women’s Wall photomontage along the east stairwell wall. At the bottom and top of the stairway to the second floor, they could observe the chapel from windows. On the second floor, visitors could walk through the six exhibit sections, each of which examined select quotations from the Declaration of Sentiments and illustrated various concerns that motivated women from the mid-nineteenth century on to seek reforms in law and politics, education, fashion, work, the home, and society as a whole. In an interactive video exhibit, “Declaration of Sentiments Then and Now,” visitors could examine each of the fifteen specific grievances and learn how circumstances in 1990 compared with those in 1848. Other interactive exhibits invited visitors to act as jurors in a court case involving restrictive legal rights for women or engage in debate about various issues of gender equality. Moving from one section to the next, visitors could consult a timeline entitled “The Unfinished Revolution” to check the progress of women’s rights and societal reform in relation to major events from 1776 to an indefinite future. At a final interactive station displaying the question, “What will it be like when men and women are truly equal?” visitors were invited to reflect on the exhibits and write their own thoughts on paper.¹⁴¹

THE WESLEYAN CHAPEL BLOCK: FINAL ACCOUNTING

The park hosted a grand opening celebration in July 1993 that Canzanelli hoped would foster “healing from the civil war that the Chapel Block had created,” a reference to the differing opinions of the chapel design that had been openly expressed in the ACHP hearing and presumably represented the tip of an iceberg.¹⁴² Festivities began on Friday evening with a VIP reception for key supporters, underwritten by Eastern National Park and Monument Association. As part of the reception, Eastern National cut the ribbon to open the new bookstore, located near the main entrance of the Visitor Center. Eastern National also awarded the park a \$20,000 grant to produce a four-color catalogue of the

¹⁴⁰ The American Institute of Architects featured the Wesleyan Chapel Block in *Memo* (October 1993): 12-13, 27.

¹⁴¹ See *All Men and Women are Created Equal* (Eastern National, 1997), the exhibits catalogue (out of print), for a detailed and amply illustrated description of the Wesleyan Chapel Block interpretive design and Visitor Center exhibits.

¹⁴² Linda Canzanelli interview, 14.

Visitor Center exhibits.¹⁴³ Prominent at the podium were NPS Director Roger Kennedy and Regional Director Marie Rust.¹⁴⁴



Figure 37. National Park Service Director Roger Kennedy accepting heirloom from Stanton descendant Rhoda Barney Jenkins, Wesleyan Chapel Block grand opening ceremonies, July 16-17, 1993. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

On Saturday morning, purple ribbon emblazoned with “Women’s Rights National Historical Park” was wrapped around the Wesleyan Chapel Block, and children’s scissors were handed out to the public, making the ribbon cutting a participatory community event. Senator Moynihan, who had not been able to attend the Friday night reception, requested that the Saturday ribbon-cutting celebration be delayed so he could be present. After the formal speeches, scholar and activist Dr. Bernice Johnson Reagon delivered an address about the significance of the Wesleyan Chapel. The rest of the day was given over to an ice cream social, horse drawn carriage rides, musical performances, and fireworks, all sponsored by community organizations. On Sunday, the theater in the Visitor Center was dedicated to park champion Corinne Guntzel, who died in 1986. Throughout the

¹⁴³ Annual Report, Eastern National Park and Monument Association for Women’s Rights NHP, FY 1993.

¹⁴⁴ As the next chapters detail, Marie Rust supported engaged interpretation throughout her tenure as regional director.

weekend, the Heritage Area Visitor Center displayed an exhibit documenting community involvement in the park's creation and development.¹⁴⁵



Figure 38. Regional Director Marie Rust speaking at Wesleyan Chapel Block grand opening ceremonies, July 16-17, 1993. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

Reflecting on the grand opening of the Wesleyan Chapel Block fifteen years later, Fran Caraccilo could say that, “despite the differences on the design, everyone was happy it was opening and everyone’s reaction was, ‘Wow!’” He also admits that “some of us felt a little less welcome” at the celebration.¹⁴⁶ Art critic Patricia Wright also chose the word “wow” to describe the reactions she heard that day:

One is the familiar ‘wow’ of original objects. As in, wow: Elizabeth Cady Stanton stood beneath these very roof beams. . . . The other is the less comfortable ‘wow’ . . . of political awareness. As in wow: a building this consequential to our history was turned into a *laundrette*.¹⁴⁷

Considering the debates that occurred during the construction design phase, Ray Kinoshita and Ann Marshall graciously expressed a more personal kind of reaction: “It is

¹⁴⁵ “Wesleyan Chapel Block Opening,” news release, n.d.; Bernice Johnson Reagon, “A Place to Break the Silence Within,” *Democrat and Chronicle*, August 8, 1993.

¹⁴⁶ Francis Caraccilo interview, 8.

¹⁴⁷ Patricia Wright, “Resurrection With an Agenda,” *Daily Hampshire Gazette* [Northampton, MA], July 29, 1993.

an eerie and wonderful moment when what you see around you is what's been inside your head for years—but better.”¹⁴⁸

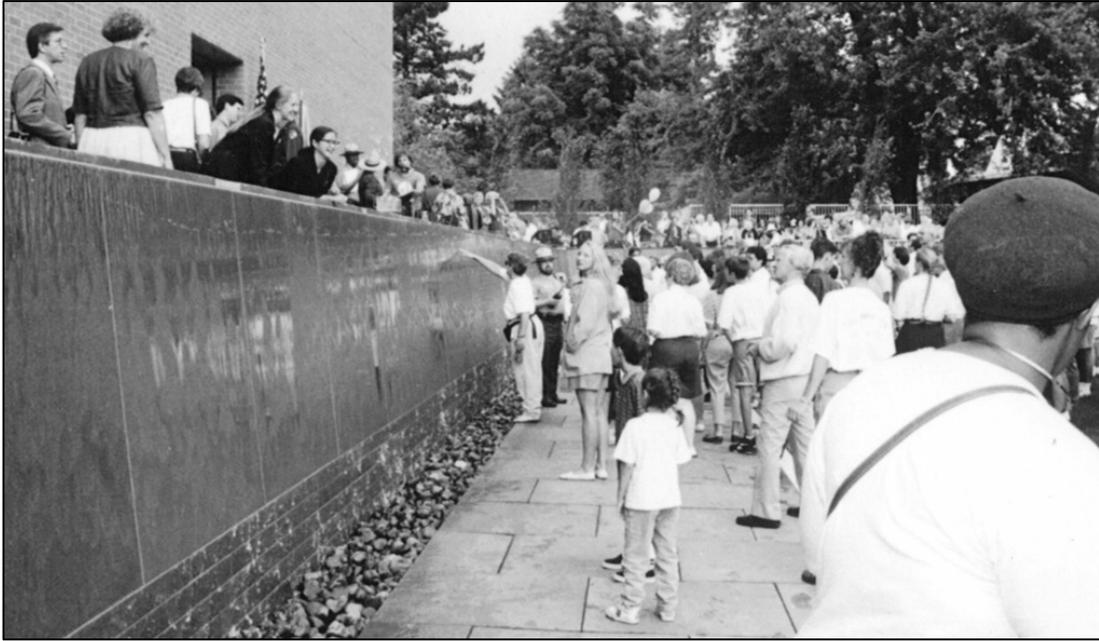


Figure 39. Ann Marshall and Ray Kinoshita greet spectators after grand opening ceremonies at the Wesleyan Chapel Block, July 16-17, 1993. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

In 1995 the Wesleyan Chapel Block received a Federal Design Achievement Award for its path-breaking elements. The jury—twenty-three design professionals drawn from architecture and interior design, graphic design, landscape architecture and urban planning, and engineering—noted that “everything about the project [was] quite modest,” including the cost, which came in slightly below budget. The jury complimented the “great skill” that had been used:

to bring together elements of urban planning, architecture, preservation, art, landscape and interpretive design to create a powerful landmark that captures the history of this place without sentimentally reconstructing it. In the end those that pass through this park leave understanding that the struggle for women's rights is an integral and on-going facet of the struggle for all American rights.¹⁴⁹

The Wesleyan Chapel did indeed make a powerful architectural statement, but the design professionals who made up the jury had no way of knowing how park visitors really

¹⁴⁸ Ray Kinoshita and Ann Wills Marshall, “From Competition to Construction: The Women's Rights National Historical Park,” [Harvard Graduate School of Design] *GSD News*, Fall 1993.

¹⁴⁹ National Endowment for the Arts, *Presidential Design Awards 1995: the 1995 Federal Design Achievement Awards*, 18.

understood its abstract architectural message; and the cost, for a public agency, was not exactly modest. According to figures compiled in 1996 when the project officially closed, the Wesleyan Chapel Block represented an investment of more than \$14 million. This included funds expended through the DSC and HFC over a ten-year period, from the project's inception in 1985 through the 1995 follow-up work to repair, adjust, and correct dozens of design and construction details. Additionally, the NPS transferred \$150,000 to the National Endowment of the Arts for the 1987 design competition. Land acquisition costs totaled another \$376,987. The "block" comprised three parcels: the Wesleyan Chapel property, purchased from Frank and Julia Ludovico in 1985 for the sum of \$179,000; the Strand Theater property, which included a small residence located behind the chapel, purchased in 1989 from Conrad Zurich and Richard Masterpol for \$175,000; and the Village Hall, donated by the Village of Seneca Falls with an appraised value of \$160,000. The Strand Theater and house were removed in 1990.

Although the modernistic archaeological design of the Wesleyan Chapel elicited "wows" when it was finished, it proved to be unsustainable as a preservation treatment. Within a few years of the chapel's completion, its historic brick fabric began to show signs of deterioration. Moreover, although the urban park-like setting created by the open-wall chapel, amphitheater, and waterwall appeared to create contemplative space, visually speaking, the perimeter walls on the east and south sides of the chapel failed as effective sound barriers and invited vandalism. The open-wall design meant that visitors and interpretive guides were exposed to ambient noise emanating from heavily trafficked Fall Street. And the site was not comfortable in the extended period of rain and snow that typified regional weather between November and April. Additionally, despite measures to dissuade bird nesting, birds nonetheless found the protective roof canopy to be attractive in spring and summer. Environmental conditions had to be just right to invite contemplation and facilitate interpretation.

Anticipating preservation problems because of the chapel's open-wall design, NPS architectural conservator Judy Jacob and Steven Spaulding, supervisor of the NAR Building Conservation Branch, recommended that the park systematically monitor its historic buildings for signs of physical deterioration. Staff as well as visitors soon noticed the onset of visible deterioration in the original brick wall remnants, sheltered but nonetheless exposed to freeze-thaw cycles. In 1994, Chief of Maintenance Leroy Renninger initiated a program of monitoring the brick using photo-documentation.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Francis Caraccilo, Village Planner, Seneca Falls Village to Leroy Renninger, Chief of Maintenance, Women's Rights NHP, letter, April 5, 1994; Linda Canzanelli, Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP to Francis Caraccilo, letter, April 18, 1994; Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Canzanelli] to Regional Historical Architect, NAR [Richard Crisson], memorandum re: Replacement of Deteriorated Bricks at the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, May 11, 1994; Architectural Conservator [Barbara Yocum] to [Associate] Regional Director, Cultural Resources [Robert McIntosh], memorandum, September 19, 1994; Associate Regional Director, Resources Management and Research, NAR [Robert McIntosh] to Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Canzanelli], memorandum re: Section 106 Compliance, Routine

TABLE 2. WESLEYAN CHAPEL BLOCK LAND ACQUISITION AND DEVELOPMENT COSTS					
	DENVER SERVICE CENTER	HARPERS FERRY CENTER	NPS VIA NEA	LAND	TOTALS
LAND ACQUISITION	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Wesleyan Chapel/Seneca Falls Laundromat				179,000	
Declaration Park/Strand Theater Property				175,000	
Visitor Center/Village Hall (donated)				160,000	
Associated land acquisition costs				22,987	
LAND ACQUISITION SUBTOTAL					536,987
DESIGN DEVELOPMENT & CONSTRUCTION					
History & Archaeology surveys/studies/salvage	593,254				
Juried Design Competition			150,000		
Comprehensive Project Design, incl. interpretation	1,290,316				
Construction Drawings	1,711,204				
Construction (incl. utilities)	6,486,849				
Construction Supervision	1,091,077				
O&M Manuals	186,596				
DESIGN DEV/CONST SUBTOTALS	11,359,296				11,509,296
INTERPRETATION					
Exhibit Development		13,400			
Exhibit Artifacts (purchased)	147,038				
Exhibit Fabrication and Installation		929,400			
Sculptural Design and Fabrication – <i>First Wave</i>		258,300			
Film Development, Production, and Equipment		580,500			
Interactive Video (incl. AV equipment)		348,500			
INTERPRETATION SUBTOTALS	\$147,038	\$2,130,100	\$150,000		\$2,277,138
GRAND TOTAL					\$14,323,421

Sources: Mary Kelly Black to Superintendent and Division Heads, memorandum re: cost of Wesleyan Chapel Block Project, June 13, 1996; Regional Director Herbert Cables to Adele Chatfield-Taylor, memorandum, January 20, 1987. See also, Completion Report, Wesleyan Chapel Block Project, July 11, 1996, for detail on construction costs.

STANTON HOUSE

During Canzanelli's tenure, the demands of the Wesleyan Chapel Block project consumed much of her time, but the Stanton House also needed more than routine maintenance. The house had been open year-round since 1985 as an interpretive site, and a modular building located on the adjacent lot to the south was being used as a ranger station. The GMP, finalized in March 1986, left plans for further site development open. Restoration of the house and grounds was considered incomplete, and the next steps depended on findings of the historic structure report as well as a historic grounds report and further archeological investigations. There was speculation that the Hawker House, located on the lot adjacent to the north, might be an original wing of the Stanton House, and the historic structure report was delayed accordingly. When architectural investigations revealed that the Hawker House was constructed after the Stantons left

Maintenance of Wesleyan Chapel Masonry, December 19, 1994. See also Minutes, Management Team Meeting, November 18, 1999.

Seneca Falls, Hart, backed by professional staff at the NAHPC, tried to get support from the Regional Office for reconstructing the missing kitchen wing, which then touched off the internal debate among cultural resource professionals. At the same time, the NPS began to consider acquiring two more properties near the Stanton House in order to develop the boat transportation element called for in the GMP (the Baldwin property) and to complete the historic boundaries of the Stanton House lot (the Nies property). All of this led the NPS to undertake development concept planning for the site. The Stanton House Development Concept Plan (DCP) was in draft form when Hart left the park.

Shortly after Canzanelli took over as superintendent, the DCP was folded into amendments to the GMP. As part of the public involvement protocol for the amendment process, the park held a special public meeting in the Stanton House neighborhood to review alternative proposals for acquiring and developing the Nies and Baldwin properties. Comments revealed strong support for the preferred development concept, which called for purchasing both properties and creating a visitor contact station and boat dock on the Baldwin property. Among the twenty-one people attending, the only dissent came from the Baldwins, who expressed concern at what they perceived to be an attempt to create a forced sale.¹⁵¹ Consequently, the *Amendment to the General Management Plan*, approved in February 1991, recommended that the NPS acquire both properties. With the planning process completed, Canzanelli then began working with the Trust for Public Land and the NPS Land Resources Division to acquire and hold these properties until Congress passed legislation granting the NPS authority to acquire them.¹⁵²

At that time, preliminary research conducted by the NAHPC indicated that an old house on the Baldwin property had been moved to the site sometime between 1907 and 1914, when a new canal lock had been constructed to enlarge the barge canal. Some evidence suggested that the frame of the building might be from an earlier dwelling, but NPS staff and the NYSHPO concurred that the house was ineligible for the National Register of Historic Places based on loss of historic design and materials. Additionally, enlarging the canal, which created Van Cleef Lake, had permanently altered the contours of the historic canal and the surrounding industrial landscape, so the property's historic setting and character also were deemed lost. On the strength of preliminary research, the

¹⁵¹ Superintendent Women's Rights NHP [Canzanelli] to Charles P. Clapper, Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NAR, memorandum re: Stanton House Wings, July 19, 1990.

¹⁵² In 1986, NPS purchased the DeWall property at 30 Washington St. and the Hawker House at 34 Washington St. after research conducted in the mid-1980s established that the properties at 30, 32, and 34 Washington St. as well as the Nies property at 10 Seneca St. constituted the historic Stanton grounds. The DeWall property (30 Washington St.) contained a modular house of 1970s vintage, which the park converted into a ranger station. The vacant lot at 28 Washington St., which John Barney and Rhoda Barney Jenkins donated to NPS in 1982, was found to be outside the historic grounds. See Seneca County Deeds, Liber 423, p. 243, December 16, 1986 (30 Washington St.) and Liber 420, p. 093, September 29, 1986 (34 Washington St.).

Park Service proposed to rehabilitate the Baldwin House, if it were determined structurally sound, into a visitor contact station that would accommodate all the functions Hart had envisioned placing in the east wing of the Stanton House. A dock for the boat concession, a maintenance building, and visitor parking were proposed for the surrounding grounds. In 1993, the Baldwins decided to sell their property, which the Trust for Public Lands purchased for \$50,000. An environmental assessment of the property prior to its sale found no evidence of soil or groundwater contamination, which cleared the way for site development.¹⁵³ However, this was as far as the NPS could go pending the outcome of legislation stalled in Congress.



Figure 40. Baldwin/Chamberlain House (1 Seneca St.), Seneca Falls, 1998. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

Preliminary research by NAHPC on the Nies property indicated that the house, then in use as a rental, was of late-nineteenth century construction and that a fruit orchard may have extended into this area when the Stantons lived there. The landscape also included a steep embankment along Seneca Street, which marked the edge of the historic grounds in relation to the historic Seneca Turnpike, the principal east-west road through Seneca Falls in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Women's Rights NHP Property Files: Baldwin/Chamberlain House; *Phase I Environmental Site Assessment/Home Inspection Report, Baldwin Site*, prepared by C.T. Male Associates, Syracuse, NY, for Trust for Public Land, New York, NY, October 1993.

¹⁵⁴ *Amendment to the General Management Plan*, 11-12; Chief, Historic Preservation, NAR [Blaine Cliver], to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation [Charles Clapper], Trip Report, October 31, 1988; Gerald D. Patten, Regional Director, NAR, to Orin Lehman, Parks, Recreation & Historic Preservation, letter, January 9, 1991; Julia Stokes, Deputy Commissioner for Historic Preservation, NYS Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic



Figure 41. Nies House (10 Seneca St.), Seneca Falls. *Courtesy Women’s Rights NHP.*

Canzanelli, like Hart, favored reconstructing the east (kitchen) wing of the Stanton House. Realizing that it might be years before the park could actually develop a visitor contact station, she proposed an “interim plan.” The “interim” part of the plan was to relocate the ranger station from the modular building into a reconstructed east wing.¹⁵⁵ Despite changes in NPS management policies that were more favorable for reconstruction, professionals in the Regional Office remained opposed. By the end of 1993, the feasibility of implementing her interim plan had all but disappeared.¹⁵⁶ Meanwhile, the park did what it could to maintain the historic grounds. In 1990, a tarmac driveway was removed because it impaired the health of a very old, but undated, horse chestnut tree in front of the Stanton House. The same year, the park constructed a geoblock parking area on the vacant lot at 28 Washington St., south of the ranger station and outside the historic grounds, in order to provide more parking space without creating a visual intrusion into the historic setting.¹⁵⁷

Preservation, to Gerald D. Patten, Regional Director, letter, January 31, 1991, NER-HIST; see also Smith, *Draft Site Program for the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House*, 21-25.

¹⁵⁵ [Linda Canzanelli], Notes re: Conversation with Blaine [Cliver], April 25, 1990; Scope of Work: Treatment Plan for the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Site, October 1991; Historical Architect, BCB/CRC [Richard Crisson] to Marjorie Smith, Landscape Architect, NAR, memorandum re: Interim Strategy for Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, September 28, 1992.

¹⁵⁶ Vivien Rose, Historian, Women’s Rights NHP, to Paul Weinbaum, Regional Historian, NAR, memorandum, October 23, 1992; Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meetings, June 22, July 13, and October 19, 1992; January 27 and December 20, 1993.

¹⁵⁷ Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meetings, August 21, September 4, and September 11, 1990.

In 1992, the park engaged a horticultural specialist to date and assess the health of fifteen mature apple, pear, cherry, mulberry, horse chestnut, and maple trees on the Stanton grounds. These investigations determined that only the horse chestnut tree located in front of the Stanton House was old enough to have been present when the Stantons owned the property, but also noted that the others might be offspring, seeded through natural processes.¹⁵⁸ In 1993, the newly established Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation (OCLP) at Olmsted NHP, which had set-aside funds to assist selected national parks with landscape preservation, conducted a reconnaissance historic landscape assessment of the grounds.¹⁵⁹

Completion of Wesleyan Chapel Block in 1993 reoriented park interpretation. As called for in the 1988 *Interpretive Prospectus*, the Wesleyan Chapel became the park's "principal site," and the Chapel Block provided the "central orientation/interpretation program." Accordingly, the interpretive theme for the Stanton House was re-scoped to focus on Elizabeth Cady Stanton as "wife, mother, reformer" with her roles ordered in this fashion.¹⁶⁰ The primary interpretive strategy remained ranger-guided house tours. By the late 1980s, the park had acquired, either by loan or donation, a modest number of items that had belonged to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, some of which were known to have been in her possession when the Stantons lived in Seneca Falls. These included a pianoforte, a writing desk, four parlor chairs, a meridienne (chaise), twenty-seven pieces of china, a few articles of clothing, and several books, including a book of piano music. Archaeological investigations turned up various items that were dated to the period 1847-1862, things such as coins, buttons, ceramic pieces, a gold ring, and, most interesting, a temperance medallion commemorating the 1855 passage of state prohibition in New York, a law that was declared unconstitutional one year later.¹⁶¹ However, documentary evidence did not permit "convincing and complete use," of the furnishings that were available to the park.¹⁶² Thus, pieces of furniture and two cases holding Stanton's books and china were placed appropriately in rooms throughout the house as visual clues.

¹⁵⁸ Daniel F. Marion, State University of New York-Finger Lakes, *Historic and Offspring Woody Flora at the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Home*, 1993. See also Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings, July 26, August 10, September 26, and October 16, 1989; March 26 and June 26, 1990.

¹⁵⁹ Karen Krider and Lauren Meier, *Landscape and Archives Reconnaissance, Historic Landscape Assessment for the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Home* (NPS: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, July 1993).

¹⁶⁰ *Interpretive Prospectus*, 12, 16-17.

¹⁶¹ Carol Petravage, *Historic Furnishings Report: McClintock [sic] House, First Wesleyan Methodist Church and Stanton House* (NPS: Harpers Ferry Center, 1989), 35-43. The HFR documents items and pieces of furniture held by Stanton family members, the Sewall-Belmont House in Washington, D.C., and the Seneca Falls Historical Society. On New York State's short-lived prohibition law, see Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 832.

¹⁶² Petravage, *Historic Furnishings Report*, 2-3.

Interpretive guides used them as cues for tying her experience as a wife and mother, particularly her ideas about domestic economy and child rearing, to the evolution of her thinking about the circumscribed roles of women, which in 1848 led her to join with other reform-minded individuals to chart a course of social action.

M'CLINTOCK HOUSE

Development planning for the M'Clintock House was in the early stages when Canzanelli became superintendent in 1989. The NPS acquired the property in 1985, and repairs were made as necessary to stabilize the structure. ECSF president Joni Masuicca completed an initial historical study in 1986, and, in 1989, architectural conservator Barbara Yocum and historical architect Richard Crisson of the NAHPC were completing investigations for the historic structure report.¹⁶³ These studies established that property owner Richard P. Hunt constructed the house c. 1835 as a rental, and the M'Clintocks, who were related to Hunt by marriage, occupied the house for twenty years, from 1836 to 1856. During this time, a two-story wing was added at the south rear, replacing an earlier wing. The Waterloo Baptist Church, which owned the property from 1875 to 1985, made several changes to the property, the most dramatic of which was the construction of a brick church immediately adjacent to the house on the east side. From 1875 to 1955, the house was used as a parsonage and then a rental house. Several interior alterations were made during these decades, and a front porch was added c. 1895. The two-story south wing was extensively damaged by fire in 1955, necessitating its removal. At that time, the church renovated the interior again and converted it for use as an educational building or nursery, or both. The church also constructed a long one-story structure, which was used as a stable between 1886 and 1893, then removed it and built a small garage sometime before 1948. The garage, too, was removed sometime before 1981. A barn, believed to date from the period of the M'Clintock's occupancy, was removed sometime between 1911 and 1918.¹⁶⁴

The 1986 *General Management Plan* called for the M'Clintock House to be "preserved" to its 1848 appearance. This did not include reconstructing the missing south wing, although some means was to be "employed to convey [its] original size and configuration." The grounds were to "be returned to their historic appearance as much as possible," but also to include visitor parking and support services.¹⁶⁵ On the interior, the 1988 *Interpretive Prospectus* called for rather simple exhibits on the first floor—e.g., a

¹⁶³ Architectural Conservator, NAHPC [Barbara Yocum] to Chief, Historic Preservation, NAR [Blaine Cliver], trip report, September 1, 1988. See also, Historical Architect [Richard Crisson] to Chief Historic Preservation [Blaine Cliver], trip report, February 1, 1989, NER-CRD.

¹⁶⁴ Joni Masuicca, "A Study of the McClintock House," November 1986; Yocum, *M'Clintock House HSR*, 15-16, 31-38, 51-93.

¹⁶⁵ *General Management Plan*, 18.

replica of the table in the parlor on which the Declaration of Sentiments was written, life-size images of the five women who assembled there to draft the document—to complement scripted information delivered by park interpreters about Quaker beliefs, practices, and reform activities as these intersected with the 1848 convention and the women’s rights movement. Upstairs rooms were to be considered for use as staff offices rather than as interpretive spaces. Even though interpretation at the Stanton House was specifically framed to integrate Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s private and public lives, the initial interpretive plan for the M’Clintock House focused on one day in July 1848, when Stanton and others gathered in the parlor to draft the Declaration of Sentiments. Both preservation and interpretation of the house were considered primarily in relation to the convention, that is, as a place where the leaders gathered to plan the main event. In this frame of reference, the parlor figured prominently.¹⁶⁶

The architectural investigation conducted by NAHPC touched off another internal discussion about appropriate preservation treatment. Yocum and Crisson uncovered enough documentary and physical evidence to make restoration of the existing structure a feasible alternative. They also determined that preservation would require replacing many non-historic elements that were deteriorated, and estimated that the cost for restoring the house to its c. 1848 appearance would be comparable to preserving its 1980’s appearance. Thus, the draft HSR recommended that the M’Clintock House be restored rather than preserved in its current configuration. When the draft report went to the North Atlantic Region’s Cultural Resources Division (CRD) for review, professional opinions once again proved to be divided. CRD staff immediately raised questions, this time not about the recommendation itself, but the process by which NAHPC staff had arrived at the recommendation. “Philosophically,” the CRD felt that restoration “may well be justifiable” if, in accordance with 1988 Management Policies, it could be substantiated with sufficient detail to establish that restoration was “essential to public understanding.” However, the CRD was upset that the Historic Preservation Center had developed the HSR “without the involvement of regional interpreters, planners, archeologists, etc.” Moreover, the CRD felt that decisions were being rushed and being made on incomplete information. Given the implications of a change from preservation

¹⁶⁶ *Interpretive Prospectus*, 17-18. During Hart’s superintendency, the ECSF conducted research to establish property ownership and historic boundaries for the M’Clintock House, but research on the M’Clintock family was conducted by Barbara Yocum as part of the HSR, completed in 1993. Page Putnam Miller notes that as late as 1990 chiefs of interpretation in the National Park Service were unlikely “to undertake new research about women or to incorporate into their interpretive programs, what they consider, women’s marginal roles.” See “Landmarks of Women’s History,” in Page Putnam Miller, ed., *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women’s History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 6, fn. 9. On using as offices or storage areas those spaces in historic house museums that historically functioned as work areas, see Patricia West, “Domestic Work Portrayed: Philadelphia’s Restored Bishop William White House: A Case Study,” in *Restoring Women’s History Through Historic Preservation*, eds. Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

to restoration, which not only deviated from the GMP but required approval from the State Office of Historic Preservation, the CRD was particularly concerned that the region adopt a “more coordinated and cooperative process for deciding the future of this region’s cultural resources.”¹⁶⁷

“Process” may have been the primary concern because the CRD handled Section 106 compliance and would understandably want to be consistent in its dealings with state offices of historic preservation in the North Atlantic Region, but NPS Management Policies did not at that time require consultation with cultural resource specialists in the planning process. Blaine Cliver, chief of the North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center, was more concerned that “process” was displacing “progress” and noted that “restoration” seemed to have become a “sensitive word” in the Regional Office, with NAHPC staff “seen as the advocates of restoration.”¹⁶⁸ He went on to suggest that philosophical differences might well be at the heart of the matter, and indeed they were. Canzanelli, like Judy Hart, favored reconstructing the missing wings of both the Stanton and M’Clintock houses in order to restore them to their mid-nineteenth-century appearance. She argued that this was necessary to fully interpret the women at the center of the 1848 women’s rights convention in the domestic spaces that were integral to the shaping of their ideas. Professionals in the NAHPC agreed that buildings fully restored to their period of significance were central to interpretation, although historic preservation professionals tended to subscribe to the notion that historic buildings spoke for themselves. In Cliver’s words, “we should seek a meaningful approach to our historic buildings, following the policies of NPS.” A meaningful and “more normal” approach, to him, was to “consider letting this house [M’Clintock] reflect its appearance during the time that the person, who is the reason we acquired the house, lived in it.”¹⁶⁹ Professionals in the CRD, however, who represented multiple disciplines including history and archeology, were not at all convinced that fully restored buildings were essential to meaningful interpretation. They were more concerned about what visitors

¹⁶⁷ Chief, Division of Cultural Resources, NAR [Myra Harrison], to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NAR [Charles Clapper], memorandum re: Review of Draft Excerpts, Historic Structure Report, M’Clintock House, Women’s Rights National Historical Park, February 10, 1989, NER-CRD.

¹⁶⁸ Chief, Historic Preservation [Blaine Cliver], to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation [Charles Clapper], memorandum re: M’Clintock House HSR, Women’s Rights NHP, February 23, 1989, NER-CRD.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* In the mid 1970s the NAHPC was established under the direction of Blaine Cliver. At the time, Cliver served as both the Chief of the NAHPC and as the North Atlantic Regional Historical Architect. The Center was responsible for providing technical assistance for historic structures in the region, including preparing historic structure reports, conducting building materials analyses, providing Section 106 compliance review, providing architectural design services for treatment of historic structures, providing preservation-trained in-house day-labor work crews for many treatment projects, and acting as the contracting officer’s technical representative for architecture/engineering or construction contracts. The Center was located at the Charlestown Navy Yard in Boston NHP.

learned through the interpretive program as a whole. Thus, for instance, just as regional historian Dwight Pitcaithley had challenged Judy Hart on the necessity for reconstructing the kitchen wing of the Stanton House if the real purpose was to create administrative space for park functions, so too was he more concerned about the interpretive plan for the interior of the M'Clintock House.¹⁷⁰

All agreed that a meeting was necessary to work out differing professional interpretations of NPS policies and to reach common agreement on treatments for the exterior and interior of the M'Clintock House, including the missing south wing and alternatives for the grounds.¹⁷¹ At this meeting, which took place in April 1989, the Cultural Resources Division prevailed. It was agreed that the exterior of the house would be restored, but the missing wing would not be reconstructed. The interior would receive limited restoration to re-establish the historic layout: interior partitions and other historic architectural elements were to be returned to their original locations, which had been deemed necessary to accommodate exterior restoration, but also would facilitate interpretive needs. Although no cultural landscape study had been done for the site, the group decided not to restore the landscape based on the rationale that the site was significant for one event, the writing of the Declaration of Sentiments, which took place inside the house.¹⁷²

During the next several months, planning and development moved forward in tandem with design development for the Wesleyan Chapel Block. NAHPC revised the M'Clintock House HSR in accordance with agreements reached in the April meeting and prepared contract specifications. Section 106 compliance documentation was initiated in September 1989 and concluded in April 1990, when the NYSHPO concurred with the Regional Office in its Finding of No Adverse Effect.¹⁷³ After protracted contract

¹⁷⁰ Margaret [McFadden, Chief of Interpretation, Women's Rights NHP] to Linda [Canzanelli, Acting Superintendent], handwritten internal memorandum re: McFadden's conversation with [Regional Historian] Dwight Pitcaithley about the draft M'Clintock House HSR and his concern "about what is going to be done on the interior of the house."

¹⁷¹ Acting Superintendent [Linda Canzanelli] to Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NAR [Charles Clapper], March 9, 1989, NER-CRD.

¹⁷² Stephen Spaulding to Charlie Clapper, Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, memorandum, April 10, 1989, NER-HIST. See also Architectural Conservator [Yocum] to Regional Historical Architect [Richard Crisson], memorandum re Interior Treatment of the M'Clintock House, February 5, 1991. Meeting participants included Charles Clapper, Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation; Blaine Cliver, Chief, Historic Preservation Center; Myra Harrison, Chief, Cultural Resources Division; Cynthia Kryston, Interpretation; Terry Savage, Chief, Planning and Design; Linda Canzanelli; Marjorie Smith, Planner; Stephen Spaulding, Historic Preservation Center; and Barbara Yocum, Historic Preservation Center.

¹⁷³ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP staff meetings, August 10, 1989; Assessment of Actions Having an Effect on Cultural Resources [M'Clintock House], final approval by Regional Director, October 12, 1989; Julia Stokes, Deputy Commissioner for Historic Preservation, to Regional Director Gerald Patten, letter, March 29, 1990.

negotiations, the NPS hired R.L. Bates General Contractor and Associates (Bates) from Geneva, NY, to do the exterior restoration work, which began in April 1990.¹⁷⁴ The NAR Building Conservation Branch/Cultural Resources Center (formerly the NAHPC) managed the project, with Robert Fox as project manager, assisted by Leroy Renninger, Chief of Maintenance, who provided daily on-site supervision.¹⁷⁵

Because few restoration contractors were located in the Finger Lakes Region, the NPS had few contracting options, and, unfortunately, the work did not proceed smoothly. The subcontractor for millwork and carpentry withdrew from the project shortly after work started, as did the subcontractor for masonry, and Bates had to secure new subcontractors. Additionally, the usual number of issues with restoration work caused delays, including the discovery of additional openings in the south wall when the exterior stucco was removed. A more serious problem was the contractor's approach to the work, using contemporary rather than restoration techniques, and an initial refusal to submit shop drawings for approval, as required by the contract.¹⁷⁶ Bates even filed a formal grievance against the Regional Office over the issue of submitting shop drawings, but the contract language was clear.¹⁷⁷ In September 1990 the contract was terminated because Bates had no one capable of detailed wood restoration work, although subcontractors were allowed to finish work underway.¹⁷⁸ The quality of contracted work now was deemed unreliable; therefore, the park and Regional Office decided that the M'Clintock House project would be completed by the Building Conservation Branch.¹⁷⁹

While exterior restoration was in progress, Canzanelli worked on two related access issues. One entailed the driveway between the M'Clintock House and the

¹⁷⁴ Contract negotiations took nearly six months. Bates's initial bid was \$265,000, 2.6 times higher than the budgeted amount of \$117,000. By early March 1990, Bates had lowered its bid to \$147,000. See Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings: October 10, 1989; January 2, 1990; January 9, 1990; February 26, 1990; March 12, 1990; March 26, 1990; April 16, 1990.

¹⁷⁵ After Blaine Cliver left the region in 1990 to become Division Chief of Preservation Assistance in the Washington office, the NAHPC was reorganized as the Cultural Resources Center/Building Conservation Branch and placed under the Division of Cultural Resources. This lessened the friction that developed when the NAHPC operated autonomously from the NAR Division of Cultural Resources, but professional opinions concerning appropriate preservation treatment remained divided.

¹⁷⁶ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings: May 8, 1990; May 15, 1990; June 26, 1990; July 10, 1990; July 19, 1990; July 24, 1990; August 8, 1990; August 14, 1990; see also Architectural Conservator [Yocum] to NAR Division Chief, Cultural Resources Management [Myra Harrison], memorandum, May 18, 1990.

¹⁷⁷ Sandra E. Corbett, Contracting Officer to Bob Stivers, R.L. Bates General Contractor, Paving and Associates, Inc., memorandum, July 25, 1990.

¹⁷⁸ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings: August 21, 1990; August 28, 1990; September 4, 1990; September 11, 1990; September 18, 1990.

¹⁷⁹ Superintendent [Canzanelli] to Associate Regional Director, Planning & Resource Preservation, NAR [Robert McIntosh], memorandum, November 15, 1991; Associate Regional Director, Planning and Resource Preservation, NAR [McIntosh], to Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Canzanelli], memorandum, December 5, 1991.

neighboring property to the west, owned by Theodore and Judy Young. The ten-foot driveway, jointly owned by the park and the Youngs, occupied a rather narrow space between the two buildings, and the edge came within three feet of the M'Clintock House. Thus, even normal use posed a safety hazard and a threat to the fabric of the house itself. Shortly after the NPS acquired the M'Clintock House and church building in 1985, the Youngs expressed an interest in selling their entire property, but the NPS had no legislative authority to pursue this option. Instead, the Youngs were offered \$7,000 to relinquish the driveway strip, which they refused.¹⁸⁰ There the matter lay until restoration began in 1990.

At about the same time that restoration work began, a local developer, Vern Sessler, expressed an interest in purchasing the Young property to provide access from William Street to the rear of his commercial property, the Main Street Mini Mall. The mall was located in the business block constructed by Richard Hunt c. 1836, where the M'Clintock Drug Store had been located. It was contemporaneous with the M'Clintock House and part of the Waterloo historic area. Sessler's intent was to demolish the house and construct a connecting driveway to the parking area behind the mall. Concerned that a public driveway so close to the M'Clintock House would pose even more of a safety hazard, Canzanelli included the Young property on her list when she approached the Trust for Public Land for assistance with land acquisition, and in April 1990 TPL secured a purchase option from the Youngs. The park, in turn, began to work on securing amending legislation to authorize acquisition of this property, along with the Nies and Baldwin properties and the FJL Building in Seneca Falls.¹⁸¹

The TPL's purchase option, however, did not solve Sessler's need for access to William Street. Thus, Canzanelli, in conversation with Sessler, developed the idea of sharing a parking lot with the Waterloo business community. She arranged a conference that included Sessler, the mayor of Waterloo, the president of a bank adjacent to the mini mall, and NPS representatives from the Regional Office and DSC. By August 1990, the Park Service, Sessler, and other Waterloo business people had agreed to share a parking lot to be accessed from William Street on the east side of the M'Clintock House, where the church had sat. This routed traffic a safe distance away from the house and provided ample parking for both the park and the business community. The cost of the parking lot project was shared, with DSC providing a topographical survey and design work. The Village and Town of Waterloo agreed to lay a skin of tarmac that could be easily removed for archeological work if necessary.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ See "History of Right of Way between M'Clintock House and Young House," December 9, 1992, and attached documents.

¹⁸¹ "Legislative Support Data, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, April 10, 1990.

¹⁸² Landscape Architect, Branch of Design, Eastern Team, DSC [Patrick Shea] to Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Canzanelli], memorandum re: Waterloo Conceptual Development Plan and Cost Estimate, February 5, 1991; see also Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings: April 10, 1990; June 12, 1990; July 10, 1990; August 6, 1990; September 4,



Figure 42. Restored exterior of the M'Clintock House, 1992. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

Restoration of the house exterior was essentially complete by the end of FY 1991.¹⁸³ Interior rehabilitation was planned for 1992, but this work was placed on hold pending the resolution of moisture problems in the basement and agreement on whether to locate the furnace in the basement or on the first floor. Internal disagreement about the best solutions to both issues dragged on for more than a year with no resolution.¹⁸⁴ In

1990; November 4, 1991. Construction of the parking lot required the relocation of a utility pole; see "History of Right of Way," December 9, 1992; Leroy Renninger, Chief of Maintenance to Dave Conrad, President Horizon Bank, letter, May 14, 1992.

¹⁸³ Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Canzanelli], to Associate Regional Director, Planning & Resource Preservation, NAR [Robert McIntosh], memorandum re: Completion of M'Clintock House Restoration/Preservation, November 15, 1991; Associate Regional Director, Planning & Resource Preservation, NAR [McIntosh], to Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Canzanelli], memorandum, December 5, 1991.

¹⁸⁴ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings: February 4, 1992; May 4, 1992; August 3, 1992; October 13, 1992; January 1, 1993; June 3, 1993; see also [Leroy Renninger], "July 24, 1992 Meeting with Fred Bentley [NAR Engineering Services]: Items for Discussion."

January 1994, Canzanelli reported that the Regional Office had dropped the M'Clintock House as a priority project because project funds were being redirected to address resource situations where there were safety and health issues.¹⁸⁵ Additionally, the TPL's purchase option on the Young property expired at the end of 1992, four years before Congress amended P.L. 96-607 with a provision that would allow its acquisition.

THE WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND CULTURAL CENTER

In concert with developing thought-provoking interpretation at the Visitor Center, Canzanelli made educational outreach a priority. On paper, this meant coordinating the work of various community groups and organizations to achieve compatibility and minimize duplication of effort in order to further the common goals of economic development through historic preservation and tourism.¹⁸⁶ In reality, this entailed working with the National Women's Hall of Fame, in particular, to develop an educational program that would facilitate the teaching of women's history as well as discourse on women's issues through a proposed Women's Education and Cultural Center (WECC).

Local interest in some sort of a national women's cultural center at Seneca Falls emerged at about the same time Canzanelli joined the park. In early 1989, Dr. Dora Lee Dauma, a trustee of the Stanton Foundation, floated a conceptual proposal for a "national women's library, museum, memorial garden, and meeting center" in Seneca Falls. Her idea was a national center with connections to scholarly institutions that would complement the National Women's Hall of Fame and Women's Rights NHP but not overlap their missions.¹⁸⁷ Park staff in the interpretive division began laying a foundation for the project in 1989 – 1990 by working with the National Women's Hall of Fame as well as Seneca Falls Historical Society and the Stanton Foundation to develop educational materials and programs for school groups.¹⁸⁸ As planning progressed, however, Canzanelli developed a close working relationship with the late Nancy Woodhull, a journalist of international stature who served as president of the NWHF from 1990 – 1996.

¹⁸⁵ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings: December 20, 1993; January 10, 1994.

¹⁸⁶ See Annual Statements for Interpretation and Visitor Services, Women's Rights NHP, 1990, 1991, 1992, and 1993.

¹⁸⁷ Dr. Dora Lee Dauma, ECSF Trustee, "Proposal for a National Women's Library, Museum, Memorial Garden, and Meeting Center," submitted to the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, January 21, 1989. Dauma also was associated with the NWHF. When she died in 2010, her library went to the NWHF.

¹⁸⁸ Minutes of staff meetings indicate that the park and the National Women's Hall of Fame began to collaborate on educational programs and projects during the latter part of 1989; see Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings, November 20, 1989; January 4, 1990; January 8, 1990.

Woodhull, the founding editor of *USA Today*, focused much of her work on the First Amendment and media-related issues.¹⁸⁹

Multi-year planning called for establishing a teacher advisory committee; expanding school programs to focus on diversity, cooperation, equality, and rights, and, eventually, integrating the park's educational programs with the proposed center.¹⁹⁰ The long-range goal was to create an environment where students from the fourth grade through high school could discover through hands-on activities "the impacts of identities, roles, and opportunities being determined by gender, race, class or other definitions other than ability and interest."¹⁹¹ The proposed center would take on larger issues and concepts of social change and democratic freedom, essentially extending the park's interpretive themes.¹⁹² An NPS Educational Initiatives grant of \$18,000 enabled the park to hire a seasonal education specialist, Caroline Caito, then a graduate student at Nazareth College, to develop curricula for the proposed center.¹⁹³ Shortly after beginning work in summer 1992, Caito organized a teacher advisory committee, drawing in teachers from Seneca Falls, Waterloo, and other nearby towns. The advisory committee created education kits for teachers to pilot the following year.¹⁹⁴

In the meantime, Canzanelli worked on an organizational plan along the lines of the Tsongas Industrial History Center, a partnership between Lowell National Historical Park and the University of Lowell Graduate School of Education. The center's proposed location was 116 Fall Street, the park's first Visitor Center, but the ultimate goal was to purchase the vacated Mynderse High School, rehabilitate the building, relocate the Hall of

¹⁸⁹ Nancy J. Woodhull, founding editor of *USA Today* and president of Gannett News Service and Gannett New Media, devoted her career in journalism to defending freedom of the press and advancing the image of women in the media. She was active in the Freedom Forum, the world's largest private foundation focused on the First Amendment and the media. With Betty Friedan, she co-founded Women, Men and Media, a public interest organization that monitors press coverage of women. Among her many other achievements, she assisted in the early planning for The Newseum in Arlington, VA, and served as vice-chair of the International Women's Media Foundation. Woodhull's career was cut short in 1997 when she died of cancer.

¹⁹⁰ *Statement of Interpretation: Women's Rights National Historical Park*, FY 1991; *Multi-Year Educational Plan, 1993-1998: Women's Rights National Historical Park*.

¹⁹¹ Vivien E. Rose to Superintendent Linda Canzanelli, memorandum, June 25, 1992.

¹⁹² Assistant Superintendent Laura Rotegard to Women's Rights NHP Coworkers, memorandum, November 12, 1993.

¹⁹³ Regional Education Specialist, North Atlantic Region, Kathy Tevyaw, to Chief Interpreters, North Atlantic Region, memorandum, November 12, 1991; Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, November 4, 1991; Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Interpretive Division Staff Meeting, December 2, 1991 and February 20, 1992.

¹⁹⁴ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, June 1, July 13, August 3, and December 4, 1992; see also Vivien E. Rose to Linda Canzanelli, memorandum, June 25, 1992.

Fame, and create space for the education and cultural center.¹⁹⁵ In March 1992, Canzanelli and three NWHF leaders—Nancy Woodhull, Charlotte Conable, and Susan Butler—spent two days at Lowell meeting with key staff members. Their purpose was to assess the feasibility of adapting the Lowell model by replacing the industrialization content with material pertaining to “gender-identified customs and practices within our society.”¹⁹⁶

Despite a promising start, the project slowed considerably in 1993 as the park prepared for the grand opening of the Wesleyan Chapel Block. Then, when Caito’s funding ran out, the project was left without dedicated staff support. Assistant Superintendent Laura Rotegard subsequently took charge of grant writing and organized a Program Development Committee (PDC), essentially a reformulated and enlarged teacher advisory committee. The PDC began developing a fourth grade curriculum guide.¹⁹⁷ Canzanelli continued to focus on establishing a university partnership. With the demise of Eisenhower College, it was necessary to find another college or university, and Nan Johnson, an NWHF board member, worked with Canzanelli to firm up interest among potential partners. By the end of the year, the park had requested additional NPS seed money and major funding from the National Park Foundation’s Parks as Classrooms Program.¹⁹⁸ The field of potential partners also had narrowed to Hobart and William Smith Colleges, located in nearby Geneva, and the University of Rochester, with which Nan Johnson was affiliated.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ Women’s Rights NHP Annual Report, 1990; Women’s Rights NHP Education Division, draft Parks as Classrooms Grant Application [1993 but no specific date]; Canzanelli interview.

¹⁹⁶ Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meeting, February 11, March 9, and June 22, 1992; Vivien E. Rose to Linda Canzanelli, memorandum, June 25, 1992. Nancy Woodhull was then serving as Hall of Fame president, Charlotte Conable was on the board and also a member of the Park Advisory Commission, and Susan Butler was executive director.

¹⁹⁷ Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meetings, September 13, September 27, October 5, October 13, and December 13, 1993.

¹⁹⁸ The park submitted a \$175,000 grant application to the National Park Foundation’s Parks as Classrooms Program, which was unsuccessful. See Patti Reilly, Director, Parks as Classrooms Education Program to Regional Chiefs of Interpretation, memorandum, February 24, 1993; Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meeting, April 19, 1993; Rotegard to Women’s Rights NHP Coworkers, Memorandum, November 12, 1993. See also Canzanelli to Patti Reilly, Director, Parks as Classrooms, National Park Foundation, memorandum, June 9, 1993, Village of Seneca Falls files. See also Women’s Rights NHP Annual Report, 1993.

¹⁹⁹ Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meetings, November 2, November 9, and December 6, 1993. In addition to being on the board of the National Women’s Hall of Fame, Nan Johnson was a Senior Associate in the Dean’s Office, College of Arts and Science at the University of Rochester (UR) and the founding director of the Susan B. Anthony University Center, a UR outreach center; she also was a former trustee of the State University of New York (1976-1990) and serving what would be a 20-year tenure as an elected county legislator of Monroe County, the greater Rochester area. See Nan Johnson, Oral History Interview conducted by Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth D. Smith, October 8, 2008.

Momentum began to build in 1994. The PDC, working with park staff, organized a number of working groups in preparation for moving educational programming to 116 Fall Street, the lease on the building having been extended.²⁰⁰ After some deliberation, Canzanelli and the NWHF decided to partner with both institutions that had expressed strong interest. Hobart and William Smith Colleges envisioned bringing “a new kind of teacher preparation program” to the partnership. The University of Rochester proposed a branch campus in Seneca Falls in order to bring the “educational, academic, and intellectual resources of a major research university” to the venture.²⁰¹ Although the WECC partnership was never formalized, because the park still had no authority to enter into cooperative agreements with non-profit organizations, the “partners” nonetheless met regularly during the next few months to discuss a mission statement and goals, programming, stable funding, and purchase of Mynderse Academy to permanently house the center.²⁰²

In the midst of this activity, Canzanelli resigned as park superintendent. Project activities continued, but Laura Rotegard, now acting superintendent, could no longer devote much time to the effort. Nan Johnson arranged for an intern from the University of Rochester to work on a business plan for the center. Johnson also developed a course, *Women and the Law*, which she taught through the University of Rochester in the fall of 1994 with classes meeting in the Visitor Center conference room. After Joanne Hanley took over as superintendent, the New York state legislature approved an expenditure of \$100,000 toward the purchase of Mynderse Academy. However, NPS staff from the Regional Office examined the academy building and judged its structural condition unsound. As a result, purchase negotiations did not go forward.²⁰³ This left the WECC partnership without a physical space for full development. Although the idea of an educational and cultural center did not vanish, the park thereafter pursued a more pragmatic avenue to develop new interpretive and educational programs that it could more easily support with existing resources.

LOCAL PARTNERSHIPS AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The Women’s Educational and Cultural Center ultimately proved to be an overly ambitious enterprise, but it marked the park’s second attempt to forge a three-way

²⁰⁰ Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meetings, May 4, 1993 and January 3, 1994.

²⁰¹ Rotegard to Women’s Rights NHP Coworkers, memorandum, November 12, 1993; Sheila K. Bennett, Dean of Faculty and Provost, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, and Rebecca Fox, Dean of William Smith College, to Superintendent Canzanelli, memorandum, November 21, 1993; Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meeting, January 31, 1994.

²⁰² Minutes, WECC Partnership Meetings, February 17, March 25, and May 20, 1994.

²⁰³ Joanne Hanley, interview by Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth D. Smith, May 13, 2009, 3. Research turned up no documentation for this decision.

coalition with local cultural institutions and institutions of higher learning for the purpose of infusing new scholarship into interpretive and educational programming. Hart and Canzanelli pursued such partnerships because the park's legislated purpose was to "preserve and interpret for the *education*, inspiration, and benefit" of the public.²⁰⁴ There was a pressing need for more research to inform not just interpretation and education but resource management as well. Lack of professional staff and time for research were recurring laments in the annual statements for interpretation beginning in 1985. The term "partnership" also must be considered in light of the park's enabling legislation. Women's Rights NHP was not authorized to enter into cooperative agreements with nonprofit organizations out of a fear that "federal funds and facilities" might be used for "purposes not related to the interpretation and study of the beginnings of the women's movement."²⁰⁵ Ideally, the Park Advisory Commission might have assisted the park by helping to develop and coordinate research for interpretive planning, but the commission had no well-defined purpose and tended to drift from one proposal to the next. After the GMP was amended in 1991, the NPS sought legislation to amend P.L. 96-607 so that the park could enter into cooperative agreements for the purposes of education and research, but this legislation did not come until 1996. Thus, partnerships were of necessity structured informally or for specific research services on an as-need basis, with no formal commitment for ongoing collaboration. The park was always open to working with local, regional, and national organizations to infuse new scholarship into interpretive planning and to reach wider audiences. Working with various groups and organizations broadened the park's constituency and increased awareness of the park's existence, but through the mid-1990s, partnerships were opportunistic rather than planned, coordinated, and managed. In the case of local partnerships, there was the added dimension of community relations, which became highly sensitive during Canzanelli's tenure. Although the park continued to work with the Stanton Foundation, the Urban Cultural Park, and other local organizations on special events, community relations were checkered. Whereas Judy Hart had nurtured wide community support as a strategy to get the park up and running, Canzanelli felt that she worked with the "next generation" of park supporters."²⁰⁶

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S HALL OF FAME AND NANCY WOODHULL

The organization Canzanelli gravitated to for support was the National Women's Hall of Fame, especially then-president Nancy Woodhull. With Betty Friedan, Woodhull had co-founded Women, Men & Media, an outreach project to monitor gender issues in broadcast media and film. She also served as a trustee, then senior vice president, of the

²⁰⁴ P.L. 96-607, Section 1601(b). Emphasis mine.

²⁰⁵ Statement of Ira Hutchison, Acting Director, NPS, Department of the Interior, before the Senate Subcommittee on Parks, Recreation, and Renewable Resources, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, on S. 2263 and Section 104 of H.R.3, September 8, 1980, McCann Papers.

²⁰⁶ Linda Canzanelli interview, 17.

Freedom Forum, dedicated to defending freedom of speech. As a founding editor of *USA Today* and a former president of Gannett News Service and Gannett New Media, Woodhull was able to use her connections to help focus national attention on women's issues through the NWHF, which was "attracting the national stars with [its] annual induction ceremony." Woodhull's vision for NWHF fit comfortably with Canzanelli's vision for the park, and she found in Woodhull "an incredible power woman" who "opened a lot of doors" for her. Until the Wesleyan Chapel Block project was completed, the NWHF had more national visibility than the park, in large part because of Woodhull's prominence in the media industry.²⁰⁷ Canzanelli also tried to revitalize the Advisory Commission and turned to Charlotte Conable as the next chair for help in raising the park's visibility among women's groups.²⁰⁸ Both women worked with Canzanelli on the Women's Education and Cultural Center.

In 1989 the park also collaborated with the NWHF and the Stanton Foundation to celebrate the first annual Women's Equality Day. The event took its name from the August 26, 1970 "women's strike for equality" when Betty Friedan led 50,000 women on a march down Fifth Avenue in New York City in a show of support for women's rights on the fiftieth anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment. In 1971, New York Representative Bella Abzug secured congressional recognition of August 26 as a day memorializing passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. The 1989 celebration in Seneca Falls was a day-long event featuring an afternoon panel discussion on "Women and Politics" with distinguished women educators and politicians, including Charlotte Conable representing the George Washington University Women's Policy Institute as well as the Park Advisory Commission. Following the panel discussion, Betty Friedan took the stage as keynote speaker, and then, in the spirit of 1970, a crowd marched to the Stanton House for a re-signing of the Declaration of Sentiments.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 11.

²⁰⁸ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, November 1, 1989.

²⁰⁹ National Women's Hall of Fame, newsletter, *News*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Fall 1989); Sally Parr [NWHF president] to Board of Directors, memorandum, September 6, 1989; Women's Rights NHP Special Event Plan [1989 Women's Equality Day].



Figure 43. Betty Friedan, Nancy Woodhull, and Tennessee Woodhull re-signing the Declaration of Sentiments, Women's Equality Day, 1989. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP and permission of Tennessee Woodhull.*

Nancy Woodhull served as emcee for the second Women's Equality Day celebration, which also was the 70th anniversary of the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and the 20th anniversary of the "women's strike for equality." In keeping with the theme, "Women as Heroes," invited speakers included two women who had recently made the news: Annie Snyder, a leader in the campaign to stop the development of a shopping mall on the boundary of Manassas National Battlefield Park and Danita Thomas, an African American fire-fighter in Syracuse. Once again, festivities concluded with a march to the Stanton House and a re-signing of the Declaration of Sentiments.²¹⁰

Geraldine Ferraro, the first woman vice presidential candidate, was the headliner in 1991, joined by actress Olympia Dukakis and author Andrea Dworkin. The 1991 theme was the "Hidden Power of Women," which focused attention on the influence wielded by women as mothers, household managers, and volunteers.²¹¹ Ferraro also appeared earlier in the summer at the Convention Days celebration, where she spoke on "Women and

²¹⁰ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, May 8, 1990; August 21, 1990; August 28, 1990; "Special Event Plan Women's Equality Day Celebration," August 8, 1991. "National Park Service Press Release Women's Equality Day Celebration," August 13, 1990; Women's Equality Day Celebration, August 25, 1990, event program.

²¹¹ "Ferraro Keynotes Convention Days," *The Reveille: Souvenir Section*, July 14, 1991; Women's Rights NHP Special Event Plan, 1991 Women's Equality Days.

Politics.” Whereas the Women’s Equality Day celebrations were squarely focused on women’s issues, Convention Days was a more open community celebration that lasted three days. A 10K run, women’s softball tournament, street parade, children’s events, street dances, and concerts were mixed with special exhibits on women’s history topics, feminist church services, historical tours, and the highlight event: a dramatization of the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention. Because the mid-July anniversary of the first convention fell conveniently at the height of the summer tourist season, crowds numbered 10,000 or more, and local merchants were willing sponsors for this event.²¹² Even so, after 1988, it is not clear how much the park benefited from the Convention Days crowds. Although the crowds for Women’s Equality Day were small by comparison, visitor statistics for 1989-1995 suggest that these crowds actually boosted park attendance significantly, at least for a time.²¹³

Although Canzanelli had been personally involved in initiating Women’s Equality Day, the park took a behind-the-scenes role after the 1991 event, when the Chapel Block project commanded increasing amounts of her time. In the natural progression of affairs, community leaders and groups involved in Women’s Equality Day sought to establish a separate nonprofit community organization and filed for 501c(3) status to facilitate fundraising. For the 1992 event, the park continued to pay a significant portion of the expenses, including the costs of the capstone speaker, poet Nikki Giovanni, as well as a signer for the hearing impaired and matching costs for the panelists. Thereafter, the park’s involvement tapered off.²¹⁴

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON FOUNDATION

Canzanelli inherited a strong working relationship with the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, which continued to collaborate with the park on community events and help the park build its collections for site interpretation. Park personnel who served on the Stanton Foundation board provided direct lines of communication, which for the most part was useful. However, these same ties could pose a conflict of interest.²¹⁵ A case

²¹² See, for instance, Convention Days Souvenir Program, July 14-15-16, 1989; “Ferraro Keynotes Convention Days,” *The Reveille*, July 17, 1991.

²¹³ In each of these years, except for 1993, the number of park visitors in August exceeded the number in July by 800 to 2400, a clear reversal from the years 1984-1988.

²¹⁴ Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meetings: November 4, 1991; December 9, 1991; January 9, 1992; February 20, 1992; February 24, 1992; May 4, 1992; May 11, 1992; June 22, 1992; August 30, 1993; January 31, 1994.

²¹⁵ MaryEllen Snyder, a member of the park’s interpretive division staff, became ECSF president in 1993. Snyder served on the ECSF board during the early 1990s as did Vivien Rose, who was invited to the board shortly after she joined the park in 1991. Rose resigned from the ECSF board when she realized that her service might constitute a conflict of interest; Rose to Conard, email, July 10, 2009. See Minutes, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, April 1, 1990 and June 3, 1990 and August 5, 1990 and 1990 Retreat; ECSF Board of Trustees, 1990-1991; ECSF Board of Trustees 1991-1992.

in point occurred in the early 1990s over an effort to develop an interpretive prospectus for each of the fourteen parks in the New York Urban Cultural Park System. The state director of the UCP Program, Paul Battaglino, looked to Seneca Falls to serve as a model for the others because it was considered the “truest partnership park” in the system based on the close working relationship that Women’s Rights NHP and the UCP had exhibited in developing their respective management plans. Battaglino, however, wanted assurance from Canzanelli that the park’s Interpretive Division not only would continue to provide seasonal rangers for summer walking tours of the heritage area, but, when the new Visitor Center opened, increase the level of interpretive services provided to the UCP. In a 1993 meeting that included Francis and Gail Caraccilo, representing the Urban Cultural Park, Sam Brown of the Stanton Foundation, and an aide to Congressman William Paxon, Canzanelli guaranteed Battaglino that the park’s support would continue commensurate with operating budget allocations from the Regional Office, but she also suggested that the Village consider hiring more staff to assist with interpretation.²¹⁶ Her suggestion was in line with the *General Management Plan*, which called for the NPS and UCP to take “cooperative approaches” to interpretive tours, publications, and other media, but did not specify what level of services each was to provide.²¹⁷

Battaglino was satisfied with her response, but the Caraccilos were not, nor were they satisfied that she would work with a proposed local park advisory committee, which the Stanton Foundation had recommended.²¹⁸ In a confidential memorandum to MaryEllen Snyder in her capacity as ECSF president, Gail Caraccilo asserted that the meeting had “served notice to Linda that the UCP and the Foundation are very interested in what the Park Service’s plans are for its facilities, and that she can no longer operate in a vacuum.” Caraccilo suggested that Snyder “have the Foundation members take an assessment of what they feel is their proper role as an organization involved with Women’s Rights National Historical Park.”²¹⁹ This exchange suggests that both the UCP and the Stanton Foundation expected Canzanelli, like her predecessor, to consult with them personally on a regular basis. It also demonstrates the kinds of complications that arose when a few key people played multiple roles.

Considering the park’s location in the midst of two small towns and considering the many local groups were involved in preserving the historic character of Seneca Falls and Waterloo, personality clashes and conflicts of interest were an inherent aspect of

²¹⁶Gail and Francis Caraccilo, Seneca Falls Urban Cultural Park to MaryEllen Snyder, President, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, memorandum, April 2, 1993, Village of Seneca Falls Records. Francis Caraccilo served as Village Planner and UCP Director; Gail Caraccilo as his staff assistant. Both were on the ECSF board of directors.

²¹⁷ *General Management Plan*, 25.

²¹⁸ In 1993, the ultimate fate of the official Park Advisory Commission, pending Congressional action, was still up in the air.

²¹⁹ Gail Caraccilo to MaryEllen Snyder, confidential memorandum, April 2, 1993, Village of Seneca Falls Records.

community relations. Seemingly minor incidents could become flashpoints. Nonetheless, whereas Judy Hart had maintained a line of separation with the National Women's Hall of Fame so as to avoid public confusion over their respective missions, Canzanelli had moved quickly to establish a close affinity with this organization. She found an ally in Nancy Woodhull, but the local controversy over the Wesleyan Chapel design, which put the Stanton Foundation and the UCP at odds with the park, probably inclined her to seek other points of park support, and the NWHF was welcoming. Nonetheless, the park and the community needed an effective working relationship in order to carry out their mutual goals: providing visitors with attractive transportation options and effective route signage so they could easily navigate to historic sites and points of interest, and encouraging private developers to maintain the historic character of both towns by adaptive reuse of older buildings for visitor support services such as restaurants, bed-and-breakfast lodgings, and gift shops. Canzanelli thus hired Laura Rotegard as assistant superintendent specifically for her background in community planning.²²⁰

PARK ADVISORY COMMISSION: CODA

There is little in the record to suggest why the Park Advisory Commission did not meet again after October 1987.²²¹ The 1985 charter stipulated that it must be renewed every two years, which apparently was not done in 1987, and only two of the commissioners had terms that expired later than 1987: Charlotte Conable and John Becker, whose terms were set to expire along with the commission itself on December 28, 1990. Conable, who succeeded Dorothy Duke as chairperson, actually remained quite active with the park. In any case, when Canzanelli became superintendent, the Regional Office asked her to review the role and membership of the commission and make a recommendation on its future. She subsequently met twice with Conable and once with Regional Director Gerald Patten. Together they reached a decision to reactivate the commission, and they drew up a list of possible appointees.²²² The list included representatives from some of the largest national organizations representing African American, American Indian, and Hispanic women, indicating that the decision to reactivate the commission included a discussion of how the commission might help attract

²²⁰ Linda Canzanelli interview, 17.

²²¹ A statement in a 1990 operations evaluation indicates that commission members were "not pursuing their roles" because "they had come to feel ineffective," without further elaboration. See Regional Director, NAR [Gerald Patten] to Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Canzanelli], memorandum re: Women's Rights NHP Operations Evaluation, April 5, 1990.

²²² Deputy Regional Director, NAR [Steven H. Lewis] to Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Canzanelli], memorandum re: Request for Final Progress Report, Operations Evaluation, December 7, 1989, with Canzanelli's response dated February 1990.

underrepresented visitor groups to the park and a companion goal set by the Regional Office to have the park become a “model for equal opportunity.”²²³

During the early months of 1990, the Advisory Commission’s charter was renewed, and the Secretary of the Interior’s office requested nominations from the New York governor’s office, the mayor of the Village of Seneca Falls, the National Women’s Hall of Fame, and the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation. Despite these steps, no appointments were made, and the commission was allowed to terminate at the end of the year.²²⁴ Out of a general belief that the park needed some sort of advisory body, the 1991 GMPA included a provision for extending the advisory commission. Accordingly, the 1991 Legislative Support Data package requested an extension of the commission. The Regional Office supported this request because there was local interest in having a commission and because a commission could serve as an advocate for the public’s interest by bringing national, regional, and local perspectives to park matters.²²⁵

In 1992, a provision to extend the advisory commission to the year 2000 was included in H.R. 5916, introduced by Rep. Frank Horton. Horton’s bill was referred to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs and then added to a larger bill, H.R. 5949, introduced by Rep. Bruce Vento (D-MN). In the combined bill, the extension date for the commission was changed to 2005. In the Senate, Bill Bradley (D-NJ) introduced a companion bill, S. 2563, but neither bill was enacted. Park legislation introduced in 1993, 1994, and 1995 continued to call for extending the life of the advisory commission. These requests became increasingly problematic when the Clinton administration, as part of its overall effort to downsize the federal bureaucracy, determined to abolish federal advisory commissions required by law but not necessary for federal agency operations. In 1994, after the White House indicated that it would ask Congress to terminate thirty existing advisory committees authorized by statute, the NPS dropped its support in deference to the administration.²²⁶ When Canzanelli left the park, the NPS was no longer advocating

²²³ Patten to Canzanelli, April 5, 1990.

²²⁴ Charter, Women’s Rights National Historical Park Advisory Commission, approved April 13, 1990, by Manuel Lujan Jr., Secretary of the Interior, and filed April 20, 1990; Women’s Rights National Historical Park Advisory Commission Possible Appointees, 1990; Manuel Lujan Jr., Secretary of the Interior to Honorable Mario Cuomo, Governor of New York, letter, April 30, 1990; Lujan to Honorable Robert G. Freeland, Mayor, Village of Seneca Falls, April 30, 1990; Lujan to Sally G. Parr, Executive Director, National Women’s Hall of Fame, April 30, 1990; Lujan to Kate Sinicropi, President, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, April 30, 1990; Chief, Office of Communications, NAR [Edie Shean-Hammond] to Chief, Office of Policy [Claradean Jackson], memorandum re: Women’s Rights Commission, January 24, 1991.

²²⁵ *Amendment to the General Management Plan*; Legislative Support Data for Women’s Rights NHP, March 27, 1991; Shean-Hammond to Jackson, January 24, 1991.

²²⁶ See Statement of Terry W. Savage, Acting Associate Regional Director for Planning, Development, and Engineering, North Atlantic Region . . . before the Subcommittee of National Parks, Forests, and Public Lands, House Committee on Natural Resources, concerning H.R.359 to improve the administration of Women’s Rights National Historical Park, June 21, 1994, and the identical Statement of John Reynolds, Deputy Director, NPS,

for an advisory commission. Nonetheless, Louise Slaughter, who replaced Frank Horton, would continue the fight until 1996.

TABLE 3. PARK STATISTICS, FY 1989 – FY 1994						
	FY 1989	FY 1990	FY 1991	FY 1992	FY 1993	FY 1994
Visitation, Recreational	16,107	16,041	16,757	17,808	27,178	28,929
Staffing – FTE authorized	9.00	9.00	11.00	15.00	15.00	17.75
Staffing – FTE used	9.00	9.71	11.80	14.39	17.10	17.29
# perm staff positions filled*	n/a	6	8	9	18	17
# temp/seasonal positions filled	n/a	4	5	6	13	4
Authorized Operating Budget	\$350,400	\$367,000	\$435,000	\$583,794	\$723,961	\$781,305
Development Funds						
Congressional Appropriations	485,000	1,400,000	12,000,000	0	0	0
Other Project Funds	0	170,000	200,000	n/a	467,398	36,300
Eastern National	n/a	n/a	1,513	n/a	22,600=	2,600
Regional Programs						
Repair/Rehab	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cyclic Maintenance	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cyclic Cultural	67,563	203,574	105,167	44,605	0	0
Hazardous Waste**	0	0	0	1,000	1,000	1,000
* some filled part-time or part year						
= higher visitation numbers in 1993 accounts for some of the increase, but the figure probably includes a grant for expenses related to the grand opening						
** new program FY1991						
Sources: Superintendent's Annual Reports for FY 1990, 1993; Superintendent's Annual Assessments for FY 1991, 1992; Superintendent's Annual Financial Operating Programs for FY 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994; FY 1994 Master Account File, March 10, 1994 (run date); Annual Report, Eastern National, FY 1993, FY 1994; FY visitation data from NPS Public Use Statistics Office, www.nature.nps.gov/stats. In September 1990, the NPS began reporting a second visitation number that included non-recreational visitors. For purposes of consistency, the number for recreational visitors is used throughout the administrative history.						

SUMMING UP

At the end of May 1994, Canzanelli left Women's Rights NHP to take a new position as deputy superintendent of Cape Cod National Seashore. Professionally, she committed herself to staying until the Wesleyan Chapel Block project was finished, but the constant attention that came with being in the center of civic life in a small community was a difficult adjustment. The ways of a small town—"the wonderful advantage is you know everybody; the disadvantage is that everybody is on every committee and you never get

before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests, Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, concerning S.2001 to improve the administration of Women's Rights National Historical Park, August 4, 1994, NARA-CP, RG 79: Legislative Case Files.

away from people”—took a personal toll.²²⁷ Laura Rotegard’s assistance helped her establish enough distance to focus on the things she wanted to accomplish; and her foremost accomplishment at Women’s Rights NHP was development of the Wesleyan Chapel Block, an achievement that brought the park national attention. Along with a bold interpretation of the park’s story, she also brought a vision for professional staff development to strengthen the interpretive division, importantly with the addition of a park historian. In the end, however, the staff reorganization plan that she developed in 1989-1990 proved to be more ambitious than actual visitation numbers warranted and a stagnating NPS budget would allow. Had the need for a larger staff materialized, it is an open question whether new staff positions would have been allocated given the overall budget climate, but the freeze on permanent hires imposed by the Regional Office in February 1994 suggests not.²²⁸

Still, there were other notable achievements. Two of the park’s four named historic sites were developed, and the exterior of the M’Clintock House was restored. Park visitation increased 75 percent, and base funding more than doubled despite flat budgets overall. Staff members were clearly organized under three divisions. Canzanelli implemented the NPS Ranger Careers program and diversified the staff. Laura Rotegard was prepared to step into the role of acting superintendent during the transition period. Canzanelli, like Hart, came to Women’s Rights NHP as a first-time superintendent. In contrast to Hart, who utilized her legislative and land-acquisition skills effectively to grow the park, Canzanelli demonstrated her skills in interpretation and operations.

The Wesleyan Chapel Block project also revealed fissures among park supporters, and Canzanelli left a divided community.²²⁹ She was not detached from community affairs—among other things she was a member of the Village Main Street Board of Directors, which coordinated preservation efforts with development projects in the Village, and she was a key figure in launching a year-long marketing campaign on the theme of “Great Women,” to develop tourism, a slogan subsequently adopted by the National Women’s Hall of Fame.²³⁰ Nonetheless, the profile of park-community interface changed during her tenure. The park’s strong ties with the Seneca Falls Urban Cultural Park and the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation began to fade. At the same time, the

²²⁷ Linda Canzanelli interview, 24.

²²⁸ Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meeting, February 14, 1994. The freeze came after Congress reduced the requested level of funding for park operations (ONPS) two years in a row, 1992 and 1993, forcing the director to order cuts in programs and personnel; see Ridenour, *The National Parks Compromised*, 96, 107.

²²⁹ To some degree, the fracturing of community support undoubtedly was tied to the availability of resources. One person served dual positions as Village Planner and Director of the UCP with limited staff support. The ECSF, which had good intentions of fundraising, actually relied on the Park to fund the research services it provided. The NWHF, in comparison, had its own building with office space, an executive director, and a national board.

²³⁰ See www.greatwomen.org.

park developed a much closer working relationship with the National Women's Hall of Fame, in part because Canzanelli felt an affinity with NWHF leaders and in part because she saw this alliance as a way to strengthen the park's educational mission as well as its national prominence.

After Canzanelli announced her resignation, fifteen of the park's eighteen staff members met voluntarily three times "to consider the park's direction and to focus on what could be the positive aspects of a change of leadership." Laura Rotegard led these sessions using a Total Quality Management (TQM) approach. On the question of "What is your vision of the park in 1998?" the top three staff responses were: "A place where (1) we are focused on core mission . . . to preserve and interpret the history and events surrounding the 1848 convention; (2) we are completing the preservation and restoration goals for the M'Clintock House, the Stanton Wings and the Stanton grounds; and, (3) we are a model for TQM." On the question of "What qualities of leadership will get us to these visions?" the top three responses were: (1) "secure, (2) visionary . . . sees the possibilities not the roadblocks, and (3) leads people not manages them." Rotegard forwarded these unsolicited staff recommendations to Regional Director Marie Rust, noting that the park staff, as "one of the superintendent's 'customers'" wished "to help with the selection of a new superintendent."²³¹ In summing up the staff recommendations sent to the regional director, Rotegard also added her own assessment of what the park needed, which boiled down to "a seasoned park manager" who would "work to develop the park as a whole."²³² Her summary assessment might have applied to the desirable qualities for superintendent of any national park, but staff responses clearly indicated a desire to focus the park's story on the mid-nineteenth century with the Stanton and M'Clintock houses fully restored.

These issues would be starting points for the next superintendent. Under Joanne Hanley, interpretive planning would become a priority, and the park would refocus interpretation on the mid-nineteenth century. Land acquisition would resume for developing the Stanton House grounds and a visitor contact station for the site. Likewise, planning would resume for developing the M'Clintock House site.

²³¹ Staff of Women's Rights National Historical park to Marie Rust, Regional Director, NAR, memorandum re: Input on Superintendent's Vacancy, May 9, 1994.

²³² *Ibid.*

CHAPTER FIVE

ADAPTATION AND ANNIVERSARIES: 1994-1998

Joanne Hanley was tapped to be the third superintendent of Women's Rights NHP in mid 1994. She began her park Service career in 1977 as an environmental specialist on the Denver Service Center's Western Team. After Denver, she worked as a resource management specialist at Mount Rainier National Park, then moved to Washington D.C. where she worked as a specialist with the Office of International Affairs. Her career continued in Washington D.C. as management assistant, concessions specialist, and then site manager for the George Washington Memorial Parkway, Clara Barton NHS, and Glen Echo Park. Before moving to Women's Rights NHP in the fall of 1994, she held the position of interpretive planner for the National Capital Region. Hanley would draw on her experience in management to help the park adapt to new federal requirements for strategic planning and management accountability. She also would draw on her experience as an interpretive planner to guide the park in developing a long-range interpretive plan. Women's Rights NHP's interpretive purpose and its location were attractive to her. However, the opportunity to become a park superintendent was the primary reason she and her family moved from Washington D.C. to Seneca Falls.¹ Her reason for seeking the position suggests that, by the early 1990s, Women's Rights NHP was becoming a proving ground for women who aspired to upper management positions in the National Park Service.

Although the Wesleyan Chapel Block had been christened in 1993 with expressions of community goodwill, local talk about certain elements of the Visitor Center interpretive exhibits smoldered and then flared within the first year of Hanley's tenure, which immediately tested her skill as a mediator. The park also celebrated four anniversaries in 1995: the 75th anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment, the 100th anniversary of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's *The Woman's Bible*,² Susan B. Anthony's 175th birthday, and the park's own 15th anniversary. These events provided convenient opportunities to work with the community, as did the upcoming 150th anniversary of the 1848 Women's Rights Convention and the Declaration of Sentiments, a major event with many layers of involvement locally, regionally, and nationally. Under Hanley's direction,

¹ Joanne Hanley, interview by Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth D. Smith, May 13, 2009, 2.

² Stanton and a "revising committee" of 26 women published a controversial two-volume work, *The Woman's Bible*, in 1895 and 1898. The book, which challenged traditional Judeo-Christian beliefs regarding the role of women, generated considerable controversy among women's rights activists. Women's suffrage advocates, in particular, felt that Stanton's views would harm the suffrage movement and, as a result, began to distance themselves from her public views.

the Women's Education and Cultural Center was recast as a portion of the NPS Women's History Education Initiative. Highlights included converting 116 Fall Street into an interpretive site called the Lily Print Shop/Suffrage Press, which offered innovative educational programs demonstrating the strategies of "social change" utilized by women's rights advocates in the nineteenth century. Park staff also were instrumental in organizing and participating in the Second Women in Historic Preservation Conference, held in 1997.

Planning occupied much of Hanley's time and energy during her three-year turn as park superintendent. She managed the park during a period of fiscal belt-tightening driven by the National Partnership for Reinventing Government (originally, National Performance Review), the Clinton-Gore administration's interagency task force to reform and streamline all departments of the executive branch. The National Park Service responded by undertaking a major reorganization to decentralize management and place more decision-making authority at the park level.³ The system was reconfigured into "field areas" instead of regions with various "system support offices," and parks were organized into "clusters" and "sub-clusters" to share resources and technical expertise. Women's Rights NHP became part of the Upstate New York Sub-cluster of the New England Cluster in the new Northeast Field Area, which combined the former North Atlantic and Mid Atlantic regions.⁴ To comply with the 1993 Government Performance and Results Act of 1993 (GPRA), another aspect of reinventing government, the NPS instituted strategic planning and accountability measures.⁵ The agency also reduced the overall number of permanent employees, and, at the same time, attempted to raise the level of professionalism service-wide. As a result, Hanley spent considerable time developing long-range and strategic plans, reallocating staff positions, and cutting back on programming and visitor services. In order to maintain park infrastructure, an increasing share of funding for park maintenance, administration, and interpretation came from outside sources. These austerity measures went hand-in-glove with a renewed effort to forge a broad-based community partnership.

³ In mid 1995, "regions" were re-designated as "field areas," a term that never really caught on and was abandoned in 1997. For clarity of meaning herein, "region" is used consistently in the text, but "field area" will occasionally occur in citations and quoted material.

⁴ See, for instance, New England Cluster Charter, approved by the parks of the New England Cluster, July 31, 1995; (Draft) Charter of the Upstate Sub-cluster, attached to the draft agenda for the September 22, 1995 Upstate Sub-cluster meeting. In 1997, the designation "field area" was changed back to "region" and "system support office" retitled to "support office." In the Northeast Region, the Allegheny, Chesapeake, and New England SSOs were restructured into the Boston and Philadelphia SOs.

⁵ The Government Performance and Results Act of 1993 was designed to cut waste and inefficiency throughout the federal bureaucracy. In the National Park Service, this set in motion a process of setting standards and competencies for individual job performance, reorganizing offices, and setting program goals and objectives at all levels in order to facilitate the measurement of accountability.

Fiscal retrenchment slowed the pace of development at the park, which actually allowed planning to catch up with development. Hanley laid the groundwork for reconstructing the missing wing of the M'Clintock House by working with professional staff in the Regional Office to achieve consensus on preservation goals and by securing a modification of the 1986 GMP that allowed reconstruction to take place. Passage of the Omnibus Park Lands Act in 1996 enabled the park to move forward with land acquisitions to reconstitute the historic grounds of the Stanton House and the planning to develop a visitor contact station for the Stanton House as part of the Canal Corridor Initiative. During Hanley's tenure, the Regional Office with support from park staff also conducted a reconnaissance study of the Susan B. Anthony House in Rochester to determine whether there was a need to involve the agency in its management and, if so, how this would affect Women's Rights NHP.⁶

Setting goals and objectives fit Hanley's pragmatic management style and a commensurate desire to develop greater community involvement. In her words, she brought to the park, "a really strong partnership philosophy and really strong community partnership outreach style."⁷ Toward this end, shortly after she arrived she arranged a formal meeting with Congressman Bill Paxon's aide to seek his support in meeting her priorities for the park. There were four, in this order: to establish a citizen's advisory group that would serve the functions once performed by the Park Advisory Commission; to continue investigations needed to make a decision on restoring the Stanton House wings and to develop the site for increased visitation; to complete restoration of the M'Clintock House and grounds; and to establish the Women's Education and Cultural Center. Her priorities, however, were reordered by the agency-wide reorganization precipitated by the Clinton administration's effort to downsize the federal bureaucracy.

PARK INTERPRETATION AND THE AGENCY OF COMMUNITY

Federal budget cutting would adversely affect the management of national parks system-wide and force Hanley to cut three permanent staff positions, rethink priorities opportunistically, and seek new sources of funding for park maintenance and development. But this was not her major concern at the outset, when she reached out to the community and met with representatives from the Village of Seneca Falls, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, and the Seneca County Chamber of Commerce to discuss strategies for integrating park development into local and regional community planning.⁸ Canzanelli's approach to interpretation had NPS support and appealed to

⁶ Reconnaissance studies are funded by Congress and completed by the Washington Office or regional planning offices. Park staff serve as team members as requested. For the Anthony House study, Vivien Rose and Laura Rotegard provided staff support from the Park.

⁷ Joanne Hanley interview, 2.

⁸ Superintendent Joanne Hanley to Honorable Bill Paxon, letter March 10, 1995.

many visitors, but certain elements of the main exhibit in the Visitor Center, notably a photograph of a woman proclaiming herself to be a “black lesbian feminist,” triggered local controversy. Hanley addressed the situation by organizing a community summit. She worked with Regional Director Marie Rust and Peggy Lipson, now Chief of Ecosystem and Strategic Planning for the Intermountain Region, Rep. Bill Paxon’s office, officials of the Village of Seneca Falls, and representatives of various community organizations to set up a two-day management objectives workshop in May 1995.⁹

To prepare for the workshop, Hanley convened a one-day “brainstorming” session in late April with selected members of her staff: Terry Roth and MaryEllen Snyder from the Interpretation Division; Leroy Renninger, Robert Fenton, and Mary Kelly Black from the Maintenance Division; Patricia Rittenhouse, an intermittent park ranger; and secretary Dorothy Fenton.¹⁰ Hanley’s ground-rules for the meeting indicated the interpretive philosophy she would pursue throughout her tenure. Foremost, she made it clear that the park “could not be an advocate for social change causes or special interest groups . . . we interpret all viewpoints.” The meeting served to restate the park’s central purpose as being to interpret the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention as the formal beginning of the women’s rights movement. Although staff members participating in the session recognized that the Wesleyan Chapel was a Mecca for contemporary feminists, there was little mention of interpreting the women’s rights movement beyond passage of the 1920 suffrage amendment and only to “document” the ongoing women’s rights movement. Staff also expressed a desire to enclose the Wesleyan Chapel based on a concern that its historic fabric was at risk of deterioration.¹¹

Hanley’s reason for steering the interpretive program back to a middle course became clear when the larger group, which numbered roughly fifty, met in May. In addition to the entire park staff, participants included twelve staff members from the Regional Office, twenty-one community members, four newspaper reporters, Judith Wellman from SUNY Oswego, Nan Johnson from the University of Rochester, and Mark Aesch, aide to Congressman Paxon.¹² At the outset, participants were asked to write down their individual “dreams and nightmares” concerning the park. Although the two-day workshop covered many areas of park management, the responses to the opening exercise are the most revealing aspect of the official proceedings, for these statements,

⁹ Agenda, Meeting with Mark Aesch, Congressman Paxon’s Office, February 24, 1995, with attached statement of needs; Superintendent Joanne Hanley to Honorable Bill Paxon, letter, March 10, 1995.

¹⁰ Key staff members not invited to this meeting were Assistant Superintendent Laura Rotegard and Park Historian Vivien Rose.

¹¹ [Summary], Women’s Rights NHP Brainstorming Session for Management Objectives Workshop, April 26, 1995.

¹² “Management Objectives Workshop Final Proceedings: Strategies for the Future: Women’s Rights National Historical Park,” May 10-11, 1995, distributed December 8, 1995.

anonymously attributed, document a vision for the park that was polarized. At one end of the spectrum was a person who dreamed that,

the Park will become an important promoter and interpreter of positive social change today in the U.S. and the world, and will be recognized and accepted as such.

At the other end was a person who dreamed that,

This park story would be focused on 'THE IMPORTANT HISTORICAL EVENTS AND PEOPLE OF 1848 WHO STARTED THE WOMEN'S RIGHT [sic] MOVEMENT,' AND 'THE DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS.' The park would not be a litany of all injustices, would not be a history of the entire women's rights movement, and would not be a monument to all causes today.¹³

One person's dream park was another's nightmare. For others, however, the real nightmare was polarization itself, a fear that there was "no room for moderation," that decisions were being made without "the scrutiny of effect on the 'big picture,'" or, conversely, that the park would lose its way trying "to be all things to all people." Where the group achieved consensus was on the need to complete the park's physical development and enhance the park's profile in order to boost regional development through heritage tourism.¹⁴ By the end of the two days there was general agreement that the park would focus interpretation on the beginning of the women's rights movement and provide park visitors with options to choose the types and level of information they wanted to explore. In this vein, the park's historic resources and established themes would drive educational programs when the final proceedings were issued.¹⁵

It was in this climate that Hanley decided, in December 1995, to remove from the east stairway wall the exhibit image that was referred to as the "Black Lesbian Feminist," or "BLF" photograph. Her reason has variously been given that she was responding to a visitor complaint, was concerned about offending school children, or felt that the photograph was interpretively out of place and better suited for the second-floor interpretive station, "Campaigning Women," where it could be placed next to a photograph of an opposing view. Hanley's own retrospective statement is that "there was no rhyme or reason" to "the whole collage on the wall. People did not know what they were looking at."¹⁶ August Sinicropi, one of the park's long-time supporters, recalls that the photograph "was perhaps talked more about in the community than any single thing that was there A lot of people started calling it 'the gay park' around here."¹⁷

¹³ Ibid., Appendix B. Comments written as transcribed in the document.

¹⁴ Ibid., Appendix B.

¹⁵ Management Objectives Workshop, May 10-11, 1995, Agenda; Management Objectives Workshop: Final Proceedings.

¹⁶ Joanne Hanley interview, 13.

¹⁷ August Sinicropi, Interview with Rebecca Conard, August 27, 2009, 15. Marilyn Bero, who served on the Park Advisory Commission as the National Women's Hall of Fame

Although removing the photograph may have been justifiable in terms of Hanley's goal to rebuild community support, her decision provoked charges of homophobia from the Coalition for Lesbian Visibility.¹⁸ It also caused deep concern among staff members. One staff member was moved to write a lengthy memorandum asking Hanley to reconsider her decision based on the Park Service's commitment to diversity and the prominence of Women's Rights NHP in this respect. Noting that she (the staff member) was "one of the more outspoken critics of our present Visitor Center exhibits," she nonetheless argued that, "This removal dramatically diminishes a segment of our citizenry and constituency, undercutting the Park Service's formal inclusive policy on homosexuals." Recalling the "Enola Gay incident at the Smithsonian," which historian Judith Wellman brought up for discussion at the management objectives workshop the previous May, she also speculated that a decision might better have been reached through a similar "town meeting."¹⁹ Additionally, news quickly filtered back to Canzanelli, who had authorized inclusion of the photograph in the exhibit. She recalls "getting calls from the community, employees, I mean, everybody was upset at the fact that it had been taken down."²⁰ Facing political backlash from lesbian activists, internal challenge from park staff, further dividing public opinion locally, and disapproval from the former superintendent, Hanley retroactively asked Regional Director Marie Rust for approval to remove the image. The action received scrutiny in the Washington office before Rust denied her request.²¹ Subsequently, the photograph was restored to its original location, where it remains as of this writing.

representative, has a different view of local attitudes. In her estimation, only a small number of people in Seneca Falls thought of the Park as "the gay park." Bero's comments are summarized in Vivien Rose to Rebecca Conard, email, February 22, 2011.

¹⁸ "Homophobia Alive and Well in the Birthplace of Women's Rights," Coalition for Lesbian Visibility flyer, January 14, 1996; Coalition for Lesbian Visibility, "Censorship at Seneca Falls," *Peace Newsletter* [Syracuse Peace Council, NY] #640 (February 1996): 18.

¹⁹ Minutes, Interpretive Staff Meeting, December 7, 1995; Mary Kelly Black, Secretary, Maintenance Division, to Superintendent Joanne Hanley, memorandum, December 11, 1995.

²⁰ Linda Canzanelli interview, 7. The degree and nature of community concern is not documented in park records; however, handwritten notes from a "BLF" meeting held on January 30, 1996 indicate that, during the month of January, park rangers received ten complaints from visitors and Joanne Hanley received three letters of complaint.

²¹ Joanne Hanley interview, 13; Canzanelli interview, 7. No written documentation of communication with the regional director was located in park files. Although these discussions may have been considered too sensitive to document, it is possible that some form of internal communication exists in the archives of the Northeast Regional Office, the Washington office, or the Department of Interior.

LONG-RANGE INTERPRETIVE PLANNING

The “BLF” incident precipitated an internal review of interpretive and educational programs. Hanley organized a three-day workshop in February 1996 to evaluate exhibits and programs at the Visitor Center, Stanton House, and M’Clintock House in preparation for updating and revising the 1988 *Interpretive Prospectus*.²² Planner Sharon Brown from Harpers Ferry Center facilitated the workshop, which included Hanley, park staff with responsibility for interpretation and preservation, the superintendents of Martin Van Buren NHP and Saratoga NHP, NPS Chief Historian Dwight Pitcaithley, other HFC staff members, and Fran Caraccilo from Seneca Falls Urban Cultural Park. The purpose was to build on the outcome of the management objectives workshop, redefine interpretive themes, and develop goals and objectives for each of the park’s interpretive sites.²³

Following this workshop, park staff continued to work with a smaller group of outside consultants. They included Kathy Tevyaw and Elizabeth Hoermann of the Cooperating Park Education Unit (CPEU) at Lowell NHP, Nan Johnson of the University of Rochester, and Shelia Bennett of Hobart and William Smith Colleges. By March, the park had developed a long-range interpretive plan outline based on NPS principles of interpretive planning, which had been revised in 1995 to create a unified “comprehensive interpretive planning” process.²⁴ The next major step was three days of focus sessions with park visitors, which took place July 13-15, 1996, followed by a one-day focus session with a group of eight prominent historians, selected in consultation with the Organization of American Historians. CPEU Coordinator Elizabeth Hoermann facilitated this two-part investigation. She first conducted nine focus group sessions with a total of twenty-eight visitors who volunteered to participate. Although the numbers were admittedly small and the visitors were self-selected, their feedback indicated that the typical visitor’s experience did not reflect the polarity present among stakeholders at the management objectives workshop. Most visitors felt as though they had had a pleasant educative experience, although they made several helpful technical and logistical suggestions. Hoermann concluded that, on the whole, the “mix of historical images and more recent events and issues seemed to work for the visitor and helped them think about what would or could happen in the future.”²⁵

²² NPS News Release, “National Park Service to Evaluate Exhibits and Programs at Women’s Rights National Historical Park,” February 13, 1996.

²³ Notes [unattributed], Interpretive Planning Workshop, February 14, 1996; FY 96 Goals Accomplished by Interpretive Division Staff; *Women’s Rights National Historical Park, Strategic Management Plan, Fiscal Year 1998*.

²⁴ Agenda, Women’s Rights NHP Education Program Planning Workshop, February 27-28, 1996; “Draft Women’s Rights NHP Long Range Interpretive Plan Outline,” March 15, 1996; *NPS-6: National Park Service—Interpretive Planning* (1996).

²⁵ Elizabeth F. Hoermann, Lowell NHP, “A Visitor Focus Group Report on the Visitor Center at Women’s Rights National Historical Park,” July 16, 1996.

The historians who met on July 16 had more extensive ideas and a more comprehensive list of recommendations, especially for the Wesleyan Chapel.²⁶ Overall, this group of scholars and public historians found the stair wall display “exciting” and “thought provoking,” and they commented favorably on the “diversity and multicultural feel” to the second-floor exhibits as well as “the richness of the visuals, the tiered labeling, and the interactive exhibits.” The chapel, however, they found wanting: reality did not meet expectation. In various ways, members expressed a sense of frustration because they could not get a feel for the actual event of the 1848 women’s rights convention and therefore made no emotional or intellectual connection with the physical structure as a historic site.²⁷

Interpretive planning also was informed and shaped by two larger initiatives: the NPS Women’s History Education Initiative and a regional initiative by Director Marie Rust, *The Road Ahead*, designed to improve interpretation and educational programming throughout national parks in the Northeast Region. The Women’s History Education Initiative could trace its roots to 1985, when Joan Hoff, executive director of the Organization of American Historians (OAH), and Page Putnam Miller, executive director of the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History (NCCPH), approached the National Park Service about the need for greater representation of important women and women’s history in the National Historic Landmark program. These discussions eventually led to a 1989 cooperative agreement to study, identify, and nominate sites for NHL status based on their significant associations with women in U.S. history.²⁸ A 1994 conference on women and historic preservation, held at Bryn Mawr, as well as recommendations in the 1994 “Humanities in the Parks” report and the 1994 revision of the NPS Thematic Framework stimulated a new round of initiatives. In 1995, the Northeast Region sponsored a two-day working meeting at Lowell NHP, attended by

²⁶ The group included Sheila Bennett, Hobart and William Smith Colleges; Gail Dubrow, Historic Preservation and Design Program, University of Washington; Sara Evans, Professor of History, University of Minnesota; Nan Johnson, Director, Susan B. Anthony University Center, University of Rochester; Arnita Jones, Executive Director, Organization of American Historians; Edith Mayo, Curator Emeritus, National Museum of American History; Page Putnam Miller, Executive Director, National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History; and Judith Wellman, Professor of History, SUNY Oswego. See Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP [Joanne Hanley] to Field Director, Northeast Field Area [Marie Rust], memorandum re: What’s Next for the Lowell Women’s History and Education Initiative Historians, May 8, 1996 (handwritten notes on the memo indicate that the regional director provided \$4,000 to cover their travel costs).

²⁷ *Ibid.* Hoermann prepared an extensive list of questions for the historians’ group; see “Questions” Historian Focus Group/OAH Site Visit, Women’s Rights National NHP, July 15-16, 1996.

²⁸ This study led to an important publication, edited by Page Putnam Miller, *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women’s History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

thirty scholars and NPS historians.²⁹ By 1996, the Women's History Education initiative included planning for a second national conference on women in historic preservation; the publication of *Exploring a Common Past: Researching and Interpreting Women's History for Historic Sites*, a booklet produced by the OAH under cooperative agreement with the NPS; a one-day training course on "Incorporating Women's History in NPS Preservation, Curation and Interpretation" preceding the 1996 Berkshire Conference on the History of Women; and planning for a special issue of the OAH *Magazine of History* on women's history at historic sites.³⁰

The National Historic Landmark project, which Page Putnam Miller spearheaded, and the conferences facilitated the integration of scholarly expertise and new intellectual developments in the field of women's history with the interpretation of historic places. A growing cadre of experts began to close the gap between historians trained primarily in the use of written documentary sources and preservationists trained to read material culture and landscapes. By playing a prominent role in advancing the Women's History Education Initiative, Women's Rights NHP played an important role in preparing scholars to apply women's history to historic properties.

Park Historian Vivien Rose coordinated the 1996 training workshop, with the Washington Office providing honoraria for five women's history scholars who spent an extra day at the Berkshire Conference to meet with NPS participants. Although the workshop was lightly attended, it created an opportunity to discuss strategies for making interpretive programs more inclusive, including using the OAH-NPS cooperative agreement to find subject matter specialists.³¹ More successful was the Second (1997) Women in Historic Preservation Conference, cosponsored by the park and the Women's Studies and Public History programs at Arizona State University (ASU). ASU hosted the conference under its own cooperative agreement with the NPS and with grant funding through an NPS Cultural Resource Training Initiative (CRTI), supplemented by a small grant from the Arizona Humanities Council.³² The CRTI grant provided major funding for speakers and venues as well as a small percentage for NPS travel scholarships. Rose administered the scholarship program and also served as a conference planner. The conference, which took place March 13-15, 1997 in Mesa, Arizona, drew more than 200 people, including seven NPS employees who received travel scholarships to develop and

²⁹ Page Putnam Miller, "National Park Service Establishes Women's History Education Initiative," *OAH Newsletter*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (August 1995), 1, 4.

³⁰ [Hanley to Rust], memorandum, May 8, 1996; Second National Women in Historic Preservation Conference, Tempe, Arizona, March 13-16, 1997; *Exploring a Common Past: Researching and Interpreting Women's History for Historic Sites* (NPS: Park History Program, 1996).

³¹ [Vivien Rose], Report on NPS Women's History Workshop, June 6, 1996.

³² Agreement 1443-CA-1230-96-006, National Park Service and Arizona State University, Office of Research and Creative Activities, \$21,200 for the National Women in Historic Preservation Conference [CRTI grant H-5 1996], September 9, 1996.

present lesson plans on an important aspect of women's history in their respective parks. One of them was Felicia Moss, a park ranger at Women's Rights. Marie Rust, Joanne Hanley, and Vivien Rose participated as speakers or session moderators.³³ The conference coincided with publication of a thematic issue of *CRM Magazine* devoted to "Placing Women in the Past." Three of the seven lesson plans subsequently were published in the special issue of the *OAH Magazine of History*.³⁴

The regional initiative, The Road Ahead, was developed in response to Marie Rust's four-part vision for the Northeast Region—stewardship, public service, responsibility, and partnership—which she presented at a regional superintendent's conference in late 1996. As regional director (1992-2005), Rust sought to reinvigorate a sense of purpose and instill cooperation and leadership throughout the national parks in the Northeast. She envisioned "public service" as "helping others understand and enjoy our national heritage." This led to a week-long meeting of interpreters and park managers throughout the region, who gathered at Harpers Ferry Center in March 1997 to discuss a regional strategy for addressing interpretation and education in the context of public service.³⁵ The March 1997 summit led to The Road Ahead, launched in October 1997 with six goals: (1) to develop a regional "Untold Stories Project," (2) to revise the comprehensive interpretive planning process to include guidance on planning for education services and incorporating untold stories, (3) to invest in children, (4) to develop a skilled and diverse workforce of interpreters, (5) to make sure that visitors connected individual parks with the National Park System, and (6) to develop and maintain websites for all parks. Rust then charged the Northeast Region Interpretation Advisory Group with developing an implementation plan.³⁶

The Road Ahead drew upon a cluster of contemporaneous developments in the related fields of interpretation and education. One of these was the NPS Interpretive (R)evolution initiative, the development of which was an integral part NPS reorganization. Led by Charles W. (Corky) Mayo, NPS Chief of Interpretation and Education, the Interpretive (R)evolution sought to raise the standard of interpretation by training interpreters systematically, improving the subject matter foundation for interpretive services, and integrating interpretation with the protection and preservation

³³ Program, The Second National Women in Historic Preservation Conference, March 13-15, 1997; [Vivien Rose], Final Report, Cultural Resources Training Initiative Grant H-5 1996, Second National Women in Historic Preservation Conference, May 1997.

³⁴ *CRM Magazine: Placing Women in the Past*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (1997); *The Stuff of Women's History: Artifacts, Landscapes, and Built Environments*, special issue, *OAH Magazine of History* (Vol. 12, No. 1, Fall 1997). Both were guest-edited by Vivien Rose.

³⁵ Joanne Hanley to Connie Rudd [Assistant Superintendent, Shenandoah National Park], email re: Strategy Background Piece [Northeast Field Area Strategy for Interpretation and Education], January 29, 1997. Rudd was centrally involved in producing *Achieving Excellence in Interpretation: Compelling Stories Thinkbook* (National Park Service, 1995).

³⁶ Implementation '98 Progress Report for The Road Ahead: A Strategy to Achieve Excellence in Interpretation and Education, National Park Service, Northeast Region, April 1, 1998.

of resources. Under this initiative, Mayo worked with legions of NPS specialists and outside experts to develop the *Compelling Story Think Book*, create the Essential Interpretive Curriculum, establish the ParkNet Website, and institute comprehensive interpretive planning throughout the system.³⁷ The park also drew on the work of the National History Standards Project, a cooperative research program of UCLA and the National Endowment for the Humanities directed by historian Gary B. Nash and educator Charlotte Crabtree of the UCLA National Center for History in the Schools.³⁸ Importantly, it also drew on the 1994 revision of the NPS's Thematic Framework, developed in cooperation with the OAH and the National Coordinating Committee for Public History.³⁹

It was in this milieu of rethinking interpretation in national parks that the park drafted a long-range interpretive plan (LRIP). Sharon Brown of HFC served as team captain and guided the process through several drafts in 1996. The plan that emerged established four primary interpretive themes. Primary Theme #1 was the Women's Rights Convention of 1848, with two subthemes that connected past with present: (a) "Wesleyan Methodist Chapel . . . as a monument to the struggle of the early women's rights activists" and (b) the Declaration of Sentiments, which "inaugurated a struggle by women for their human dignity and civil rights which continues to touch even those who have never thought of themselves as part of the reform movement." Primary Theme #2 "the people," was defined as the men and women who were pivotal in bringing about the convention, specifically Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the organizers of and participants at the 1848 convention, Frederick Douglass and other African Americans who were important figures in the movement, and the partnership between Susan B. Anthony and Stanton. Primary Theme #3 linked interpretation with preservation. Called, "the sites," it emphasized the park's historic structures, landscapes, and artifacts, which allowed visitors "to connect the tangible surviving elements of the 1848 environment with the intangible values and ideals of the 19th and 20th century women's rights movement." Primary Theme #4, "the climate," was defined as the constellation of mid-nineteenth century reform movements as well as the economic and educational conditions that spurred "the people" who gathered at Seneca Falls to embark on a campaign to achieve equal rights for women.⁴⁰

Importantly, the LRIP placed more interpretive emphasis on "human rights" through a statement of three "compelling stories" or "universal ideas" embedded in the park's story:

³⁷ *Interpretive (R)evolution* brochure, n.d. (c. 1996); "Winds of Change: The Interpreter's Role in the Service," speech delivered by Corky Mayo, National Park Service Agency Meeting, Billings, Montana, October 23, 1997.

³⁸ See <http://nchs.ucla.edu/>.

³⁹ *Revision of the National Park Service's Thematic Framework* (National Park Service: Park History Office, 1996).

⁴⁰ *Draft Long-Range Interpretive Plan: Women's Rights NHP* (1998), 10-12.

1. the empowering message of the 1848 convention was that a just society should and could be created;
2. ordinary citizens joined together can bring about change; this fact has enormous relevance in present-day struggles for equality and justice all over the world; and
3. the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, the second “Independence Hall,” has enduring historical importance and significance to world communities that believe in democracy and justice.⁴¹

The LRIP also articulated a statement of significance that linked the park’s historic resources directly to these universal ideas. “The resources and stories of Women’s Rights NHP are nationally significant,” the statement read,

because the formal struggle for equal rights for women was ignited by the people and events that generated and surrounded the first Women’s Rights Convention held in Seneca Falls in July 1848. This struggle is one of the most critical and influential social movements in United States history starting in the 19th century and continuing today. The Declaration of Sentiments, ratified at the 1848 Convention, is a document of enduring relevance, which asserted that equality and justice should be extended to all people without regard to sex.⁴²

Together, the statement of park significance, three compelling stories, and four primary themes, set forth a cohesive interpretive framework explaining why the movement to secure women’s rights was an important chapter of American history, why the ideas expressed in the Declaration of Sentiments should matter to all people, for all time, and why Women’s Rights NHP was an important place to tell this story. As part of the park’s strategic management planning process, staff then developed mission, long-term, and annual goals for interpretation that aligned the LRIP with the *Strategic Management Plan*.

In late 1997, the NPS hired consultant Ron Thomson to edit the LRIP and prepare a final document for the superintendent’s approval.⁴³ Thomson completed the work, but the document languished until a comprehensive interpretive plan was completed in 2002. Nonetheless, the park had a much-needed blueprint for resource management and interpretation.

LILY PRINT SHOP/SUFFRAGE PRESS

The Lily Print Shop/Suffrage Press illustrates the way in which the park was rethinking interpretation in the mid 1990s: tying interpretation to historic resources, basing interpretation in the central story of the Women’s Rights Convention as an

⁴¹ Ibid., 12-13. Emphasis in the original.

⁴² Ibid., 9.

⁴³ Order 1443PX400097310, issued by NPS Philadelphia Support Office to Ron Thomson for completing the Long Range Interpretive Plan for Women’s Rights NHP, September 25, 1997.

expression of nineteenth-century social reform, engaging youth, and demonstrating the enduring values embodied in the Declaration of Sentiments. In October 1994 the park received a \$31,300 grant from the National Park Foundation to help fund “The Press and Social Change Workshop,” to interpret the importance of free speech through print media to the women’s rights movement. The concept was informed by Canzanelli’s tie with Nancy Woodhull and inspired by the resolutions of the 1848 convention, which included “promot[ing] every righteous cause by every righteous means . . . both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used.” It also was an outgrowth of the Program Development Committee, the group of area teachers who began working with the park in 1993 to develop the Women’s Educational and Cultural Center. The workshop functioned in concert with a new educational exhibit, the Lily Print Shop, also known as the Suffrage Press.⁴⁴ When the Heliane Victoria Press, a specialty print shop in Martinsville, Indiana, closed its doors, Laura Rotegard negotiated with one of the co-owners, Jocelyn Cohen, to acquire a nineteenth-century letterpress and collection of historic typeface. In March 1995 the press was installed in the storefront of 116 Fall Street, which became the Lily Print Shop, a name inspired by the feminist press that flourished from the 1840s to roughly 1920, and specifically by *The Lily*, the first major newspaper devoted to women’s issues and rights, founded in 1849 in Seneca Falls by Amelia Bloomer.⁴⁵ Rotegard’s leadership in this effort meant that the park now had a place to interpret Bloomer’s influence in the women’s movement through print media.

⁴⁴ National Park Foundation Grant Application for “The Press and Social Change Workshop,” June 7, 1994; Wilke E. Nelson, Program Officer, National Park Foundation to Superintendent Joanne Hanley, formal notification of award, November 2, 1994.

⁴⁵ National Park Foundation Grant Application (1994); Martin Toombs, “19th Century Print Shop to be Set up at Park,” *Finger Lakes Times*, October 17, 1994; Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Staff Meetings, November 7, 1994; “Park Print Shop Ready to Roll,” *The Reveille*, March 30, 1995, 1, 3; “The Suffrage Press and Social Advance Workshop Grand Opening,” flyer.



Figure 44. Print Shop ribbon cutting, March 1995. L-R: Sen. Michael Nozzolio, Ann Cramer (partially obscured), Supt. Joanne Hanley with daughter Annie, NY Assemblyman Robert Oaks, Jocelyn Cohen, unknown (partially obscured), Asst. Supt. Laura Rotegard. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

The letterpress, an authentic artifact in working condition, gave the park an extraordinary means of interpreting freedom of the press in relation to the women's rights movement. The first Social Change Workshop, "From Bloomers to Ballots," was offered in May 1995. In the Lily Print Shop, fourth grade students learned the basics of letterpress printing and produced an invitation to the 1848 convention along with various pages of text and images on the topic of suffrage. In this way, they learned about the importance of written communication skills to the women's suffrage movement. Students also participated in the Social Change Game, a two-hour exercise in which they "became" historical people by using scripted biographies of fifteen women and men who attended the 1848 convention and then went on to advocate for women's rights. Through this exercise, they learned the process of social change by speaking at the convention, committing to an action of change, and then engaging in activities that 1848 convention participants pursued: using the press, petitioning legislatures, and circulating tracts. During the summer of 1995, more than six hundred fourth graders participated in "from Bloomers to Ballots," and the workshop's success received notice in the *New York Teacher*.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ "The Suffrage Press and Social Advance: *from Bloomers to Ballots*," May 1-31, 1995, workshop flyer; Background Statement, 1995 Grant Application to the National Park Foundation for "The Printshop Exponential;" "What a Week at Women's Rights Historical



Figure 45. "Print Shop at Women's Park," *The Reveille*, March 30, 1995. Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.

Park," *The Reveille*, May 4, 1995, 7; "Students sample power of suffrage press," *New York Teacher*, October 1995, n.p.

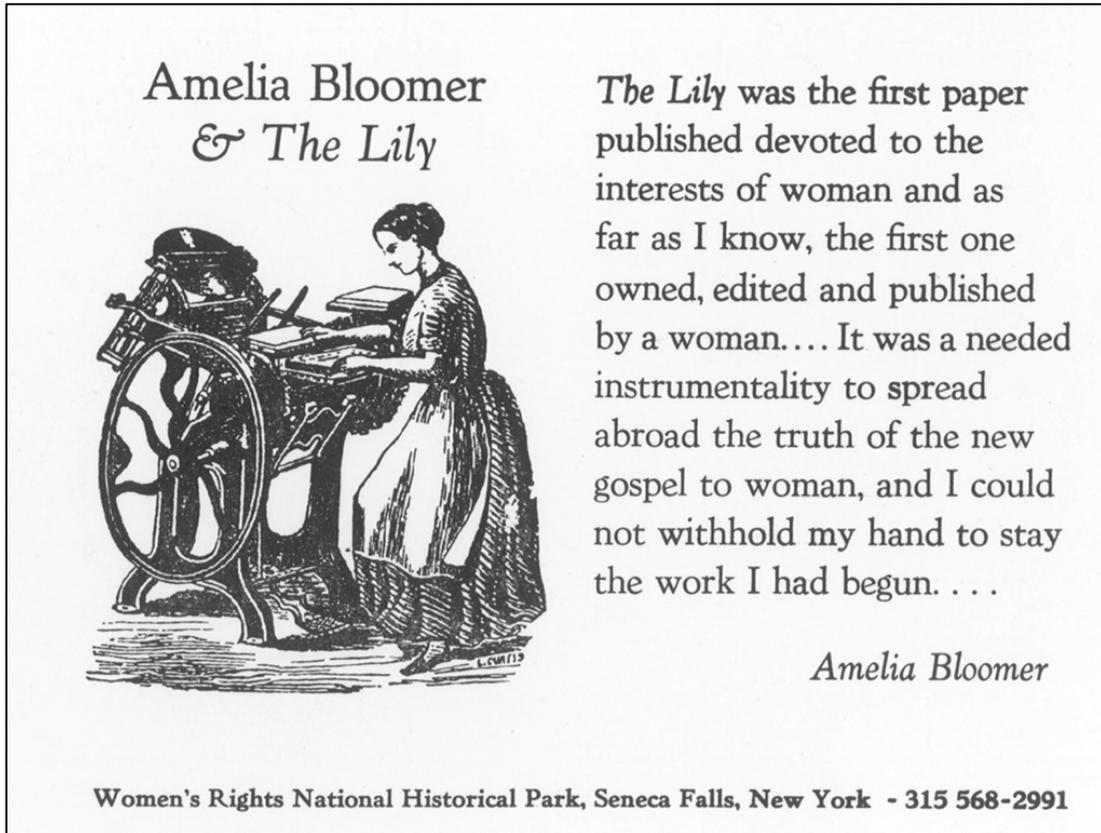


Figure 46. An example of letterpress printing produced in the Lily Print Shop. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

Although the Women's Education and Cultural Center did not materialize quite as Linda Canzanelli envisioned it, the initiative she started nonetheless drove development of curriculum-based educational and interpretive programs during the early 1990s. Importantly, the Suffrage Press also exemplified interpretation through telling compelling stories as encouraged by The Road Ahead initiative. It was a highly creative interpretive program, informed by teacher participation. As such, it underscores the leading role that Women's Rights NHP played in the NPS Women's History Education Initiative and highlights increasing attention given to educational outreach and interpretation for youth. In 1992, the Interpretive Division began Brownie Scout and Girl Scout programs.⁴⁷ In 1993, the park worked with the Stanton Foundation to produce a *Kid's Guide to Visiting Women's Rights National Historical Park*.⁴⁸ When MaryEllen Snyder took over as chief of interpretation in 1996, seasonal park rangers also began developing programs. For

⁴⁷ Eliza Russell, Park Ranger to Mary Peterson, Brownie Girl Scout Leader, memorandum, February 25, 1992; Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, December 4, 1992; Women's Rights NHP Educational Plan 1993-1998.

⁴⁸ Lois Hunt, *Kid's Guide to Visiting Women's Rights National Historical Park* (Seneca Falls, NY: Elizabeth Cady Foundation, 1993).

instance, in 1996, seasonal Park Ranger Erin L. Stepowany planned and conducted a six-week program for middle schoolers in the new Junior Ranger program, during which she covered women's history, African American history, Native American history, and natural history through a mix of hands-on learning exercises, games, walks, and talks at the Stanton House, the Urban Cultural Park, and the Seneca-Cayuga Canal.⁴⁹

Nonetheless, under strategic planning criteria, the Suffrage Press was categorized as a supporting resource, which tended to bump it down in the funding priority. This, coupled with stagnating budgets, meant that Suffrage Press programs relied on external funding and volunteer assistance, and lack of grant funding precluded the development of new themes and curriculum materials for the Social Change Workshop.⁵⁰ In 1996, a small grant from the Freedom Forum, an organization in which Nancy Woodhull had a leadership position, provided partial support for Suffrage Press Art Camp. The park offered Suffrage Press Art Camp, a one-week, twenty-hour educational program for students age eight to thirteen, three times that summer. However, to cover camp costs for supplies and materials, the park charged a \$15 per-student fee.⁵¹ Additionally, in 1996 the park began charging a fee for print shop tours to raise revenue to help cover the cost of keeping this interpretive venue open.⁵²

EASTERN NATIONAL

Management goals to increase organizational efficiency included relying more heavily on Eastern National for support with interpretation. In 1995, the park signed a formal Scope of Sales agreement with Eastern National to increase dissemination of interpretive materials.⁵³ The next year, a specific target was set to increase retail sales by 10 percent between FY 1996 and the end of FY 1999, in accordance with management objectives developed in 1996. The actual increase during this period exceeded 50 percent, largely because of record visitation in 1998 for the 150th anniversary of the Women's Rights Convention and subsequent media attention related to the release of *Not for*

⁴⁹ Minutes, Interpretive Division Staff Meeting, June 6, 1996; Erin L. Stepowany, "Initial Proposal, Junior Ranger Program," Summer 1996; Erin L. Stepowany, "End of Season Report, Junior Ranger Program," Summer 1996.

⁵⁰ Wilke Nelson, Program Officer, National Park Foundation, to Joanne Hanley, Superintendent, letter, October 12, 1995; Minutes, Printshop Meeting, November 18, 1995.

⁵¹ Charles L. Overby, President and Chief Executive Officer, The Freedom Forum, to Mary Ellen Snyder, Chief of Interpretation, Women's Rights National Historical Park, letter, June 17, 1996; Joanne M Hanley to Charles L. Overby, letter, July 30, 1996; "Suffrage Press Art Camp," flyer, 1996. Woodhull served as a trustee and as senior vice president of the Freedom Forum, dedicated to defending freedom of speech.

⁵² Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, April 4, 1996; "An Evaluation of: The Press & Social Change Game," February 27, 1996.

⁵³ Scope of Sales Statement, Women's Rights NHP and Eastern National Park and Monument Association, December 6, 1995. ENPMA shortened its name to Eastern National in the late 1990s.

Ourselves Alone: the Story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, a documentary film by Ken Burns and Paul Barnes. Bookstore sales rose modestly from \$61,820 in FY 1996 to \$62,136 in FY 1997, then dramatically to \$179,238 in FY 1998, followed by a drop to \$94,658 in FY 1999. Correspondingly, during Hanley's tenure as superintendent, Eastern National's percentage donation to the park increased from \$2,600 in 1994 to \$3,748 in 1996 and \$3,712 in FY 1997.⁵⁴ These funds were used to support a wide variety of park needs, including sending seasonal rangers to regional workshops for interpretive training, purchasing curatorial supplies, underwriting book signings and other special events, printing brochures for interpretive and educational programs, and paying the annual fee for researcher access to the Cornell University Library. Beginning in 1997, the donation account fund also was used to cover the cost of a seasonal ranger.⁵⁵

As part of expanding the bookstore's capacity to generate increased income, Eastern National increased its clerical staff. In 1996, Marie Queener, who had been working full-time during summer months only, began working year-round, part-time as bookstore manager, with additional full-time clerical support during the summer. Queener's responsibilities initially were to track inventory, research new items, and set up special display areas for special events. However, she also coordinated book signings and worked with park staff to create site-specific items. In this respect, the 1995 agreement articulated clear guidelines that sale items would "effectively contribute to the success of the park's Interpretive program" as identified in the *Statement for Interpretation*. This affected books and audio-visual materials in particular. Beginning in 1995, Queener, assisted by park staff, selected materials that dealt with the nineteenth-century beginnings of the women's rights movement; its place in the larger context of religious, social, and economic reform in the United States; and its relevance to the continuing struggle for equality. Consistent with Joanne Hanley's approach to steering the park around feminist politics, the agreement specifically prohibited the sale of items that "give the appearance of endorsing special interest groups, or purports support of causes."⁵⁶ Correspondingly, the bookstore expanded its inventory to include books aimed at empowering girls and a selection of books presenting "opposing viewpoints."⁵⁷

STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT PLANNING

Long-range interpretive planning was rolled into strategic planning, another aspect of the NPS multi-year effort to restructure the agency in response to the Clinton-

⁵⁴ Documentation for the FY 1995 Percentage Donation was not located.

⁵⁵ Annual Reports, Eastern National (Park and Monument Association) for Women's Rights National Historical Park, FY 1996, FY 1998, FY 1999.

⁵⁶ Women's Rights National Historical Park – Eastern National Parks and Monument Association Scope of Sales Statement, December 6, 1995.

⁵⁷ Annual Report, Eastern National, FY 1996.

Gore effort to reinvent government. This established planning and reporting processes throughout the system, which are used to this date. An important part of this initiative was the 1993 Government Performance Review Act, which instituted new accountability requirements for agency performance management through strategic planning, annual performance plans, and annual performance reports.⁵⁸ The *NPS Strategic Management Plan* (SMP), finalized in 1997, set the agency-wide structure for strategic planning by establishing four goal categories—(I) park resources, (II) park visitors, (III) external partnership programs, and (IV) organizational effectiveness—which were related to five broad goals set by the Department of Interior. The four NPS Goal Categories were increasingly well defined by subcategories of “mission” and “long-term” goals. For instance, Goal Category I: Preserve Park Resources included two Mission Goals:

- (Ia) natural and cultural resources and associated values are protected, restored, and maintained in good condition and managed within their broader ecosystem and cultural context; and,
- (Ib) the National Park Service contributes to knowledge about natural and cultural resources and associated values; management decisions about resources and visitors are based on adequate scholarly and scientific information.

Mission goals, in turn, included several long-term goals that addressed specific management responsibilities where performance could be quantifiably measured against baseline data or by vital signs or visitor surveys.

Following the NPS strategic management planning template, park staff developed “mission” and “long-term” goals as shown on Table 4 and Table 5.

⁵⁸ John Kamensky, *A Brief History of Vice President Al Gore’s National Partnership for Reinventing Government During the Administration of President Bill Clinton 1993-2001*, 2001; Recommendations for Restructuring the National Park Service, internal draft document by the Reorganization Work Group to Director Roger G. Kennedy, July 1994; *National Park Service Accountability Report – Fiscal Year 1997*.

TABLE 4. WOMEN’S RIGHTS NHP STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT PLAN, FY 1998	
NOTE: The numbering of Park Mission and Long-term Goals corresponds to the numbering of NPS subcategories that are pertinent to Women’s Rights NHP. Not all subcategories are deemed relevant to the Park’s resources.	
NPS Mission Goal Category I: Natural and cultural resources and associated values are protected and restored and maintained in good condition and managed within their broader ecosystem and cultural context.	
	Park Mission Goal Ia5: The cultural resources at Women’s Rights NHP are protected, restored and maintained in good condition, and managed within their cultural context.
	Ia5(1). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2005, the Wesleyan Chapel historic structure is preserved in good condition.
	Ia5(2). Long-term Goal: The Elizabeth Cady Stanton Site is preserved, restored, and maintained for public use in good condition by September 30, 2005 (includes existing house and grounds, 1 Seneca Street, and 10 Seneca Street.)
	Ia5(3). Long-term Goal: M’Clintock Site is preserved, restored, maintained by September 30, 2000 in good condition.
	Ia5(4). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2003, Park Visitor Center and exhibits are maintained in good condition.
	Ia5(5). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2003, the Suffrage Print Shop and all historic printing equipment are maintained in good condition.
	Ia6(1). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2002, 95% of park cultural resources including museum collections are catalogued, preserved, protected and used consistent with museum management standards.
	Park Mission Goal Ib: Women’s Rights NHP contributes to knowledge about natural and cultural resources. Management decisions about resources and visitors are based on adequate scholarly and scientific information.
	Ib2(1). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2000, current research about 50% of Women’s Rights NHP’s cultural resources is available to the general public.
	Ib2(2). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 1999, 100% of management decisions about resources and visitors are based on documented scholarly and scientific information and the park has an approved research plan.
NPS Mission Goal Category II. Provide for the public enjoyment and visitor experience of parks.	
	Park Mission Goal IIa: Visitors safely enjoy and are satisfied with the availability, accessibility, diversity, and quality of Women’s Rights NHP’s facilities, services, and appropriate recreational opportunities.
	IIa1(1). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2002, 80% of visitors are satisfied with the availability, accessibility, and quality of park facilities and services.
	IIa2(2). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2002, visitor safety incidents are reduced by 50% from 1997 levels.
	IIa2(2). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2002, 100% of facilities and services are in compliance with health and safety standards.
	Park Mission Goal IIb: Park visitors and the general public understand and appreciate the preservation of the Park and its resources for present and future generations.
	IIb1(1). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2002, 80% of park visitors gain an understanding of park purpose, significance and themes through personal and non-personal services; 100% of park facilities provide an orientation to the National Park Service and park themes; and 100% of park educational programs are theme and curricula based, and 85% of students grasp the most important concepts of the program.

TABLE 4, continued		
		IIb1(2). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2002, 100% of park programs reflect the ethnic diversity of the park’s main stories; and 100% of the cultural groups associated with the park story are identified, and appropriate agreements and programs are in place.
		IIb1(3). Long-term Goal. By September 30, 2002, Women’s Rights NHP is thematically and interpretively linked to ten additional National Park sites or other heritage areas.
		IIb1(4). Long-term Goal. By September 30, 2002, 100% of park’s interpretive programs are enhanced through relationships with historical, cultural tourism, recreation and academic institutions. By September 30, 2002, the park works with 20 grassroots organizations on various partnership projects.
NPS Mission Goal Category III. Strengthen and preserve natural and cultural resources and enhance recreational opportunities managed by partners.		
	Park Mission Goal IIIa: Resources are conserved through partnership programs.	
		IIIa3(1). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2002, there is a 50% increase in user satisfaction of all technical assistance and information needs/requests on the protection of significant historic and archeological properties.
NPS Mission Goal Category IV. Ensure Organizational Effectiveness.		
	Park Mission Goal IVa: The park uses current management practices, systems and technologies to accomplish its mission.	
		IVa2(1). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 1999, 100% of park staff are able to perform the duties of their position as identified as Essential Competencies in the 1996 “Essential Competencies for NPS Employees/Career Planning and Tracking Kit,” to ensure the most effective delivery of service to the facilities and the public.
		IVa3(1). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2003, park staff have annual performance plans that directly support the 1998 park Strategic Management Plan.
		IVa3(2). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 1999, 100% of the staff have the knowledge to provide for efficient and effective use of time in accomplishing park mission.
		IVa3(3). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 1999, 100% of the park staff work cooperatively with sub-cluster, cluster, region and service-wide NPS employees to improve operations and protect resources.
		IVa3(4). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2002, 85% of park operations use sustainable practices.
		IVa4(1). Long-term Goal: By 2000, the population of new hires reflects the overall diversity of the Civilian Labor Force.
		IVa6(1). Long-term Goal: By 2002, reduce by 50%, from the 1996 level, the NPS lost time injury rate, and reduce the cost of new worker’s compensation costs by 50% based on the 1996 costs.
	Park Mission Goal IVb: Women’s Rights NHP increases its managerial capabilities through initiatives and support from other agencies, organizations and individuals.	
		IVb1(1). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2000, there is a 10% increase in the number of volunteers trained to assist in park programs and activities over 1997 levels.
		IVb2(1). Long-term Goal: By September 30, 2000, there is a 10% increase in Eastern National sales, allowing for further development of publications, providing visitors with general and in-depth information on the park themes.

Mission and long-term goals were further detailed in specific annual goals for interpretation, public education, visitor services, preservation, planning and development, maintenance, research, and curatorial tasks. To implement these goals, park resources were divided into contributing and programmatic or supporting resources, and each resource was assessed for its value and significance as well as its physical condition. The resource assessments set baselines to measure certain long-term and annual goals.

TABLE 5. ASSESSMENT OF PARK RESOURCES, WOMEN’S RIGHTS NHP STRATEGIC PLAN, FY 1998			
Contributing Resources		Value and Significance	Condition
	1. Wesleyan Chapel	Site of first women’s rights convention	Fragile; exposed to elements and deteriorating - vandalism and animal nesting activities.
	2. Elizabeth Cady Stanton House	Home of convention organizer and most significant figure of the early women’s rights movement.	Incomplete structure, wings missing, moisture infiltration significant.
	3. M’Clintock House	Declaration of Sentiments drafted here by convention organizers.	Exterior restored, interior gutted, wing missing, landscape unfinished.
	4. Elizabeth Cady Stanton House Cultural Landscape	Provides context for visitors; illustrates her domestic management philosophies.	Poor condition with modern intrusions; cultural landscape not intact.
	5. Declaration Park	Provides inspiration and recreational opportunities as well as venue for interpretive programs.	Good condition.
Contributing Resources		Value and Significance	Condition
	6. M’Clintock House Grounds	Provides context for visitors, particularly integrating the M’Clintock’s Quaker lifestyle into their involvement in the convention.	Poor, not landscaped.
	7. Seneca Falls Historic District (including canal)	Provides context for visitors. National Register Historic District with attendant guidelines and regulations. Women’s Rights NHP is mandated to cooperate.	Condition variable.
	8. Waterloo Historic Setting (in village)	Provides context. Women’s Rights NHP is mandated to cooperate.	Condition variable.
Programmatic/Support Resources			
	1. Visitor Center Building	Visitor services and support; provides context.	Good condition.
	2. Exhibits, library, collections	Provides context for visitors; information for researchers and staff.	Good condition; collections management needs upgrading.
	3. Suffrage Print Shop	Major location of park curriculum-based, hands-on education programs; illustrates spread of early women’s rights movement through the press.	Good condition.
	4. Maintenance Shop	Support services.	Rented; good condition.
	5. 1 Seneca Street	Location of future Elizabeth Cady Stanton visitor contact facility and canal-side recreation site.	Poor condition; site incomplete with private residence leased under Special Use Permit.

Completion of the *Long-Range Interpretive Plan* and the *Strategic Management Plan* represented a sustained two-and-a-half-year effort. The planning process involved the entire staff in evaluating the park as a whole and establishing priorities based on the significance of park resources. As a result, park-management priorities were reordered by NPS mission goals, which emphasized protecting, restoring, and maintaining resources in good condition.

Thus, monitoring the deterioration of the chapel's physical condition became vitally important for preserving the historic fabric of the park's primary resource, and the park's long-term goal was to have the chapel preserved in "good condition" by the end of FY 2005.⁵⁹ The FY 1998 performance plan was to upgrade the structure's condition to fair by installing a roof gutter de-icing system, designing a bird-deterrent system, and systematically monitoring the historic fabric for deterioration and vandalism. Similar goals were established for the Stanton House and M'Clintock House, where physical condition also was of concern but less critical and where the surrounding cultural landscape now received greater attention. For the Stanton House, the park set a long-term goal of preserving, restoring, and maintaining the house, historic grounds, and the Chamberlain House at 1 Seneca Street to attain "good condition" by September 30, 2005. The corollary performance plan for FY 1998 was to improve the condition of the house by replacing UV filters on windows, identifying and enforcing a weight-load limit on the second floor, and resolving moisture infiltration problems. For the M'Clintock House, the long-term goal was to have the site preserved, restored, and maintained in "good condition" by the end of FY 2000. The corollary performance plan for FY 1998 goal was to continue restoration by resolving archeology issues, finalizing plans and specifications for restoring the house wing and grounds, and completing plans for the interior exhibits, furnishings, and waysides.

Annual performance plans integrated interpretation and public education with preservation and maintenance of the park's contributing resources. Thus, at all three historic sites, the FY 1998 performance plan called for incorporating preservation into interpretive programs, waysides, and publications. For the Wesleyan Chapel, the park was to conduct a Junior Ranger program that incorporated a hands-on brick replacement activity. At the Stanton House, where visitor carrying capacity was of concern, the park decided to develop an audio-visual program to interpret the second floor for groups too large to take upstairs. At the M'Clintock House, which still was unfinished, the park decided to present preservation/restoration tours as well as develop special programs on the M'Clintock family. At the Visitor Center and Print Shop, now categorized as programmatic resources, the annual performance plans linked interpretation and public education with maintenance. Thus, at the Visitor Center the 1998 performance plan included designing a teacher's guide to the interactive exhibits and implementing

⁵⁹ Condition assessment for historic structures, cultural landscapes, and archeological sites is undertaken and managed by regional cultural resources staff.

recommendations of the *Collections Management Plan*, discussed in the next section, and coordinating operating and troubleshooting procedures between the interpretive and maintenance divisions. At the Print Shop, the 1998 performance plan included developing a rangers' guide to print shop operations to help maintain the historic printing equipment in good condition, developing an exhibit on the history of the park's letterpress, implementing a standardized education program, including pre-visit packets for teachers, and developing special activities for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Women's Rights Convention.

Strategic and long-range interpretive planning also reaffirmed the park's long-standing commitment to enhance interpretation and education through partnerships with academic institutions, historical organizations, and educators. However, in keeping with NPS mission goals, there was a new emphasis on visitor satisfaction. Thus, the 1998 performance plan included developing a visitor survey to collect baseline data for determining a demographic profile of park visitors and their level of visitor satisfaction as well as developing audio-visual programs for park sites not accessible to the physically challenged. The most important goal, however, was to develop interpretive and educational programs aligned with The Road Ahead strategy, which placed primacy on presenting diverse perspectives and multiple points of view based on park themes.

COLLECTIONS MANAGEMENT

Strategic planning provided much-needed impetus to address the park's growing volume of collections. Revisions to *NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline* implemented in 1984, and the *NPS Museum Handbook*, which assumed its current format in the 1980s under NPS Chief Curator Ann Hitchcock, required collection management plans to undergo formal review and approval at all levels. The handbook also articulated a series of goals and recommendations designed to achieve greater accountability for collections, provide training for employees with curatorial duties, achieve an adequate level of preservation care for collections, and raise the overall level of professional collections management throughout the National Park System.⁶⁰ At the time, this represented a major step toward professionalizing collections management at the agency policy level, but collections management at the park level was entirely dependent on the availability of staff, who handled multiple responsibilities. To comply with agency policy, Judy Hart, superintendent at the time, designated the park's chief of interpretation, then Gina Moriarity, to serve collateral duty as collections officer. The park filed an Interim

⁶⁰ *NPS Museum Handbook, Part I: Museum Collections*, 1:4 (available online under the NPS Office of Policy Web site, <http://home.nps.gov/applications/npspolicy/index.cfm>).

Scope of Collections Report pending completion of the GMP. The Scope of Collections was subsequently updated in 1988.⁶¹

NPS 28 and the *Museum Handbook* also reflected a realization that cultural resource investigations mandated by federal laws and regulations were creating a tremendous volume of material that required proper conservation and permanent storage. Women's Rights NHP was a case in point. Even though the park's total acreage is quite small, more than 16,000 items came from the 1983 archaeological investigations at the Stanton House, all of which had been carefully identified and logged by the Archeology Branch, Cultural Resource Center, but none of which had been cataloged. Continuing archaeological and architectural investigations at the Stanton House generated several thousand more items, some of which were stored at the Historic Preservation Center in Lowell. Additionally, the Park had already acquired a small historic collection of some value. However, at the end of FY 1987, only a few hundred items had been cataloged.⁶²

Before she left the Park at the end of 1988, Hart requested funding for two temporary staff at the GS-5 level to begin working on the cataloging backlog. At that time, the number of items in collections was estimated to be in excess of 36,000.⁶³ Earlier, in FY 1987 Hart also had requested the assistance of a Historic Accountability Team from the Regional Office to provide professional services for cataloging approximately two hundred historic items. For reasons unexplained, her request went unfulfilled, and Linda Canzanelli subsequently followed up after she took over as superintendent. In response, the Regional Office detailed a two-person team to the park for brief periods in August and September 1989. During these visits, a number of historic items were found to have been previously overlooked and four boxes of architectural materials from the Stanton House restoration were discovered sitting in the basement of the house in water-damaged boxes, all of which suggested benign neglect by park staff overstretched with collateral duties.⁶⁴

⁶¹ *Interim Scope of Collection Statement*, Women's Rights National Historical Park, August 30, 1984; Collections Management Report, Women's Rights NHP, March 30, 1984; *Scope of Collection Statement*, Women's Rights National Historical Park, approved January 8, 1988. Park records contain little or no supporting information to contextualize the development of these two documents; hence, they are briefly reported here.

⁶² Collections Management Report, Women's Rights NHP, April 26, 1988.

⁶³ Superintendent [Hart], Women's Rights NHP, to Regional Director, NAR [Herbert Cables], FY '89 Proposal to Address Cataloging Backlog, September 15, 1988.

⁶⁴ Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Linda Canzanelli] to Supervisory Staff Curator, NAR [John Maounis?], memorandum re Agreement for Historic Accountability Team, June 26, 1989; Lead Museum Technician, HAPT [Patrice Titterington], to Regional Curator, NAR [John Maounis], Trip Report, Women's Rights NHP (August 14-18, 1989), September 4, 1989; Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Canzanelli], to Regional Director, NAR [Gerald Patten], FY '90 Proposal to Address Cataloging Backlog, August 23, 1989; Lead Museum Technician, HAPT [Patrice Titterington] to Regional Curator, NAR [John Maounis], Trip Report Women's Rights NHP (September 11-14, 1989), September 15, 1989.

Development of the new Visitor Center required more assistance with collections. In FY 1990 and FY1991, responding to a special directive from the NPS Director, the NAR Division of Cultural Resources prepared a collection storage plan for the Park. At this time, historic and archival items also were moved to Ft. Stanwix National Monument in preparation for moving administrative offices from 116 Fall Street to the 9 ft. x 10 ft. climate-controlled collections storage area in the new Visitor Center.⁶⁵ In FY 1991 and FY1992, members of the NAR Collections Accountability Team, working under the direction of Regional Curator John Maounis, accessioned and cataloged the objects procured by Chermayeff and Geismar Associates for the main exhibit in the new Visitor Center. The Denver Service Center coordinated this project as a necessary component of the overall Wesleyan Chapel Block Project.⁶⁶ Before the items stored at Ft. Stanwix were moved back to Women's Rights NHP in 1994, staff from the NAR Museum Services Center (MSC) trained the park's supervisory park ranger in basic collections management practices.⁶⁷ At the park's request, Janice Hodson, MSC Staff Curator and Technical Assistance Project Coordinator, then returned with a crew in late 1994 to assist with moving the twenty-four boxes held in storage at Ft. Stanwix to the Visitor Center. The crew also organized the contents in the storage collections room, along with another thirteen boxes of material accessioned for exhibit purposes but not used, twelve boxes of reference and research files, and a small volume of unprocessed items being considered for inclusion in the museum collection. As part of its technical assistance, MSC purchased a sixteen-drawer map cabinet and a supply of acid-free folders. In her follow-up report, Hodson made a number of recommendations that, once again, called attention to the lack of staff devoted to collections care.⁶⁸

In 1995, MSC prepared a new *Scope of Collections Statement*, which the park updated and later revised, although it remained in draft form.⁶⁹ Within the framework of NPS strategic planning, collections care fell under Mission Goal I, protecting and managing resources. Accordingly, the park incorporated Hodson's 1995 recommendations into the 1998 *Strategic Management Plan*, setting a long-term goal of having 95 percent of its cultural resources, including museum collections, cataloged,

⁶⁵ Special Directive 80-1 (Revised), February 12, 1986; *Collection Storage Plan, Women's Rights National Historical Park*, prepared by Martha Bernholz and Neil Abelsma, Collections Conservation Branch, NAR Division of Cultural Resources, approved June 19, 1991.

⁶⁶ D.E.W. Godwin, *Completion Report of the Collections Accountability FY91 and FY91 Project for the Collections Gathered for the New Exhibit at Women's Rights National Historical Park* (Boston: NAR Division of Cultural Resources Management, Branch of Museum Services, Collections Accountability Team, 1992).

⁶⁷ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, July 11, 1994; Staff Curator Janice Hodson, CMP Program to Regional Curator, NAR [John Maounis], memorandum, August 3, 1994.

⁶⁸ Janice Hodson, *Completion Report, FY '95 MCPP Technical Assistance Project, Women's Rights National Historical Park* [c. 1995].

⁶⁹ Northeast Museum Services Center, *Draft Women's Rights NHP Collection Management Plan*, September 1997.

preserved, protected, and used consistent with NPS museum management standards by 2002. The short-term performance goal called for staffing decisions in FY 1998 to professionalize curatorial responsibilities.

Budget and staffing constraints, however, hampered progress, and curatorial tasks remained a collateral duty. The Park once again turned to the Museum Services Center for technical assistance. In September 1997, a team of four spent a week at Women's Rights NHP gathering information on curatorial operations and collections management methods.⁷⁰ The team also established a more precise estimate of the total volume of items at approximately 30,000. The bulk of collections comprised archaeological specimens, with 692 historic objects and an estimated 1,184 archival items. In accordance with NPS *Museum Policies*, the *Museum Handbook*, and the *North Atlantic Region's Guidelines for Cataloging History Collections into the National Park Service Automated National Catalog System*, the team produced a draft collections plan that covered collection development and scope, collection documentation, exhibits, collection storage, and staffing.⁷¹ Only repeated assistance from the Regional Office between 1990 and 1997 allowed the park to comply with NPS standards for museum collection management through the end of Hanley's tenure.

PRESERVATION AND MAINTENANCE

THE STANTON SITE AND CANAL CORRIDOR INITIATIVE

In 1994 and 1995, there was virtually no movement on site development plans at the Stanton House, but as soon as the 1996 Omnibus Park Act passed, activity picked up again. The National Park Service, with assistance from the National Park Trust and the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, purchased the Baldwin Property from the Trust for Public Land for \$70,000.⁷² With like assistance, the NPS purchased the Nies Property at 10 Seneca Street for approximately \$12,000 from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.⁷³ Thus, by the end of 1996, the NPS had the necessary land acquisitions to move forward with developing the area surrounding the Stanton House. The NPS continued renting the property at 1 Seneca Street to the Baldwins on a year-to-

⁷⁰ Team members were Diane Godwin, Archivist, NMSC; Janice Hodson, Senior Curator, NMSC; Joe Mazzeo, Structural Fire Specialist, New England System Support Office; and Amy Verone, Supervisory Curator, Sagamore Hill NHS.

⁷¹ *Draft Women's Rights NHP Collection Management Plan.*

⁷² Seneca County Deeds, 1 Seneca Street, Trust for Public Land to National Park Service, Liber 549, n.p., December 19, 1996.

⁷³ Seneca County Deeds, 10 Seneca Street, Housing and Urban Development to National Park Service, Liber 549, p. 37, December 19, 1996. The house was uninhabitable, hence the involvement of HUD as an intermediary.

year basis under a Residential Occupancy Special Use Permit while plans to develop the Erie Canal for heritage tourism were being discussed at local, state, and national levels.⁷⁴

During Hanley's superintendency, recreational development of the Seneca-Cayuga Canal, a lateral of the Erie Canal, looked extremely promising. Hanley seized the opportunity to create the infrastructure needed to provide waterborne transportation and tours between the Stanton House and other park sites in Seneca Falls and Waterloo. In 1995, Congress earmarked funds to study the 524-mile New York State Canal System for possible federal designation as a heritage corridor. Also, in 1997, while the NPS was completing the feasibility study for a canal heritage area, Andrew Cuomo replaced Henry Cisneros as Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Among other things, Cuomo used his position as HUD secretary to further canal revitalization by launching the Canal Corridor Initiative, a program of grants and loans designed to transform the historic but long-neglected Erie Canal system into a tourist attraction.

During the four years that Cuomo served as HUD secretary, more than \$200 million in federal housing money was spent on the canal initiative, with mixed results overall.⁷⁵ Locally, the availability of targeted federal funds produced a coordinated effort led by the Seneca County Department of Economic Development and Planning to develop three related areas along the Cayuga-Seneca Canal. These areas were designated as "Seneca Falls Canal Harbor, Waterloo Canal Port, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton House Canal Landing." In 1997, the partnership submitted an application for HUD Community Development and Block Grant (CDBG) funds to build the necessary infrastructure for tourist-related water transportation. The proposal included improving the area along Cowing Street in the heart of the Village of Seneca Falls in order to create an attractive pedestrian access to and from the canal and make room for a boat concession. Across the canal, the project called for constructing a retaining wall to stabilize the shoreline of the Baldwin Property, installing a dock that would serve transient boaters as well as tour boats and water shuttles, constructing a parking lot on the Baldwin Property, and landscaping the site to provide an attractive walkway from the canal to the Stanton House. In Waterloo, the plan was to develop docking at Oak Island, within walking distance from the M'Clintock House.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Joanne Hanley to Tony Conte, NAR Solicitor, Memorandum and Draft Residential Occupancy Special Use Permit, September 9, 1996.

⁷⁵ Russ Buetter, "Cuomo's Erie Canal Dream is Drying Up: \$237 million for tourism mecca a bust," *New York Daily News*, June 24, 2001.

⁷⁶ "U.S. Government/New York State Canal Corridor Initiative Re: Baldwin Site, Women's Rights National Historical Park: Synopsis," Information Sheet, February 1997; Seneca County, New York, Department of Economic Development and Planning & Women's Rights National Historical Park, "Finger Lakes Area Gateway: Cayuga-Seneca Canal, Seneca County HUD Canal Corridor Initiative: Seneca Falls Canal Harbor, Waterloo Canal Port & Elizabeth Cady Stanton House Canal Landing," application to U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development as part of the HUD Canal Corridor Initiative Program, March 3, 1997.

Under the Canal Corridor Initiative, the Village of Seneca Falls obtained loans in excess of \$1.5 million from HUD to create the Cowing Street Canal Promenade and for façade improvement and building redevelopment loan programs in the Central and Sackett Business Districts.⁷⁷ The NPS was to receive \$500,000 for improvements to the Baldwin Property as part of a larger CDBG grant awarded to Seneca County, and was poised to begin work when Hanley left the park in October 1997.⁷⁸

The park's *Strategic Management Plan* included development of waterborne transportation and a visitor contact station as one element of the long-term goal for the Stanton Site, which was to have the site completely preserved, developed, and open for public use by the end of FY 2005. Although the 2005 goal would prove to be unfeasible, visitors could now visualize the extent of the historic grounds, even if the landscape had been significantly altered, and interpreters could use the grounds as environmental context to illustrate Stanton's views on domestic management and child rearing. The house itself continued to be furnished sparsely with authentic items and interpreted through ranger-guided tours only, with restricted access to the second floor.⁷⁹

M'CLINTOCK HOUSE INTERIOR RESTORATION

Completion of the M'Clintock House had been stalled for nearly four years. It is hard to pinpoint one reason for this; rather, a combination of circumstances coalesced between 1991 and mid-1994, when the Regional Office notified the park that the M'Clintock House project was "not currently active."⁸⁰ The Wesleyan Chapel Block project commanded time and money through FY 1993, and, beginning in FY 1994, budget considerations forced a reordering of spending priorities. The house remained unfinished and therefore inaccessible to the public except by special tour. Mechanical systems – electrical, heating, plumbing, security, and fire protection – were either nonfunctional or nonexistent, which exacerbated persistent moisture problems. During the lull in construction activity, staff from the Building Conservation Branch of the regional Cultural Resource Center (the old NAHPC) continued investigations to finish the HSR. These studies produced more evidence concerning original room configurations, door locations, building materials, and construction techniques, which, in turn, justified the slow-down.⁸¹ The Archeology Branch also finalized the report of a 1990 investigation,

⁷⁷ JMA/Watson (consultants, Bladensburg, MD), "A Work Plan for the Redevelopment of the Fall/Cowing Street and Sackett Business Districts, Village of Seneca Falls, New York, April 15, 1998.

⁷⁸ Joanne Hanley interview, 8-9.

⁷⁹ *Draft Long Range Interpretive Plan*, 19, 27, 38-42.

⁸⁰ Assistant Regional Director, Resources Management and Research, NAR [Robert McIntosh?], to Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Joanne Hanley], memorandum, July 27, 1994, NER-HIST.

⁸¹ Barbara A. Yocum, Architectural Conservator, and Richard C. Crisson, Historical Architect, to Chief, Cultural Resources Management Division [Myra Harrison] (through Manager,

which found that the grade of the property was nearly level when the house was constructed (c. 1835) and produced a limited number of historic artifacts.⁸²

As of 1993, when the *M'Clintock House Historic Structure Report* was finalized, the park and the Regional Office had agreed that enough architectural and documentary evidence existed to support "certain restorative actions" on the interior, even if not enough to support full restoration to the period of significance under the guidelines of *NPS-28*. The recommendations, at that time, included restoring the front entry by removing a bathroom added beneath the stairway. On the first floor, historic wall partitions were to be restored to create four rooms, two of which, the front parlor and an adjoining dining room, would be used as interpretive spaces. The other two rooms, thought to be a bedroom and pantry/closet, would be used as a new toilet room and an electrical panel room. Upstairs, the recommendation was to restore the historic room configurations of three rooms off a stairway hall and to use them for some combination of exhibit space and storage or park ranger offices. In addition to reconstructing historic partition walls and doorways, restorative treatment included reconstructing a balustrade around the upstairs stairwell, removing an upstairs toilet room and reconstructing it as a closet, removing a modern partition wall on the second story, and repainting the woodwork in all rooms to historic paint colors.⁸³

While architectural investigations took place in 1992-1993, park staff continued to discuss interpretive themes appropriate for the house and consistent with the 1989 furnishings report. By and large, these discussions confirmed the efficacy of the 1988 *Interpretive Prospectus*, which called for exhibiting in the parlor a reproduction of the table on which the Declaration of Sentiments was drafted, the original being in the possession of the Smithsonian Institution. Other exhibits would expand the interpretive focus beyond the events of 1848 to explain the importance of the Quaker network, particularly the Hicksite Quakers in Waterloo, as well as Quaker beliefs and practices in relation to nineteenth-century reform movements, including the women's rights movement.⁸⁴

Cultural Resources Center and Supervisor, BCB/CRC), trip report, April 10, 1992; Architectural Conservator [Yocum], Historical Architect [Crisson], and Exhibit Specialist, BCB/CRC [Richard Chilcoat] to Acting Chief, Cultural Resources Management Division [Lawrence Gall?] (through Manager, Cultural Resources Center and Supervisor, BCB/CRC), trip report, June 25, 1993, NEH-HAP. See also Minutes, Women's Rights NHP staff meetings, February 4, 1992.

⁸² Thomas Schley, *Archeological Testing at the M'Clintock House, Women's Rights NHP* (Boston: Archeology Branch, Cultural Resource Center, NAR, July 1990), transmitted under cover memo to [Joanne Hanley] Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP, from Archeology Branch Supervisor [Linda A. Towle] (through Manager, Cultural Resources Center), June 2, 1992.

⁸³ Yocum, *Historic Structure Report*, 287-289.

⁸⁴ Superintendent [Canzanelli] to Regional Director [Gerald Patten], memorandum, September 10, 1992; Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, December 4, 1992; Historian [Vivien Rose] to Chief, Interpretation Division [Terry Roth], memorandum, December 14, 1992; Project Directive for Preservation/Restoration M'Clintock House

When restoration of the exterior began, the park anticipated a grand opening during the summer of 1995 to coincide with the 75th anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment. However, as that date approached, the park began to look at 1998, the 150th anniversary of the 1848 Women's Rights Convention as the next target date. Part of the delay was due to lack of funding for baseline studies. More importantly, completion of the *M'Clintock House Historic Structure Report* in 1993 added new information concerning the M'Clintock family's probable involvement in the Underground Railroad after 1848. The 1840 census for Waterloo listed Thomas and Mary Ann living with five children between the ages of eight and nineteen, plus one other female in her twenties. No "free colored persons" were identified as part of the household. By 1850, four of the M'Clintocks five children were still living at home. Now, however, the household also included an unrelated sixteen-year-old male, presumably a boarder because he is identified as a "clerk," and two unrelated females: a sixteen-year-old "Black" and an eight-year-old "Mulatto," each with a different surname. The 1850 census listed New York as the place of birth for both, but this information, as well as the surnames, might have been purposely misrepresented to disguise their path of migration.⁸⁵

In any event, evidence that the M'Clintock household included two young African American females with different surnames called into question prior assumptions about the house's period of significance. Previous decisions concerning preservation and interpretation had been based on an assumption that the M'Clintock House was significant only for one day in July 1848 when Mary Ann M'Clintock opened her parlor and gathered with Stanton and others around a mahogany table to draft the Declaration of Sentiments. When the exterior of the house was restored in 1990, the house's supposed period of significance did not allow reconstruction of a well-documented ca. 1851 wing. The presence of two African Americans in the household in 1850 supported other evidence that the M'Clintocks were involved in anti-slavery activities after 1848 and provided the necessary documentation to reconsider reconstruction of the house wing.

In FY 1994 and again in FY 1995 the park requested project funds from the Regional Office to restore the house interior and prepare a landscape plan and treatment for the site. Neither of these requests was funded. The park also requested technical assistance from the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation (OCLP) to prepare a cultural landscape assessment of the site, first in 1994 and again in 1995. The second request was filled, and a team from the OCLP studied the site in October 1996 using cultural landscape inventory methods to identify significant elements for management and planning. Its report, finalized in January 1997, before the archeology team completed new investigations, noted the foundation remnants of the south wing and a cracked slate well cover nearby, but confirmed the lack of any other character-defining landscape

Interior, August 24, 1994, appended to cover memorandum from Acting Superintendent [Laura Rotegard] to Regional Director, NAR [Marie Rust], August 26, 1994.

⁸⁵ Yocum, *Historic Structure Report*, 31-32.

elements associated with the years the M'Clintocks occupied the house (1836-1856). Based on these findings, the OCLP report noted that it would be inappropriate to attempt recreating the historic cultural landscape and recommended instead that site interpretation focus on the M'Clintocks as "activist Quakers, abolitionists, and members of the Waterloo business community." Thus, the grounds might contain typical landscape elements associated with Quaker families during the mid-nineteenth century and call attention to the house's proximity to the M'Clintocks' drug store on Main Street.⁸⁶

Hanley began laying the groundwork for modifying the GMP to allow reconstruction of the missing south wing in December 1995, at which time the park's CRM Advisory Committee met with staff from the regional Cultural Resource Center to review individual elements of the interior treatment. The first issue was where on the first floor to locate a restroom for visitors. The 1993 HSR recommended rehabilitating the small bedroom adjacent to the dining room on the first floor for use as a modern toilet room to satisfy a provision of the 1986 GMP that called for on-site restrooms because no nearby public facilities were available to visitors. However, work on the Long-range Interpretive Plan led to reconsidering historical information contained in the HSR. The LRIP called for expanding the interpretation of African-American, Native American, and Quaker contributions to the women's rights story. In this respect, the 1850 census showed two free blacks as part of the M'Clintock household, and the most likely room to have been used as their private quarters was the small bedroom adjacent to the dining room. Additionally, to interpret the M'Clintocks as activist Quakers required that all of the interior rooms be considered significant historic fabric.

Thus, rethinking the interpretive needs and possibilities at the M'Clintock House prompted reconsideration of the 1986 GMP, the 1989 agreement between the park and the Regional Office not to reconstruct the south wing, and the 1993 HSR.⁸⁷ Reconstructing the wing now seemed like the best way to avoid compromising what remained of the historic fabric on the interior and to provide space for interpretive services and modern toilet facilities. Moreover, physical evidence and photographs were available to support rebuilding the wing. Hanley achieved consensus for reconstructing the south wing through extensive consultations with staff at the Cultural Resource Center, the Regional Office, the NYSHPO, and with other superintendents in the New England park cluster.⁸⁸ In August 1997, with associated compliance and property right-of-way issues settled, the park filed a modification to the 1986 GMP proposing (1) that the south wing be reconstructed, with the exterior to be historically accurate in appearance and the

⁸⁶ *Cultural Landscape Inventory. M'Clintock House, Women's Rights National Historical Park* (National Park Service: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, January 1997), see esp. preliminary recommendations on p. 23.

⁸⁷ Minutes, Meeting of Park CRM Advisory Committee and Subsequent Conference Call with the Cultural Resources Center, December 11, 1995. See also Yocum, *M'Clintock House Historic Structure Report*, 5, 32.

⁸⁸ "Briefing, Restoration of the M'Clintock House, Women's Rights NHP," February 12, 1997.

interior to provide modern visitor support services, and (2) that the interior of the main house be restored to its historic appearance.⁸⁹



Figure 47. Barbara McClintock and Joanne Hanley at the M'Clintock House, c. 1996. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.* The family changed the spelling from M'Clintock to McClintock sometime in the late-nineteenth century.

Hanley also tied the M'Clintock House project to Celebrate '98. In 1996, the National Park Foundation (NPF) announced that, as part of its contribution to Celebrate '98, it would raise funds for restoration of the M'Clintock House interior, reconstruction of the south wing, design and construction of exhibits, and improvements for visitor access and site aesthetics.⁹⁰ NPF's fundraising commitment restarted the flow of NPS funds. In FY 1996 and FY 1997, an estimated \$161,000 was committed to complete planning and preparatory work. Of this amount, \$18,000 in base operating funds paid for

⁸⁹ Superintendent [Hanley] to Administrative File, memorandum re: M'Clintock House South Wing, *General Management Plan Amendment and Environmental Impact Evaluation*, August 7, 1997.

⁹⁰ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Interpretive Division Staff Meeting, February 8, 1996; *Long Range Interpretive Plan, Women's Rights NHP*; see also Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Management Team Meeting, October 1, 1996.

the final site concept plan, prepared by the Denver Service Center, an exhibit proposal, and final plans and specifications for the house and wing. Repair/rehab funds in the amount of \$15,000 covered asbestos abatement in the house. Cultural Resource Preservation Program funds in the amount of \$53,000 went for intensive archaeological investigations. Harpers Ferry Center funded an update of the historic furnishings plan at an estimated cost of \$20,000. The Olmsted Center prepared final plans and specifications for landscape work at a cost of \$15,000. The National Park Foundation funded preparation of final exhibit plans and specifications, with the understanding that the \$40,000 cost would be repaid by the Trust for Public Land with proceeds from the sale of the Baldwin Property in Seneca Falls.⁹¹

Archaeological excavations, conducted by Steven R. Pendery and William A. Griswold of the Archeology Branch, Cultural Resources Center, exposed the south wing foundations, which measured 14 ft. by 24 ft. Inside this, there was evidence of a smaller 8 ft. by 12 ft. wing surrounding a cistern. The cistern, dated c. 1835, led Pendery and Griswold to speculate that the south wing, both in its original and later configurations, may have been used as a laundry room rather than kitchen. Previous architectural investigations had established a twenty-two-year range of construction dates for the south wing (1835-1856). The new archeological findings indicated that the smaller first wing had been replaced with the second, two-story wing sometime mid-century before the M'Clintocks left Waterloo. Many early nineteenth-century artifacts were recovered in the area of the south wing. Limited testing toward the south end of the property also identified the locations of a line of privies, but these were not excavated.⁹²

⁹¹ Briefing, Restoration of the M'Clintock House, Women's Rights NHP, February 12, 1997; Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Management Team Meeting, March 4, 1997. Note that NPS purchased the Baldwin Property from TPL in December 1996 for \$70,000. See also Women's Rights NHP Project Funding Status Sheets and associated Project Statements; Superintendent [Leroy Renninger for Hanley] to Chief, NESSO Engineering and Maintenance [Fred Bentley], memorandum re Project Call for FY 1997 Repair-Rehab, Cyclic, and Cultural Cyclic Programs, September 6, 1996; Superintendent [Hanley] to Director, Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, memorandum, September 6, 1996; and Superintendent [Hanley] to John Maounis, Northeast Museum Services Center, New England System Support Office, memorandum re Project Submissions for Cultural Resource Preservation Program, Backlog Cataloging Program, and Museum Collections Preservation and Protection Program, October 3, 1996, with supporting Project Statements.

⁹² [Steven R. Pendery and William A. Griswold], *Draft Intensive Archeological Testing of the South Wing, M'Clintock House, Women's Rights NHP*, Waterloo, New York (Lowell, MA: Archeology Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center, February 11, 2000); Superintendent Josie Fernandez to Richard Lord, NYS Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, letter re: determination of no adverse effect, March 1, 2000; Richard Lord [NYSHPO] to Leroy Renninger, Facility Manager, letter of concurrence, April 12, 2000; Steven R. Pendery and William A. Griswold, "The Archaeology of Domestic Space at the M'Clintock House," in John P. Hart and Charles L. Fisher, eds., *Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Domestic Site Archaeology in New York State* (New York State Museum Bulletin 495, University of the State of New York, New York State Education Department, Albany, 2000).

The HFC Division of Historic Furnishings prepared a revised historic furnishings report in 1997. By now, park staff knew that M'Clintock family members possessed a hall clock that once sat in the house as well as marriage certificates, samplers, and drug recipes from the M'Clintock's drug store. These items, however, even if the park could obtain all of them through donation or loan, were not enough to recommend a complete furnishing of the house. Based on the number of extant original items associated with the house, architectural evidence of the interior floor plan, and some oral history information, the Division of Historic Furnishings recommended a historic furnishings "vignette" for the parlor, anchored by either the original or a reproduction mahogany table, with period chairs, to interpret the setting in which the Declaration of Sentiments was written. Other suggested vignettes included period furnishings in the small room believed to have been the room of the free black woman and young girl listed in the 1850 census, a workroom where the M'Clintock sisters prepared items for anti-slavery fairs in the 1840s, and the room where Elizabeth M'Clintock's husband, Burroughs Phillips, was known to have died in 1854. Static exhibits, audio-visual programs, and site bulletins would provide the interpretive context for the furnishings vignettes.⁹³

By summer 1997, much of the planning and preliminary work had been accomplished, although actual restoration was still sometime in the future.⁹⁴ Nonetheless, in accordance with strategic planning goals for the M'Clintock Site and to satisfy public interest, the park began offering tours of the house in its restoration phase.⁹⁵ The M'Clintock House was open to the public on a limited basis in time for Celebrate '98.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY HOUSE SPECIAL RESOURCE RECONNAISSANCE STUDY

Linda Canzanelli's proposed acquisition of the Susan B. Anthony House in 1990 set in motion a series of gradual steps toward greater NPS involvement in managing and interpreting this historic site. After the aging director expressed concern for the future of the site, the Regional Office stepped in to provide technical assistance for resource preservation and the park began to provide limited interpretive services.⁹⁶ The NPS also scheduled a special resource study to consider management options should the site owner, the Susan B. Anthony Memorial, Inc., no longer be able to care for the house or keep it

⁹³ *Long Range Interpretive Plan, Women's Rights NHP*; Carol Petravage, Division of Historic Furnishings, Harpers Ferry Center to MaryEllen Snyder, Chief of Interpretation, memorandum re: Addendum to Historic Furnishings Report, M'Clintock House, Women's Rights NHP, November 6, 1996.

⁹⁴ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Management Team Meeting, July 15, 1997.

⁹⁵ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Management Team Meetings: March 26, 1997 and July 15, 1997; Minutes, Interpretive Staff Meetings, April 10, 1997 and May 20, 1997; Preliminary Listing of Special Activities Related to the 150th Anniversary of the First Women's Rights Convention, January 21, 1998.

⁹⁶ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings: November 4, 1992; January 9, 1992; January 21, 1992; February 20, 1992; see also *Susan B. Anthony House: Special Resource Reconnaissance Study* (NPS, Northeast Region, Boston Support Office, 2001), 4-5.

open to the public. The study team included NPS professional staff members from the Regional Office as well as Women's Rights NHP. Notes from a January 1994 meeting with SBAH president Lorie Barnum indicate an emerging plan to conduct a series of studies—special resource study, historic structure report, and master plan for development—possibly aimed at bringing the SBAH into some sort of affiliate status with the park.⁹⁷ However, the SBAH was in the midst of transitioning from an all-volunteer organization to a full-time paid executive director with a small staff of part-time employees. Barnum managed a successful capital campaign, which enabled the SBAH to renovate an adjacent house for administrative offices and visitor services. SBAH also secured a federal grant administered by the National Historic Landmark program to conduct a comprehensive historic structure study in preparation for restoring the Anthony House and another grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services for archival storage equipment and shelving. These developments effectively enabled the non-profit foundation to maintain and continue operating the site.

The draft reconnaissance study, completed in 1996, remained in draft form until 2001. Nonetheless, by 1996 the NPS had largely concluded that, although the Susan B. Anthony House warranted national park status, it was “already protected for public enjoyment” and therefore did not need NPS protection at that time. Instead, the study recommended that Women's Rights NHP and the SBAH enter into a cooperative agreement to continue NPS provision of technical assistance, educational outreach, and visitor services.⁹⁸

PLANNING CELEBRATE '98

The anniversaries celebrated in 1995—the 75th anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment, the 100th anniversary of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's *Women's Bible*, Susan B. Anthony's 175th birthday, and the Park's 15th anniversary—were important milestones, and the park used special events to stimulate park visitation and maintain or renew relationships with friends of the park.⁹⁹ The 150th anniversary of the 1848 Women's

⁹⁷ Handwritten meeting notes taken by Vivien Rose of a January 20, 1994 meeting with Marjorie Smith, Lorie Barnum [SBAH president], and Laura Rotegard [Assistant Superintendent] concerning the SBAH study, and notes of follow-up conversation with Sharon Brown, January 31, 1994. See also Laura Rotegard to Joanne Hanley, email, July 11, 1995, and Joanne Hanley to MaryEllen Snyder and Vivien Rose, email, July 11, 1995.

⁹⁸ *Susan B. Anthony House: Draft Special Resource Study* (NPS: Boston Support Office, February 1997), 6-7, 37-46; *Draft Susan B. Anthony House Special Resources Study* [revised draft] (NPS: Boston Support Office, March 2001), 4-6, 30-41; *Susan B. Anthony House Special Resource Reconnaissance Study* (NPS: Boston Support Office, September 2001), 4-6, 30-41. To date the Susan B. Anthony House and Women's Rights NHP have not entered into any cooperative agreement for these purposes.

⁹⁹ “Art exhibition proposals sought to celebrate 75th Anniversary of Women's Right to Vote Press Release,” undated; “Women's Equality Day – 1995 Suffrage March

Rights Convention and the Declaration of Sentiments, however, was an event of major consequence. Among other things, “Celebrate ’98,” the shorthand title of the anniversary celebration, renewed a certain spirit of collaboration between the park and the local community. It also helped to focus attention on the M’Clintock House.

In January 1996, the Seneca Falls Convention Days Committee, headed by Deb Barbieri, and Joanne Hanley sent an open invitation to the community to spend a day planning for the occasion. At least part of Hanley’s agenda was to re-knit relationships to form a broad coalition of community groups to support this major event.¹⁰⁰ An interim steering committee quickly formed, with Hanley and MaryEllen Snyder representing the park. By June, this working group had developed a mission statement, recruited a founding board of directors, filed for tax exempt status, adopted a logo, and begun the process of hiring a professional fundraising and marketing firm. Additionally, the interim committee had developed a mailing list of 400 local, regional, and national organizations, developed an exploratory schedule of events, and investigated sources of start-up funding. Still, six months into the planning, the group had no start-up funds in hand, hence no bank account and no director, and there was a sense that the fledgling organization was running out of planning time for an event just two years away.¹⁰¹

By August, the 1998 Celebration Committee had a full board of directors, and former Lt. Governor Mary Anne Krupsak, one of the park’s founding mothers, had agreed to serve as president.¹⁰² The board decided to tie fundraising to two legacy projects associated with the park: the Women’s Educational and Cultural Center and restoration of the M’Clintock House.¹⁰³ Fundraising for the latter was to be coordinated with the National Park Foundation. Buoyantly optimistic, organizers envisioned a crowd of 100,000 visitors and Seneca Falls transformed into a multi-venue festival ground with an entertainment tent at New York Chiropractic College (formerly Eisenhower College), an art show along the canal, children’s events, a book fair and international food court,

Participants/Organizations;” “(Draft) 75th Anniversary of the 19th Amendment August 26, 1995 Suffrage Rally Program – Order of Speakers,” August 21, 1995.

¹⁰⁰ “Workshop to Organize the National 1998 Celebration of the 150th Anniversary of the First Women’s Rights Convention,” undated [c. January 10, 1997]; Meeting Notes, 1998 Planning Workshop, January 17, 1996; Minutes, Celebrate ’98, January 23, 1996.

¹⁰¹ Minutes, Celebrate ’98, June 18, 1996, see esp. attached List of Accomplishments.

¹⁰² Joanne Hanley served on the board under a Memorandum of Understanding between the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park service, and the 1998 Celebration Committee, effective August 1996. In accordance with federal ethics rules, she was prohibited from participating in fundraising activities.

¹⁰³ Specific mention of the Women’s Educational and Cultural Center suggests that the project Linda Canzanelli envisioned, with the National Women’s Hall of Fame and two partner universities, was still considered a possibility by members of the community. There is no evidence that the NPS, having rejected the Mynderse Academy as a viable site, was at all interested in this level of park development. Hanley pragmatically shifted the site of the WECC initiative to 116 Fall Street and tied it to the new interpretive plan.

lectures on the lawn of the Seneca Falls Historical Society, and a canal barge shuttling visitors to the Stanton Site and a Waterloo landing near the M'Clintock House.¹⁰⁴

In May 1997, with little more than a year to go and still no fundraising effort underway, Hanley pulled the M'Clintock House from the fundraising packet so that the National Park Foundation could proceed to raise funds independently. Shortly thereafter, the Celebrate '98 board took control of planning, hired an executive director from the local area, and formed more than a dozen committees to plan everything from opening and closing ceremonies to a commemorative stamp. To assist with logistics, the park contributed office space.¹⁰⁵

Planning for the sesquicentennial of the Women's Rights Convention coincided with the Women's History Education Initiative and The Road Ahead. While the NPS initiatives brought scholars and interpretive specialists together to develop the educational aspects of interpretation at historic sites, the upcoming sesquicentennial more generally revitalized the long-standing affinity between scholars and social activists. Many women's organizations planned events to mark the 150th anniversary, only some of which were linked to Celebrate '98 in Seneca Falls. Hanley attended a planning meeting hosted by the National Women's History Project (NWHP) in December 1996, which revealed the range of activities under consideration or in motion. The NWHP planned to use its website to announce events, to issue a commemorative poster, and develop curriculum materials. Women's history scholar Ellen DuBois proposed a major conference on the history of women's rights and racism. The National Woman's Party set its sights on securing congressional passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Lorie Barnum focused on rescuing the Susan B. Anthony House and a grand reopening. The event that would be most closely associated with Celebrate '98 was Forum '98, a three-day symposium to bring together academicians, politicians, and the media to assess the status of women's rights in various aspects of society, culture, politics, law, and the economy. Nan Johnson of the University of Rochester and Sheila Bennett, Provost of Hobart and William Smith Colleges coordinated this event, which the park as well as the National Women's Hall of Fame supported. The park and the Organization of American Historians also would cosponsor a conference focused on women's history and material culture.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ "Celebrate '98 (Draft) Press Release," September 30, 1996; Mary LeClair, "Firm Hired to Organize Falls' Celebration of 150th," *Finger Lake Times*, February 24, 1997. See also Minutes, Interim Steering Committee Meetings, April 17, 1996; May 7, 1996; and 1998 Celebration Board of Directors, August 2, 1996; September 4, 1996; November 21, 1996; March 5, 1997;

¹⁰⁵ Minutes, Celebrate '98 Board Meetings, May 23, 1997; June 2, 1997; June 23, 1997; October 27, 1997; November 12, 1997; Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Management Team Meeting, July 15, 1997.

¹⁰⁶ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Management Team Meeting, December 4, 1996; Minutes, Celebrate '98 Meeting, June 23, 1997; Nan Johnson, interview by Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth D. Smith, October 8, 2008, 2-4.

PARK MANAGEMENT IN AN ERA OF FISCAL RETRENCHMENT

The 1993 Government Performance and Reporting Act was the foundation for numerous pieces of corollary legislation and persistent efforts to constrain federal spending throughout the 1990s. A restrictive budgetary climate thus created an imperative, at every level of the National Park Service, for linking spending to resource management priorities. Federal agencies had until 1997 to implement strategic plans, but the fiscal squeeze started immediately. The park's base operating budget did not grow appreciably between 1994 and 1998, which meant that an increasing percentage of the budget went to employee cost-of-living increases and mandatory salary increases for programs such as Ranger Careers. Additionally, the NPS began requiring parks system-wide to take steps to maintain resources in "good condition" and to fund staff training for professional development.

As early as 1993, the park had taken modest measures to reduce operating costs. That year, ranger offices were consolidated in the new Visitor Center, which meant that rangers previously stationed at the Stanton House were no longer available for unscheduled house tours or to monitor activity around the structure.¹⁰⁷ In 1994, federal deficit reduction measures further reduced NPS funding. The park reduced seasonal rangers by 64 percent from the 1992 level, which meant that fewer interpretive and education programs were presented, fewer tours were conducted at the Stanton House and in the historic district, and some interpretive areas often went unstaffed, and therefore unmonitored. The reduction in seasonal hires, paired with reducing the hours of operating the waterwall fountain and evening site lighting at the Wesleyan Chapel Block, reduced park operating costs by an estimated \$64,320, again using 1992 spending as a benchmark. However, vandalism increased, requiring the park to spend \$3,000 for repairs at the waterwall.¹⁰⁸

Cost savings of an estimated \$41,670 were achieved in 1995 by the same combination of energy conservation and staff reductions. Seasonal rangers were reduced to 72 percent of the 1992 level. When one of the administrative technicians left in mid-year, the position went unfilled. Likewise, when Assistant Superintendent Laura Rotegard left to become community planner at Blue Ridge Parkway, her position was left vacant. Three volunteers and one worker supplied by the Green Thumb Program picked up some

¹⁰⁷ "Operating Reductions Caused by Budget Shortages (Women's Rights National Historical Park)," Information Sheet, undated [c. late 1996 or early 1997].

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*; Untitled internal document that opens, "The Projected Authorized funding . . . of \$781,305 for fiscal 1994 does not meet the Park's current needs," [c. November 1993]; Women's Rights National Historical Park Budget Status as of May 25, 1994 (internal working document). See also MaryEllen Snyder, Chief of Interpretation, to Marcia Lerkins, Email, January 31, 1997.

of the workload in the administrative and maintenance divisions.¹⁰⁹ As part of streamlining, not only were parks expected to reduce costs, but the Regional Office also required individual parks to rescind a percentage of their authorized operating budgets for redistribution at the end of the fiscal year on a competitive basis. In FY 1995, \$5 million was available to fund approximately \$20 million in requests region-wide. Funds were distributed according to criteria that placed a priority on preventing the loss of threatened resources or to address situations that threatened the health and safety of visitors and staff. Women's Rights NHP received nothing.¹¹⁰ Routine maintenance of historic resources was funded from the park's base budget. However, funding for repairs or major maintenance projects had to come from somewhere else, typically from the Regional Office.

The possibility of park closures surfaced during the summer of 1995 when Congress stalled in passing the FY 1996 federal budget. Local citizens once again came to the aid of the park by lobbying the Congressional delegation.¹¹¹ However, individual representatives had little influence in what turned out to be a partisan showdown, with Newt Gingrich (Speaker of the House), Dick Arme (House Majority Leader), and Bob Dole (Senate Majority Leader) threatening to shut the government down if President Clinton did not give in to budget cuts that Republicans were demanding in health care, education, and environmental compliance. In September, with the end of the fiscal year looming and still no federal budget, the park developed closing procedures.¹¹² From November 14-19, 1995, all but essential federal services were idled, which prompted Congress to pass a temporary spending resolution, but the political deadlock continued. A second shutdown began on December 16 and lasted into January 1996, when Bob Dole, who had announced his candidacy for president, signaled a Republican retreat so he could get out on the campaign trail. When the park reopened on January 10, 1996, Hanley informed the public that the Stanton House and the Print shop would remain closed during the months of January and February to give the staff a chance to develop new interpretive programs for the coming season.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ FY 1995 Organizational Chart for Women's Rights NHP; "Operating Reductions Caused by Budget Shortages;" "Rights Park to Cut Costs to Stay Open," *The Post Standard* (Syracuse, NY), June 1, 1995.

¹¹⁰ Internal memorandum re: park's projected year-end monies for FY 94 and FY 95, September 8, 1994; Minutes of special meeting, "Summary of 1 year money review for FY 95," November 11, 1994.

¹¹¹ "Budget Cuts Threaten Women's Rights Park," *Syracuse Herald-American*, May 28, 1995, Women's Rights NHP files; "Rights Park Threatened with Closure," Auburn (NY) *The Citizen*, May 28, 1995; Congressman William Paxon to Gail Caraccilo, letter, June 28, 1995; Gail Caraccilo to Hon. William Paxon, letter, July 10, 1995.

¹¹² Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meeting, September 6, 1995.

¹¹³ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Staff Meetings, November 6, 1995; November 13, 1995; Superintendent [Hanley] to NAR Regional Director [Marie Rust], memorandum re: FY 1995

The park's budget situation, however, was not entirely bleak. In 1995, Rep. Louise Slaughter and Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan both reintroduced legislation the park needed to implement the 1991 GMPA. Funding for an education and research facility had been dropped by this time as was a proposed amendment to delete language in the 1980 law regarding use of appropriated funds for cooperative agreements. Likewise, the provision for extending the advisory commission was amended out before both bills eventually were rolled into the 1996 Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act passed by the 104th Congress. Title V, Section 505 of P.L. 104-333 authorized acquisition of the Baldwin, Nies, and Young properties as well as an unspecified property for a maintenance facility, and \$2 million for acquisition and development. It also deauthorized the Bloomer House.¹¹⁴ The NPS never took steps to purchase the FJL building, which houses the Maintenance Division, but the Washington Office took over payment of the annual lease in 1996.¹¹⁵

In 1996, the National Park Service allocated \$85,000 for purchase of the Baldwin and Nies properties in Seneca Falls, anticipating that it would receive other federal funds to develop a visitor station at the Stanton Site as part of the Canal Corridor Initiative. The park also received \$15,000 in repair-rehab project funds for asbestos abatement at the M'Clintock House, and \$53,000 in cultural resource preservation program funds (CRPP) for archaeological investigations at the M'Clintock House.¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, in mid 1997, the park calculated more than \$3 million in projects, including the construction of a visitor contact station at the Stanton Site and further restoration of the Stanton House itself. Other projects on the unfunded list included stabilizing the canal bank at the Baldwin property; restoring, furnishing, and interpreting the M'Clintock House interior; operating the Suffrage Press Workshop; restoring a painting of Judge Daniel Cady (Elizabeth Cady Stanton's father); updating and developing new interpretive exhibits; and replacing equipment.¹¹⁷

As the fiscal squeeze tightened, the NPS experimented with various fees to raise additional revenue. Under the 1965 Land and Water Conservation Act, federal agencies were authorized to collect entrance fees and certain recreational use fees. Accordingly, more than 130 national parks began charging fees that were permitted by law, and the NPS established a "passport" system (Golden Eagle, Golden Age, and Golden Access) to

Financial Plan/Shortfall Requests," December 1, 1995; "Women's Rights NHP Park Sites Re-Open After Shutdown," press release, January 10, 1996.

¹¹⁴ For bill tracking information on H.R. 970, S. 127, and the omnibus act, H.R. 4236 [P.L. 104-333] see Library of Congress –Thomas, <http://thomas.loc.gov/>, under 104th Congress.

¹¹⁵ Women's Rights NHP Maintenance Division Budget Proposal, January 21, 1997.

¹¹⁶ See computer-generated lists of funded and unfunded projects (Women's Rights NHP) dated March 28, 1996 and May 2, 1997, along with corollary Project Statements for individual projects.

¹¹⁷ Computer-generated list of funded and unfunded projects (Women's Rights NHP) from 1994 through May 2, 1997.

provide discounts for people who regularly visited national parks and to promote overall park visitation. All fees collected went to the U.S. Treasury and, through a complicated cost-sharing formula, Treasury kept 15 percent as an administrative cost and the remaining 85 percent went to the NPS. Of the NPS share, 50 percent went back to the specific parks that collected the fees, 40 percent was appropriated to other NPS units, and 10 percent went to the NPS director for special projects. As of 1994, entrance and other user fees accounted for approximately 5 percent of the NPS budget, a small portion but enough to indicate that the public would accept an expanded fee program. Thus, in 1996, Congress passed legislation authorizing the Recreation Fee Demonstration Program (RFDP), a three-year program to assess the long-term viability of generating additional revenue that could be used to reduce the maintenance and repair backlog throughout the system. The RFDP also was less complicated and provided greater benefit to those parks collecting fees: 80 percent of fee revenue was set aside for park projects with the other 20 percent going to the NPS director for distribution agency wide.¹¹⁸

In 1997, Women's Rights NHP was one of ninety-seven national parks selected to participate in the RFDP. The park abandoned the \$3.00 educational program fee for Suffrage Press Workshops, imposed in 1996 under the earlier authority, and established a general entrance fee of \$2.00 per adult (sixteen and older) for access to the Visitor Center exhibit areas and the film, *Dreams of Equality*. An additional \$1.00 interpretive fee was charged for sites that were accessible to visitors only by ranger-guided walking tours, i.e., Stanton House, Print shop, and M'Clintock House. These fees were consistent with the \$3.00 entrance fees charged by the Seneca Falls Historical Society and the National Women's Hall of Fame. They also provided flexibility for visitors who did not want to go beyond the Wesleyan Chapel Block. In addition to the entrance and interpretive fees, a group-guided-tour fee of \$25.00 was adopted for groups making advance reservations and requesting special accommodations, i.e., anything other than tours and programs on the regular schedule. This fee was deemed comparable to the \$35.00 group-guided-tour fee at Lowell NHP. Children under age sixteen with a paying adult were admitted free. Passport holders, spouses, and children were admitted free to the Visitor Center and charged only the \$1.00 interpretive fee for ranger-guided walking tours.¹¹⁹

Fee collection began on May 23, 1997 after ample public announcement and a courtesy letter to park supporters and other interested parties. The park estimated generating approximately \$90,000 over three years, although there was hope that the actual revenue stream would be much greater based on a projected doubling of visitation

¹¹⁸ The RDFP was authorized under the Omnibus Consolidated Rescissions and Appropriations Act of 1996. *National Park Service Accountability Report – Fiscal Year 1997*, 10, 46-47; see also Fee Collection History, information sheet, undated. The trial program subsequently became permanent, but the acronym did not change.

¹¹⁹ *Recreation Fee Demonstration Program Final Implementation Plan*, undated [c. April 1996]; Actual Fees Being Charged [Women's Rights NHP], FY 1997, information sheet, undated.

in 1998.¹²⁰ Despite an encouraging reception in the first few weeks, the RFDP fee program generated only about \$14,000 between May and the end of the fiscal year. This was less than anticipated, but visitation also was lower. The Park experienced a 15 percent drop in visitation in 1997, part of which was attributed to a drastic cut in the advertising budget of the New York State Tourism Office, correlating with an overall 20 percent decline in tourism throughout the state. Cancellation of local special events in order to prepare for the 1998 sesquicentennial celebration also contributed to the drop. In FY 1998, RFDP fees generated more than \$38,000 in revenue, slightly above projections. Because the 150th anniversary events attracted a greater number of park visitors, this also proved to be the high-water mark of the fee demonstration program.¹²¹

In FY 1997, the park received \$13,800 in RFDP revenue to pay for a fee collection counter and two seasonal park rangers to assist with fee collection. These funds came from the 20 percent share, allocated to cover start-up costs associated with collecting fees. The park also submitted project requests for 80 percent funds, totaling more than \$260,000, but no 80 percent funds were spent in FY 1997 because requests were not authorized in time. The RDFP funding situation remained the same in FY 1998: funding for two seasonal park rangers, but no funding for projects.¹²² Almost all of the unfunded projects had been targeted as priorities on the 1998 performance plan.

STAFFING IMPLICATIONS OF STAGNATING BUDGETS

Staffing was at a high point when Hanley came to the park. By 1996, she had allowed three full-time positions to lapse in order to shift operating expenses to resource maintenance. Although Laura Rotegard had been the leader in developing educational programming for the proposed Women's Educational and Cultural Center, when she accepted a another position at Blue Ridge Parkway in mid-1995, Hanley reasoned that the park could do without an assistant superintendent.¹²³ The supervisory ranger position and

¹²⁰ Superintendent Joanne Hanley to Friends of Women's Rights National Historical Park, memorandum, April 22, 1997; Women's Rights National Historical Park Announces Fee Collection Program Press Release, press release, April 22, 1997; *Recreation Fee Demonstration Program Final Implementation Plan*. Approved Project Detail Sheets for proposed projects to be funded with revenue from the RFDP totaled more than \$290,000, indicating both the magnitude of the park's maintenance needs and its optimistic projections for revenue generation.

¹²¹ Women's Rights NHP Fee Money Deposit Records, FY 1997, FY 1998.

¹²² Recreational Fee Demonstration Reporting Requirements for FY 97 – 80% Projects, Women's Rights NHP, transmitted by MaryEllen Snyder [Chief of Interpretation] to Tim Stone [Manager, Recreational Fee Demonstration Program], WASO, December 17, 1997; Project Detail Sheets for PMIS (Project Management Information System) Numbers 43901 – 43915, submitted FY 1997 (but not approved for RDFP funding until FY 2000); Fiscal 1998 Approved Budget, Women's Rights National Historical Park, October 20, 1997.

¹²³ Joanne Hanley interview, 12.

one of two administrative technician positions were eliminated as they became vacant.¹²⁴ While these positions lapsed, Hanley sought reclassification of management positions to reflect increasing professionalization. After Blanca Stansky left her post as supervisory park ranger in early 1995, the position was downgraded to a GS-5/7/9 ranger position with curatorial duties, and the supervisory ranger's responsibilities were combined with those of the division chief. After Terry Roth's departure in 1996, MaryEllen Snyder was designated acting chief of interpretation and visitor services and eventually selected as his permanent replacement. Hanley also moved Vivien Rose from the Interpretation Division to a new Office of Historian, a move that was consistent with the superintendent's support of the NPS Women's History Education Initiative. The chief historian thus became a member of the resource management team and could support both the interpretation and preservation needs of the park. Hanley's staff reorganization brought all GS-11 positions directly under the superintendent in the organizational structure.¹²⁵

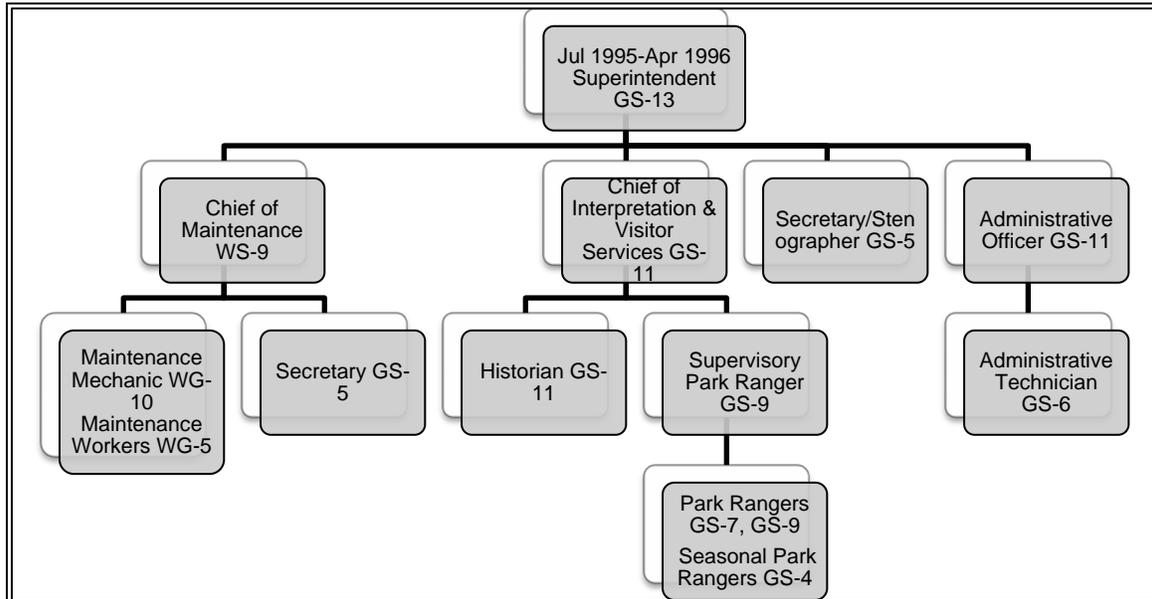


Chart 5. Staff Organization, July 1995 - April 1996. Compiled from organizational charts, Women's Rights NHP.

¹²⁴ Chief of Interpretation, Women's Rights NHP [MaryEllen Snyder] to Secretary, Maintenance Division, Women's Rights NHP [Mary Kelly Black], January 31, 1997, e-mail re: Operating Reductions Caused by Budget Shortages.

¹²⁵ FY '96 Organizational Charts for Women's Rights NHP; Hanley interview.

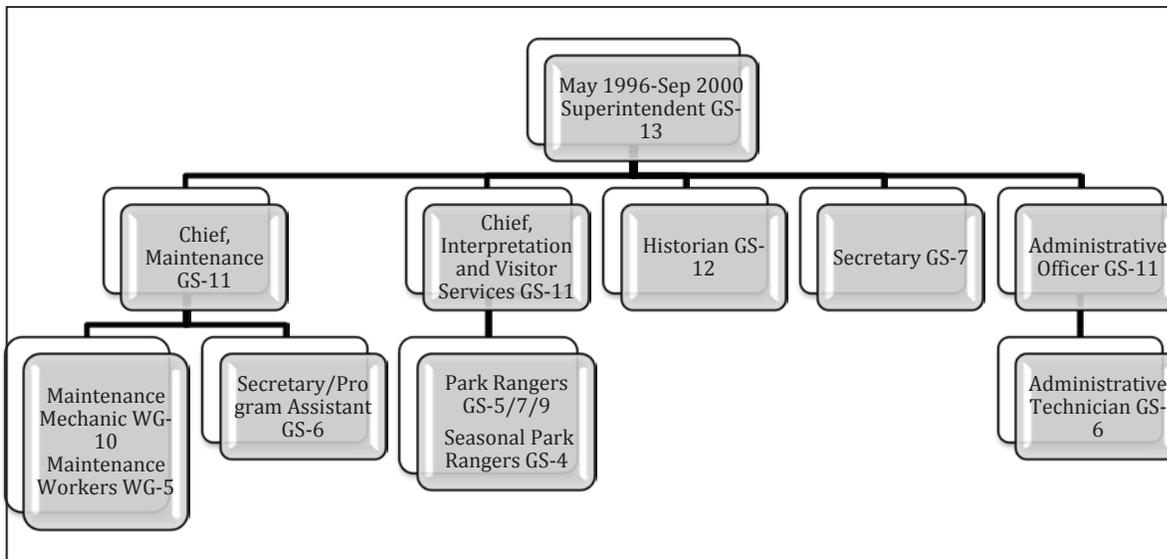


Chart 6. Staff Organization, May 1996 - September 2000. *Compiled from organizational charts, Women's Rights NHP.* Note that in May 1998, Chief of Maintenance was upgraded from WS-9 to GS-11 and Historian from GS-11 to GS-12.

Staff reductions made it possible for the park to cover the costs of ranger and administrative career upgrades and to continue hiring enough seasonal park rangers to handle summer visitors. Additional savings realized by reducing energy costs—opening the waterwall fountain one month later, restricting heating and cooling of the Visitor Center, and lowering the wattage of light bulbs—further reduced operating expenses for utility and maintenance contract costs. In 1996, these actions reduced park operations costs by an estimated \$162,236 from 1993 levels.¹²⁶ As a consequence, however, workloads increased for permanent staff, and the regular responsibilities of administrative and management personnel were sometimes interrupted in order to assist park rangers with visitor services.¹²⁷ Additionally, as part of NPS reorganization, Section 106 compliance was moved from the Regional Office to the park level. The chief of maintenance managed Section 106 compliance with advice from a Cultural Resources Management Committee that included the superintendent, park historian, and a park ranger assigned to collections management as a collateral duty.

Belt tightening narrowed opportunities for increasing staff diversity. Although the park's staff composition had previously reversed the typical gender balance in national parks, achieving as well as maintaining racial and cultural diversity was an ongoing struggle. As of 1994, six of seventeen permanent positions were held by minorities in

¹²⁶ "Operating Reductions Caused by Budget Shortages, Women's Rights National Historical Park," undated [c. late 1996 or early 1997]; Joanne Hanley to Park Staff, memorandum, May 1, 1996; Chief of Maintenance Leroy Renninger to Park Staff, memorandum re: Energy Consumption Status Report, November 4, 1997. Hanley references 1992 as the baseline date in her memorandum; however, since the Wesleyan Chapel Block opened in 1993, presumably she meant 1993.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

accordance with the Park's definition of "minority," which included women working in the maintenance division, women in positions at the rank of GS-11 and above, and women and men from various cultural and ethnic groups traditionally identified as minority groups. Additionally, the park counted seasonal and term employees in its minority figures.¹²⁸ The six minorities under this definition were the superintendent (GS-13), assistant superintendent (GS-11), historian (GS-11), and Maintenance Division secretary (GS-6), all white women. Two African American women held positions: one as permanent park ranger (GS-5) and the other as an administrative technician (GS-6).

In 1994, the African American woman in the GS-5 park ranger position resigned. Under the Ranger Careers program, which took effect in July 1994, this position became a GS-5/7/9 position, but it was left unfilled. Instead, the remaining budgeted salary for FY 1994 was used to hire one of three summer seasonal park rangers, none of whom qualified as a minority hire. This was offset by a position upgrade for a Hispanic woman in the supervisory park ranger position, which, under the Ranger Careers program, was reclassified from GS-9 to GS-11, thus boosting the number of women and cultural minority representatives at the management level.¹²⁹ However, when the supervisory ranger left the park in 1995, this position went unfilled and eventually was eliminated after position responsibilities were assigned to other staff members.¹³⁰ Despite staff turnover and loss of staff positions, position upgrades enabled Hanley to maintain a high degree of designated minority representation among the staff under the park's definition. As of early 1996, six out of (now) fourteen permanent positions were held by minorities. Cultural diversity representation nonetheless decreased, with only one African American in a permanent staff position. This level of representation held through the end of Hanley's tenure.¹³¹

Staff discontent that developed in the early 1990s also continued to simmer throughout Hanley's tenure as superintendent. By the time she arrived in 1994, several staff members had joined Local 3432 of the American Federation of Government Employees, which represented non-professional, non-supervisory NPS employees of unionized parks in New York, New Jersey, and the Cape Cod National Seashore. Mary

¹²⁸ See definition as articulated in the Plan Narrative for the *FY 1995 Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Plan* (FEORP).

¹²⁹ FEORP Accomplishment Report FY '94.

¹³⁰ See Women's Rights NHP Organization Charts for FY 1995-FY 1998.

¹³¹ Women's Rights NHP, Organizational Charts for 1995 and 1996; Women's Rights NHP, FEORP Staff Profile, Permanent Employees, FY 1998, March 31, 1998. Racial and ethnic diversity at Women's Rights NHP was in line with minority representation among the ranks of permanent employees in the Northeast Region as a whole; see NAR Equal Opportunity Office, "Underrepresentation of minority groups in the North Atlantic Region (permanent employment)," September 30, 1994. Affirmative Action target groups were: black men and women, Hispanic men and women, Asian/Pacific Islander men and women, and American Indian men and women. The North Atlantic Region became the Northeast Field Area in 1995 and the Northeast Region in 1997.

Kelly Black served as shop steward for the park's union employees until November 1994, when she was appointed vice president for Local 3432, at which time MaryEllen Snyder took over as shop steward. For a brief period in 1995-1996, Black also served on the Department of Interior's Labor-Management Partnership Council. In this capacity, she was involved in what turned out to be a five-year process to establish a master partnership agreement between AFGE Local 3432 and the Northeast Regional Office, which was signed in early 1998.¹³²

E.O. 12871 (1993) directing federal agencies to establish "labor-management partnerships" was intended to improve labor relations in the federal sector by enlisting federal employee unions in implementing government reform under the 1993 Government Performance and Results Act. This executive order established a National Partnership Council (NPC) charged with developing a framework for implementing labor-management partnerships throughout federal agencies in an orderly fashion and making recommendations for further reform as deemed necessary. The ultimate goal was to create labor-management committees or councils "at appropriate levels" in order to "involve employees and their union representatives as full partners with management representatives" for the purpose of resolving labor-management issues expeditiously so that federal employees could "better serve the agency's customers and mission." According to a 1997 assessment of the effects of E.O. 12871, the Clinton-Gore administration felt that "only by changing the nature of Federal labor management relations" would "it be possible to design and implement comprehensive changes necessary to reform Government."¹³³

Within weeks of Hanley's arrival in 1994, unionized staff members requested that they be represented at staff, budget, and goal-setting meetings. The Northeast Regional Office, however, had not yet directed superintendents to form park-level labor-management committees under E.O. 12871, although Hanley offered to meet informally to address personnel and staffing issues. Confidential internal memoranda document the deterioration of staff working relationships thereafter, but the nature of personnel issues can only be gleaned from veiled comments suggesting that the root cause lay in staff professionalization. Most of the park's non-supervisory permanent employees were local

¹³² Rita R. Mason, National Vice President, American Federation of Government Employees, "To Whom it May Concern" letter, November 10, 1994; National Park Service, News Release, "NPS/AFGE Sign 'Historical' Agreement," April 13, 1998.

¹³³ E.O. 12871, October 1, 1993. After the 1981 Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) strike, labor relations in the federal government became more adversarial. With E.O. 12871, President Clinton attempted to reverse this situation. A survey of union and management representatives conducted by Marick F. Masters and Robert R. Albright in 1997 on behalf of the National Partnership Council showed that both sides believed that labor relations had improved since 1993. Union representatives, however, tended to be less positive in their overall assessment of an improved "climate" of labor relations and more inclined to perceive improvement in employee productivity and product/service quality. See "The Federal Sector Labor Relations Climate Under Executive Order 12871," *Journal of Collective Negotiations* Vol. 28, No. 1 (1999): 69-82.

residents who had informal relationships as community members. As the staff grew, and as professional staff members from outside the local community joined the park, the line between supervisory and non-supervisory personnel was more sharply drawn. One obvious line of demarcation was the organization of staff meetings. Division managers met with the superintendent on a regular basis and functioned as liaisons by holding separate staff meetings with non-supervisory staff in their respective divisions. On the one hand, this was an efficient management technique; on the other, it imposed a hierarchy on a relatively small staff, which was perceived by some as creating an artificial division. The salient point is that Hanley faced a divided staff when she stepped into the superintendency, and she was unable to improve staff relations significantly during her tenure. The very issue that E.O. 12871 was designed to address helped to expose staff discontent at Women's Rights NHP but had little beneficial effect.¹³⁴

Downsizing the staff would have been difficult under the best of circumstances. Low staff morale complicated the process at Women's Rights NHP, but this was offset to some degree by pay grade raises for permanent staff. Additionally, RDFP funds as well as funds from the Eastern National donation account helped cover seasonal hires in 1997. Moreover, strategic and long-range planning did have the intended effect of focusing staff energies on park resources as a whole. Minutes from a budget meeting in September 1997, which did not include the superintendent, reveal that supervisory and administrative staff were actively engaged in prioritizing budget items in line with the park's strategic planning goals.¹³⁵ Although lack of funding prevented the park from meeting many of its 1998 performance goals, diligent measures made it possible to cover basic resource preservation and interpretation costs.

SUMMING UP

In the midst of planning for Celebrate '98, Joanne Hanley left the park to accept the superintendency of four Western Pennsylvania national parks: Fort Necessity, Friendship Hill, Johnstown Flood, and Allegheny Portage Railroad.¹³⁶ She spent just three years at Women's Rights NHP. For park visitors, the only obvious differences were a new interpretive venue, the Print shop, and the institution of park fees. During her superintendency, however, the National Park Service, and the park, adjusted to a new era of fiscal austerity.

In many ways, Hanley came to the park at a time when it needed to evaluate its resources and establish priorities. Toward that end, she led the park through an assessment of management objectives and then through two-and-a-half years of long-range interpretive and strategic management planning. Adapting the park to new federal

¹³⁴ On February 17, 2001, President George W. Bush rescinded E.O. 12871 with E.O. 13203.

¹³⁵ Women's Rights NHP, Budget Meeting, September 18, 1997.

¹³⁶ Flight 93 Memorial was added to the Western Pennsylvania parks in 2002.

standards for management may have been her greatest achievement. During the park's first fifteen years, development often drove planning. Fiscal retrenchment and the multifaceted process of reinventing federal government forced the park to slow down. Long-range and strategic planning enabled the park to reassess interpretive themes in relation to resources, prioritize goals, set targets, and regain momentum. This was especially beneficial for the stalled M'Clintock House restoration project. National Park Foundation involvement in the project was vital for funding, but time for planning studies and deliberation resulted in a sure sense of direction. This made an enormous difference. Restoration of the Stanton House and development of the Wesleyan Chapel Block had been marked by divided opinions and sometimes by divisiveness. The final phase of the M'Clintock House project would go forward on the strength of consensus.

Most of Hanley's work was directed at behind-the-scenes efforts. She determined to repair park-community relations, and for the most part she was successful. The Canal Corridor Initiative and Celebrate '98 provided new incentives for collaboration with local groups. Celebrate '98 also proved to be the catalyst for restarting the M'Clintock House restoration project, and she used this opportunity to resolve difficult preservation issues in order to get the project back on track. She also grew to appreciate the value of bringing scholars into the park when conflicts could not be resolved through community-based consultation, and she demonstrated leadership in advancing the NPS Women's History Education Initiative. Her successor, Josie Fernandez, would seize opportunities presented by strengthened community relations as well as the events and people connected with Celebrate '98 to build a new partnership specifically dedicated to supporting the work of the park and to finish the M'Clintock House project. Fernandez also would help infuse the park's educational and interpretive programming with the new spirit of civic engagement.

TABLE 6. PARK STATISTICS, FY 1995 – FY 1997			
	FY 1995	FY 1996	FY 1997
Visitation, Recreational	34,858	30,105	27,109
Staffing – FTE authorized	17.00	17.00	17.00
Staffing – FTE used			15.20
# permanent staff positions filled ¹	16	14	14
# term/seasonal positions filled	5	4	6
Student Conservation Assn. interns			2
Authorized Operations Base²	\$ 796,000	\$ 749,700	\$ 820,000
Other NPS/Grants			
Ranger Careers	38,000		
Outside Project Funds	23,269		
National Park Foundation	31,300		
Freedom Foundation		1,000	
Park-generated Revenue			
Fee Programs	50,000	41,000	
Eastern National	n/a	3,748	3,712
General Donations ⁴		1,200	1,328
Suffrage Print Shop	n/a	n/a	n/a
NPS Project Funding			
RFDP 20% ³			13,380
Repair/Rehab		15,000	
Cyclic Cultural			53,000
Env Mgt Prog (Haz Mat) ⁵	0	0	0
¹ Some positions filled part-time or part year ² Beginning FY 1994, regions assessed individual parks a certain percentage of ONPS for reallocation on a competitive basis to cover critical needs region-wide. Exact assessment figures for Women's Rights NHP are hard to determine from internal records. ³ Recreational Fee Demonstration Program; Women's Rights NHP participation began May 1997. ⁴ Women's Rights NHP began inviting donations in 1996. ⁵ In 1995, Women's Rights NHP and DSC requested that the Park (Chapel Block) be removed from the EPA Hazardous Waste Sites Docket.			
Sources: Women's Rights NHP Organization Charts, FY 1995, 1996, 1996, 1998; FY 1994 Master Account Files, March 10, 1994 and May 26, 1994; Approved Budget (Women's Rights NHP) for FY 1996 as of June 6, 1996; FY 1996 Interpretive Division Report; Information for FY 1997 Annual Report to Congress on Recreational Fee Demonstration Projects. FY visitor statistics come from the NPS Public Use Statistics Office (www.nature.nps.gov)			

CHAPTER SIX

COMMEMORATION AND COMPLETION:

1998-2004

In December 1997 Northeast Regional Director Marie Rust approached Josie Fernandez about applying for the position of superintendent at Women's Rights NHP. Even though she was relatively new to the National Park Service, Fernandez had experience in regional offices and as a park superintendent. Born in Havana, Cuba, she received her U.S. citizenship on July 4, 1976, after which she served in the U.S. Air Force for twelve years. She joined the National Park Service in May 1993 as the public affairs officer for the Mid-Atlantic Region, then moved to the Northeast Region as management assistant to the regional director when the regions merged in 1995. From there, she served as superintendent of Hopewell Furnace NHS in Elverson, Pennsylvania for two years before Rust invited her to consider moving to Women's Rights NHP. Her military background and management experience at the regional and park levels were particularly useful during a hectic transition period that everyone anticipated would be a season of very heavy visitation. After conferring with her immediate family about relocating to New York, she accepted the offer in January 1998 and was officially assigned to the park in March, although she continued in her position as superintendent of Hopewell until her replacement arrived in late April.¹

When Fernandez arrived at the park in March, the main events of Celebrate '98 were just three months away, and park staff had switched from planning to action mode. In many ways, the momentum generated by this anniversary would shape her superintendency. Celebrate '98 helped to refocus attention on the M'Clintock House, the restoration of which was completed with a Save America's Treasures grant and outside donations channeled through the National Park Foundation. The park also acquired the Hunt House. This concentration of energy on park development in Waterloo, coupled with the park's long-range interpretive planning, led to significant changes in park interpretation.

The 150th anniversary of the 1848 Women's Rights Convention renewed interest in women's issues and women's history generally, which led to a number of initiatives related to the park, including the creation of a friends group, the establishment of congressional and presidential commissions on women's history, the creation of a National Register travel itinerary of historic places related to women's history. State initiatives included the

¹ Josie Fernandez, interview by Elizabeth D. Smith, June 29, 2009, 2-3.

New York Governor's Commission Honoring the Achievements of Women, a New York travel itinerary, an increase in the number of markers for New York State historic sites related to women, and a statue commissioned for Seneca Falls commemorating the historic meeting of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. The 150th anniversary also was the occasion for introducing legislation to create a historic trail commemorating women's history, an idea that Nancy Dubner had introduced as early as 1982 when she spoke at a meeting of the Organization of American Historians.² A state-organized national women's museum also was envisioned, but State priorities were reordered in the wake of the tragic events of September 11, 2001, especially the catastrophic loss of life stemming from the terrorist attack of the World Trade Center in New York City. As a member of the U.S. Air Force Reserve, Hernandez was called up for active duty, effective November 1, 2001.³ Her tenure was thus marked by a one-year absence, during which time three different people served as acting superintendent: B. J. Dunn, Michael Caldwell, then superintendent of nearby Fort Stanwix National Monument, and Nancy E. "Lizzie" Watts.

There were setbacks and stalemates as well. The park lost \$500,000 in federal funding to begin developing a visitor contact station near the Stanton House and made no headway in reaching a decision about recreating the missing wings of the Stanton House. The Wesleyan Chapel's bricks continued to deteriorate. Even so, 1998 – 2004 was another period of intense activity. Fernandez brought energy and ideas along with park operations experience. She proved to be adept at making connections to accomplish big goals. Despite a lengthy absence and despite new efficiencies and austerities imposed by the Clinton-Gore administration, she restored a sense of progress on preservation goals and park development.

CELEBRATE '98: THE EVENT

Two years of planning produced nearly a year of celebratory events that began on February 15, Susan B. Anthony's birthday, and ran to the end of 1998. The Greater Rochester Visitors Association packaged an array of activities in the greater Finger Lakes Region into an attractive women's heritage calendar of events; and the official New York State kick-off event of the summer tourist season, "I Love New York Summer Festival Weekend," took place along the Cayuga-Seneca Canal in Seneca Falls on June 26-27.⁴

² See Appendix C.2, "The Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention: The People and Their World," comments delivered by Nancy Dubner at the Organization of American Historians Conference, April 3, 1982.

³ Josie Fernandez interview, 17; Minutes, Park-Wide Staff Meeting, October 18, 2001.

⁴ *The Birthplace of the Women's Rights Movement: The Women's Heritage Calendar 1998* (Greater Rochester Visitors Association, Inc., March 1998). Seneca County Tourism, a division of the Seneca County Chamber of Commerce, took the lead in getting Celebrate '98 designated as the official "I Love NY Festival," organized the two-day event, and helped to

Park activities also began on February 15 with a special exhibit of items on loan from the Smithsonian Institution: marble study busts of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Susan B. Anthony, which artist Adelaide Johnson created as models for *The Portrait*, her statue commemorating women's suffrage.⁵ Joining the display later in the year, on loan from the Smithsonian, was the mahogany table on which the Declaration of Sentiments was drafted at the M'Clintock House. During March and April a temporary exhibit on the life of Mary Baker Eddy was on display in the Visitor Center. Entitled "...this is woman's hour..." the exhibit highlighted Eddy's major work, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, and other accomplishments for which Eddy had been inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame in 1995.⁶ In cooperation with the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, the park cosponsored *Matilda Joslyn Gage: Forgotten Foremother*, a temporary exhibit on the life of a little known nineteenth-century leader of the women's rights movement, also inducted into the NWHF in 1995. This exhibit was on display in the Lily Print Shop/Suffrage Press at 116 Fall Street.

The July 16 opening ceremony for the main events featured a procession of dignitaries wrapped in a multicultural display of pageantry. Retired women of the armed forces escorted Girls Scouts carrying historic suffrage banners, the Memorial A.M.E. Zion Choir led the national anthem, and Mohawk Clan Mother Judy Swamp delivered the traditional native first words.⁷ Then a chain of officials from the mayor of Seneca Falls to New York State Sen. Michael Nozzolio to Gov. George Pataki to Rep. Louise Slaughter, 28th Congressional District, to NPS Director Robert Stanton, set the stage for a keynote address by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. Clinton's appearance in Seneca Falls was one of many stops during a week-long bus tour of historic sites to publicize the first White House's Save America's Treasures Millennium Initiative.⁸ She delivered a thoughtful speech linking past to present and outlining a women's rights agenda that stretched far

underwrite the costs; see Minutes, Celebrate '98 Board Meeting, July 14, 1997 and "I Love NY Festival" Committee Report, September 2, 1998, Village of Seneca Falls Records.

⁵ Johnson's statue, stored in the basement of the U.S. Capitol for decades, was placed on display in the Capitol Rotunda during the sesquicentennial year.

⁶ "National Spotlight Turns to Women's Rights National Historical Park: Untold Stories Highlighted Press Release," February 24, 1998; Proposal/Exhibit Concept, "...this is woman's hour..." *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, January 29, 1998.

⁷ Judy Swamp was raised in a traditional Mohawk home, where she learned traditional ways from her mother, Eva Point, who was a clan mother. She was married to the late Jake Swamp, a Mohawk Sub-chief and representative of the Grand Council of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy. From the 1960s on, she and her husband were leaders in a wide range of environmental, social, and Indian rights issues.

⁸ Celebrate '98 Opening Ceremonies program; "First Lady to Speak at Seneca Falls Convention," A[ssociated] [P]ress news bulletin, April 11, 1998; "Clinton Administration and National Park Service to Celebrate the 150th Anniversary of Women's Rights convention," White House and NPS joint press release, May 22, 1998.

into the foreseeable future.⁹ Although the celebration was Seneca Falls-centered, one of the main events took place in Waterloo. Clinton also spoke at the M'Clintock House to announce a pending Save America's Treasures award to continue the restoration project, an effort that Joanne Hanley had coordinated with the National Park Foundation.¹⁰ As part of the opening ceremonies, the park held a special event to recognize descendants of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments.



Figure 48. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton with descendants of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments, July 16, 1998. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

The First Lady, whose appearance drew the media spotlight, was, in some respects, the prism for a kaleidoscopic array of celebrants, advocates, and women of achievement who gathered at Celebrate '98. The President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History held its first formal hearing on July 16 at the Ontario County Courthouse in nearby Canandaigua, New York.¹¹ Rep. Louise Slaughter

⁹ Transcript of Hillary Rodham Clinton's speech at Seneca Falls, New York, July 16 [1998], USIS Washington File, Saturday July 26, 1998.

¹⁰ Ann Lewis and Ruby Shamir, The White House, Memorandum to Women's History Working Group, Minutes of June 16, meeting and follow up, June 19, 1998; Transcript: Hillary Clinton at Waterloo, New York, July 15, 1998, http://clinton2.nara.gov/WH/EOP/First_Lady/html/generalspeeches/1998/19980728-3482.html.

¹¹ Commission co-chairs were Ann Lewis, Counselor to the President and former White House Communications Director, and Beth Newburger, Associate Administrator for Communications, U.S. General Services Administration and publisher of *Washington Woman Magazine*. Other members were Dr. Johnnetta B. Cole, President Emerita, Spelman College; J. Michael Cook, Chairman and CEO of Deloitte & Touche and Chair of the Board of Catalyst, an organization for the advancement of women in business; Dr. Barbara Goldsmith, author, social historian, and member of the Presidential Commission for Preservation and Access;

arranged to have all of the women in Congress present at one time in Seneca Falls during the celebration.¹² Other prominent figures appearing during Celebrate '98 included feminist leader Betty Friedan, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, and Eunice Kennedy Shriver, founder of the Special Olympics. Albright and Shriver also were inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame that year, along with operatic soprano Beverly Sills, television producer Joan Ganz Cooney, and poet Maya Angelou. The National Organization for Women held its annual convention in Rochester just before the start of Forum '98, and Declaration Park was the site of closing speeches by Patricia Ireland, president of NOW, and Eleanor Smeal, president of the Feminist Majority Foundation. Also at Declaration Park, Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala spoke at a ceremony of "Recommitment to the Original Principles of the Declaration of Sentiments for the 21st Century." The Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation sponsored a symposium on the life of Stanton featuring a panel of women's historians and filmmaker Paul Barnes, then working on a documentary of Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.¹³

Celebrate '98 also provided a platform for strengthening the park's academic outreach. With the Susan B. Anthony Center (University of Rochester) and Hobart and William Smith Colleges, the park co-sponsored a series of colloquia on women's rights issues. With the Stanton Foundation and in cooperation with Cornell University, the park cosponsored "Sisters in Spirit: Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Women's Influence on the Women's Rights Movement," an exhibit based on research by Sally Roesch Wagner. The park also organized a number of book signings and a Stanton Symposium featuring several noted authors of women's history. In June, prior to the main celebration, the park collaborated with SUNY Oswego to host an evening plenary session as part of the annual National Women's Studies Association's 1998 conference. In August, the park and the Organization of American Historians cosponsored "The Stuff of Women's History," a special conference on artifact-based research and teaching. The National Register office

LaDonna Harris, President of Americans for Indian Opportunity and founding member of the National Urban League as well as Common Cause; Gloria Johnson, President of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and recipient of the NAACP's First Annual Pathway to Excellence Award "Women of Labor"; Dr. Elaine Kim, author, film producer, university educator, and co-founder of the Asian Women United of California and co-founder of Asian Immigrant Women Advocates; Dr. Ellen Ochoa, Mission Specialist Astronaut at the NASA Johnson Space Center; Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, Executive Director of the Brain Research Foundation, an affiliate of the University of Chicago, and Chair of the Roosevelt Warm Springs Foundation as well as Vice President of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute; and Irene Wurtzel, playwright, freelance writer, and winner of several awards for outstanding documentary films.

¹² Josie Fernandez interview, 26.

¹³ Events held at Women's Rights NHP Sites, July 9-19, day-by-day program updated July 8, 1998; Vivien Ellen Rose, "Introduction" to "Remembering Seneca Falls: A Roundtable on Commemorating the Sesquicentennial of the 1848 Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention," *The Public Historian* Vol. 21, No. 2 (Spring 1999): 18-19.

also produced “Places Where Women Made History,” a web-based travel itinerary with information on seventy-four sites in New York and Massachusetts.¹⁴

The Interpretation Division developed three new curriculum-based educational products. Working with Judith Wellman, staff developed a teacher’s kit, “Be Your Own Historian: Seneca Falls and the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention – A Kit of Evidence for Historical Detectives.” The National Register of Historic Places produced “Elizabeth M’Clintock – Entrepreneurial Woman” as a Teaching with Historic Places education kit based on primary sources. A National Park Foundation grant of \$8,000 through the Parks as Classrooms program funded the development of “Celebrating Your Cultural Heritage: Telling the Untold Stories of Your Community,” a teacher’s guide authored by Sally Roesch Wagner, who also conducted a workshop for teachers.¹⁵

For all of the planning that went into creating event activities and lining up speakers, both the park and the community neglected to plan event logistics or budget costs for this. Josie Fernandez’s previous experience with park operations enabled her to spot this deficiency immediately. One of her first contributions to Celebrate ’98 was the addition of a special events team to assist with logistics, visitor services, and communication among the various event managers. To pay for these services, she needed immediate funding, so she went directly to NPS Deputy Director Jackie Lowey, who set up a meeting with Ann Lewis, the former Director of Communications for President Bill Clinton who was then serving as Co-chair of the President’s Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History. Lewis not only was sympathetic; she was instrumental in helping the National Park Service secure \$85,000 from Congress to send an NPS Incident Command Team to Seneca Falls for Celebrate ’98.¹⁶ The detail, known as Operation Sentiment, represented the first all-female Incident Command Team in the National Park Service. Its week-long presence enabled staff to focus on park resources and programs rather than managing crowds. NPS mounted law enforcement officers also

¹⁴ The web site address is www.nps.gov/history/nr/travel/pwwmn.

¹⁵ Park files contain various drafts of event planning documents for Celebrate ’98. Information on the events and activities noted here has been extracted from the “Celebrate ’98 Schedule of Events as of 19 May 1998,” the “July 6, 1998 Work Planning Draft, Maintenance Division,” the “150th Anniversary of the First Women’s Rights Convention Special Events at Women’s Rights NHP Sites,” updated July 8, [1998], the “Celebrate ’98 Opening Ceremonies” program, and the daily detail logs for the NPS Incident Command Team, which performed its services under the event code of “Operation Sentiment” for the “operational period” of July 14 – July 18, 1998.

¹⁶ Josie Fernandez interview, 28-29. Ann Lewis was a well-known Democratic political adviser and commentator. Previously, she had chaired the Political Division of the Democratic National Committee from 1981-1985 and served as Director of Communications and Deputy Campaign Manager for the Clinton-Gore Re-election Campaign in 1995-1996. She went on to serve as Senior Advisor to Hillary Rodham Clinton during her campaign for the U.S. Senate in 2000. As National Chair of the DNC Women’s Vote Center (2003-2004), she led the Democratic Party’s initiative to mobilize women voters. From 2005-2007, she served as Director of Communications for HillPAC and Friends of Hillary, and then as Senior Advisor to Hillary Rodham Clinton during her presidential campaign.

patrolled Seneca Falls on horseback, offering safety as well as popular photo opportunities for visitors.¹⁷

The public face of Celebrate '98 was, as Francis Caraccilo remembers it, a return to a sense of the community working as a whole for the good of the area.¹⁸ Josie Fernandez, who had to hit the ground running in order to catch up, agrees: “Everyone worked brilliantly and passionately, and gave their whole. I ended up forging great friendships and relationships as a result . . . It was just absolutely amazing to be part of it.”¹⁹ In the end, Celebrate '98, the non-profit organization, generated enough revenue to pay the bills but no profit for a community-sponsored legacy project, one of the initial goals. Still, the First Lady’s personal appearance at the M’Clintock House focused attention on the importance of the historic sites in Waterloo, and the celebration as a whole stretched the community’s overall capacity for developing heritage tourism.²⁰



Figure 49. Josie Fernandez, far left, and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton with the (first all-woman) NPS Incident Command Team, July 16, 1998. *Courtesy Women’s Rights NHP.*

¹⁷ Minutes, Management Team Meeting, May 26, 1998. See also the daily schedules of Operation Sentiment.

¹⁸ Francis Caraccilo interview, 15.

¹⁹ Josie Fernandez interview, 11.

²⁰ Available summary reports detail some of the “lessons learned.” See Security/Logistics/Transportation Report, July 23, 1998; Sheila Ferrari, Parade Final Report [July 23, 1998]; Ferrari, Internship Summary Report, Summer 1998, Village of Seneca Falls Records.

LEGACIES OF CELEBRATE '98

More than 70,000 visitors came to Women's Rights NHP in FY 1998, doubling the highest number of annual visitors to that point. No one expected the record visitation level to be duplicated, but the park anticipated that Celebrate '98 would increase its visibility enough to permanently boost the numbers. For a time, it looked as though this would happen. *Not for Ourselves Alone*, the Ken Burns-Paul Barnes documentary examining the history of the women's rights movement through Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, shined a second spotlight on Seneca Falls and the park, which helped to draw more than 36,000 visitors in FY 1999. The documentary, filmed in Genesee Country Village and Seneca Falls, premiered in Seneca Falls on October 15-16, 1999.²¹ The Seneca Falls Historical Society, National Women's Hall of Fame, Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, Seneca Falls Heritage Area (formerly the Urban Cultural Park), and Women's Rights NHP cosponsored a two-day event called "Stanton-Anthony Weekend." The park hosted the opening reception for the filmmakers, which included a walk to the shore of Van Cleef Lake for the unveiling of *When Anthony Met Stanton*, a bronze sculpture of Stanton, Anthony, and Amelia Bloomer by local sculptor T.E. Ted Aub, commissioned by the New York State Governor's [George Pataki] Commission.²²

After the high points of 1998 and 1999, visitation numbers steadily declined to 19,944 in 2003 and 19,863 in 2004, reflecting a general downward trend in national park visitation system-wide.²³ Even so, the park continued to attract the attention and support of well-known public figures. In 1999 President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton made an impromptu visit while on vacation. Lynne V. Cheney, former chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities, visited the park in November 2002 to present a check for \$5000 from the proceeds of her first children's book, *America: A Patriotic Primer*. Donated to the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, Cheney's gift supported educational programming at the park.²⁴ The park's close association with the

²¹ For an incisive film review, see Vivien Ellen Rose and Julie Corley, "A Trademark Approach to the Past: Ken Burns, the Historical Profession, and Assessing Popular Presentations of the Past," *The Public Historian* 25, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 49-59.

²² Annie Taylor, "Seneca Falls hosts famed filmmaker," *The Citizen* (Auburn, NY), October 10, 1999; Annie Taylor, "Local sculptor's work to be unveiled Friday evening," *The Citizen*, October 10, 1999. Event underwriters included ITT Industries Goulds Pumps, Sen. Michael Nozzolio, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, and several individual donors. See Minutes, Management Team Meeting, February 2, 1999 and miscellaneous publicity materials, Seneca Falls Historical Society.

²³ See NPS Public Use Statistic Office official web site for system-wide and individual park visitation statistics, www.nature.nps.gov/stats.

²⁴ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2002. During her tenure as head of the NEH, 1986 – 1993, Cheney publicly challenged the recommendations for national standards of history education issued by the UCLA National Center for History in the Schools, which were developed under the guidance of the National Council for History Standards with funding from the NEH as well as the U.S. Department of Education. Cheney, who championed history

National Women's Hall of Fame also continued to generate awareness of park resources, especially among women being inducted into the Hall of Fame, who received special park tours. In addition to the Burns-Barnes documentary film, the 150th anniversary of the Women's Rights Convention precipitated many independent and collaborative efforts to mark the event. The New York Governor's Commission Honoring the Achievements of Women produced a heritage tourism brochure.²⁵ Several other state and local initiatives produced similar guidebooks, brochures, and websites promoting women's history and women's heritage trails.

As part of the 150th anniversary events at the national level, President Bill Clinton established the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History, which held a series of town-hall meetings across the nation after its kick-off meeting during Celebrate '98.²⁶ The Commission's recommendations, issued in March 1999 reflected a national agenda, a community agenda, and women's history in the nation's capital. Under the national agenda, the commission recommended the design and display of a traveling exhibit featuring prominent women in American history, a how-to community handbook "to guide communities in recognizing and celebrating local women," and the development of a website to serve as a central portal for women's history sites. Under the community agenda, the commission listed ten ideas for celebrating "Women's History is Everywhere" in local communities, a list that included marking the 80th anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment in 2000, identifying and preserving original materials associated with the history of women's lives, establishing state initiatives to discover and preserve women's history, memorializing women's groups that had made

education focused on the founding principles of American political institutions, wrote several papers that were issued through NEH, including *American Memory: A Report on the Humanities in the Nation's Public Schools* (1987), *Humanities in America: A Report to the President, the Congress, and the American People* (1988), *Fifty Hours: A Core Curriculum for College Students* (1989), and *Tyrannical Machines: A Report on Educational Practices Gone Wrong and Our Best Hopes for Setting Them Right* (1990). After she left NEH, Cheney continued to express her views on education, especially in her 1995 book, *Telling the Truth: Why Our Schools, Our Culture, and Our Country Have Stopped Making Sense, and What We Can Do about It*, in which she took on the politics of relativism and political correctness, including the teaching of multiculturalism in the schools. *America: A Patriotic Primer* was the first of several children's books, which also include *A is for Abigail: An Almanac of Amazing American Women* (2003), *When Washington Crossed the Delaware: A Wintertime Story for Young Patriots* (2004), *A Time for Freedom: What Happened When in America* (2005), *Our 50 States: A Family Adventure Across America* (2006), and *We the People: The Story of Our Constitution* (2008). Proceeds from her books help fund the James Madison Book Award, which she established in 2003. Cheney also is the coauthor *Kings of the Hill: Power and Personality in the House of Representatives* (1983) with her husband, Dick Cheney, who has served the country in many capacities, including Vice President under George W. Bush.

²⁵ New York State Governor's Commission Honoring the Achievements of Women, *Where Women Made History: A Traveler's Guide to Historic Sites Honoring the Extraordinary Women of New York State* (NYS Department of Economic Development, 1998).

²⁶ Executive Order 13090, President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History (June 29, 1998).

significant contributions to community life, creating community women's history trails and honoring women in public spaces, including youth in women's history projects, supporting local women's history institutions, and holding all-inclusive "her-itage" celebrations. In the nation's capital, the commission recommended designating one "focal point for women's history" that could be "linked through technology with sites and resources around the country" and a special national commemoration of Women's History Month in 2000.²⁷

Congress established a similar body, the Women's Progress Commemorative Commission, under legislation introduced by Rep. Louise Slaughter and Sen. Chris Dodd (D-CT). Slaughter also chaired this bi-partisan commission, which was formed for the purpose of advancing the preservation and interpretation of sites associated with women's history and specifically to identify sites of historical significance to the women's movement.²⁸ The commission did not convene until July 2000, when it held its first meeting in Seneca Falls. The National Park Service sponsored some of its subsequent meetings. In its 2001 report, the Women's Progress Commemorative Commission issued a set of recommendations that overlapped the President's Commission's recommendations but also focused attention on actions that could be taken by federal and state agencies. Recommendations included creating and maintaining a national database of women's history sites, creating a data field to identify women's history sites on the National Register of Historic Places and the companion state registers, providing incentives for state offices of historic preservation to identify and preserve women's history sites, supporting a public-private partnership network to provide technical assistance for the preservation and interpretation of women's history sites, creating women's history trails, encouraging private owners of women's history sites to utilize available strategies for preserving and maintaining these properties, and including youth in activities at women's history sites.²⁹

²⁷ President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History, *Celebrating Women's History: Recommendations to President William Jefferson Clinton*, March 1, 1999.

²⁸ P. L. 105-341, the Women's Progress Commemoration Act (1998). Other members of the commission were Clayola Brown, International Vice President of the Union Needle trades, Industrial and Textile Employees; Jane Chastain, political writer and broadcaster; Nancy Desmond, President, the Gingrich Group and former chief of staff for Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-GA); Becky Dunlop, Vice President for External Relations, Heritage Foundation and former deputy assistant to President Ronald Reagan; Dorothy Stephens Gray, editorial writer and Washington, D.C.-based public relations consultant; Amy Holmes, political columnist and Fox News contributor; Barbara Haney Irvine, founding president of the Alice Paul Centennial Foundation; Patricia Lamar, Mayor of Oxford, Mississippi; Ann Lewis and Beth Newburger, co-chairs of the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History; Molly Murphy MacGregor, co-founder and Executive Director, National Women's History Project; Lisa Perry, New York fashion designer; Ruth L. Simmons, President, Brown University and former president of Smith College; and Virginia DH Sneve, author, educator, and a National Endowment for the Humanities Medalist in 2000.

²⁹ Women's Progress Commemorative Commission, *Women's History Sites: The Other Half of the American Story* (Washington, D.C.: Government Services Administration, July 2001).

In 2000, as part of the Women's History Education Initiative, the Third National Women in Historic Preservation Conference was held at George Washington University, an event that addressed the third agenda of the President's Commission. The conference showcased pioneering contributions of women to the field of historic preservation. It also demonstrated Regional Director Marie Rust's personal support for women's history preservation and education. She committed \$20,000 in funding and cooperated with the National Capitol Region to hold the conference. Funding and leadership also came through Professor Gail Dubrow, director of the Preservation Planning and Design Program in the College of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Washington and from the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Women's Rights NHP took the lead in managing NPS participation in the 2000 conference, and about one-fourth of the 200 participants were NPS employees.³⁰

FORUM '98 AND FRIENDS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS NHP

For the park, one of the most important legacies of Celebrate '98 was the Friends of Women's Rights National Historical Park (Friends), which stimulated a new level of regional support. Planning for Celebrate '98 inspired Nan Johnson, Director of the Susan B. Anthony Center at the University of Rochester, and Sheila Bennett, Provost of Hobart and William Smith Colleges to coordinate Forum '98, a three-day symposium in Rochester that brought together well-known feminists, park founders, academicians, politicians, and the media to assess the status of women's rights in various aspects of society, culture, politics, law, and the economy.³¹ Although Joanne Hanley was superintendent during much of the planning for Forum '98, after she left the park at the end of 1997 Johnson continued to work closely with Josie Fernandez. She used the occasion of the opening reception, cosponsored by the National Park Foundation, to launch an ongoing organization dedicated to fundraising and support for park development and programming. Johnson recalls that:

one facet of Forum '98 was inviting a number of well-known women into Seneca Falls—Kate Millett, and Betty Friedan, and Judge Constance Baker Motley, and a whole wonderful array of women, to reconsider the Declaration of Sentiments We were having one of our events outdoors, in a tent, and I remember standing up and making a pitch for starting a Friends of the Park, which was really well received. I remember Ellie [Eleanor] Smeal stepping up and pledging a donation right away, and a number of other women did, too, and that was . . . the start of the beginning to put the Friends actually in place We had a small post-Forum meeting up in Woodstock. Martha Fineman—who was then at NYU doing a women's law project—hosted it, and Sara Evans,

³⁰ Road Ahead Report Card for Women's Rights National Historical Park, February 9, 2001. By this time, funding was no longer available under the Cultural Resources Training Initiative.

³¹ Minutes, Celebrate '98 Meeting, June 23, 1997; Nan Johnson interview by Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth D. Smith, October 8, 2008, 2.

the historian, was there and we talked about what had happened and what we'd like to see happen as a result of Forum '98.³²

As early as 1986 the park had explored the formation of a friends group, first with the Stanton Foundation and then the National Women's Hall of Fame. Fernandez helped bring together a new combination of supporters.³³ In her words,

The idea for forming a friends group . . . was germinating a bit, and we just kept that going So, Nan [Johnson] and Susan Besaw, [Gayle Porter], and Gwen Webber-McLeod . . . we committed to formation of a friends group The big concept, that . . . still needs very much to be developed, [was] to have a friends organization that has many chapters . . . that [are] part of a network in support of women's history in their own localities and [that] look at Seneca Falls as the beacon of women's history.³⁴

The intent was to generate a nationwide network, but actual organizing fell to a small, locally based group. The organizational meeting took place on January 22, 1999, when Johnson and Fernandez met with Susan Besaw, vice president for communications with Goulds Pumps/ITT Industries; Gayle Porter of Rochester, a private business consultant; and Gwen Webber-McLeod, a partner in Treble Associates, a woman-owned marketing and professional development firm in Auburn. Mary Ellen Snyder also attended from the park, along with Marilyn Bero from the National Women's Hall of Fame.³⁵ From this meeting came the formal incorporation of Friends of Women's Rights National Historical Park as a 501(c)(3) organization and the formation of a working board of a half-dozen people.³⁶ Nan Johnson served as the first president; the park provided

³² Nan Johnson interview, 2, 4. Recall that Sara Evans's first involvement with the park was as a participant on the program of the Second Seneca Falls Women's History Conference in 1981; she also participated in the 1996 OAH-sponsored exhibit review and wrote an essay for the NPS-OAH women's history handbook edited by Page Putnam Miller.

³³ During the summer of 1986 a small group (Charlotte Conable, Suzanne Cusick, Paul Grebinger, Marilyn Bero, and Judy Hart) who called themselves the "planning laundresses" met a number of times to study the feasibility of a friends organization to pursue national fundraising. See Superintendent, Women's Rights National Historical Park to Planning Laundresses, memorandum re Summary of July 24 Meeting, July 30, 1986; The Southern Laundress [Charlotte Conable] to Leading Laundresses of the North, memorandum, August 8, 1986; Marilyn Bero to National Women's Hall of Fame Board of Directors, memorandum, August 20, 1986, National Women's Hall of Fame records.

³⁴ Josie Fernandez interview, 12.

³⁵ Friends of the Park, Agenda, January 22, 1999. Gayle Porter resigned August 1999 due to a conflict of interest.

³⁶ The name as listed on the articles of incorporation is Friends of Women's Rights National Park. It is now called Friends of Women's Rights National *Historical* Park in accordance with the park's official name.

clerical support. A working board, primarily recruited through Johnson's connections, quickly developed a national advisory board comprising many well-known individuals.³⁷

The articles of incorporation specified that Friends would operate as a charitable organization "for the purpose of providing financial and volunteer support for the historical, scientific, and educational activities" of the park.³⁸ Despite the loosely knit organizational structure and an all-volunteer workforce, Friends got off to a promising start. Goulds Pumps donated \$10,000 to become the first corporate sponsor, which gave Friends start-up capital.³⁹ Bill Watson, husband of Nancy Woodhull, who died in 1997, was invited to join the working board and took on the responsibility of editing a semi-annual newsletter, *Sentiments*. Watson also helped develop a website. By the end of 2000, Friends had more than one hundred members.⁴⁰

Although Friends helped to raise funds for restoration of the M'Clintock House, its main focus continued Johnson's interest in education and public programming. Johnson inaugurated Seneca Falls Dialogues in October 2000 with a symposium focused on legal changes precipitated by the nineteenth-century women's rights movement, featuring four legal experts and authors from Friend's National Advisory Council. Since then, Seneca Falls Dialogue has been a periodic event hosted by different chapters in the local area. It serves two related purposes: as a forum to examine current women's issues

³⁷ Gwen Webber-McLeod, Draft Flow of Activities to Establish Friends of Women's Rights National Historic[al] Park and Draft Vision, Mission and Objectives, February 10, 1999; Elaine M. Spaul, attorney, Nixon, Hargrave, Devans & Doyle, Rochester, NY, to Nan Johnson, letter re: Representation of Friends of the Historical Women's Park in Seneca Falls, February 9, 1999; Jay Vestal, VP, Development, National Park Foundation to Nan Johnson, letter re: Park Partners Initiative, March 25, 1999; Minutes, Friends of the Park meetings, February 12, 1999 and March 26, 1999; Minutes of the Organizational Meeting of the Board of Directors of Friends of Women's Rights National Park, Inc., Seneca Falls, NY, April 30, 1999. The Friends' National Advisory Council listing as it appears in *Sentiments* (newsletter), vol. 1, no. 1 (Spring 2000) included Charlotte Bunch, executive director of the Center for Women's Global Leadership; Charlotte Conable and Heidi Hartmann of the Institute for Women's Policy Research at George Washington University; Coline Jenkins-Sahlin, a descendant of Elizabeth Cady Stanton; Antonia Novello, NYS Commissioner of Health and former U.S. Surgeon General; Eleanor Smeal, president of the Feminist Majority and former president of the National Organization for Women; Bettina Gregory, senior correspondent with ABC News; Harriet Woods, former Lt. governor of Missouri; historians Sara Evans and Mary Beth Norton; film producer Paul Barnes; and authors Kate Millett and Miriam Monfredo.

³⁸ Certificate of Incorporation of Friends of Women's Rights National Park, Inc., April 26, 1999; By-laws of Friends of Women's Rights National Park, Inc., adopted April 30, 1999.

³⁹ Treasurer's Report, April 19, 2000 Board Meeting, Friends.

⁴⁰ Minutes, Friends Board Meetings, May 17, 2000, June 20, 2000, July 19, 2000, August 16, 2000, September 22, 2000; *Sentiments*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Fall 2000); *Sentiments*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring 2001); Nan Johnson interview.

in historical context and as an appropriate means to draw on the expertise of National Advisory Council members, who often serve as guest speakers.⁴¹

A pioneering educational program was “Elizabeth and Me,” conceived and organized by board member Gwen Webber-McLeod, who saw “a significant connection between Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s vision and the status of young women today.” She sought to build self-esteem and facilitate self-discovery by introducing pre-teen and teen-aged girls to the historical importance of the 1848 convention. The program was held in November to mark Stanton’s birthday (November 12) for the first two years, then moved to September in order to incorporate outdoor sessions and park tours into a full-day program of facilitated discussions, writing workshops, and educational games for a culturally diverse group of approximately fifty girls.⁴² Partially supported by a \$5,000 gift from Lynne Cheney, “Elizabeth and Me” was offered annually through 2005.⁴³

Although the Friends organization has yet to develop the national network of chapters envisioned by Johnson and Fernandez, or a commensurate level of national awareness about the park, it has nonetheless cultivated a stronger network of regional support. For the most part, Friends has become an umbrella for the creative involvement of a small circle of regional chapters. For instance, the Finger Lakes Chapter regularly sponsors receptions for special park events. In 2002 Friends worked with Hunt family descendants and Waterloo civic organizations to restore the gravesites of Jane and Richard Hunt in Waterloo’s Maple Grove Cemetery. Also in 2002 surveyor Deborah Naylor, acting through the Rochester Chapter of Friends, completed an AutoCAD survey of the park. These maps became baseline data for archeological surveys.⁴⁴ In terms of fundraising, Friends has generated financial support for the park that helps underwrite educational programs, and it recently established the Nan Johnson Legacy Fund to support an ongoing summer internship program.⁴⁵ Through 2004 the newsletter,

⁴¹ *Sentiments*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Fall 2000) and subsequent issues; Nan Johnson interview; see also Friends of Women’s Rights National Historical Park web site, www.womensrightsfriends.org for recent and current programs.

⁴² *Sentiments*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring 2001); vol. 2, no. 2 (Fall 2001); vol. 3, no. 2 (Fall 2002); vol. 4, no. 2 (Fall 2003) [quote]; vol. 5, no. 2 (Fall 2004).

⁴³ Superintendent’s Annual Report, FY 2002. The gift from Lynne V. Cheney was presented to the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation for educational programming at the park. Webber-McLeod resigned from the Friends board due to the press of her business and professional commitments; Nan Johnson to Rebecca Conard, email, September 1, 2009.

⁴⁴ *Sentiments*, vol. [3], no. [1], Spring 2002; vol. 3, no. 3 (Fall 2002); vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003); vol. 5, no. 2 (Fall 2004) provide information on various chapter events up through 2004.

⁴⁵ In 2008, Friends raised \$4,800 to be used as matching funds for an NPS Centennial Challenge Grant project to create an educational traveling trunk program. The Nan Johnson Legacy Fund, an endowment fund, will support interns at the park on an annual basis. Initiated in 2008, the funds from this ongoing fundraising effort are placed in endowment held under Johnson’s name at the Rochester Area Community Foundation, and in 2009 the fund supported two summer interns at the park. See WORJ Annual Report, FY 2008; Nan Johnson interview; Nan Johnson to Rebecca Conard, email, September 1, 2009.

Sentiments, was an important vehicle for keeping a far-flung group of people informed about the achievements and needs of the park, a function that was assumed by the website in 2005. Over the course of a decade, both the newsletter and website have gradually helped to increase the number of benefactors and members. Most members come from New York and surrounding states, a reflection of much higher regional awareness of the park, but the list is peppered with names from cities across the country.⁴⁶

THE WOMEN'S HISTORY TRAIL INITIATIVE

During the course of Celebrate '98, Rep. Louis Slaughter emerged as a key figure in beginning to shape the future of Women's Rights NHP. Whereas Senator Moynihan and Representative Frank Horton had championed the park's physical development and were able to help secure sizable congressional appropriations, especially for the Wesleyan Chapel Block project, Slaughter focused on expanding the scope of historic preservation and interpretation beyond the park boundaries legislated by Congress. On the occasion of Susan B. Anthony's birthday in February 1998, she introduced legislation (H.R. 3240) directing the National Park Service to study the feasibility of establishing a Women's Rights Historic Trail between Boston and Buffalo, NY. Senators Moynihan and D'Amato introduced a companion bill (S. 1641) to authorize a study of alternatives that would expand the scope of such a trail to encompass sites nationwide. The NPS supported the study of a New England-New York corridor as a first step toward national recognition.⁴⁷ Neither bill passed, but the sense of both was incorporated into the Omnibus Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 1999 (P.L. 105-277), which earmarked \$100,000 of the NPS appropriation to study the feasibility of a historical trail related to Women's Rights NHP. When the Women's Progress Commemorative Commission convened in July 2000, it was briefed on the scope and early findings of the feasibility study, and again in June 2001, by which time the NPS study team had formulated proposals.⁴⁸ The commission's final report, issued in 2001, incorporated many of the findings of the feasibility study. Likewise, the NPS feasibility study team incorporated several of the commission's

⁴⁶ See www.womensrightsfriends.org.

⁴⁷ "Slaughter Announces Women's Rights Historic Trail Bill on Day of Susan B. Anthony Birthday Luncheon," news release, February 17, 1998; Louise M. Slaughter to New York Colleagues, letter inviting cosponsors, February 5, 1998 [she picked up 20 cosponsors among the New York delegation]; Statement of Destry Jarvis, Assistant Director, External Affairs, National Park Service, before the Senate Subcommittee on National Parks, Historic Preservation, and Recreation, of the Committee of Energy and Natural Resources Concerning S. 1641, a Bill to Authorize a Study of Alternatives for Establishing a National Historic Trail to Commemorate and Interpret the History of Women's Rights in the United States, September 9, 1998.

⁴⁸ Recall that Louise Slaughter also introduced legislation to establish the Women's Progress Commemorative Commission.

recommendations for coordinated national, state, and local action into three partnership concepts outlined in the final report, issued in 2003.⁴⁹

Vivien Rose and Josie Fernandez served on the NPS Core Team of eight specialists from the Northeast Region who consulted with other NPS historians, landscape architects, education specialists, and community planners, as well as more than a dozen outside advisers and collaborators, to formulate the findings and recommendations contained in the *Women's Rights National History Trail Feasibility Study*. For practical reasons, the team limited the scope of study to thirteen northeastern states and the District of Columbia, reaching as far west as Ohio and as far south as Virginia. It then defined the women's rights movement in terms of five broad themes—politics, economics, education, religion, and family and society—derived from the Declaration of Sentiments and consistent with Theme II of the 1994 NPS thematic framework, “Creating Social Institutions and Movements.” Using this framework, the team identified 298 extant historic sites, landscapes, museums, public artscapes, monuments, markers, and gravesites relevant to one or more of the five themes. Among these properties, eighty-nine were accessible to the public, with site concentrations in seven areas: Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, PA-Wilmington, DE, New York City, Hartford, CT, Boston, MA, Portland, ME, and Seneca Falls-Waterloo.⁵⁰

The study recommended three partnership concepts as feasible options. Based on the definition of a “national historic trail” under the National Trail System Act of 1968, Concept One proposed that NPS work in partnership with approximately twenty publically accessible sites located in a crescent-shaped region of upstate New York—bounded by Rochester on the west, Syracuse/Fayetteville on the east, and Seneca Falls-Waterloo on the south—to develop an auto tour route. These sites were linked through the history of women's suffrage, making it possible to recommend a thematic “Votes for Women” history trail for interpretive purposes. Concept Two proposed a five-year collaborative effort between the National Register program and state historic preservation offices to survey, evaluate, and nominate women's rights history properties to the National Register of Historic Places. This concept was called the National Women's Rights History Project. Concept Three proposed an expansion of the five-year history project to build a broader partnerships network that would ultimately be managed by a non-governmental organization.⁵¹

Based on the recommendations of the feasibility study, the NPS held public hearings in 2002 to discuss the three concepts and worked closely with Rep. Slaughter to draft a new bill, which she introduced that year. H.R. 4072 called for amending P.L. 96-607 “to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to establish a commemorative trail in

⁴⁹ National Park Service, Northeast Region, Planning and Special Studies, *Women's Rights National History Trail Feasibility Study, Final Study Report* (2003), 8-9.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 13-26.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 28-36.

connection with the Women's Rights National Historical Park to link properties that are historically and thematically associated with the struggle for women's suffrage and for other purposes"⁵² Slaughter reintroduced the same bill as H.R. 1524 in 2003, this time with a companion bill introduced by Sen. Hillary Clinton (S. 749), who successfully campaigned for the seat of Sen. Moynihan after he decided to retire. Neither of these bills made it out of committee.⁵³ However, this legislative effort reinvigorated the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation and provided another purpose for the Friends of Women's Rights NHP. For Slaughter and Clinton, the legislation demonstrated their support for women's issues in a non-partisan manner. This was the status of the Women's History Trail initiative when Fernandez's tenure as superintendent ended in 2004.

INTERPRETATION: FROM WOMEN'S RIGHTS TO HUMAN RIGHTS

EASTERN NATIONAL

Celebrate '98 also involved Eastern National more extensively in visitor services and park interpretation. After Marie Queener joined the Eastern National staff, she took an active role in developing the inventory to reflect the park's significance and assisted with special events that brought visitors into the bookstore. For instance, she coordinated nine book-signings during Celebrate '98, which helped to boost sales. She also spent considerable time selecting titles in women's history for adults as well as books especially suitable for girls.⁵⁴ In 1999 Queener and Park Ranger Jamie Wolfe, who also served as Eastern National coordinator, designed a circular patch depicting a sunflower, symbolizing Elizabeth Cady Stanton's penname when she wrote for *The Lily*, and a lapel pin depicting *The First Wave* statues. The following year, they worked with a local artist and silkscreen company to design a tee shirt with an image of Stanton and a sunflower. Publication grants from Eastern National funded the design and production of site-specific postcards as well as a reprint of "The Solitude of Self," a speech by Stanton, and a reprint of the "Women's Rights Trail, Seneca Falls and Waterloo" booklet.⁵⁵

The Eastern National donation account continued to support interpretive needs and visitor services. In addition to underwriting special events and receptions for exhibit openings, percentage funds provided lodging, transportation, and honoraria for speakers. These funds also paid for printed materials distributed free to visitors, publicity, tourism

⁵² Acting Superintendent Lizzie Watts to Sandy Walter, Regional Deputy Director and Marie Rust, Regional Director, memorandum, March 15, 2002; Women's Rights NHP Monthly Reports, July 16-August 15, 2002 and August 15-September 15, 2002; Karen DeCrow, "America's Feminist History as Tourist Destinations," *Sentiments* vol. 4, no. 1 (Spring 2003).

⁵³ Legislative bill summaries for H.R. 4072 (107th Cong.), H.R. 1524 (108th Cong.), and S. 749 (108th Cong.) are available at <http://thomas.loc.gov>.

⁵⁴ Women's Rights NHP, Eastern National Annual Report, FY 1998.

⁵⁵ Women's Rights NHP, Eastern National Annual Reports, FY 1999 and FY 2000.

and civic association dues, and resource books for the park library. Beginning in 2001 percentage funds also were used to increase Queener's hours to full time for five months of the year.⁵⁶

In 2002 Eastern National provided special assistance to help the newly created National Collaborative of Women's History Sites (NCWHS) incorporate as a non-profit educational organization. A side event of the 2000 Women in Historic Preservation conference was the founding meeting of the NCWHS. NCWHS further demonstrated Regional Director Marie Rust's support of the Women's History Education Initiative. At the request of the NPS, Eastern National president Chesley Moroz coordinated the assistance of EN's legal counsel to advise NCWHS on incorporation matters.

CONTINUING CONTROVERSY OVER INTERPRETATION

A decade after the new Visitor Center opened, particular elements of the interpretive exhibit still were an easy mark for drawing political attention. In 2003 the vice president for university relations at Cornell University, Henrik Dullea, wrote to Sen. Hillary Clinton to express his "shock" at reading a portion of exhibit text that seemed to ignore Cornell University's progressive stance on education. Cornell began admitting women formally to degree programs in 1872.⁵⁷ Although his complaint said nothing about the broken audio-visual stations, park staff quickly corrected the misinformation and then took the opportunity to point out that heavy visitor use of the interactive exhibits had worn them out. Additionally, the park noted that NPS funding limitations would necessitate finding outside sources because the typical replacement cycle was fifteen-to-twenty years.⁵⁸ In fact, visitors had been inconvenienced for three years by malfunctioning interactive stations. That year, the park spent more than \$37,000 to repair and upgrade the interactive exhibits, \$20,000 of which came from RFDP 80 per funds and the remainder from the Eastern National donation account.⁵⁹

Another element of the main exhibit in the Visitor Center, a timeline of eight pylons, became the target of partisan politics in 1999. Rep. James V. Hansen (R-Utah), then serving as Chairman of the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands, strenuously objected to language in the text panel of Pylon Seven, specifically "verbiage relating to Presidents Reagan and [George Herbert Walker] Bush" that he found "inflammatory, acrimonious, and just plain wrong." Hanson demanded that the pylon be

⁵⁶ Women's Rights NHP, Eastern National Annual Reports, FY 2001 and FY 2002.

⁵⁷ Henrik N. Dullea, Vice President for University Relations, Cornell University, to Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (copy to Josie Fernandez, Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP), letter, April 17, 2003.

⁵⁸ Vivien Rose, Acting Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP, to Henrik N. Dullea, letter, April 22, 2003; Dullea to Rose, April 30, 2003; Rose to Dullea, May 2, 2003; Dullea to Rose, May 29, 2003.

⁵⁹ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2003; Budget Summary for FY 2003, Women's Rights NHP.

removed “immediately.”⁶⁰ Fernandez consulted with Regional Director Marie Rust, Deputy Director Jackie Lowey, and NPS Chief Historian Dwight T. Pitcaithley to develop a response strategy. “The ugliness of it all,” recalls Fernandez, “was [the threat] that we would have oversight hearings over the panel This was very much communicated to me by phone.”⁶¹ Pitcaithley’s office subsequently worked with the Organization of American Historians to convene a panel of eight scholars to review and revise the text.⁶² The weight of their combined scholarly credentials was accepted by Hanson, who presided over a House committee with considerable authority to shape NPS budgets and policy. During the month of November, the panel of eight collaborated via email, poring over every word and possible nuance to create new language in keeping with “the rhythm and style and format” of the other text panels in the exhibit. When Deputy Director Denis Galvin transmitted the new language to Congressman Hansen, the political flap ended.⁶³

⁶⁰ James F. Hansen to Denis Galvin, NPS Deputy Director, letter, October 1, 1999, NPS Park History Office files. The text to which Hansen objected was:

Active reform continued into the opening years of the 1970s. Nixon, who appealed to “the silent majority” to restore law and order in the 1968 presidential election, resigned after Watergate and his successor pardoned him before a trial. The economy suffered recessions in the early 1970s and 1980s, but the population still grew to over 237 million by 1985. Espousing a conservative agenda, Reagan and Bush dismantled social services, gave tax cuts to the wealthy, increased military spending, gutted environmental regulations and ignored civil rights laws. Environmental and anti-nuclear activists worked to end nuclear energy and arms. Failure to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment and continued roll backs of civil liberties by the new conservative-dominated Supreme Court marked the era.

⁶¹ Josie Fernandez interview, 27.

⁶² The review panel included Nancy Cott, Yale University; Michael Kammen, Cornell University; Alice Kessler-Harris, Columbia University; Page Putnam Miller, National Coordinating Council for Public History; Phyllis Palmer, George Washington University; Fath Davis Ruffins, Smithsonian Institution; David Thelen, Indiana University; and Robert Weyeneth, University of South Carolina. Laura Feller and Marie Tyler-McGraw crafted the initial replacement text for the review panel to consider. See Dwight T. Pitcaithley, Chief Historian, to [the eight people listed above], letter, October 27, 1999, NPS Park History Office files. See also the associated email correspondence from October 18, 1999 to December 3, 1999, NPS Park History Office.

⁶³ Denis P. Galvin, Deputy Director, to James V. Hansen, Chairman, Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands, letter, December 21, 1999. The title for Pylon Seven was changed to “Women’s Rights in a Time of Transition, 1969-1992” and the new text was:

By the early 1970s, more women pursued lifetime careers in an increasingly service-based economy, transforming family life and enabling families to weather recessions, static men’s wages, and the loss of industrial jobs to lower-wage nations. Immigration reform created a more diverse population that reached 250 million by 1990. A series of Supreme Court decisions expanded women’s access to reproductive rights, education and employment, but by the late 1970s both Congress and the Court charted a more conservative course. The ERA passed both houses of Congress, but fell just short of ratification. The nation divided on issues such as abortion rights, affirmative action and child care. A national commitment to social programs gave way to a new emphasis on self-reliance and local initiatives.

Certain members of the scholarly review panel, however, were not so easily disengaged. Having been provided with the text for all eight interpretive pylons, and accustomed to the practice of reviewing the work of colleagues, they proceeded to critique the whole without context of visitor experience goals, underlying interpretive themes, surrounding exhibits, the film *Dreams of Equality*, or park publications. Phyllis Palmer and Alice Kessler-Harris called out a number of factual errors. Bob Weyeneth suggested that the “whole set of text panels be re-conceptualized” because the “recounting of dates, people, and events” seemed to be “fairly unsystematic,” creating a historical context that he found “idiosyncratic.” Kessler-Harris elaborated on his criticism, observing that the historical information selected for presentation in serial fashion “neither create[d] a relationship between the political and the social nor . . . constructe[d] a trajectory that moves women’s rights forward.” David Thelen agreed and “wondered what kind of visitor surveys or market research led to the whole idea of framing the story in terms of ‘dates and facts’ on pylons.” Nancy Cott was “very much dismayed” with the interpretative text as a whole, calling the choice of items “extremely, and peculiarly, selective” and “riddled with inaccuracies.”⁶⁴ Cott and Palmer offered to assist the park in re-conceptualizing the timeline, but Fernandez simply assured the group that Pylon Seven would be replaced and factual errors throughout the exhibit would be corrected.⁶⁵ Contracting for the fabrication and installation of the replacement panel took two years. Malone Display, which produced the original exhibit, fabricated the replacement panel in 2001.⁶⁶

In the larger picture, the well-meaning critiques of the review panel underscored the rapidity with which the scholarship of women’s history was expanding and maturing in the 1990s. When the park was created in 1980, there was general agreement that what happened at Seneca Falls could be explained in a regional context where the forces of industrialization, religious reform, and women’s “separate spheres” of influence intersected. By the early 1990s, when the main exhibit was under development, the study of women’s history had expanded beyond the “cult of domesticity” and “republican motherhood” to encompass issues of race and class in women’s education, work, and community life, and to examine women in education and women in the professions as well as the women’s rights movement in relation to national and international forces.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ See emails, all addressed to review panel members and NPS staff, from: Robert Weyeneth, November 12, 1999; Phyllis Palmer, November 15, 1999; Alice Kessler-Harris, November 19 and November 21, 1999; David Thelen, November 20, 1999; Nancy Cott, November 23, 1999, NPS Park History Office files.

⁶⁵ Josie Fernandez to [review panel members and NPS staff], email, December 3, 1999, NPS Park History Office files.

⁶⁶ Contracting Officer, Office of Acquisition Management, Harpers Ferry Center, to Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP [Fernandez], Task Order Authorization, July 25, 2001; Contract No. C119098038, NPS Harpers Ferry Center to Malone Display, Inc., Decatur, GA, September 21, 2001.

⁶⁷ See Appendix H: A Brief Survey of Scholarship Informing Resource Preservation and Interpretation at Women’s Rights National Historical Park.

Moreover, historians were calling on local, state, and national administrators of historic places to enrich public understanding of the past by integrating women's voices and acknowledging their roles in relation to the history associated with particular sites, structures, and objects.⁶⁸

Trying to craft a permanent exhibit in the rapid stream of scholarship would have been challenging under any circumstances. The timeline and exhibits, including the interactive stations and the film, reflected the best scholarship available in 1993. When the exhibit opened, reviewer Jo Blatti, a museum director respected for understanding the difficulties of translating scholarship to exhibits, had even called attention to certain aspects of the exhibit as disjointed, reflecting the fact that "important new research in this area remains in a raw state, barely integrated into the historical record."⁶⁹ By the turn of the twenty-first century, the scholarship had pushed into several new areas—women in business and as consumers, women as agents of cultural change, women and environmental justice, and women and commemoration. Race and class issues remained strong areas of inquiry, but women's studies in general was transitioning into gender studies to encompass cultural constructions of manhood and masculinity, and newer scholarship addressed gender and material culture, women in relation to space, place, and gendered landscapes, and even women in the national parks. As it was, the scholarship of women's history was tangled with politically charged contemporary debates over women's rights. Linda Canzanelli had tackled controversial issues forthrightly, but she also was in step with new NPS management policies that integrated interpretation and

⁶⁸ In this respect, development of the main exhibit coincided with the Landmarks of Women's History project, funded by the National Park Service in 1989 and implemented under a cooperative agreement with the Organization of American Historians and the National Coordinating Committee for the Promotion of History. The Landmarks study was a major effort that involved many historians, nationwide, to identify sites associated with women—famous, exceptional, or representative of their time and place—deemed worthy of National Historic Landmark status. The project produced NHL nominations for 23 sites and led to the publication of *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History*, ed. Page Putnam Miller (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), which documented the scholarship that informed the project. Circa 1990, there were approximately fifty historic places, nationwide, primarily associated with women, and most of these were historic house museums that preserved buildings associated with well-known historical figures. In the National Park System, these included Clara Barton NHS, Eleanor Roosevelt NHP, Maggie L. Walker NHS, and Women's Rights NHP. Dozens of other sites were beginning to incorporate women's history into their interpretive and educational programs, including Lowell NHP, which devoted considerable space to interpreting the working lives of mill girls. Among all these historic places, Women's Rights was considered "unique" because its mandate was to interpret not just individually significant leaders of the women's rights movement, but the movement itself as a phenomenon of major historical importance. So, too, did the development of the main exhibit stand out because it rode the crest of a rising wave of scholarly production.

⁶⁹ Jo Blatti, "Interpretive Exhibits, Visitor Center, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York," *The Public Historian* Vol. 17, No. 3 (1995): 141. Blatti was then executive director of the Harriet Beecher Stowe House in Hartford, CT, and had previously worked at the Minnesota State Historical Society.

education. Overall, the exhibit reflected societal values and attitudes more liberal than obtained locally and in many corners of American society in 1993. Blatti also had called attention to the raw edge this created between authority and agency by noting that the “exhibit script aspired to communicating the state of current knowledge through an omniscient voice while actually, perhaps unintentionally, replicating the institutional and cultural politics surrounding its subject.”⁷⁰

ENDURING IDEALS AND CONTEMPORARY DIALOGUE: CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND COLLABORATION

Regional initiatives stressing education and civic engagement, as well as the march of women’s history scholarship, also moved the park toward an expansion of park themes. The park’s significance is tied not only to a major historical movement and its leaders but also to a historical document, the Declaration of Sentiments, which linked the rights of all women to enduring ideals of equality and justice in American political thought. The *Draft Long-Range Interpretive Plan* refocused the park’s attention more sharply on these ideals and the purpose of Women’s Rights as an “idea park.” On the one hand, this re-seated interpretation in the events of 1848, the people and places associated with those events, and the historical context in which they occurred. On the other hand, it acknowledged that interpretive and educational programming must constantly be revisited in order to engage visitors in ways that reflect contemporary dialogue on the meaning of those enduring ideals.

From the beginning, interpretive and educational programs at Women’s Rights have dwelled on the Declaration of Sentiments. The print shop and the Social Change Workshop of the mid 1990s sought to go beyond rhetoric to demonstrate the relationship between ideas and actions as precursors to social change. The LRIP gave weight to the idea of women’s rights as human rights. At the institutional level, the shift tended to emerge subtly in interpretative programs. For example, in 2000 the Worcester (MA) Women’s History Project organized a conference to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the first Worcester Woman’s Rights Convention (1850). Fernandez and Rose, then Chief of Visitor Services and Cultural Resources, were on the conference program. At the time, the park was displaying a temporary exhibit on early women’s rights conventions, *Declarations of Independence: 1848 – 1863*. The conference included a session, “Race vs. Gender: A Common Struggle for Empowerment,” focused on the debate over the Fifteenth Amendment, which conveyed suffrage to newly emancipated African American men but not to women, and included a discussion on the lessons of history for shaping contemporary thinking about the nature of race, class, and gender inequalities.⁷¹ The

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ “Women 2000: A Celebration of the First National Women’s Rights Convention, 1850,” October 20-22, 2000, Worcester, MA; see www.wwhp.org/Women2000/conference.html (accessed September 5, 2009).

following spring, Rose asked park rangers to talk about women's rights "under the umbrella of the human rights movement of 1840s" as a way to discuss racism in the nineteenth-century women's rights movement, citing the scholarship of three scholars involved in the Worcester conference.⁷²

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: REGIONAL INITIATIVES

By 2000 many cultural institutions and historic places, including national parks, were beginning to embrace civil discourse as a legitimate part of interpretation and education. In its 2001 report, *Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century*, the National Park System Advisory Board asked the agency to think of parks as places to tell all of America's history "faithfully, completely, and accurately" because "our nation's history is our civic glue."⁷³ Two years earlier, in 1999, Regional Director Marie Rust attended the organizational meeting of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) in Italy as a representative of the National Park Service.⁷⁴ Her participation signaled NPS interest in contributing to the international dialogue, and she subsequently took steps to involve three specific national parks in the ICSC—Women's Rights, Martin Luther King, Jr. NHS, and Eleanor Roosevelt NHS—because their core missions and interpretive messages paralleled those of the coalition.⁷⁵ The park's participation, which formally began in 2003, thus sought to tie the park story to an expanding public dialogue on human rights. The park also became a founding member of the National Collaborative for Women's History Sites, created in October 2001 when representatives of more than

⁷² Minutes, VS/CR Division Staff Meeting, February 8, 2001. The works of three scholars in particular were cited as influential: Joyce Berkman of the University of Massachusetts Amherst and author of *African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965* (University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), Rosalyn Terborg-Penn of Morgan State University and author of *African American Women and The Struggle For The Vote* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), and Beverly Guy Sheftall of Spellman College and author of *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African American Feminist Thought* (New Press, 1995).

⁷³ National Park System Advisory Board, *Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2001), 4.

⁷⁴ The idea for the coalition came from a 1998 international meeting of representatives from six historic sites, organized by the Lower East Side Tenement Museum in NYC, an NPS affiliate site, and funded by the Rockefeller and Ford foundations and the Trust for Mutual Understanding. Formally founded in 1999, the coalition seeks to link the history of designated sites with related contemporary issues; see Ruth J. Abram, "Kitchen Conversations: Democracy in Action at the Lower East Side Tenement Museum," *The Public Historian* 29 (Winter 2007): 59-76.

⁷⁵ As of 2009, the coalition included these same three U.S. national parks plus Lower East Side Tenement Museum NHS (NPS owned but privately operated) in NYC, the National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis, and the Japanese American Museum in Los Angeles—among seventeen historical sites world-wide that meet the criteria for a designated Site of Conscience. Criteria include "programs that stimulate dialogue on pressing social issues and promote humanitarian and democratic values as a primary function, and provide the public with an opportunity for public discussion." See "Accreditation Criteria," International Coalition of Sites of Conscience web site, www.sitesofconscience.org/, accessed September 5, 2009.

twenty historic sites came together for a three-day conference designed to establish closer ties between the NPS and non-NPS organizations working to make women's contributions to history more visible at historic places. Rust also was behind this effort, providing the initial funding to establish the collaborative.⁷⁶

The events of September 11, 2001, gave special poignancy to the NPS Advisory Board's report. Rust, as regional director for national parks in New York City, responded to the terrorist attacks as well as *Rethinking the National Parks* by asking superintendents, educational and interpretive specialists, and resource professionals of the Northeast Region to organize a workshop on civic engagement. Held in New York City in December 2001, the workshop brought together park managers, resource specialists, museum professionals, public historians, and other scholars to discuss how national parks could become centers for civic engagement. Out of the workshop came the 2002 report, *The National Park Service and Civic Engagement*; Director's Order #75A on Civic Engagement and Public Involvement, issued November 14, 2003 by NPS Director Fran Mainella; and a series of seminars for NPS managers on history and civic engagement, held at various sites around the country.⁷⁷

INTERPRETIVE PLANNING

In 2002 the park updated the *Draft Long-range Interpretive Plan* to incorporate visitor experience planning and produce a *Comprehensive Interpretive Plan* (CIP).⁷⁸ This exercise took place in the wake of the 2001 terrorist attacks, which triggered a flood of patriotism and raised many questions about America's status in world affairs. Thus, any discussion that touched on "democracy" and "human rights" at this time, in any setting, would have been infused with a heightened sense of civic responsibility, whatever that term might have meant to individual participants. Still, the park had been moving in the direction of civic engagement with interpretive planning and development since the mid 1990s.

While Fernandez was on active military duty, Acting Superintendent Nancy Watts organized a community meeting in 2002 to reassess the 1997 LRIP and discuss new directions for the next five to ten years. Russ Smith, Team Leader for Interpretation and Planning in the Northeast Region, facilitated discussion.⁷⁹ Although community

⁷⁶ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2001; see also <http://www.ncwhs.org/>.

⁷⁷ *The National Park Service and Civic Engagement* (Philadelphia: National Park Service, 2002); Martin Blatt, "Introduction: The National Park Service and Civic Engagement" *The George Wright Forum*, vol. 19, no. 4 (2002) [special issue devoted to civic engagement at sites of conscience]; Linenthal, "The National Park Service and Civic Engagement."

⁷⁸ Highlight Report, March 16- April 15, 2002, Nancy (Lizzie) Watts, Acting Superintendent, to Chrysandra Walter [Deputy Regional Director], Marie Rust [Regional Director], and Claire Satchell [Communications Program Specialist], e-mail, April 15, 2002.

⁷⁹ Nancy Watts, Acting Superintendent, to Fran Caraccilo, Seneca Falls Heritage Area, letter, July 15, 2002, Village of Seneca Falls Records.

participation may have influenced the language and intent of plan revisions, the 2002 plan more directly reflected NPS Standards for Interpretation adopted when NPS instituted the Interpretive Development Program in 1996.⁸⁰ To the park's "compelling stories"—the 1848 convention's "empowering message . . . that a just society should and could be created," the convention's demonstration that "ordinary citizens joined together can bring about change," and the chapel's "enduring historical significance to world communities that believe in democracy and justice"—the CIP added a fourth: that "the exercise of rights, including the right to free speech and free assembly, is coequal and codependent with the struggle to achieve them." To the four primary themes of the LRIP—the convention, the people, the sites, and the [reform] climate—was added a park-wide theme, that:

The first Women's Rights Convention, held in 1848 in Seneca Falls, was the formal beginning of the Women's Rights Movement. The Convention expanded the meaning of the Declaration of Independence, demonstrated that a few people can affect many, and advocated the need for human rights for all.⁸¹

On a practical level, the park-wide theme reflected the addition of new interpretive space at the M'Clintock House and the anticipated addition of another at the Hunt House. These sites created opportunities for examining Quaker associations with the 1848 convention and the women's rights movement. The language also underscored the Wesleyan Chapel's identity as America's "second Independence Hall" and broadened the phrase "equal rights for men and women" to mean "human rights." In keeping with the core principles of NPS Standards for Interpretation, which call for interpretive programs to provide a "clear focus" for connecting resources with "the cohesive development of a relevant idea or ideas," the park-wide theme tied the park's four "compelling stories," which remained unchanged from the LRIP, to all of the park's interpretive sites.

Notably, the CIP replaced the list of "desired visitor experiences" in the LRIP with new "visitor experience objectives." The former had placed emphasis on creating an atmosphere that promoted learning through "multiple points of view," provoking emotional responses, and instilling a sense of individual "self-importance and value." The 2002 visitor experience objectives placed emphasis on cultivating an understanding among visitors "that the country's movement toward democracy did not end with the Declaration of Independence, the constitution and the establishment of the federal

⁸⁰ See National Standards for Interpretation at National Park Service Interpretive Development Program, online at www.nps.gov/idp/interp.

⁸¹ "Themes and Compelling Stories" [summary of July 25, 2000, community planning meeting], enclosed with Nancy E. (Lizzie) Watts, Acting Superintendent, to "Friend," form letter, August 12, 2002, Village of Seneca Falls Records; *Comprehensive Interpretive Plan: Women's Rights National Historical Park* (2002), 10-11.

government.” More specifically, visitors were to understand that the 1848 convention marked only the formal beginning of the women’s rights movement, which had “changed and continues to change U.S. and world history,” and that “ordinary citizens, with sufficient insight, leadership, organization and determination, can preserve and advance the course and ideals of democracy and human rights.”⁸²

Site-specific visitor experience goals changed accordingly. For instance, at the Wesleyan Chapel, visitors were to have an opportunity to “learn about . . . the two constitutional amendments that resulted from the 1848 convention.” At the Stanton House, where Elizabeth Cady Stanton “came of age intellectually and politically,” visitors would learn that “the entire home and landscape” reflected her “domestic management philosophies, child-rearing practices, and . . . relationships with her neighbors.” They also would learn about her “life and personal experiences before and after her residence in Seneca Falls.” At the M’Clintock House, visitors were to “learn how the Quakers offered political and organizational skills to the women’s rights movement.” Through educational programs, students were to learn important civics lessons: that it is the “responsibility of U.S. citizens to use their rights” and “that rights earned by the work of engaged citizens can and have been lost.”⁸³

EXHIBITS

New exhibits and interpretive programs reflected the expansion of park themes. They also provide some insight into the professional development training that park rangers received during this time.⁸⁴ Between August 2000 and February 2001, Park Ranger Jamie Wolfe, working under the direction of Vivien Rose, planned, developed, produced, and installed “Underground Railroad Connections with the First Women’s Rights Convention,” a temporary exhibit and associated public programs. Wolfe’s initial assignment was to create an exhibit for Black History Month. After conducting preliminary research and contacting the NPS regional coordinator for the Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Initiative, she refined the exhibit theme to focus on the five women organizers of the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention and their use of the Underground Railroad network to find support for the women’s rights movement. Wolfe and Rose then developed a set of goals and objectives: to link the Underground Railroad to park themes, publicize the exhibit and events to new audiences, increase visitation to the park during the month of February, create exhibit panels that could stand independently, produce a professional quality exhibit, and use no overtime for the project. With a budget of \$3,000, Wolfe proceeded to research and develop a six-panel

⁸² *Comprehensive Interpretive Plan*, 16.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

⁸⁴ Fernandez reorganized the staff at this time. Interpretation and Visitor Services became Visitor Services and Cultural Resources, and Vivien Rose moved from the position of historian to chief of the new division. See section below.

exhibit. While a local graphic-design firm fabricated the exhibit panels, Wolfe worked with an intern from Wells College to design and produce media announcements and exhibit support materials. With Rose and other park staff, she also developed four special events. Maintenance Division staff installed the exhibit in the temporary exhibit space. During the month of February, Wolfe managed an opening reception that featured a performance by the local Martin Luther King Choir, a lecture on the Underground Railroad in nearby Wayne County by a local historian, another lecture on the Underground Railroad in Waterloo by Judith Wellman, and three storytelling sessions with storyteller Alexandria James. Articles in four area newspapers and three live radio interviews publicized the event. As a result of these efforts, 989 recreational visitors came to the park in February 2001 compared with 686 recreational visits in February 2000.⁸⁵

To mark the milestone of completing restoration of the M'Clintock House, the park unveiled a new temporary exhibit in the Visitor Center, "Reforming Family: The Hunts and M'Clintocks of Waterloo, New York."⁸⁶ This was a more ambitious exhibit designed to expand park themes, strengthen park ties with family descendents, and provide division staff, including seasonal park guides, an opportunity to work as a team on a single creative project. Throughout the summer, a team of nine permanent staff members and seasonals produced a six-panel exhibit that drew connections between Hicksite Quaker beliefs, the whole sphere of reform activities in which the Hunts and M'Clintocks were active—anti-slavery, including their participation in the Underground Railroad, educational reform, and economic reform—and their involvement in the first Women's Rights Convention. The exhibit premiered on September 30, 2001, with a special reception for descendents. Although the reception drew only members of the local Hunt family, the project as a whole helped the park establish a working relationship with descendents of both families. Hunt family members, for instance, loaned Jane Hunt's sampler to be displayed as part of the exhibit, and M'Clintock family members provided accurate genealogical information. The project also engaged division staff in a cooperative learning effort that produced considerable new knowledge about Quaker beliefs and the connections between religion and reform movements through the activities of these families. New scholarship also led to nominations to add the M'Clintock and Hunt houses as designated sites of the NPS Underground Railroad Network to Freedom.⁸⁷

Beginning in 2001, when Visitor Services and Cultural Resources were combined into one division, interpretive programming also demonstrated cohesive team efforts among park staff. In 2001, Division Chief Vivien Rose and Historian Anne Derousie

⁸⁵ Jamie Wolfe, "Project Report: Underground Railroad Connections with the First Women's Rights Convention (Exhibit), Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls," March 30, 2001; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2001, 2002.

⁸⁶ Jamie Wolfe, "Project Report, Reforming Family: The Hunts and M'Clintocks of Waterloo, New York (Exhibit)" November 9, 2001.

⁸⁷ Jamie Wolfe, "Project Report, Reforming Family: The Hunts and M'Clintocks of Waterloo, New York (Exhibit)" November 9, 2001; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2001.

produced a combined exhibit, “Declarations of Independence: National Women’s Rights Conventions, 1848-1860” and “Standing Before Us: Unitarian Universalist Women and Social Reform, 1776 – 1936,” cosponsored by the Unitarian Universalist Women’s Heritage Association, the Worcester Women’s History Project, and the park.⁸⁸ In 2002, the division produced “Neither Ballots nor Bullets” and worked with the Seneca Museum of Waterways to develop interpretive programs. While the division was working on developing exhibits and grand opening events for the M’Clintock House, it also produced “Treasures of the Collection” (2003), which spotlighted the research aspects of the park’s mission, and collaborated with the Friends of Harriet Tubman to host its temporary exhibit on the Underground Railroad in New York State in the Visitor Center gallery.⁸⁹

SUPERINTENDENT’S INITIATIVES

International outreach held personal meaning for Fernandez, a native of Cuba whose family fled the country when Fidel Castro took power in 1959 and instituted a Communist regime.⁹⁰ In 2002 the park hosted an international conference, “Women and Leprosy,” cosponsored with the International Association for Integration, Dignity and Economic Advancement (IDEA), a non-governmental organization affiliated with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The conference brought together fifty women from eighteen countries to discuss issues of human rights in relation to leprosy. As part of community outreach, IDEA established (and maintains) the “Center for the Voices of Humanity” to connect the ideals of the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention to the principle of human rights regardless of health status.⁹¹

In 2003 Fernandez attended the fourth International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) conference, which included a lengthy discussion of transferable practices under the rubric of “Dialogues for Democracy.” Representatives from thirteen sites presented information about specific strategies that made “their site a place for active citizen engagement.” Fernandez discussed four strategies at Women’s Rights that met this standard: the Wesleyan Chapel tour, designed to “educate visitors about the tactics that convention delegates developed to fight for women’s rights;” the Print Shop program, where “students learn how technology and access to technology can help a minority group

⁸⁸ “New Exhibit to be Unveiled July 4th,” *The Reveille*, June 28, 2001. The text of “Declarations of Independence” also is on the Park’s website.

⁸⁹ Superintendent’s Annual Report, FY 2003; Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Management Team Meeting, May 14, 2003; Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Park-wide Staff Meeting, September 3, 2003. Until 2006, when the Visitor Services and Cultural Resources Division was reorganized into two new divisions, professional staff and park rangers worked together to research and produce new exhibits and educational programs.

⁹⁰ Josie Fernandez interview, 4.

⁹¹ Superintendent’s Annual Report, FY 2002; see also <http://www.idealprosydignity.org/WomensC-Thumbs.htm>, accessed September 5, 2009; Vivien Rose to Rebecca Conard, email, December 4, 2009.

get their perspective heard;” school programs, “where students debate the grievances discussed at the 1848 convention;” and the M’Clintock House tour, where visitors learn about “the M’Clintock family’s anti-slavery activism, their religious beliefs about equality and the actions that they took in its defense.”⁹² Although the strategies she presented at the 2003 conference remain staples of park interpretation and education, the park’s active participation in ISCS began to wane after Fernandez left the park in March 2004.⁹³

PRESERVATION AND MAINTENANCE

THE WESLEYAN CHAPEL BLOCK

Within ten years of the opening of the Wesleyan Chapel Block, the park was forced to address serious problems with the west wall of the historic chapel remains. Nesting birds in the roof trusses of the chapel also created a nuisance, which the park tried to control by installing a bird deterrent system.⁹⁴ The west wall, however, was the most serious problem. Maintenance staff regularly repointed the historic bricks on the south end, where the wall was uncovered and completely exposed to the weather. After the southwest corner showed signs of collapsing, the Maintenance Division made emergency repairs, and the park requested an investigation to determine the remaining life of the existing historic fabric without further protection measures.⁹⁵ That study, completed in 2002, confirmed that a serious structural problem had resulted from construction methods used when the chapel was initially preserved:

In an effort to preserve as much old brick as possible, the new brick were not toothed-in to the existing brick. The lack of mechanical attachment between the old and new brick creates a plane of weakness. Differential expansion and contraction of the old and new brick and freezing and thawing of wet masonry have caused displacement along this plane of weakness, and the section of new

⁹² International Coalition of Sites of Conscience 2003 Conference, Pocantico Conference Center of the Rockefeller Brothers Funds, New York City, New York, July 24-29, 2003, International Coalition of Sites of Conscience Records; Liz Sevcenko, Interview by Elizabeth D. Smith, July 30, 2009.

⁹³ Women’s Rights NHP is no longer a member of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience. Superintendent. Tina Orcutt has taken a different approach to civic engagement. In 2007 and 2008, for instance, the park partnered with the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services to host one of many naturalization ceremonies that take place at various historic locations annually on or near the 4th of July; see Women’s Rights NHP Annual Reports, FY 2007, 2008.

⁹⁴ The system was installed in 2000; Section 106 Concurrence 00PR0381, NYSHPO, as listed on “Section 106 Summary as of September 25, 2001, Women’s Rights NHP.”

⁹⁵ Project Agreement for Examination and Evaluation of Deteriorating Brick of the Wesleyan Chapel, Northeast Building Conservation Branch and Women’s Rights NHP, February 20, 2002; Section 106 Review and Recommendations, Women’s Rights NHP, March 20, 2002; Section 106 Concurrence, Richard C. Crisson, Historical Architect, NER, March 27, 2002.

brick at the south side of the second floor window opening is moving away from the old brick of the remainder of the wall The movement of masonry at this location is of particular concern given the reported reconstruction of a portion of this corner only four years ago.⁹⁶

To address “numerous” masonry problems, the consultants recommended rebuilding the west wall, or, at a minimum, disassembling and rebuilding the southwest corner a second time, although the latter was considered at stop-gap measure at best.⁹⁷



Figure 50. Deterioration along the southeast wall of the Wesleyan Chapel. *Courtesy Women’s Rights NHP.*

Although the Wesleyan Chapel had been open less than a decade, it was clear that the park needed to revisit previous preservation treatment decisions in order to ensure preservation of remaining historic fabric. However, new preservation planning meant another long process and considerable funding. To re-stabilize the collapsing wall, the Maintenance Division dismantled the southwest corner and reassembled the bricks with stainless steel anchors. Maintenance staff also reinstalled arch bricks in one of the windows after mortar deterioration caused the bricks to fall out.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ 1:1:6 Technologies Inc., Consulting Architects and Conservators, *Brick Investigation for the Wesleyan Chapel, Women’s Rights NHP, Seneca Falls, New York*, August 12, 2002.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Project Management Information System (PMIS) Project 82392 [rehab funding and activity reports], February 11, 2002 – November 24, 2009; PMIS Project 82393, Study Preservation

STANTON SITE AND PROPOSED VISITOR CONTACT STATION

Between 1998 and 2004, the park made considerable progress toward developing a visitor contact station on the Baldwin Property, but also lost the \$500,000 in HUD funding because the partnership structure created obstacles for accessing the funds, which stalled the project for another five years. In the process of preparing for construction, however, additional research yielded important information that changed the status of the Baldwin Property, chiefly considered a site convenient for canal access, to the “Chamberlain House,” a site historically associated with the Stanton House and Seneca Falls history.

In spring 1998 the NPS began the necessary site-specific cultural resource studies and design work for shoreline stabilization and construction of a docking facility. The Archeology Branch of the Northeast Cultural Resources Center conducted archaeological fieldwork from May through October. During this time the park conducted an educational program for 150 sixth graders on the use of scientific methods in managing national park resources. In June, Saratoga Associates, a landscape architecture and planning firm, began to develop a site base map, the work for which included facilitating a design charrette for rehabilitating the house on the Baldwin property into a visitor contact station.⁹⁹

Prior to the charrette, Architectural Conservator Barbara Yocum conducted historical research and architectural investigations of the existing house and outbuilding. Previous investigations had indicated that the house, substantially altered in the 1970s, had been moved to the site between 1907 and 1914. The archaeological investigation and Yocum’s research, however, found evidence that part of an early nineteenth-century dwelling still existed among the many alterations. Research further showed that Jacob P. and Catherine Chamberlain, who were known to have owned the property in the nineteenth century, had actually occupied a house at this location from 1844 to 1851. This meant that they were living in the house during the 1848 convention.¹⁰⁰ Yocum’s research, in essence, connected remnants of historic fabric to a historic person, who, as a signer of the Declaration of Sentiments, was associated with the park’s story.

This discovery triggered further assessment under Section 106 responsibilities. The park, as a result, had to down-gear and allow time for preparation of a historic

Treatment of Historic Wesleyan Chapel/Prepare Treatment Plan, February 11, 2002 – November 25, 2009. See also Superintendent’s Annual Reports, FY 2001, FY 2002, FY 2003.

⁹⁹ Minutes, Management Team Meetings, May 26, 1998; October 27, 1998. The CRC conducted archeological investigations under an interagency agreement with HUD, which provided \$120,000 in CDBG funds to NPS for technical assistance to the Canal Corridor Initiative to ensure that federal historic preservation standards were met. See Interagency Agreement, Northeast Region, NPS, and the Office of Community Planning, Department of Housing and Urban Development, June 24, 1997.

¹⁰⁰ Barbara Yocum, Architectural Conservator, BCB/CRC to Leroy Renninger, Facilities Manager, memorandum re: Chamberlain House Findings, October 13, 1998, incorporated as an appendix to The Saratoga Associates, *Schematic Design for One Seneca Street and Associated Properties, Women’s Rights National Historical Park*, December 1998.

structure report and possible additional archaeology. The park began making arrangements for the Cultural Resources Center to undertake the work, but an HSR had not been budgeted, so the park proposed that \$25,000 of the HUD grant be used for this purpose.¹⁰¹ For unexplained reasons, however, the park waited a full year before seeking to amend the scope of work for the HUD grant in order to fund the HSR.¹⁰²

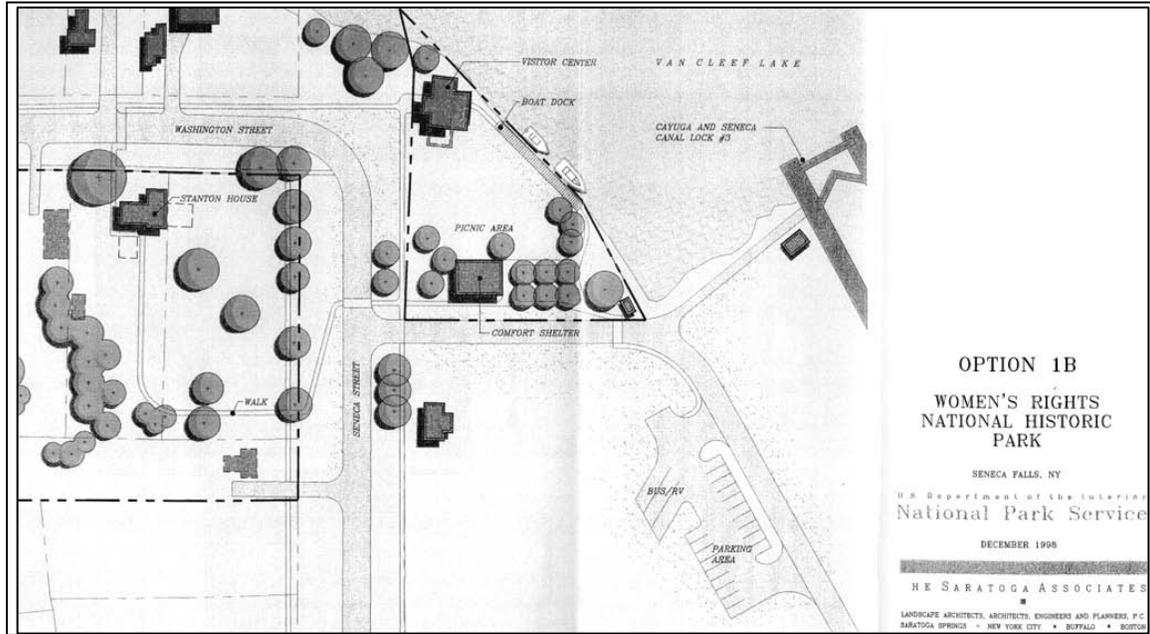


Figure 51. Canal-side Visitor Contact Station, Option 1B (preferred), Saratoga Associates, [1999]. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

In the meantime, Saratoga Associates prepared four design options for presentation at the two-day design charrette and planning meeting, which included the major stakeholders in the Canal Corridor Initiative project. Included, in addition to Leroy Renninger and Mary Ellen Snyder from the park, were representatives of the NYSHPO, New York State Canal Corporation, Stanton Foundation, Seneca Falls Heritage Area, Seneca Falls Village Planning Department, and the Town of Seneca Falls. Two of the design options proposed using the existing house; the other two proposed its demolition and the construction of a new visitor contact station. Yocum's preliminary findings, reported one day before the charrette began, effectively limited discussion to the first two

¹⁰¹ Project Agreement, Chamberlain House Historic Structure Report, Women's Rights NHP, Building Conservation Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center, Lowell, Massachusetts, November 6, 1998 (revised July 24, 2000), (revised December 20, 2000), (revised January 4, 2001).

¹⁰² Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Management Team Meeting, October 19, 1999; Josie Fernandez to Glenn Cooke, Director of Economic Development and Planning, Seneca County, letter, December 16, 1999.

options.¹⁰³ Moreover, only one option, known as “Option 1B,” had the endorsement of the NYSHPO, and this was the option that all stakeholders supported. Alternative 1B proposed using whatever space was available in the Chamberlain House, pending findings and recommendations of the HSR; providing a separate comfort station and picnic area to accommodate visitor needs that would not fit into a rehabilitated historic house; and developing parking on adjacent land owned by the New York State Canal Corporation. The Canal Corporation further agreed to lease its land for parking space.¹⁰⁴

At that time, early 1999, the park envisioned a three-year project, with shoreline stabilization and a canal dock completed in 2000, the parking lot finished in 2001, and the rehabilitated Chamberlain House finished in 2002.¹⁰⁵ The three-year plan raised the project cost to an estimated \$1,085,000 and depended on securing additional outside funding because the NPS was just beginning to address a sizable maintenance backlog. The park applied for a \$375,000 Transportation Enhancement Fund grant from the NY Department of Transportation to cover the estimated shortfall.¹⁰⁶ The NPS also began negotiations with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Buffalo, to plan, design, and construct the dock and to riprap the shoreline, which added another wrinkle. Because the Corps of Engineers could not directly fund projects for other federal agencies, the NPS brought the Canal Corporation into negotiations. Legally, the Canal Corporation owned the strip of land along the shore, which made it eligible to request assistance from the Corps.¹⁰⁷

The request for Transportation Enhancement funding was unsuccessful, and the delay in amending the scope of work under the HUD grant postponed the HSR until 2001. Budget tradeoffs as the NPS worked through the maintenance backlog meant that many projects on priority lists were being delayed. At the park level, the Chamberlain House-visitor contact station project yielded to restoration of the M’Clintock House, which had higher priority after it became a Save America’s Treasures project. At the time, there was no real sense of urgency with the Chamberlain House project because the park had a five-

¹⁰³ Saratoga Associates, *Schematic Design for One Seneca Street and Associated Properties*, [1999].

¹⁰⁴ Janette T. Pfeiff, Supervisor, Town of Seneca Falls, to Leroy Renninger, letter, February 9, 1999; Francis Caraccilo and Gail Caraccilo (Village of Seneca Falls, Seneca Falls Heritage Area, and Stanton Foundation) to Leroy Renninger, letter February 25, 1999; Robert P. Brooks, Director of Development, New York State Canal Corporation, to Leroy Renninger, letter, March 25, 1999; Richard M. Lord, Historic Sites Restoration Coordinator, NY SHPO, letter, March 16, 1999.

¹⁰⁵ Project Agreement to Develop Stanton Site Visitor Contact Area, Women’s Rights NHP and Northeast Regional Office, March 8, 1999.

¹⁰⁶ Women’s Rights NHP, Application to Develop Canal-side Welcome Center at Historic Stanton Site, submitted to New York State Department of Transportation, undated [mid-1999].

¹⁰⁷ Minutes, Women’s Rights NHP Management Team Meetings, February 10, 1999; February 23, 1999.

year window for using HUD funds. The park also had been promised a \$400,000 increase in its operating budget, effective FY 2001, which in fact occurred, and this increase enabled the park to proceed with the HSR.¹⁰⁸

In the meantime, the NPS entered into an interagency/support agreement with the Corps of Engineers to get the canal bank stabilization project back on track. However, there was a great deal of confusion about exactly what sub-agreements were needed in order to finalize the interagency agreement.¹⁰⁹ In the midst of this confusion, Fernandez was summoned to active duty at the Pentagon. During her one-year absence from the park, the HUD grant lapsed.¹¹⁰

Before the project went back on hold, Barbara Yocum completed the HSR in August 2001.¹¹¹ Section 106 review for removal of an outbuilding was completed the following April, and this structure was removed in June.¹¹² During the summer of 2002 the Cultural Resources Center completed additional archaeological testing to determine whether constructing a docking facility and rip rapping the shoreline would have an adverse effect on archaeological deposits.¹¹³

In a climate of decreased project funds availability, losing \$500,000 in HUD funding was a major setback. However, it is likely that development of a visitor contact station would have been delayed anyway because the HSR documented association of the structure with Jacob P. Chamberlain, a signer of the Declaration of Sentiments, a Free Soil Party supporter, and a mill owner. It also documented the significant extent of structural alterations, raising complex questions about the historic integrity of the house under National Register criteria.¹¹⁴ Storm damage in 2003 prompted the park to mothball the

¹⁰⁸ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Management Team Meetings, July 26, 2000; July 10, 2001.

¹⁰⁹ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Management Team Meetings, July 2, 2001; July 12, 2001; September 18, 2001; November 13, 2001; UCACE (Buffalo) Interagency/Support Agreement for Women's Rights NHP Park Dock Facility, September 1, 2001; Superintendent's Annual Report for FY 2001.

¹¹⁰ Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Management Team Meetings, October 18, 2001; July 8, 2002; Mary Kelly Black [Program Assistant, Maintenance Division], Notes from January 9, 2002 Meetings on Chamberlain (HUD) Grant; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2002.

¹¹¹ Barbara Yocum, *Chamberlain House Historic Structure Report: Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York* (Building Conservation Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center, Northeast Region, National Park Service, August, 2001).

¹¹² Minutes, Women's Rights NHP Management Team Meetings, April 9, 2002; June 19, 2002.

¹¹³ William A. Cooney and William A. Griswold, *Archeological Testing at the Chamberlain House, Women's Rights National Historical Park* (Archeology Branch, Boston Support Office, Northeast Cultural Resource Center, Lowell, MA, August 2002).

¹¹⁴ Email correspondence as follows: Vivien Rose/Women's Rights NHP/NPS to Paul Weinbaum/Boston/NPS, August 17, 2007; Paul Weinbaum to Laura Feller/WASO/NPS, August 17, 2007; Laura Feller to Paul Weinbaum/Boston/NPS, August 20, 2007; and Paul Weinbaum to Laura Feller/WASO/NPS, August 20, 2007, Files of Paul Weinbaum, Historian, Northeast Region. The Chamberlain House was included in the revised draft National Register

house. Ten trees were removed and the grounds were re-landscaped to preserve the area for future archaeology. Gas and electric service were removed from the site for safety reasons. The house was stabilized and boarded up pending a Determination of Eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places.¹¹⁵

During Celebrate '98, the number of visitors touring the Stanton House reached nearly 6,000, but the annual visitation varied between 3,000 and 4,000 during the period 1999-2004. During the seven years that Josie Fernandez served as superintendent, the park made gradual progress on the historic grounds and continued to discuss reconstruction of the missing wings. However, for visitors very little changed. The primary interpretive strategy remained ranger-guided house tours.

The park also made gradual progress toward reestablishing the historic grounds. Purchase of the Nies Property in 1996 allowed planning for restoration of the historic grounds to proceed. In 1998 the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation completed a cultural landscape inventory of the Stanton House Site, which pulled together all of the known information concerning vegetation, landscape features, and the historic setting. Based on a review of all previous studies and site investigation, OCLP concluded that with the exception of the mature horse chestnut tree in front of the house, the landscape bore “little resemblance to its historic appearance” during the site’s period of significance, 1847-1862. Still, the report continued, the park had “reassembled” the historic grounds, which held “remnants and clues that could aid in the interpretation and possible recreation of lost features.” Thus, while the historic integrity was “low in terms of materials and design,” OCLP determined that the integrity was “moderate to high in terms of location, setting, feeling, and association.” Noting that the park planned to remove non-contributing structures from the site and conduct additional archeological work, OCLP recommended that the National Register listing for the Stanton House be amended to include the land acquired by the NPS to restore the historic property boundaries.¹¹⁶ The Cultural Resources Center subsequently completed two archaeological surveys in 1999.¹¹⁷ Based on the findings of these investigations, and the recommendations of the 1998 OCLP report, the Regional Office requested that the three tracts acquired to restore the historic setting of the Stanton House be included when National Register nominations

nomination for the park district prepared by historian Judith Wellman as part of the park-wide *Historic Resource Study*.

¹¹⁵ Repair/Rehab funds in the amount of \$4,300 paid for tree removal in FY 2003. See also Superintendent’s Annual Report, FY 2004.

¹¹⁶ *Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Stanton House, Women’s Rights National Historical Park* (NPS: Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, 1998), see esp. 1-3, 1-12, 3-1, 4-3.

¹¹⁷ William A. Griswold, *Archeological Investigations at the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House* [draft] (NPS: Northeast Cultural Resources Center, Archeology Branch, March 1999); William A. Griswold, *Archeological Investigations for the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House Drainage Project* [draft] (NPS: Northeast Cultural Resources Center, Archeology Branch, April 1999).

were updated and to clarify the period of significance as 1847-1862, the inclusive years of Stanton Family residency.¹¹⁸

In 2003 the non-historic garage on the Stanton House site was removed, and the adjacent grounds were capped with landscaping to preserve the area for future archaeological investigations.¹¹⁹ In 2004 a small house on the Nies Property was demolished. Other than routine maintenance, these were the only physical changes to the Stanton House site as of 2004.¹²⁰ Disposition of the house on the Nies Property first required an evaluation of eligibility under National Register criteria. However, before the architectural analysis could proceed, materials containing asbestos had to be removed. Asbestos removal necessitated stripping the exterior siding, which created an eyesore, which, in turn, drew criticism from neighbors.¹²¹ This, along with the stalled visitor contact station project, prompted the park to call a public meeting on July 21, 2003, to explain the complex process required by NPS in order to remove structures from historic landscapes. The meeting also gave community members another opportunity to voice their thoughts on the planned development of both the Nies and the Baldwin/Chamberlain properties.¹²² By this time, preservation consultant Kristen M. Brennan had completed a thorough architectural analysis of the house on the Nies Property and determined that it was constructed between 1873 and 1893. Multiple forms of physical evidence ruled out any possibility that it was either of the missing wings of the Stanton House or that it had any other architectural significance.¹²³ Brennan's findings cleared the way for demolition, although park staff completed additional research before ruling out possible historical significance by association with former owners or events. Finding no basis for historical significance, the house was removed in September 2004 after Section 106 compliance procedures were complete.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Marie Rust, Regional Director, to Bernadette Castro, Commissioner NYS Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, letter, August 17, 2004, NER-HAP. Regarding clarification of the period of significance, over the years the beginning date has variously been given as 1846 and 1847.

¹¹⁹ Section 106 Review and Recommendations, Removal of Non-historic Garage, Women's Rights NHP File 2003.12. Removal of the garage was funded through park operating funds at a cost of \$25,000; see List of Funded Funding Components FY 1997-2009, December 4, 2009. See also Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2003.

¹²⁰ Maintenance included several items in 1997: replacement of UV filters (\$2,800), repainting (\$2,800), and repairs to arrest moisture infiltration (\$40,000), funded through the park's operating base. Cultural Cycle Maintenance funds paid for house repainting in 2005 (\$7,800) and roof replacement in 2006, (\$65,000).

¹²¹ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2001.

¹²² "Informational Meeting, Elizabeth Cady Stanton House Grounds," July 21, 2003; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2003.

¹²³ Kristen M. Brennan, *The Nies House, 10 Seneca Street, Seneca Falls, NY: Architectural Analysis* (Ithaca, NY: KB Preservation Planning, July 2003), 4.

¹²⁴ Anne Drousie, Historian, to Vivien Rose [Chief, VS/CR] and Jude Pfister [curator], memorandum re: Nies house history, January 22, 2002, NER-HAP; Anne Drousie to Vivien

M'CLINTOCK HOUSE COMPLETION: 1999-2004

In April 1999 the White House Millennium Council officially designated the M'Clintock House as a Save America's Treasures (SAT) project with an award of \$185,000 as a matching grant. A presentation ceremony at the White House followed in May. This and a multi-pronged fundraising effort enabled the park to turn the corner in order to complete restoration of the M'Clintock House interior and to re-construct the south wing.¹²⁵ Later that year, the NPS purchased the property at 12 E. William Street from Theodore and Judy Young for \$70,000.¹²⁶ This gave the park control over whatever remained of the historic setting.

At this point, the National Park Foundation was holding \$45,000 in private donations from the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation, Goulds Pumps, the newly organized Friends, and the Ralph Peters Memorial Fund. The total was considerably short of the required 50 percent match for the SAT award, but during the next year additional funds came from two major sources. The National Park Foundation applied for and received a \$36,554 grant from the NYS Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation under the Environmental Protection Fund for Historic Preservation. This grant was specifically earmarked for restoring and reconstructing plaster walls and ceilings, moldings, doors, and other interior finishes.¹²⁷ A major gift of \$140,000 came to the NPF from Barbara Goldsmith, author of *Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism, and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull* (1998) and member of the President's

Rose, Addendum to memorandum "Nies house history," June 10, 2004, NER-HAP. Section 106 Review and Recommendations, Removal of Nies House, Women's Rights NHP, June 15, 2004; Section 106 Concurrence, Richard Lord, NYS Office of Parks, Recreation & Historic Preservation, July 23, 2004; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2004. Removal of the Nies House was funded through one-year Repair/Rehab funds at a cost of \$13, 525; see List of United Funding Components FY 1997-2009, December 4, 2009.

¹²⁵ U.S. Department of the Interior, Save America's Treasures FY 1999 Historic Preservation Fund Grant, Application for M'Clintock House, [c. February 1999]; "Save America's Treasures Grants Announced," NPS News Release, May 19, 1999; "Women's Rights National Historical Park Receives Millennium Fund Grant," NPS News Release, May 19, 1999. The White House Millennium Council awarded a total of \$30 million in 1999. Of this amount, \$26.5 million went to 12 federal agencies for 62 projects to preserve cultural artifacts and historic sites and structures in 24 states, the District of Columbia, and the Midway Islands.

¹²⁶ Seneca County Deeds, Liber 594, p. 114, September 3, 1999; NPS Briefing Statement, Acquisition of 12 E. William Street (aka Young Property), October 4, 1999.

¹²⁷ National Park Foundation, Application, 1999 Grant Programs under the Environmental Protection Act of 1993 and the Clean Water/Clean Air Bond Act of 1996, to Restore Historic M'Clintock House Interior, August 16, 1999; Contract #C569915, Environmental Protection Fund-HP, NYS Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation with National Park Foundation, April 13, 2001; M'Clintock House Interior Restoration Project, Final Report, April 30, 2002, transmitted to Kathleen Damiani, NYS Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, May 28, 2002; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2001. According to Josie Fernandez, NYS Lt. Governor Mary Donahue was instrumental in securing the state grant; see Fernandez interview, 10.

Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History.¹²⁸ Once again, Josie Fernandez's ability to communicate park needs directly to the White House was behind this contribution. After Fernandez mentioned the M'Clintock House fundraising shortfall to First Lady Hillary Clinton at a Millennium event at the White House, Clinton asked her to draft a letter explaining the situation. Thereafter, Goldsmith called Fernandez and asked how she could help, and the result was a personal check for \$140,000. Goldsmith's gift came with a stipulation that the funds be used for education as well as restoration.¹²⁹

Grants of nearly \$225,000 and \$185,000 in private donations allowed the park to proceed with restoring the historic interior in late 2000.¹³⁰ Facilities manager Robert Fenton and other members of the park staff supervised the actual restoration, most of which was contracted out locally to Bouley Associates (Auburn, NY), with architect Millan Galland of the BCB providing design support.¹³¹ Despite some delays to work out details in the plans and specifications, the work was sufficiently complete by June to open the house for visitation, and interior restoration was complete by the end of 2001.¹³²

In FY 2003 the park received \$252,000 in RFDP 20 percent funds to reconstruct the south wing. While the exterior of this wing re-created the appearance of the historic structure, the interior was designed to provide restrooms and space for other visitor operations including an Eastern National outlet. Again, the BCB provided design services and contracting support, with the park providing project supervision.¹³³ Work was

¹²⁸ "Author Barbara Goldsmith Matches Grant to Restore M'Clintock House," NPS News Release, January 3, 2000; David L. Shaw, "Gift to help Save Women's Rights home," *The Cayuga Post-Standard*, January 4, 2000; Jay Tokasz, "Women's Rights house to be restored," *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, NY), January 4, 2000; Annie Taylor, "Historic site nets \$140,000," *The Citizen* (Auburn, NY), January 4, 2000; Kevin DeValk, "M'Clintock House gets \$140,000 gift," *Finger Lakes Times*, January 5, 2000; "M'Clintock House restoration grant received," *The Reveille/Between the Lakes*, January 6, 2000.

¹²⁹ Josie Fernandez interview. For more information on Barbara Goldsmith, see <http://www.barbaragoldsmith.com/> and *Celebrating Women's History*, the 1999 report of the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History.

¹³⁰ Acting Superintendent Vivien E. Rose to Marjorie Thomas, National Park Foundation, letter requesting release of \$185,000 from the M'Clintock House Restoration Fund, July 27, 2000; Marjorie Thomas to Vivien E. Rose, letter with enclosed check, July 31, 2000. Section 106 compliance for interior rehabilitation and archeology was completed in July 1994; see "Section 106 Summary as of September 25, 2001, Women's Rights NHP."

¹³¹ Richard J. Armenia, [Contracting Officer]. Boston Support Office to Robert Fenton, Women's Rights NHP, memorandum re: designation of Contracting Officer's Technical Representative, November 2, 2000; Project Agreement for Interior Rehabilitation of the M'Clintock House, Building Conservation Branch, NE Cultural Resources Center and Women's Rights NHP, January 18, 2001.

¹³² Interim Progress Report for M'Clintock House, Save America's Treasures Award, August 2, 2001; Final Project Report, M'Clintock House Exterior/Interior Restoration, March 27, 2002; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2001.

¹³³ Project Agreement for South Wing Reconstruction of the M'Clintock House, Building Conservation Branch, Northeast Cultural Resources Center, January 2003; Minutes,

delayed for a few months because only one firm responded to the first solicitation, with a bid that was \$190,000 over the budgeted amount. The BCB subsequently revised plans and specifications and issued a new solicitation in April 2003, with the contract award going to Marianacci, Inc. of Bloomfield, NY. Construction started in late August, and the project was completed in May 2004.¹³⁴

After interior restoration was finished and while the south wing project was in progress, the Visitor Service and Cultural Resources Division worked on exhibits. In FY 2003 the park received project funding of \$75,400 for exhibit fabrication.¹³⁵ The park asked two outside consultants to review the exhibit plan before turning the project over to the exhibit designer, Hadley Exhibits, Inc. Christopher Clarke, an independent historical consultant specializing in early American history and material culture, and Emma Lapsansky, archivist at Haverford Library, both suggested that the interpretation include more than static exhibits. They also suggested that the African American story be amplified in accordance with the park's *Long-range Interpretive Plan*.¹³⁶ During the next year, VS/CR staff (curator Jude Pfister, Historian Anne Derousie, and Park Ranger Jamie Wolfe) worked with Hadley to meet a target installation date of April 15, 2004. Actual installation of the exhibit, along with office furnishings in the re-constructed south wing and upstairs office space of the historic house began mid-May after construction was complete and security systems had been activated.¹³⁷

The M'Clintock House finally opened as an interpretive site in 2004, fourteen years after restoration work began in 1990 and nineteen years after the park acquired the property in 1985. The grand opening, cosponsored by the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, marked the first time the park and the Waterloo community had an opportunity to plan a major event together. In order to maximize exposure, the opening coincided with Waterloo's annual Memorial Day celebration, which has been observed since the end of the Civil War.¹³⁸ Waterloo businesses and community members assisted

Management Team Meeting, June 25, 2003. The Project Agreement indicates that reconstruction was funded with RFDP 20 percent funds.

¹³⁴ Minutes, Park-wide Staff Meeting, April 16, 2003; Minutes, Management Team Meeting, August 20, 2003; Minutes, Park-wide Staff Meeting, September 3, 2003; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2003. Minutes, Park-wide Staff Meeting, March 3, 2004; Minutes, Management Team Meeting, May 12, 2004; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2004.

¹³⁵ Status of Projects Assigned to Facility Manager, June 26, 2000; Acting Superintendent Lizzie Watts to Sandy Walter [Deputy Regional Director] and Marie Rust [Regional Director], memorandum re: monthly report, March 15, 2002; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2002.

¹³⁶ Minutes, Management Team Meetings, April 23, 2003, May 14, 2003; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2003.

¹³⁷ Minutes, Management Team Meetings, March 24, 2004; April 21, 2004; May 4, 2004.

¹³⁸ Waterloo's Memorial Day event, now known as Celebrate/Commemorate, was first observed on May 5, 1866, predating by two years General Order No. 11 issued by General John Logan, national commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, which ordered that May 30, 1868, be observed by placing flowers on the graves of both Union and Confederate soldiers who died in the Civil War and were buried in Arlington National Cemetery. The horrific loss

by providing free publicity, venues for special events, and volunteer photography services. Festivities included presentations by interpreters in period costume, demonstrations of historical games, a concert, and a Civil War-era ball. Several M'Clintock descendants attended, and the park hosted a mini-conference focused on the M'Clintock family and new scholarship on antebellum reform.¹³⁹



Figure 52. M'Clintock House with reconstructed south wing, 2004. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

of life sustained during the war gave rise to several traditions of commemorating those who died in battle, and various communities claim to be the birthplace of Memorial Day, or Decoration Day as it was originally called. However, in 1966, Congress officially recognized the Village of Waterloo as the first formal, annual commemoration. See, for instance, Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008) and David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

¹³⁹ Diana Louise Carter, "Historic Base of Women's Rights Opens," *Democrat and Chronicle*, May 27, 2004; M'Clintock House Grand Opening Weekend Schedule of Events, May 28-31, 2004; M'Clintock House Grand Opening, Historical Session Panels, May 29-31, 2004; Minutes, Management Team Meeting, June 7, 2004; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2004.



Figure 53. Descendants of Charles Wilson M'Clintock attending the M'Clintock House Grand Opening, May 2004. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*



Figure 54. M'Clintock House Interior, Parlor Vignette. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*



Figure 55. Interpretive Panels, M'Clintock House. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

Table 7. M'CLINTOCK HOUSE, LAND ACQUISITION AND DEVELOPMENT COSTS (ESTIMATED)								
	ONPS	RFDP	NPS OTHER	NPF	NY SHPO	SAT	LAND	TOTAL
LAND	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$123,000
14 E. William St. (1985)							53,000	53,000
12 E. William St. (1999)							70,000	70,000
SITE WORK & RESTORATION								\$962,229
Remove non-historic structures from site (1989)			30,000					30,000
Restore exterior (1990-1992)			200,000					200,000
Preliminary plans/specs for house interior (1993)			25,000					25,000
Asbestos removal (1996)			15,000					15,000
Final site concept plan (1996)	2,000							2,000
Final plans/specs for house interior/south wing (1997)	11,000							11,000
Cultural Landscape Inventory-OCLP funded (1997)			15,000					15,000
Archeology-CRPP (1996-97)			53,000					53,000
Archeology (2003)			22,535					22,535
Restore interior (2000-2001)				112,446	36,554	185,000		334,000
Reconstruct south wing (2003)		252,000						252,000
Fee Collection Station (2004)		2,694						2,694
EXHIBITS & FURNISHINGS								\$155,900
Exhibit proposal (1997)	5,000							5,000
Exhibit plans/specs (1997)				40,000				40,000
Wayside Exhibits (2000)		15,500						15,500
Historic Furnishings Plan-HFC funded (1997)			20,000					20,000
Design, fabricate, and install exhibits (2001-2004)			75,400					75,400
Totals	\$18,000	270,194	455,935	152,446	36,554	185,000	123,000	\$1,241,129
<p>ONPS = Authorized Park Operating Budget NPS OTHER includes project funds through the Regional Office, Harpers Ferry Center funding, and Olmsted Center funding RFDP = Recreational Fee Demonstration Program funds, both 20% and 80% NPF = National Park Foundation – note that NPF collected at least \$185,000 in private donations, a portion of which was earmarked for education. SAT = Save America's Treasures NY SHPO = New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation</p> <p>Sources: Briefing, Restoration of the M'Clintock House, Women's Rights NHP, February 12, 1997; Women's Rights NHP Property Summary Sheet for M'Clintock House; Final Project Report, Save America's Treasures Award, March 27, 2002; Final Report, M'Clintock House Restoration, to NYS Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, May 28, 2002; Women's Rights NHP Funded Funding Components, 1997-2009, generated by Women's Rights NHP, December 9, 2009.</p>								

At its opening, the M'Clintock House site represented an estimated investment of more than \$1.2 million, including land acquisition, preliminary studies, planning and design, restoration of the historic house exterior (1990-1992), restoration of the house

interior (2000-2001), re-construction of the south wing (2003-2004), and exhibit development (2003-2004).¹⁴⁰

HUNT HOUSE

Like the M'Clintock House, the Richard and Jane Hunt House was privately owned when the park was created. The authorizing legislation thus included it as a designated park site but permitted the NPS to preserve and interpret it only through cooperative agreement with the owners. There was no legislative authority to purchase the house outright. In 1980 the property was listed on the National Register, and a 1984 architectural survey by the Waterloo Historic Preservation Commission documented several exterior and interior alterations to the c. 1830 house but concluded that much of the historic fabric was intact and in good condition. In accordance with the park's limited legislative authority, the 1986 *General Management Plan* recommended that NPS make technical assistance available to the owners for the purpose of restoration and historic grounds enhancement. Additionally the GMP proposed a cooperative agreement, if the owners agreed, to allow visitor access to the grounds or building. The owners, Thomas and Joan Olmstead, were not interested.¹⁴¹

Although the Olmsteads had considered selling their property to the NPS in 1991, legislative authority was not sought at the time in order to avoid delaying the GMP. Then, on a June day in 1999, as Josie Fernandez was driving by the house, she noticed that it was for sale with an asking price of \$139,900.¹⁴² Its sudden availability stirred a quick response. Senator Moynihan readily agreed to sponsor new legislation to lift the restriction on fee simple acquisition, and while the legislative wheels were grinding, the park and Regional Office worked with the Trust for Public Land to arrange a purchase that would secure the property until the NPS had congressional authorization.¹⁴³

The National Trust for Historic Preservation subsequently agreed to collaborate with the TPL, and several donors immediately came forward to provide what eventually amounted to a \$250,000 fund, with any remainder after purchase going toward restoration. Before a deal could be worked out, however, the Olmsteads accepted an offer from a local buyer, contingent on the buyer selling her house. While that deal was on the table, PBS aired the Ken Burns-Paul Barnes documentary, *Not For Ourselves Alone*, and

¹⁴⁰ Itemized amounts have been drawn from several sources, and some of the rounded figures may be estimates themselves. Because the funding came from so many different sources and over a period of fourteen years, it is possible that this summary has missed some smaller expenditures; it should, therefore, be treated as a rough estimate pending a more thorough internal accounting.

¹⁴¹ *General Management Plan*, 20.

¹⁴² Josie Fernandez interview, 16.

¹⁴³ National Park Service Briefing Statement, prepared by NER and Women's Rights NHP, July 21, 1999; Briefing Statement for Legislation Needed for Women's Rights NHP, October 5, 1999.

the *New York Times* ran a story on the NPS “scramble” to “buy a shrine.” The publicity drew a number of other potential buyers. When the local buyer could not sell her house in time, the Olmsteads decided to auction the house to the highest bidder. At an invitation-only auction, conducted by telephone on December 17, 1999, the NTHP, acting as the official bidder on behalf of the TPL and the NPS, outbid three other parties and purchased the house for \$231,000.¹⁴⁴



Figure 56. Hunt House, Waterloo, NY. *Courtesy Women’s Rights NHP.*

Senator Moynihan introduced S.1910 in November 1999 to amend P.L. 96-607 so that the NPS could acquire the property in fee simple. Rep. Thomas Reynolds (R-NY 27th District) introduced a companion bill (H.R. 3404), cosponsored by fellow representatives Louise Slaughter and Maurice Hinchey. In the Senate, the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources reported Moynihan’s bill favorably, and it easily passed the Senate in

¹⁴⁴ Glenn Collins, “For Sale: Home of Original Suffragists: National Park Service Scrambles to Buy a Shrine to Women’s Rights” *New York Times*, November 14, 1999; Jay Tokasz, “History up for auction,” *Rochester Democrat & Chronicle*, December 17, 1999; Press Conference, Superintendent Josie Fernandez (prepared statement), December 17, 1999; “Historic Hunt House to go to National Park Service,” NPS News Release, December 17, 1999; “Historic Suffragist Meeting Place Saved,” TPL and NTHP Press Release, December 17, 1999.

April 2000. Passage in the House followed in July. In August, President Clinton signed the bill into law (P.L. 106-258).¹⁴⁵

From April 2000 through September 2001, the park leased the house from the National Trust for the nominal sum \$10 per year in order to begin maintaining the property while legislation was moving through Congress. The purchase took another year while the NPS reprogrammed land acquisition funds, and ownership officially transferred from the National Trust to the National Park Service on September 21, 2001.¹⁴⁶ The National Trust, in turn, returned the recovered purchase price to a dedicated fund (\$250,000) for house restoration, with the stipulation that funds be released to the park when all research studies were complete.¹⁴⁷

Meanwhile, the park ark and Regional Office began preliminary studies and project planning.¹⁴⁸ At the time, the park began to consider using the upper level of the Hunt House to advance its educational mission. According to Fernandez, “we got very fancy in our thinking—residencies, where actually people would come live in the house. We talked about a lot of things.”¹⁴⁹ In FY 2001 the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation provided technical assistance in the amount of \$13,600 to conduct a cultural landscape inventory (CLI), completed in 2002.¹⁵⁰ Site remediation to remove an underground storage tank also was completed in FY 2002 at a cost of \$97,000.¹⁵¹ However, Fernandez was pulled away from the park in late 2001 for active military duty,

¹⁴⁵ “Hunt House: A Home for Women’s Rights,” *On the Land: The Trust for Public Lands in the Mid-Atlantic*, February 2000, 1,9; “Hunt House Gets Park OK- Clinton Likely to Sign Bill Approved by Congress,” *Finger Lakes Times*, July 26, 2000; Acting Director [Denis Galvin] to Regional Director, NER [Marie Rust], memorandum re: Activation P.L. 106-258, with attachments, August 24, 2000. Legislative information for S. 1910 (106th Cong.), H.R. 3404 (106th Cong.) and P.L. 106-258, (August 8, 2000) is available at <http://thomas.loc.gov>.

¹⁴⁶ Boyd L. Sponaule, Realty Officer, NER, to Paul W. Edmonson, Vice President & General Counsel, National Trust for Historic Preservation, letter, March 31, 2000, with attached lease; Acting Director [Katherine H. Stevenson] to Regional Directors NER and Intermountain, memorandum re: Approval of Reprogramming Proposal-Title V, Land Acquisition,” August 24, 2001; Seneca County Deeds, Liber 633, p. 102, September 21, 2001.

¹⁴⁷ Superintendent’s Annual Report, FY 2003; Acting Superintendent [Michael Caldwell], Women’s Rights NHP, to Anita Canovas, Associate General Counsel, National Trust for Historic Preservation, letter, June 7, 2004.

¹⁴⁸ George Siekkinen, Senior Architect, to Paul Edmondson, General Counsel, NTHP, memorandum re: Hunt House, January 14, 2000; Project Agreement [second draft], Hunt House Development and Restoration, March 2000.

¹⁴⁹ Josie Fernandez interview, 17.

¹⁵⁰ Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, Project Agreement for Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Hunt Property, Women’s Rights NHP, September 2001; Robert Mooney and David L. Uschold, *Cultural Landscapes Inventory, Hunt House, Women's Rights National Historical Park* (Brookline, MA: Northeast Region, Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, 2003).

¹⁵¹ Superintendent’s Annual Report, FY 2002. One-year funding from the Environmental Management Program; see Funded Funding Components, FY 1997-2009, report of December 4, 2009.

and then project momentum slowed to a crawl. The historic resource study, historic structure report, and archeological survey were prioritized as immediate needs in the FY 2002 project-funding package, and again in 2003.¹⁵² While these planning studies awaited funding, the Regional Office sought an appraisal to determine the cost of purchasing an existing easement for driveway access held by neighbors to the rear of the property.¹⁵³

PARK-WIDE MAINTENANCE AND COMPLIANCE

Deterioration of brick at the Wesleyan Chapel required specialized attention, but the routine preservation maintenance of old buildings and the needs of a growing park also required more staff time. Increasingly, the Maintenance Division had to rely on volunteers or no-cost help through such programs as Green Thumb, WorkFare, and Alternative to Incarceration. In 2000, for instance, the division utilized more than 3,400 hours of volunteer time for painting buildings, maintaining the grounds, and custodial work, although workers were not available on a consistent basis and the quality of work varied greatly. While the workload increased with the addition of new properties, the size of the Maintenance Division staff did not necessarily grow accordingly. Additionally, staff members increasingly were required to learn new technologies and devote time to required training classes.¹⁵⁴

Unexpended funds from the personnel budget were used in 2002 to cover the costs of providing staff with hazardous materials training, safety training, and continuing professional development in cultural resource compliance.¹⁵⁵ In 2003 the training schedule included instruction in the operation of fire alarm and security systems for all sites and Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) certification for all maintenance staff in the installation and safety procedures for scaffolding and aerial lifts. As the National Park Service adopted new computerized systems to track and coordinate park operations system-wide, staff at the park level had to devote time to learning those systems and maintaining their skills. In 2002 staff received training in the new Project Management Information System (PMIS), a computerized database management system. In 2003, the staff entered information for all of the park's physical assets into the Facility Management Software System (FMSS). With assistance from the Regional Office, staff also completed condition assessments of park resources.¹⁵⁶

One-year funds from a variety of NPS sources covered an increasing number of special maintenance needs. In FY 2002, for instance, the park received one-year funds to

¹⁵² Superintendent's Annual Reports, FY 2001, FY 2002.

¹⁵³ Limited-Summary Appraisal of: An Affirmative Obligation over Tract 102-01, Women's Rights NHP, owned by James M. and Karen L. Young, prepared by National Park Service, Philadelphia, PA by Appraiser Wallace R. Bennett, Jr., NER, March 1, 2001.

¹⁵⁴ Superintendent's Annual Reports, FY 2000, FY 2003.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, FY 2002.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, FY 2002, FY 2003.

upgrade the heating, ventilating, and air conditioning system in the Visitor Center, an expenditure necessitated in part to lower the humidity levels to protect exhibits and collections. In 2003 one-year funds paid for repairing the surface of the Visitor Center parking lot, and, in 2004, for the removal of storm-damaged trees.¹⁵⁷

Routine maintenance required Section 106 compliance, which also added to the growing piles of paperwork. In 2003, for instance, the Visitor Services and Cultural Resources Division reported Section 106 compliance actions for multi-year maintenance planning for the Stanton House, Wesleyan Chapel, and Visitor Center, including painting and ongoing maintenance; repair and resurfacing of the Visitor Center parking lot; roof repair at the Visitor Center; installation of an electric pole at the Hunt House Garage; conversion of the Hunt House Garage into an archival storage facility installation; construction of an accessibility ramp at the M'Clintock House Wing; and an examination and evaluation of deteriorating brick at the Wesleyan Chapel.¹⁵⁸

COLLECTIONS

An increase in base funding in 2001 enabled the park to hire a museum curator and begin addressing collections management and interpretive needs identified in the LRIP. The new curator, Jude Pfister, successfully addressed record-keeping issues, researched and acquired the reproduction furniture necessary for the M'Clintock House opening, instituted historic housekeeping practices, and managed completion of the *Collections Management Plan* (2003). Pfister also managed restoration of an oil painting of Judge Daniel Cady, Elizabeth Cady Stanton's father. In 1991 the park had acquired the large framed painting of Judge Cady, unsigned and undated but believed to date from the early nineteenth century. Both the painting and the frame were in fragile condition, having sustained water damage and decades of accumulated grime. Paint also was missing from multiple areas of the portrait, and the frame was missing several ornamental pieces. In 2002 Westlake Conservators of Skaneateles, NY, restored the painting and the frame at a cost of approximately \$9,800.¹⁵⁹ In 2002 the park received one-year funding to complete a fire and security survey and an archives survey, which were incorporated into the *Collections Management Plan*.¹⁶⁰

In 2003, on the strength of findings documented in the CLI for the Hunt House and additional research by Park Historian Anne Derosie, the park received clearance from the NYSHPO to rehabilitate a freestanding c. 1950 garage, located behind the house,

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., FY 2002, FY 2003, FY 2004.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., FY 2003, FY 2004.

¹⁵⁹ Request for Proposal, Conservation of Painting and Frame Portrait of Judge Daniel Cady for Women's Rights NHP, August 8, 2001; West Lake Conservators Ltd. Contract/Estimate for restoring oil on canvas painting of Judge Daniel Cady and repairing frame, August 24, 2001; Jude Pfister [Curator], Women's Rights NHP, to Judy Ferris [Contracting Officer], memorandum July 24, 2002.

¹⁶⁰ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2002.

into a curatorial storage building.¹⁶¹ The CLI listed the house (its mid-nineteenth-century portion) and its spatial orientation to Main Street as the remaining landscape characteristics contributing to the property's historical significance. The garage, a pool house, vegetation, and topography were considered non-contributing landscape features based on age (twentieth century) and altered condition.¹⁶² Pfister played a key role in seeking funding for the project. When the project was completed, the park transferred all artifacts remaining at Fort Stanwix to the new curatorial storage space during the summer of 2003.¹⁶³

PARK STAFFING, ORGANIZATION, AND FUNDING

The preservation, development, and interpretive initiatives accomplished during this period rested on an increased base budget and larger staff. Fernandez professionalized interpretation and cultural resources while augmenting maintenance functions with higher-graded positions requiring preservation maintenance skills. When she came to the park in 1998, there were fourteen permanent staff plus four seasonal and term rangers. During the summer of 1998 the park also had four Student Conservation Association interns to assist with interpretation and visitor services. After the season ended and at her request, a management review team from the Human Resources Management Group in the Regional Office spent a week observing and interviewing staff members. Fernandez used the reviewer's report, the anticipated development of a visitor contact station at the Stanton House, and pending completion of the M'Clintock House to substantiate a request for an increase in base funding, which came in FY 2001 when the park's authorized base increased by more than \$400,000.¹⁶⁴

PARK STAFFING AND ORGANIZATION

Four new permanent positions and two term positions were authorized in FY 2001. New permanent positions included a museum curator (GS-11), program assistant (GS-6), and park guide (GS-5) in what was then the Interpretation and Visitor Services Division, and an additional maintenance worker in the Maintenance Division (WG-10). Term positions included an education specialist, subject to furlough (GS-11), and a part-

¹⁶¹ Ruth L. Pierpont, NYSHPO, to Josie Fernandez, memorandum re: Section 106 clearance 03PR01018, March 6, 2003. The Park used ONPS funds to pay for the costs of converting the building.

¹⁶² The CLI listed the property's period of significance as 1848-1849, a purposefully conservative window pending the findings of a historic resource study.

¹⁶³ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2003.

¹⁶⁴ Josie Fernandez interview, 14; Evelyn Sheehan, Program Manager, Human Resources Management Group, Boston Support Office, to Superintendent, Women's Rights NHP [Josie Fernandez], memorandum re: Position Management Consultation, February 23, 1999, with attached executive summary.

time term archaeologist (GS-9/11). The latter position was intended to complete compliance archeology for the M’Clintock and Hunt sites and be reabsorbed into a full-time historian position when the work was completed. In May 2001 Jude Pfister was hired as curator, and Charles Taylor was hired into the Maintenance Division. A program assistant and a permanent park guide were hired in the fall.¹⁶⁵ The park made plans to recruit an educational specialist, but a pending hiring freeze agency-wide and the position’s subject-to-furlough status eventually led to a decision to re-program the funds.¹⁶⁶ Instead of hiring an education specialist, in FY 2002 the park entered into a cooperative agreement with the National Women’s Hall of Fame to develop curriculum-based education programs. Similarly, the park used funds targeted for a part-time archeologist to fund compliance archeology at the Hunt and M’Clintock sites by the Archeology Branch of the Northeast Cultural Resources Center.¹⁶⁷

Fernandez reorganized the Interpretation and Visitor Services Division (I/VS) after Mary Ellen Snyder and Leroy Renninger left the park in July 2000. The I/VS Division became the Visitor Services and Cultural Resources Division (VS/CR). Vivien Rose, who had recently completed a regional management development program, moved from park historian to division chief, with the latter position upgraded to GS-12. The Office of Historian was eliminated, and Rose’s former position, park historian, was transferred to the VS/CR division and reclassified as permanent part-time (GS-11). In May 2001 Anne Derosie joined the staff as the new park historian.

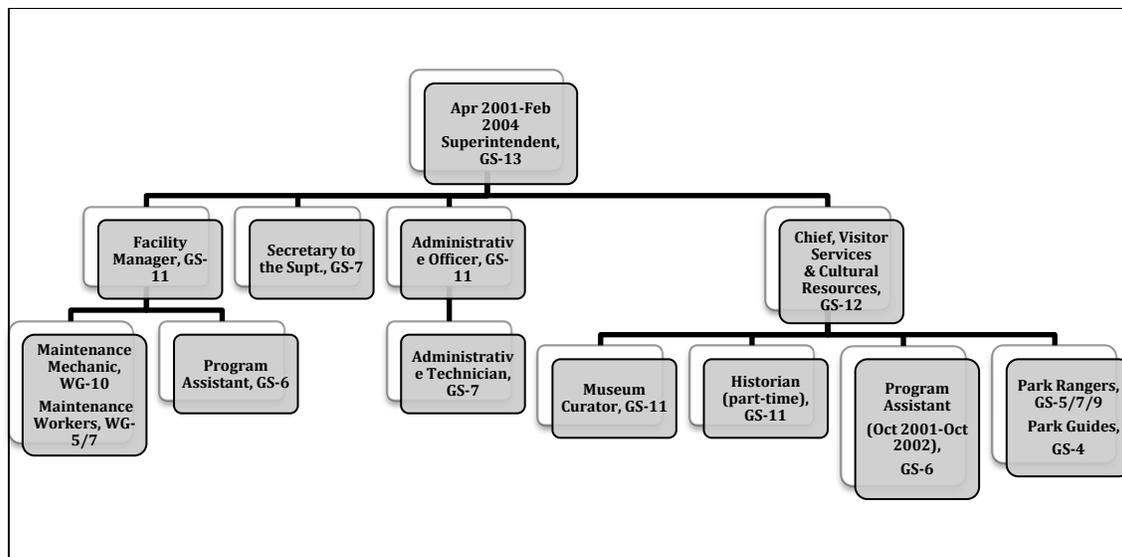


Chart 7. Staff Organization, April 2001 – 2004. *Compiled from organizational charts, Women’s Rights NHP.*

¹⁶⁵ Women’s Rights NHP Organizational Charts, April 11, 2001 and October 5, 2001.

¹⁶⁶ Minutes, Management Team Meetings, January 23, 2001 and September 18, 2001.

¹⁶⁷ Minutes, Park-wide Staff Meeting, April 3, 2002; Minutes, Budget Meeting, May 8, 2002.

With the 2000-2001 reorganization, primary responsibility for Section 106 compliance was included in the VS/CR portfolio. When the park was created, cultural resources management was considered a maintenance function. Thus, the chief of maintenance also functioned as the compliance officer at the park level while regional staff had primary responsibility for Section 106 compliance. In 1995 the protocol changed when the NPS, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers signed a new programmatic agreement, which transferred Section 106 responsibility from regional offices to park superintendents.¹⁶⁸ As a condition of this delegation of authority, park superintendents were required to identify park staff or other cultural resource specialists in the agency who could provide the expertise and technical services for cultural resource matters. Joanne Hanley, who was superintendent at the time, established a cultural resources committee with the chief of maintenance as lead. Fernandez shifted Section 106 compliance to the chief of VS/CR with both divisions sharing responsibility for overall cultural resources management. Correspondingly, the position of chief of maintenance was changed to facility manager.¹⁶⁹

These changes consolidated a large number of related functions in VS/CR. In addition to absorbing the research and outreach activities of the park historian and the compliance responsibilities of the chief of maintenance, VS/CR also continued to carry out interpretation and educational programming. The other major change in VS/CR was the phased replacement of seasonal park ranger positions (GS-5) with seasonal park guides (GS-4). The park began hiring park guides and summer maintenance staff through STEP, the Student Temporary Employment Program. From 1999 through 2004, the number of seasonal park guides varied between five and nine.¹⁷⁰

FY 2002 and FY 2003 marked the high point in terms of staffing. At the peak in the Maintenance Division, Facility Manager Robert Fenton supervised a staff of five permanent and three seasonal employees, plus one Green Thumb volunteer. At the peak in the Visitor Services and Cultural Resources Division, Vivien Rose supervised a staff of six permanent and six seasonal employees, plus a volunteer librarian. These numbers masked a gradual erosion of funding due to cost-of-living increases and pay upgrades.

¹⁶⁸ Programmatic Agreement Among the National Park Service (U.S. Department of the Interior), the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, July 17, 1995.

¹⁶⁹ In September 2001, the two divisions began to develop a protocol for the internal Section 106 process, which specified that the park's Section 106 coordinator (VS/CR division chief) would consult with a compliance team comprising the superintendent, historian, curator, and facility manager; see Minutes, Women's Rights NHP 106 Meeting, September 26, 2001. As part of establishing an internal protocol, VS/CR Division Chief Vivien Rose asked Mary Kelly Black, Program Assistant, Maintenance Division, to prepare a list of Section 106 actions for which the park held information. This list, "Section 106 Summary as of 9/25/01, Women's Rights National Historical Park," constitutes the most complete record of Section 106 actions for the park between 1982 and September 2001.

¹⁷⁰ Women's Rights NHP Organizational Charts, various 1999-2004; Minutes Park-wide Staff Meeting, April 3, 2002.

When the program assistant in the VS/CR Division left in 2002, a Student Temporary Employment Program (STEP) employee was assigned these duties for a time, but the position later went unfilled. Likewise, the museum curator position went unfilled after 2004, when Jude Pfister moved to Morristown NHP.

STAFF DIVERSITY

Between 1999 and 2004 the gender balance shifted to 50 percent men and 50 percent women among permanent staff, primarily due to staff increases in the Maintenance Division. The staff also included representation of Hispanic and African American women. NPS service-wide goals during this period were to increase by 25 percent the representation of women and minorities in targeted occupational series in the permanent workforce as well as the temporary workforce. At Women's Rights NHP, the agency-wide target translated into the goal of increasing by one, for a total of two, the number of permanent and term positions filled by employees from targeted populations. At the end of FY 1999, the park's permanent workforce totaled thirteen employees, including six white women, one African American woman, one Hispanic woman, and five white men. By FY 2004 the total number of permanent employees had increased to fifteen, comprising five white women, one African American woman, one Hispanic woman, and eight white men. The permanent workforce decreased to fourteen in FY 2005: six white women, one African American woman, and seven white men.¹⁷¹ As an American of Cuban ancestry, Josie Fernandez of course lent a public profile of staff diversity, but in the statistical reporting, the NPS tallied her status as a "white woman." In the park-wide temporary and seasonal workforce, the park's strategic goal was to increase minority representation by one employee. Throughout the 1999-2004 period, temporary employees were predominantly white and primarily women. The park, however, has never been lax about diversity issues and has recruited minorities whenever new hiring opportunities have arisen. Additionally, the park consistently has offered interpretive and educational programs that value racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity.

VOLUNTEERS

Increasingly, the park relied on volunteers to provide much of the front-line contact with visitors through staffing the information desk and assisting with interpretive programs as well as providing support services for administrative and maintenance personnel. Volunteers logged a record-setting 25,000 hours in 1998, an essential contribution that made it possible for the park to staff sites and special events for Celebrate '98. Thereafter, from 1999 through 2004, volunteers logged an average of nearly

¹⁷¹ Strategic Plan, Women's Rights NHP, FY 2000-2005 and FY 2001-2005; Women's Rights NHP, FEORP Staff Profiles, Permanent Employees, FY 1999 (September 30, 1999), FY 2000 (September 30, 2000), FY 2001 (September, 2001), FY 2003 (June 30, 2003), FY 2004 (September 30, 2004)

5,300 hours yearly, a substantial contribution of about 2.5 FTE. As much as volunteers were appreciated for the important service they provided, varying skill levels and degrees of competency, along with high turnover, meant that they could not assume the workload of highly skilled staff members such as the curator, whose workload shifted to other permanent employees when that position lapsed. By the time Fernandez left the park in 2004, the erosion of funding for permanent staffing once again was taking a toll.¹⁷²

PARK FUNDING

As the following tables indicate, an increasing amount of funding for critical needs and special projects came from outside sources or from the Recreational Fee Demonstration Program between 1998 and 2004. This was especially true for the M'Clintock House, the restoration of which might have taken longer than fourteen years without the involvement of the National Park Foundation, which secured a Save America's Treasures grant and helped raise generous outside donations. Likewise, the National Park Foundation and the National Trust for Historic Preservation enabled the park to move quickly to acquire the Hunt House. At the Stanton Site, development stalled when the \$500,000 HUD grant lapsed.

¹⁷² Superintendent's Annual Reports for FY 2003 and FY 2004.

TABLE 8. PARK STATISTICS, FY 1998-2000			
	FY 1998	FY 1999	FY 2000
Visitation, Recreational	71,831	36,246	28,404
Staffing – FTE authorized	17.00	16.00	16.00
Staffing – FTE used	15.81	14.66	16.16
# perm staff positions filled*	14	14	14
# term/seasonal positions	4	6	6
Volunteer Hours	25,027	5,471	4,214
SCA volunteers	4		
*some filled part-time or part year			
Authorized Operations Budget	\$ 821,040	\$ 863,000	\$ 877,000
Park-generated Funds			
Print Shop	4,650	n/a	5,390
General Donations	3,622	23,460	6,900
Eastern National	n/a	10,754	5,679
Grants/Special Donations			
NY OPRHP (M’Clintock)			36,554
Save America’s Treasures		185,000	
NPF (SAT Match)			185,000
HUD (Canal Corridor Initiative)	500,000		
NPS Parks as Classrooms Grant	8,000		
OAH (conference)	1,060		
NPS Project Funding			
RFDP 80% Cost of Collection	15,000	-0-	14,614
RFDP 80% - Project		41,675	14,614
CCRP (ECS House arch)		35,000	
Env Mgt Prog (Haz Mat)	6,000	6,000	4,000
Sources: Superintendent’s Annual Reports, FY 2000-2005 (FY 1999 report missing); Year-end Budget Summaries, FY 1998-2004; “Funded Funding Components, FY 1997-2009,” Women’s Rights NHP; Annual Performance Plans, FY 1999, FY 2000, FY 2002; Eastern National Percentage Donation Allotment Reports, FY 1998-2001; Eastern National Annual Reports/Women’s Rights NHP, FY 1998-2002; Women’s Rights NHP Organizational Charts, 1998-2004; Visitor statistics come from the NPS Public Use Statistics Office (www.nature.nps.gov).			

Despite a substantial increase in base funding, it simply took more money each year to operate the park and maintain its historic resources. In 1997 the park submitted a lengthy list of requests for RFDP 80 percent funding.¹⁷³ From then on, this source funded several projects, including a wayside exhibit at the M’Clintock House, interpretive programs for youth, archeological investigations at 1 Seneca Street, replacement audio-visual equipment and updated interactive stations at the Visitor Center, restoration of the Judge Cady painting, removal of the non-historic garage at the Stanton Site, and reconstruction of the south wing of the M’Clintock House.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Project Detail Sheets for PMIS (Project Management Information System) Numbers 43901 – 43915, submitted FY 1997 and approved for RDFP funding AY 2000.

¹⁷⁴ Funded Funding Components, FY 1997-2009, Women’s Rights NHP

TABLE 9. PARK STATISTICS, FY 2001 – FY 2004				
	FY 2001	FY 2002	FY 2003	FY 2004
Visitation, Recreational	25,244	21,034	19,944	19,863
Staffing – FTE authorized	16.00	16.0	16.00	16.00
Staffing – FTE used	15.89	19.36	17.74	16.87
# perm staff positions filled*	16	17	17	16
# term/seasonal positions	7	10	10	11
Volunteer Hours	5,005	6,909	5,046	4,251
*some filled part-time or part year				
Authorized Operations Budget	\$ 1,305,000	\$ 1,327,000	\$ 1,319,000+	\$ 1,309,000+
+decreases due to mandatory budget recisions				
Park-generated Funds				
Print Shop	5,071	n/a	3,875	3,917
General Donations	1,720	2,457	1,299	5,241
Eastern National	6,648	5,491	15,090	9,272
Grants/Donations				
HUD		(500,000)		
ECSF (Lynne V. Cheney)		5,000		
NPS Project Funding				
RFDP 80% Cost of Collection	11,850	15,590	14,790	12,294
RFDP 80% - Project		9,817	45,000	
RFDP 20% - Project			252,000	
CRPP	8,000			
MCPD		3,300		
Repair/Rehab			24,500	17,825
Cyclic Maintenance			75,400	
Env Mgt Prog (Haz Mat)	164,000		6,000	6,100
Sources: Superintendent’s Annual Reports, FY 2000-2005 (FY 1999 report missing); Year-end Budget Summaries, FY 1998-2004; “Funded Funding Components, FY 1997-2009,” Women’s Rights NHP; Annual Performance Plans, FY 1999, FY 2000, FY 2002; Eastern National Percentage Donation Allotment Reports, FY 1998-2001; Eastern National Annual Reports/Women’s Rights NHP, FY 1998-2002; Women’s Rights NHP Organizational Charts, 1998-2004; Visitor statistics come from the NPS Public Use Statistics Office (www.nature.nps.gov).				

SUMMING UP

At the end of FY 2003 Fernandez reported that the park was in a “state of arrested development.” Development at the Stanton Site was on hold, deterioration continued at the Wesleyan Chapel, and the Hunt House treatment awaited baseline cultural resource research.¹⁷⁵ The bright spot was the M’Clintock House, which opened to the public in the spring of 2004. Fernandez left the park at about the same time to take a new position as superintendent of Hot Springs National Park. Despite her assessment, which reflected a

¹⁷⁵ Superintendent’s Annual Report, FY 2003.

mounting backlog of cultural resource and maintenance needs and inadequate funding to address them, Fernandez accomplished much during her seven years at the park.

First and foremost, she was instrumental in raising the rest of the money to finish the M'Clintock House restoration, and she saw the project through to completion, including the development and installation of interpretive exhibits. She also provided leadership to acquire the Hunt House, thereby completing the acquisition of resources authorized in the park's enabling legislation. She also helped to launch a new support group, Friends of Women's Rights NHP. Fernandez broadened the park's educational mission by steering interpretation toward international initiatives, especially by joining the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, and by supporting civic engagement. Behind the scenes, she raised collections management, briefly, from a collateral duty task to a professional staff responsibility. She also gave professional staff both direction and latitude to operate as a team. Part of this leeway may have been the natural result of her absences for military reserve duty, during which times division heads were needed to make decisions or provide advice to acting superintendents.¹⁷⁶ But her quick decision to bring in an Incident Command Team to handle logistics for Celebrate '98 demonstrated that she understood how to support staff so that they could focus on their own responsibilities. Overall, Fernandez seems to have projected a sense that she was working alongside her staff to accomplish the mission of the park.

In her words, she left the park with "a lot of things in place" so that the next superintendent, Tina Orcutt, could "move the ball farther down the field." More to the point, with development at the Stanton Site stalled, deterioration of the Wesleyan Chapel's historic fabric inching toward critical stage, and the Hunt House presenting a brand new development opportunity, she handed her successor an array of enticing challenges.

¹⁷⁶ In addition to her one-year absence from late 2001 to late 2002, Fernandez was called to active duty for shorter periods of time. Vivien Rose, for instance, served as acting superintendent during November 2001 before B.J. Dunn was assigned to the park for a two-month detail as acting, and Rose also served in this capacity intermittently while Fernandez was superintendent.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A TIME OF TRANSITIONS: 2005 - 2011

Tina Orcutt came to Women's Rights NHP with experience in several areas of park operations, but very little park management experience. She earned a bachelor's degree in government and politics from the University of Maryland. However, she joined the National Park Service in 1988 as a high school student in the NPS Junior Fellowship Program. In that capacity she worked in interpretation at Gettysburg National Military Park and then at Eisenhower National Historic Site in Pennsylvania. From there, she went to Colonial National Historical Park. At Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve in New Orleans she worked as an education specialist. From there, Orcutt moved to Booker T. Washington National Monument as chief of Interpretation and Resources Management, then moved to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal as chief of Resources Management. She was serving as acting deputy superintendent at the C & O Canal when she was offered the superintendency of Women's Rights in 2004. In Orcutt's words, she was at the point in her career where the "next step for me was a small-park superintendency." She had visited the park in the late 1980s and "found it to be an incredible story and kind of kept my eye on it as I progressed through my career."¹

Orcutt arrived in September 2004 and almost immediately began steering the park to be "more aggressive in routine and cyclic preservation work."² To a considerable degree, Orcutt's tenure as superintendent was marked by consolidating gains and holding ground. Of the three major development projects awaiting attention when she arrived, she chose to focus on the Wesleyan Chapel. She will be remembered foremost as the superintendent who provided leadership for rehabilitating the Wesleyan Chapel to approximate the building where the Women's Rights Convention of 1848 occurred. Shortly after the chapel was completed, Orcutt left the park to become superintendent of Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine in Baltimore, Maryland, and Hampton National Historic Site in Towson, Maryland.

Inasmuch as the administrative history project began in the middle of Orcutt's superintendency, this chapter provides a less-detailed overview of cultural resource preservation and maintenance, interpretation and visitation, and new initiatives during her tenure. However, it also addresses recurring management issues.

¹ Tina Orcutt, interview by Rebecca Conard, February 22, 2010, 1.

² Superintendent's Annual Report, Women's Rights NHP, FY 2004.

RESOURCE PRESERVATION AND MAINTENANCE

WESLEYAN CHAPEL BLOCK

“From the very first day that I arrived here and walked out to the Wesleyan Chapel and saw little piles of dust from the crumbling brick,” Orcutt recalls, “it became apparent to me that we needed . . . to establish essential purpose and needs for exploring a different preservation treatment.”³ Repeated attempts to stem deterioration of the chapel’s historic fabric had failed. Orcutt determined that the long-term preservation of the Wesleyan Chapel required reconsidering prior decisions. In January 2005 she announced that the NPS would take steps to design a new preservation treatment in accordance with the 1986 *General Management Plan*. In view of associated problems—traffic noise that interfered with interpretation, an inability to provide guided tours at all during the winter months, and recurring vandalism—it was time to consider a “preservation treatment evocative of the mid-nineteenth [century] chapel that housed the 300-member convention.”⁴

In February 2006 Orcutt notified the NYSHPO and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation that the park intended to use NEPA processes to comply with Section 106.⁵ The NPS held three scoping meetings in 2006 to determine the environmental issues and alternatives that would need to be addressed for compliance. NPS staff also met with the NYSHPO, the first of several consultations that produced consensus for incorporating the historic bricks into a structure that would “resemble to the greatest extent possible the original chapel.”⁶ The public process included soliciting comments from more than 450 people and agencies and holding one public meeting. The

³ Tina Orcutt interview, 2.

⁴ NPS Briefing Statement, Historic Wesleyan Methodist Chapel Preservation, Women’s Rights NHP, January 20, 2005.

⁵ Tina M. Orcutt, Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP, to Don Klima, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, letter, February 13, 2006.

⁶ *Rehabilitation and Preservation of the Wesleyan Chapel: Environmental Assessment/Assessment of Effect* (NPS: Northeast Region, April 2007), I-9, II-4, Appendix C-1. The term “rehabilitation” in reference to the second preservation treatment does not fit the *Secretary of the Interior’s Standards*, which defines the term as “returning a property to a state of utility, through repair or alteration, which makes possible an efficient contemporary use while preserving those portions and features of the property which are significant to its historic, architectural, and cultural values.” Although the present structure rises from the original footprint and incorporates all of the remaining original fabric, it is a created approximation of what the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel probably looked like in 1848, based on limited documentation. Nevertheless, this treatment fulfills the management objectives of the 1986 *General Management Plan*, which were to preserve the chapel remains and create an enclosed structure for media-assisted interpretation. The amended National Register documentation for Women’s Rights National Historical Park Historic District, under review in June 2011, assigns the term “site” to the Wesleyan Chapel.

NPS conducted a separate meeting with the design competition winners and The Stein Partnership design team. Orcutt also consulted with Judy Hart, who accepted the need for redesign because the bricks were deteriorating and because the park needed an enclosed space to address issues of weather and noise. Although a few people felt that the exposed ruins of the original design appropriately expressed “the fragility of women’s history,” there was widespread support locally for an enclosed structure.⁷

In 2006 Einhorn Yaffee Prescott Architecture & Engineering P.C. (EYP) performed acoustical and structural analyses of the chapel. The following year, the NPS completed a technical assessment of the chapel’s structural components and historic fabric. In 2007 EYP and Clough Harbour & Associates LLP assisted the NPS in preparing the environmental assessment and supporting information. Following NYSHPO review and the required period of public comment, Acting Regional Director Linda Canzanelli signed a Finding of No Significant Impact on August 31, 2007, which completed the preliminary planning process.⁸

Richard Grubb & Associates, Inc. completed intensive archeological testing, processed and catalogued artifacts, and evaluated project impacts in January 2009.⁹ With absolutely no fanfare, demolition began in August 2009 and work continued through spring 2010. EYP prepared construction drawings, and the construction contract went to Bouley Associates of Auburn, NY. Under the direction of Steven Spaulding, the NER Building Conservation Branch staff supervised demolition of the former commemorative supports after enclosure of the historic space.

Project costs totaled slightly more than \$1,000,000, including disassembly and demolition, archaeological monitoring, site preparation, security and fire protection, electrical work, reconstruction, and interior finishes.¹⁰ In 2009 the park submitted a request for nearly \$300,000 in project funds to research, design, fabricate, and install exhibits in the interior interpretive space of the Wesleyan Chapel. As of this writing, the park was still awaiting the availability of funds.¹¹

⁷ Ibid., I-9, I-10; Tina Orcutt interview, 5.

⁸ PMIS 82393, Study Preservation Treatment of Historic Wesleyan Chapel/Prepare Treatment Plan: acoustical and structural analysis (EYP), completed March 31, 2006, \$16,000; technical assessment of structural components and fabric of Wesleyan Chapel, completed September 30, 2007, \$31,665; facilitation of public meetings to complete Environmental Assessment/Assessment of Effect (EYP), completed December 9, 2008, \$87,843. See also Tina Orcutt, Superintendent, Women’s Rights NHP, to James Warren, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, letter, May 8, 2007; *Wesleyan Chapel EA/AoE*, I-9, V-1, V-2; Finding of No Significant Impact, Rehabilitation and Preservation of the Wesleyan Chapel, August 31, 2007.

⁹ PMIS 82392, Exterior Repair, Wesleyan Chapel Phase I, \$481,333.

¹⁰ PMIS 116016, Rehabilitate Historic Wesleyan Chapel Phase 2, \$976,688.

¹¹ PMIS 151954, Wesleyan Chapel Interior, estimated cost \$292,465, project opened January 30, 2009.



Figure 57. The Wesleyan Chapel Site, front façade and east side. Park Visitor Center in the left background. October 2010. *Photograph by Rebecca Conard.*



Figure 58. The Wesleyan Chapel Site from northwest corner. The stepped seating on the left and the expanse of Declaration Park in the middle-ground remain from the 1993 treatment. October 2010. *Photograph by Rebecca Conard.*



Figure 59. Superintendent Tina Orcutt with Rep. Kirsten Gillibrand (D-NY) at the Wesleyan Chapel Site. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

Energy efficient lighting for the Visitor Center, first proposed in 1998 to cut energy costs, was installed in 2011.¹² The Visitor Center also has required environmental monitoring since 1993, when leaking underground gasoline storage tanks and hundreds of cubic yards of contaminated soil were removed from the parking lot area behind the building. At that time, the NPS installed three groundwater-monitoring wells along the perimeter. Since then the park has contracted to have water samples analyzed regularly in compliance with state and federal laws, the cost of which is covered with funding from the NPS Environmental Management Program. In FY 2007 the park began to search for a new contractor and a better treatment plan in an effort to meet state groundwater standards and be able to close the monitoring wells.¹³ NPS adoption of electronic data

¹² PMIS 23700, Install Energy Efficient Lights in Visitor Center, was delayed to consider the effects of ultra-violet light on museum collections, which led to a discussion of LED options. The project was underway as of early 2011; Guy Hock, Chief of Facilities Management, Women's Rights NHP, to Vivien Rose, Chief of Cultural Resources, Women's Rights NHP, email, March 28, 2011.

¹³ PMIS 82364, Monitor Petroleum Levels in Ground Water at Former UST Site FY 2004, \$6,108 (Environmental Management Program); PMIS 82455, Monitor Petroleum levels in Ground Water at Former UST Site FY 2005, \$7,524 (Environmental Management Program); Superintendent's Annual Reports, FY 2007, FY 2008.

management systems in the late 1990s, quite necessary for operations in the twenty-first century, nonetheless rendered the park's analog equipment prematurely obsolete. After waiting for several years, the park received project funds of more than \$80,000 in 2007 to install a new telephone system with data/phone outlets and a new narrowband radio system.¹⁴

STANTON SITE

At the Stanton Site, project funding for deferred maintenance enabled the park to return the house to "good condition" by the end of 2007.¹⁵ NPS project funds in the amount of \$7,800 paid for repainting the exterior in FY 2005. In FY 2006 the park received \$65,000 to replace the cedar shake roof and partially replace lead-coated copper gutters. In 2007 RFDP 80 percent funds paid for a replacement sidewalk.¹⁶

More problematic has been the proposed visitor contact station site across the street from the Stanton Site. In 2007 the park began moving, gradually, toward a Determination of Eligibility on the Chamberlain House.¹⁷ Although it is considered significant for its association with Jacob P. Chamberlain, his involvement in the early flour milling industry in Seneca Falls, his active participation in the Free Soil Party, and his support of women's rights by signing the Declaration of Sentiments, the structure's historic architectural integrity is seriously compromised. In a situation reminiscent of the protracted discussions about reconstructing the Stanton House wings, park staff have reluctantly agreed with cultural resource professionals in the Regional Office that the house probably does not retain enough integrity to be preserved.¹⁸ National Register documentation completed in 2011 by Public Archeology Lab, Inc. found that the house lacked sufficient integrity to convey its historical significance, clearing the way for the

¹⁴ PMIS 88698, Replace Obsolete Telephone System, completed October 26, 2007, \$39,885 (Equipment Replacement); PMIS 100714, Rehabilitate and Upgrade Radio System to Narrowband Digital, completed October 19, 2007, \$44,854 (Equipment Replacement).

¹⁵ Returning the house to "good condition" refers to technical language specific to the List of Classified Structures, which defines structure condition as poor, fair, or good. See the section on Strategic Management Planning in Chapter 5.

¹⁶ PMIS 944, Repaint Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, completed September 20, 2005, \$7,800 (Cultural Cyclic); PMIS 105982, Replace Roof, Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, completed October 5, 2006, \$65,000 (Cultural Cyclic); PMIS 105934, Remove and Replace Sidewalk at Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, completed October 9, 2007, \$3,284 (RFDP 80%). Section 106 compliance for roof replacement completed March 16, 2005; Section 106 compliance for repainting the house completed May 17, 2005.

¹⁷ Project ID 18651 (PEPC), DOE Chamberlain House, project opened January 2007, in process as of December 26, 2010. In 2008, the DOE was incorporated into the National Register update for all park resources.

¹⁸ The technical evaluation of significance conducted by Public Archeology Lab, Inc. indicates that the Chamberlain House will not meet NRHP criteria.

park to remove the Chamberlain House while preserving the foundation and protecting archeological resources.¹⁹

M'CLINTOCK HOUSE

Completing restoration of the M'Clintock House in 2004 was a major achievement. Since its grand opening on Memorial Day weekend 2004, this site has been open seasonally rather than year-round, and Eastern National operates a small outlet in the south wing. Lack of base operating funds prompted the initial decision to open the site only during the summer tourist season. However, weak visitation numbers, amplified by responses to a comprehensive visitor survey in 2009, discussed later in this chapter, clearly indicate that further park development is needed in order to transform the Waterloo sites into a destination point.

Maintenance issues began to appear shortly after the restoration was complete. In 2005 the roof started leaking, and for two years the roof over the historic house portion was covered with a tarp to prevent water from damaging interior fabric. Likewise, the interior stone walls of the basement once again began to sustain moisture damage. Major repairs were required to resolve both maintenance problems, and the work stretched over two fiscal years, FY 2007 and FY 2008.²⁰ The basement's stone walls were repaired and lime washed, and the park contracted for the installation of a new perimeter drainage system to stop storm water from backing up and flooding the basement during heavy rains. The park also contracted to replace the roof system on the historic portion of the house.²¹ In-house cyclic maintenance since 2005 has included repairing and repainting all interior basement windows; repairing, painting, and replacing shutters as needed; repainting the exterior trim; realigning the front entrance step; repairing and repainting interior walls and ceilings; and repointing interior brickwork as well as exterior brickwork on the four chimneys.

The neighboring Young House at 12 E. William Street has been maintained minimally since its acquisition in 1999. In FY 2007 a portion of the interior was renovated for use as employee union office space. In FY 2008 the public sidewalk along E. William Street was replaced. However, the park then discontinued stabilization work pending a DOE and funding for repairs or replacements.²² Despite having been constructed for

¹⁹ Women's Rights National Historical Park Historic District, amended National Register of Historic Places documentation, prepared by Public Archeology Lab, Inc., Pawtucket, RI, January 2011.

²⁰ Superintendent's Annual Reports, FY 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008.

²¹ PMIS 125243, Replace Storm Water Leaching System at M'Clintock House, completed September 11, 2007, \$4,000 (RFDP 80%); PMIS 125193, Replace Roof at M'Clintock House, completed November 2, 2007, \$35,864 (RFDP 80%). Section 106 compliance for placing leaching system completed May 29, 2007; Section 106 compliance for re-roofing house completed June 19, 2007.

²² Superintendent's Annual Reports, FY 2007, FY 2008.

Richard P. Hunt ca. 1833 and inhabited by his daughter, Mary M. Hunt, in the 1880s and 1890s, documentation completed in 2011 by Public Archeology Lab, Inc., found the Young House lacking adequate integrity and significance for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.²³

HUNT HOUSE

At the Hunt House, the park has made incremental progress toward developing a preservation treatment plan and site management alternatives. John C. Waite & Associates completed a condition assessment and existing conditions drawings in 2006.²⁴ After the condition assessment was finished, Barbara Yocum began working on the historic structure report. As the resource studies have proceeded, the park has performed maintenance as required rather than on a cyclic schedule, and much of the work has been contracted out. Only grounds maintenance has been routine in order to maintain a hazard-free environment. The park used Repair/Rehabilitation funds to remove asbestos containing materials, and tapped the National Trust for Historic Preservation's house restoration fund to replace an old furnace.²⁵ To facilitate Barbara Yocum's investigations for the historic structure report, maintenance staff removed non-historic fabric in the house. After minor roof repairs proved to be ineffective at stopping leaks, the park used cyclic maintenance funds in 2009 to pay for roof repairs and stabilize two chimneys.²⁶ Storm damage to the garage, now used for collections storage, necessitated reroofing this structure.²⁷

RESOURCE RESEARCH

In FY 2001 and FY 2002 the park sought funding for studies necessary for a new GMP. Between 2003 and 2011, the following research and baseline study projects, in addition to the administrative history, were completed in preparation for this undertaking. R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates of Frederick, MD, completed the overview and park-wide assessment of archeological resources in January 2007. This study consolidated information from past archeological projects, produced updated site

²³ Women's Rights National Historical Park Historic District, amended NRHP documentation, January 2011.

²⁴ PMIS 74988A, Hunt House HSR, \$62,720 (CRPP Base); John G Waite & Associates, *Hunt House Conditions Assessment Report* (Albany, NY, 2006). CRPP funds are purposed for research to inform planning and treatment decisions for cultural resources under NPS Management Policies, as opposed to routine or cyclic resource maintenance studies.

²⁵ PMIS 129741, Replace Hunt House Furnace, completed September 28, 2007, \$20,400 (Repair/Rehab), \$9,900 (partner funds); Section 106 compliance for asbestos removal and furnace replacement completed May 29, 2007; Superintendent's Annual Report, 2007.

²⁶ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2006, FY 2007, FY 2008; PMIS 129740, Repair Hunt House Roof, completed October 23, 2009, \$8,100 (Cyclic Maintenance).

²⁷ Project ID 19188 (PEPC), Hunt Storage Building Reroofing, completed August 30, 2007.

records and condition assessments, and provided recommendations for completing geophysical survey work at park sites.²⁸ A park-wide historic resource study funded in FY 2004 was completed by Judith Wellman in late 2008. Among other things, the HRS provided information needed to update National Register of Historic Places documentation, which Wellman completed in 2009.²⁹ In 2006, the park contracted with Historical Resources Associates, Inc. for an ethnographic overview to identify religious communities, local groups, and women's rights activists with cultural ties to park resources. This study also was completed in 2009.³⁰

For the Stanton Site, the park received RFDP 20 percent funds in 2010 to complete archeological investigations of the entire Stanton historic grounds, analyze significant deposits, catalog and house artifacts, and prepare a final archeological report.³¹ When completed, this work will provide complete data for a full cultural landscape report and treatment plan. Whatever new information comes from these investigations also will inform site development and interpretation into the indefinite future. Tina Orcutt, like most of her predecessors, wanted "to explore the possibility of reconstructing the missing [kitchen] wing on the Stanton House."³² A persistent desire to reconstruct the east wing is not based solely on the fact that sufficient information is available to meet NPS historic preservation standards. Rather, it stems from a common perception that the existing house core is not enough to meet visitor expectations or create the park's desired visitor experience. As has been true since the house opened in 1985, ranger-guided tours of the sparsely furnished house provide the only substantive site interpretation, although the recent installation of waysides at the Stanton and Chamberlain houses surely are appreciated by passing-through visitors who stop in Seneca Falls only to see the Stanton House.

COLLECTIONS

Jude Pfister's departure in 2004 left the park without a museum curator, and those responsibilities once again became collateral duties. Collections management remained in VS/CR until 2006, when the responsibility was transferred to the new Cultural Resources

²⁸ PMIS 108156, Archeological Overview and Assessment, completed January 7, 2007, \$28,292 (CCRP).

²⁹ PMIS 75712, Prepare All Park Historic Resource Study, completed November 20, 2008, \$38,600 (CCRP); NRHP documentation completed July 30, 2009, \$45,070 (CCRP). The NRHP nomination is, as of this writing, being edited by Public Archeology Lab, Inc. under the direction of NER National Register Program Manager Elizabeth Igleheart.

³⁰ PMIS 108818, Women's Rights NHP Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, completed August 15, 2009, \$99,758 (CRPP).

³¹ PMIS 106983, Complete Archeological Survey of Stanton Lot, funded FY 2010, \$134,600 obligated (RFDP 20%). See Project ID 29486 (PEPC), Conduct Geophysical Survey and Archeological Assessment for Stanton House Property, for Section 106 compliance documentation.

³² Tina Orcutt interview, 11.

Division. Since 2005, however, the park has acquired additional historic items of considerable value, and the need for collections management has increased. In large part, the park historian has filled this need, assisted by three interns from the Cultural Resource Diversity Initiative Program. In 2005 the park acquired an eighteenth-century Quaker manual owned by Thomas M'Clintock.³³ A privately held collection of Richard P. Hunt Family Papers, offered to the park in 2006, was purchased in 2008, adding approximately 1,400 items dating from 1810 to the 1860s and including a set of receipts related to house construction and furnishings. In FY 2010 project funds were used to complete a re-housing project for archeological collections and to prepare the Hunt Family Papers for public use. Also in 2010 a lithograph of Wendell Phillips was acquired.³⁴

In 2007 the park once again turned to the Collections Conservation Branch (CCB) of the Northeast Museum Services Center for assistance. CCB conducted a survey to evaluate the condition of the park's historic and archeological collections and provided treatment recommendations for items requiring stabilization as well as priority recommendations for collections storage and maintenance.³⁵ Since 2003 the park has had a dedicated space for collections storage in the 1950s non-contributing garage at the Hunt House. After high winds and heavy snowfall felled a nearby tree, the park tapped emergency funds to replace the garage roof in 2007.³⁶

As part of the collections function, the Cultural Resources Division staff arranged the loan of the original proceedings of the 1848 convention for "Women's Votes, Women's Voices," an exhibit for the centennial of woman suffrage in Washington State in 2010, which toured the state through July 2011. To celebrate the 2010 centennial, the park also partnered with the Washington State Historical Society (WSHS) and the Washington Women's History Consortium to develop a traveling exhibit and web-based educational program on Catherine Paine Blaine, a signer of the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments. In 1853 Blaine and her husband David, a Methodist minister, moved to Seattle, where she became Seattle's first schoolteacher. The exhibit and educational program, developed by Cultural Resources staff in collaboration with WSHS staff, establish a historical connection between nineteenth-century women's rights activity in Seneca Falls and settlement in Washington State through the life of a notable historical figure in Seattle's history. The Blaine exhibit, which premiered at Klondike Gold Rush

³³ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2005.

³⁴ Superintendent's Annual Reports, FY 2006, FY 2008; communication from Vivien Rose, February 22, 2010. Wendell Phillips (1811-1884) was a noted abolitionist and advocate for equal rights for women and Native Americans.

³⁵ PMIS 79760, Create Collection Condition Survey, completed November 2007, \$5,624 (Museum Collections Preservation and Protection funds).

³⁶ PMIS 136225, Replace Storm Damaged Roof of Archive Storage Building, completed November 1, 2007, \$9,014 (Emergency Storm and Flood Damage).

NHP, Seattle unit, in the heart of Seattle, is now available as one of several traveling exhibits offered by WSHS.³⁷

INTERPRETATION AND VISITATION

In 2005 former superintendents Judy Hart and Josie Fernandez returned to celebrate the park's twenty-fifth anniversary. Several special events marked the occasion, including "Organized Resources and Reform: A Scholars' and Educators' Colloquium," cosponsored with the National Women's Hall of Fame. The Friends of Women's Rights NHP sponsored a Seneca Falls Dialogue on "Women and the Vote," and the park signed a new five-year general agreement with the Friends. Two special exhibits were on display: "It's a Wide Community Indeed: Women's Rights NHP 1980-2005," and "Sisters and Friends: Lucretia Coffin Mott, Martha Coffin Wright and Women's Rights." The park also unveiled new, temporary wayside exhibits at the Wesleyan Chapel, the Stanton and Chamberlain sites, and the M'Clintock and Hunt houses. Permanent waysides were installed in FY 2007.³⁸

Since 2006, when Cultural Resources and Interpretation became separate divisions, park interpretation has been increasingly perceived in relation to visitor services and educational outreach for school groups. Part of the reason may be that, since 2007, the park has been waiting for project funding to redesign and replace exhibits in the Visitor Center.³⁹ However, the park also is producing fewer special exhibits, and the focus of the Interpretation Division has shifted to educational outreach to enhance school visitation. Although approximately 2,000 students visit the park each year, the 2001 No Child Left Behind Act prompted schools nationwide to reallocate budgets in order to prepare students for mandated achievement tests tied to standardized learning outcomes. Museums and historic sites nationwide responded by focusing on educational outreach based on state curriculum standards. The park has participated in this effort since 2004 by assisting with Teaching American History projects in collaboration with the University of Rochester and nearby school districts.⁴⁰ More recently, the park adopted creation of a traveling trunk ensemble as its NPS 2016 Centennial project. In partnership with the Friends of Women's Rights NHP, which raised \$4,800 in matching funds, the park developed traveling trunks with materials suitable for students in grades 4 to 8 to provide

³⁷ PMIS134536, Pioneer Catherine Blaine Traveling Exhibit and On-line Educational Program, \$27,800 (NER Challenge Cost Share Program).

³⁸ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2005. Section 106 compliance for wayside installations at M'Clintock and Hunt houses completed April 18, 2005, for Stanton House on April 25, 2005, and for Wesleyan Chapel on May 18, 2005; Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2007.

³⁹ PMIS 135264, Redesign and Replace Visitor Center Exhibits, projected cost \$790,824, project opened January 22, 2007.

⁴⁰ Superintendent's Annual Reports FY 2004, FY 2007.

information on the 1848 Women's Rights Convention specifically, and daily life in the nineteenth century more generally. These trunks are designed both for use as a pre-visit orientation for students who can visit the park and as a hands-on experience for students in schools that have eliminated funding for educational field trips.⁴¹

The park's overall educational mission, integrated with interpretation and resource management under superintendent's Hanley and Fernandez, has waned in recent years. The innovative social-change programs developed for the Lily Print Shop/Suffrage Press have not been offered since the park left the Recreational Fee Demonstration Program in 2007. Interpretation has been scaled back to ranger-guided tours that explain the importance of print media to the nineteenth-century women's movement, and the park is seeking funding to install static exhibits to provide non-personal information when an interpretive staff member is not present.⁴² Another telling sign is that the park no longer is a participating member of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience.

The Friends of Women's Rights NHP has been a valuable partner for interpretive programming and educational outreach, and the park has continued to expand its circle of community partners. Participation in Teaching American History projects, for instance, provided another platform for partnering with the National Women's Hall of Fame, the Seneca Falls Historical Society, the Seneca Museum of Waterways and Industry, and the Seneca Falls Heritage Area. However, as Congress looks for every possible way to reduce federal spending, it is uncertain whether the Teaching American History program, which has long enjoyed bipartisan support, can survive budget slashing. If it goes, the incentives to collaborate with nearby universities and cultural organizations will be diminished. Fortunately, through the efforts of successive superintendents, the park has become an established and valued participant in cultural affairs locally and regionally. In addition to participating in a 2006 county-wide effort to survey resources associated with the Underground Railroad and anti-slavery activities in Seneca County, park staff also worked with a heritage tourism coalition to plan joint events. In 2007 the park began an important informal partnership with the Waterloo Library and Historical Society to "Hunt for the Hunts." Through several collaborative events—public programs, two exhibits, a public outreach concert, and a booth at Waterloo's Memorial Day weekend celebration—the park and the Society appealed to the community in an effort to learn more about Richard and Jane Hunt and their descendants.⁴³ As a result of the latter initiative, the park acquired a large collection of Hunt family papers in 2008.⁴⁴

⁴¹ PMIS 133562, Develop Educational Traveling Trunks, completed July 31, 2009, \$4,800 (Friends), \$4,800 (NPS Centennial Challenge Project).

⁴² PMIS 133578, Create Print Shop Exhibits, project opened December 28, 2008, unfunded as of this writing.

⁴³ Superintendent's Annual Reports, FY 2006, FY 2007.

⁴⁴ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2008.

Although the park signed a new five-year general agreement with the Friends in 2005, Orcutt sought to avoid perceptions that any organization has a special relationship with the park. With respect to Friends, specifically, Orcutt states that she began to sense that “some people . . . saw Friends as a venue for social activism.” Echoing concerns expressed by Judy Hart and Joanne Hanley before her, Orcutt purposefully sought to steer the park clear of political meddling:

A friends’ group needs to be assisting the park in terms of raising funds, increasing awareness and understanding about the mission of this Park. It’s been a very fine line sometimes about the types of programs that Friends wanted to do that really kind of crossed the line into much more of a left-of-center social activism, and that I think in some administrations can really sort of put a target on the Park that we don’t need.⁴⁵

Operating within these limits, Orcutt continued to develop the partnership in ways she deemed appropriate to the park’s mission.

PARK VISITATION

From FY 1997 through FY 2010, the park received nearly \$750,000 in Recreational Fee Demonstration Program funds. At the same time, park visitation declined (a circumstance of concern system-wide, addressed more fully below). The number of recreational visitors slipped below 20,000 in 2003 and thereafter gradually declined to a low of 16,397 in 2006.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, collecting fees requires staff time, collection stations, and security measures. Until 2007 the park covered the cost of collections, \$9,000-\$14,000 annually, by drawing on RFDP 80 percent funds, mostly spent to hire seasonal park rangers.⁴⁷ At the end of FY 2006, the park came to the conclusion that the fee program no longer made good business sense and petitioned to drop out. After the park was released from the program, park visitation climbed to 18,046 in FY 2007, a 10 percent increase, and to 22,482 in FY 2008, another 20 percent increase.⁴⁸

Opting out of the fee program meant losing RFDP funding for seasonal park rangers. To cover this loss, Orcutt approached Friends’ president Nan Johnson about supporting a dedicated internship program. Recalling that she “came into the National Park Service through a special intake program” when she was in high school, Orcutt held

⁴⁵ Tina Orcutt interview, 13.

⁴⁶ NPS Public Use Statistics Office, www.nature.nps.gov/stats/viewReport.cfm. The year 2003 was a low point for national park visitation system-wide, with 266,099,641 recreational visitors compared to 285,891,275 in 2000.

⁴⁷ PMIS 88279, FY 2004 Cost of Collection-Operations, \$9,600; PMIS 88287, FY 2005 Cost of Collection-Operations, \$11,800; PMIS 88300, FY 2006 Cost of Collection-Operations, \$8,265; PMIS 88303, Cost of Collection-Operations, \$2,000.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*; Superintendent’s Annual Report, FY 2007.

“internship development programs . . . near and dear to [her] heart.”⁴⁹ Johnson responded by establishing the Nan Johnson Legacy Fund, administered by the Friends, to support interns at Women’s Rights NHP in perpetuity. In 2009, with matching funds from the Student Conservation Association, the park was able to hire three interns, one of them assigned to Cultural Resources and two to Interpretation.⁵⁰

Park visitation became an agency concern after the number of recreational visitors to national parks system-wide dropped from 285,891,275 in 2000 to 266,099,641 in 2003, a decline of more than 9 percent. In 2004 visitation began to rebound and by 2009 had almost returned to the 2000 level. Correspondingly, in the past decade the nation’s population grew almost 11 percent, from 281,421,906 in 2000 to 303,745,538 in 2010. This, coupled with rapidly increasing Hispanic representation in the nation’s demographic profile and perennial funding shortages, stands behind the current director’s focus on demonstrating the relevancy of the National Park System in contemporary society.

While 2003 was a low point for national park visitation system-wide, and not an isolated circumstance at Women’s Rights, visitation at the park has been slower to rebound. After the number of recreational visitors increased in FY 2007 and 2008, the numbers slipped to 20,620 in 2009, then went up to 22,620 in 2010. While this park visitation was still roughly 17 percent below the FY 2000 figure of 26,501, visitation increased by nearly 40 percent over FY 2006. To get a clearer outline of visitors and their experiences, the park requested a more thorough study under the NPS Visitor Services Project.⁵¹ This study, conducted between June 28 and July 12, 2009, provided the park with the very first in-depth snapshot of recreational visitors.⁵²

In some respects, the statistics demonstrate the dilemma facing the National Park Service as a whole as it seeks to attract and hold new audiences. Families represented 75 percent of visitor groups to the park, a seemingly healthy percentage suggesting that younger generations are being exposed to the park’s story. However, 95 percent of visitors identified themselves as white. By race and ethnicity, American Indians and Alaska Natives accounted for 1 percent of visitors, Hispanic/Latino visitors less than 1 percent, and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders less than 1 percent. African American visitors accounted for only 1 percent, a surprisingly low figure given the park’s participation in the Underground Railroad Network to Freedom initiative, its inclusion of the antebellum anti-slavery movement in nearly every aspect of interpretation, and its care

⁴⁹ Tina Orcutt interview, 14.

⁵⁰ Nan Johnson interview, 7-8.

⁵¹ Since 1982, the NPS Social Science Program has administered the Visitor Services Project in collaboration with the Park Studies Unit, College of Natural Resources, University of Idaho, which conducts the actual studies and prepares the reports.

⁵² NPS Social Science Program and Park Studies Unit, University of Idaho, Visitor Services Project, Report 213, *Women’s Rights National Historical Park Visitor Study*, Summer 2009.

in recognizing the specific importance of well-known African American icons Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth.

Other survey data illuminate specific aspects of demographics and visitors' experiences the park must confront in order to attract and hold new audiences. Most importantly, the park's primary audience remains white, middle-aged women. While 95 percent of visitors surveyed were white, 75 percent were women and 25 percent were men. Moreover, 53 percent of visitors were over the age of forty-six. School-age children and youth represented the second-highest visitor segment, 9 percent of them age ten or younger and 8 percent between the ages of eleven and fifteen. Young adults between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five accounted for only 8 percent of visitors. Adults between the ages of twenty-six and forty-five, the group most likely to bring children to the park, accounted for 21 percent of visitors. On the whole, the age demographic profile confirms that, although people related by family ties make up a significant percentage of visitors who come in groups, the park is far more likely to reach children and youth through school visits and educational outreach programs. The demographics by ethnicity and race show without a doubt that the park, like the National Park Service as a whole, still faces a major challenge in convincing minority populations that its message is of importance to their history and culture.

The park's visitor profile by geography also is of interest. Fully one-third of surveyed park visitors were New York State residents. International visitors and residents of Ohio, Michigan, and California accounted for 5 percent of visitors each. Nearby Pennsylvania contributed 4 percent of visitors. States along the Atlantic seaboard, bordering the Great Lakes, plus Florida, Texas, Utah, and Washington contributed 2 or 3 percent each. Washington, D.C. and nineteen states throughout the rest of the country contributed less than 2 percent each. These statistics underscore the difficulty that Friends faced when the organization set out to establish chapters in every state. Inasmuch as only 2 percent of visitors were aware that the Friends of Women's Rights NHP existed before their visit, the data further suggest that Friends could do more to help develop park support regionally. Survey data also suggest enormous untapped audience potential through strategic use of the Internet. Eighty-six percent of surveyed visitors obtained information about the park prior to their visit, and 32 percent of this segment obtained their information from the park's website. Importantly, 60 percent of visitors indicated that they would likely use the Internet to obtain information in the future.

VISITORS' PERSPECTIVES ON DESIRED VISITOR EXPERIENCES

Among the visitors responding to the 2009 study, the vast majority of them learn the park's story at the Visitor Center. Of 230 visitor groups who responded during the two-week study, 97 percent spent time in the Visitor Center. Although the Wesleyan Chapel is located adjacent to the Visitor Center, only 68 percent spent time at this site. Lack of time was the reason most often cited, but comments such as "could not find it" and "saw it from visitor center and it just looked like a roof" suggest that at least some

visitors had difficulty making a visual connection between the former commemorative design and their expectation of what a historic chapel should look like. The new preservation treatment resolves any lack-of-visual-cues issue, but visitor feedback on the quality of their experience at the Wesleyan Chapel suggests considerable room for interpretive development at this site. Slightly more than half of visitors rated their quality of experience at the chapel as “very good,” the highest possible rating, whereas 63 percent rated their Visitor Center experience at the highest level.⁵³ No doubt the difference is partly attributable to the fact that there is more to see in the Visitor Center, and it provides knowledgeable ranger staff available to answer questions as well as visitor amenities such as bathroom facilities, benches, and exhibits. However, part of the reason may be that the park’s site-specific visitor experience goals for the chapel overlap those of the Visitor Center. The only interpretive goal unique to the Wesleyan Chapel is that it will provide visitors with an opportunity to “learn why the convention was held here, by these people, at this time.”⁵⁴

Only 25 percent of 230 visitor groups (approximate number: 58) went to the Stanton House during the two-week period of the 2009 survey, and even fewer, 9 percent (approximate number: 21), to the M’Clintock House. When coupled with distance, lack of time increased as a factor. However, the frequency of responses citing lack of information about the sites and their locations suggests that visitors may need more assistance in visualizing the spatial arrangement of the park’s discontinuous sites. In this respect it is important to note that 80 percent of respondents indicated they would be interested in seeing more of the park by taking a guided boat tour on the Cayuga-Seneca Canal, and 55 percent indicated an interest in guided trolley tours. These figures underscore the continuing appeal for and potential benefit of waterborne transportation to link the park’s historic sites, as called for in the 1986 GMP.⁵⁵ Among visitors who ventured to the Stanton and M’Clintock sites, the perceived quality of experience was lower than at the Wesleyan Chapel. At the Stanton House, 45 percent of visitors rated the quality of their experience as “very good” and 44 percent rated it as “good.” The relatively high percentage of “good” ratings might be related to the NPS policy of displaying only furnishings and artifacts known to have been used by Elizabeth Cady Stanton. One-third of approximately fifty-eight visitor groups were satisfied with this interpretive strategy, while more than half of them (56 percent) expressed a desire to see the house fully furnished with period furniture.⁵⁶

The quality of the visitor experience at the M’Clintock House is harder to discern because very few visitor groups went there during the survey period. Overall, data generated during the 2009 survey underscore the isolated nature of this site. When

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 31-33.

⁵⁴ *Comprehensive Interpretive Plan*, 10.

⁵⁵ *General Management Plan* (1986), 21-22.

⁵⁶ *Women’s Rights National Historical Park Visitor Study*, 32-34, 67-68.

visitors mentioned awareness of or plans to visit other historic sites in the area, the National Women's Hall of Fame was listed most often, followed by the Seneca Falls Heritage Area, the Seneca Falls Historical Society Museum, and the Museum of Waterways and Industry, also in Seneca Falls. The Memorial Day Museum in Waterloo was among several area attractions listed in the "other" category.⁵⁷

The 2009 visitor survey did not include the education building at 116 Fall Street, home of the Print Shop. Its omission underscores a recent shift in the manner in which the park pursued educational outreach. During Orcutt's tenure, traveling educational trunks and participation in Teaching American History projects largely superseded on-site educational programs.

The 2009 visitor survey found that 85 percent of visitor groups stopped at the Eastern National bookstore, spent modestly, and sensed that prices were "about right."⁵⁸ In keeping with the park's visitor demographic, most groups did not include children. Nonetheless, based on responses to a question asking about items visitors would like to see available, responses indicated that visitors would like to see more books in general, but a number specifically mentioned books for children, educational toys and games, historical biographies and novels, biographies of women, and dolls. These responses are merely suggestive, but enough so to underscore the bookstore as an important venue for disseminating interpretive materials to a demographic the park reaches primarily through school-related programming and educational outreach. In this respect, Eastern National already provides some support for interpretive programs designed for children and youth. For instance, in 2006 Eastern National supported a children's program developed to accompany the exhibit "Lamprooning and Cartooning: 1850s Political Cartoons and Commentary" and another children's program celebrating the 86th anniversary of the Suffrage Amendment.⁵⁹ Likewise, the bookstore manager seeks out appropriate books, video materials, posters, and other items for children and youth, and books for young readers consistently rank among top-selling items.⁶⁰

More generally, among the 85 percent of visitors who reported stopping at the bookstore in 2009, more than half rated it as "extremely important" or "very important"

⁵⁷ Ibid., 32, 35.

⁵⁸ The survey combined purchases and donations under "expenditures inside the park." Based on visitor responses, the average total expenditure per person was \$14.00 in 2009. Of this expenditure, 7 percent represented donations of \$1.00-\$5.00, 93 percent represented purchases; *Women's Rights National Historical Park Visitor Survey*, 53-54, 59-60. However, Eastern National annual reports suggest that visitors actually spend much less in the bookstore: an average of \$4.28 in FY 2006 and \$4.38 in FY 2007.

⁵⁹ Eastern National Annual Report, FY 2006.

⁶⁰ Catherine Dee, ed., *The Girls' Book of Wisdom: Empowering, Inspirational Quotes from over 400 Fabulous Females* (New York: Little, Brown, 1999) was among the top sellers in 2006; Tonya Bolden, ed., *33 Things Every Girl Should Know About Women's History: From Suffragettes to Skirt Lengths to the E.R.A.* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2002) made the top-ten list in 2007; see Eastern National Annual Reports, FY 2006 and FY 2007.

to their visitor experience. The questionnaire did not distinguish between the main store in the Visitor Center and the smaller outlet located in the south wing of the M'Clintock House, which opened in 2004, but the Visitor Center location clearly is where most purchases are made.

These findings indicate possible directions to address education and interpretation goals more fully. Now that the Wesleyan Chapel is an enclosed space, interpretive goals might be expanded in a number of ways that are consistent with the 1986 GMP, which envisioned the chapel as both a “symbol of the beginning of the movement” as well as a “symbol of its continuation.”⁶¹ Because the site now looks more like a historic building, it should be easier for visitors to understand why the Wesleyan Chapel has often been called “the second Independence Hall.” In this respect, the park has a new opportunity to further develop one of its “compelling stories,” that the chapel and the Declaration of Sentiments represent the “enduring historical importance and significance” of the political ideas contained the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.⁶² Site-specific visitor experience goals for the chapel, prior to the site’s enclosure, included the opportunity to “experience a partial reconstruction as a preservation method.”⁶³ This goal will need to be modified, and one option to consider would be providing visitors with the opportunity to learn how the building’s physical history reflects the history of community development and change locally, including the gradual awakening of historic preservation values. In this respect, the site might create more visitor interest in the entire Seneca Falls Historic District. Noting that 75 percent of visitors indicated a preference for learning about the park through indoor exhibits and 59 percent listed “historian/expert lectures/talks,” the Wesleyan Chapel also holds potential for enriching the visitor experience through media-assisted interpretive programming, as envisioned in the GMP.⁶⁴

Considering that 95 percent of visitor groups indicated that the purpose of their visit to the Women’s Rights NHP was to see a historic site and learn about history, there would seem to be some potential for holding visitors longer than the average stay of 1.7 hours by examining Waterloo’s recent efforts to boost heritage tourism.⁶⁵ When the *General Management Plan* was adopted in 1986, the National Park Service was primarily focused on cooperative activities with the Seneca Falls Urban Cultural Park that would preserve the historic setting in the Village of Seneca Falls and provide visitors with “complementary and supportive interpretation concerning the history of women’s rights.”⁶⁶ In practice, however, cooperative activities have evolved with each

⁶¹ *General Management Plan*, 9.

⁶² *Comprehensive Interpretive Plan*, 16.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Women’s Rights National Historical Park Visitor Study*, 66; *General Management Plan*, 10.

⁶⁵ *Women’s Rights National Historical Park Visitor Study*, 22, 30.

⁶⁶ *General Management Plan*, 25.

superintendent depending on perceived needs, opportunities, and contingencies. A new opportunity opened up in 2007 when Waterloo, long recognized as the first community to hold a formal, annual Memorial Day observance, dedicated a new Civil War Memorial to complement the National Memorial Day Museum. The memorial, which consists of several limestone cenotaphs in a park setting, was purposely sited along the Cayuga-Seneca Canal to enhance the historic canal with another visitor destination point. Among several cenotaphs that honor Waterloo citizens who died during the Civil War is another specifically dedicated to women. The Women's Cenotaph not only honors well known historical figures such as Mary Todd Lincoln, Clara Barton, Dr. Mary Walker, and Harriet Tubman; it also commemorates "all the women of the Civil War," North and South, who sacrificed sons, husbands, and brothers, and served whichever cause they supported as nurses, doctors, spies, teachers, writers, business women, plantation operators, and even soldiers.⁶⁷ Since 2004 the park has celebrated the seasonal opening of the M'Clintock House in concert with Waterloo's Memorial Day weekend event. In 2006 the park offered a special program on Bleeding Kansas to highlight the anti-slavery activities of local Quakers, thereby linking the park's story with the Civil War origins of Memorial Day.⁶⁸ However, for the most part, the park has been one among many participants in Waterloo's major community celebration. Considering that women's service in the military has been debated with each major war in which the United States has been involved and that American attitudes have changed significantly as a result, the Women's Cenotaph provides an opportunity to further link the park's interpretive themes appropriately with a local heritage tradition that is growing in size and importance to the community.

Contrasting the informal Trinkets Alliance that Judy Hart utilized to help promote the park in the early 1980s with the professionally run bookstore of today provides another measure of the important role that Eastern National has come to play in park operations, and, more generally, the role of consumerism in park interpretation. Although Eastern National had a bookstore in the first Visitor Center at 116 Fall Street, it operated more or less independently. Hart, in particular, relied on willing community partners and volunteers to assist with interpretation and enhance the visitor experience, especially when the park was new. Hanns Kuttner and the Young People's Committee for Seneca Falls, for instance, produced the first walking tour brochure, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Betsy Shultis wrote and produced a dramatized interpretation of the 1848 convention with support from the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation and the New York Council for the Humanities. During Joanne Hanley's superintendency, the park's relationship with Eastern National became more formal. A Scope of Sales agreement executed in 1995 specified that a park ranger designated as the "EN coordinator," the park historian, and the chief of interpretation would assist in

⁶⁷ American Civil War Memorial, Waterloo, New York, www.americancivilwarmemorial.com; program, Celebrate/Commemorate, Memorial Day 2011 Schedule of Events.

⁶⁸ Eastern National Annual Report, FY 2006.

selecting books and other merchandise for sale in the bookstore.⁶⁹ Eastern National also hired a year-round, part-time employee to provide on-site bookstore management.⁷⁰ Since 1998, when the park opened the new Visitor Center, the bookstore has become increasingly important for supporting interpretation both directly and indirectly.

The annual list of top-selling items, combined with visitors' perception of the bookstore's value, confirm that Eastern National serves Women's Rights NHP quite effectively. Top-selling items in 2006, for instance, included Judith Wellman's book, *The Road to Seneca Falls*, the park exhibit catalog, *All Men and Women are Created Equal*, the park film, *Dreams of Equality*, and a poster of the Declaration of Sentiments.⁷¹ Although the bookstore carries a wide range of park-specific items, such as models of the Stanton and M'Clintock Houses, a reproduction suffrage banner, and framing prints of important historical people in the women's rights movement, Eastern National also participates in special events, hosts author book signings, and promotes books and other media that are associated with temporary exhibits and public programs.

PARK STAFFING AND OPERATIONS

The park's base funding increased only incrementally from \$1,341,000 in FY 2005 to \$1,599,000 in FY 2010.⁷² Staffing levels held steady, although the numbers mask a significant reallocation of staff time. Three administrative support staff positions were eliminated by attrition due to transfers or retirements, and, at the same time, an increasing number of computer database management systems have been implemented. Accordingly, staff time is required to manage research and resource needs as well as interpretation, education, and visitor contact through electronic databases. Additionally, as structures, facilities, and systems have aged, the costs of routine, cyclic, and preventative maintenance have escalated, straining the capacity of the staff to keep up. As a result, more and more work has been placed in the hands of contractors.⁷³

⁶⁹ Women's Rights National Historical Park-Eastern National Parks and Monument Association Scope of Sales Statement, December 6, 1995.

⁷⁰ Eastern National Annual Report, FY 1996.

⁷¹ Eastern National Annual Report, FY 2006.

⁷² Superintendent's Annual Reports, FY 2007, FY 2008. Figures for FY 2009 and FY 2010 obtained from the U.S. Department of Interior Budget Justification website.

⁷³ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2008. A recent review of NPS cultural resource programs found "widespread concern" among NPS employees at the park and regional levels about the "workload associated with electronic reporting systems." Qualitative data from interviews indicated that 25 percent of staff time is devoted to reporting for electronic systems. See Frank Hodsoll, James Kunde, and Denis P. Galvin, *Saving Our History: A Review of National Park Cultural Resource Programs* (Washington, DC: National Academy of Public Administration for the National Park Service, October 2008), 49.

In June 2006 Orcutt reshuffled the staff by splitting Visitor Services and Cultural Resources into two separate divisions—Cultural Resources and Interpretation. This reorganization reinstated the position of chief of interpretation, with attendant costs to fund a GS-12 position. The reorganization created, for the first time, a division specifically focused on cultural resources management, with responsibility for cultural resource research and compliance, maintaining the park library and archives, and collections management, including research for preservation and exhibitions.

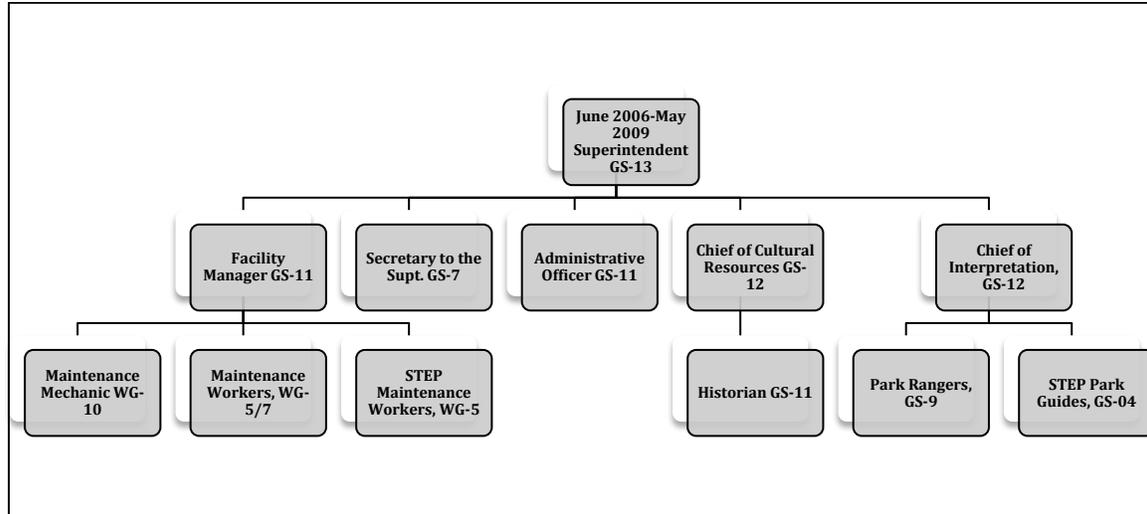


Chart 8. Staff Organization, June 2006-May 2009. *Compiled from staff organization charts, Women’s Rights NHP.*

Since 2004 the park has had no designated curatorial staff member. In the context of managing multiple studies and continuing the development of collections, the park historian has acted as collection manager since 2006, with assistance from Cultural Resource Diversity Intern Program summer interns in 2006, 2007, and 2009. Changes to staff organization after 2006 included the addition of two Student Career Experience Program (SCEP) positions. The park added one GS-9 SCEP park ranger line to the ranger staff in 2009 and also hired one GS-5 SCEP administrative assistant.

When the administrative officer retired in 2010, this position was reclassified from GS-11 to GS-5/7/9/11, and the administrative assistant moved into the newly reclassified position. The administrative assistant position has since been reclassified as a non-SCEP permanent position. When the secretary to the superintendent retired in 2010, this position was eliminated.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Park Organizational Charts, June 11, 2009 – May 25, 2010.

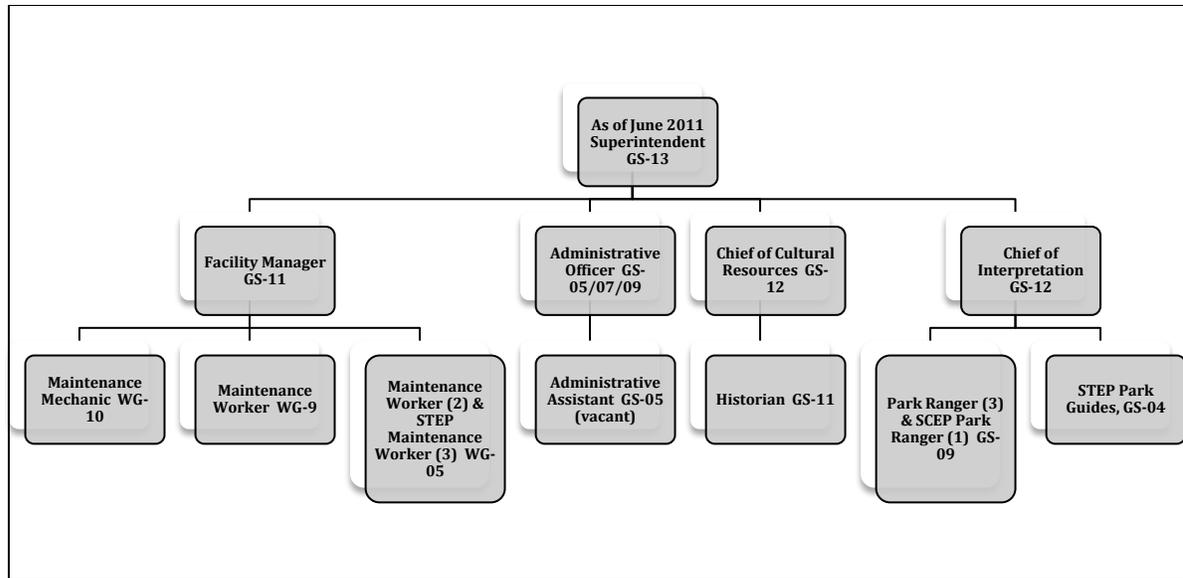


Chart 9. Staff Organization as of June 2011. *Courtesy Women's Rights NHP.*

NEW INITIATIVES AND PROPOSED ADDITIONS

HARRIET TUBMAN SPECIAL RESOURCE STUDY

In 1990, at about the same time the National Park Service began to take an interest in the Harriet Tubman House in Auburn, NY, Congress directed the agency to conduct a special resource study to determine the network of paths that made up the Underground Railroad for slaves escaping to freedom and how to interpret and commemorate this important aspect of African American history and the anti-slavery movement before the Civil War. The *Underground Railroad Special Resource Study*, completed in 1995, identified thirteen places with potential to be included in the National Park System, including two sites associated with Harriet Tubman: her birthplace in Dorchester County, MD, and her home in Auburn, NY.⁷⁵ In 2000 Congress directed the NPS to conduct a more focused study of these two areas as well as others that might be associated with Tubman. The *Harriet Tubman Special Resource Study*, completed in 2008, found that the Harriet Tubman Home in Auburn, still under the stewardship of the AME Zion Church, and the landscape of the Choptank region in Dorchester, Caroline, and Talbot counties in Maryland, protected by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service in the Blackwater National Wildlife Refuge, met national significance criteria and NPS criteria for inclusion in the system.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ *Taking the Train to Freedom: Underground Railroad Special Resource Study* (National Park Service, September 1995).

⁷⁶ *Harriet Tubman Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment* (National Park Service: Northeast Region, November 2008).

Subsequently, Senators Benjamin Cardin (D-MD) Hillary Clinton,⁷⁷ Barbara Mikulsi (D-MD), and Charles Schumer (D-NY) introduced legislation to establish the Harriet Tubman NHP in Auburn and the Harriet Tubman Underground Railroad NHP in Caroline, Dorchester, and Talbot Counties, MD. Companion legislation was introduced in the House by Rep. Michael A. Arcuri (D-NY) and fifty-four cosponsors. The legislation, still pending in Congress as of this writing, would enable the Department of the Interior to acquire land and enter into cooperative agreements with a wide range of partners to preserve and interpret these resources. The legislation also would enable the National Park Service to “provide interpretive tours to sites located outside the boundaries of the Historical Park in Auburn, New York, that include resources relating to Harriet Tubman.”⁷⁸

Martha Coffin Wright, who participated in organizing the 1848 convention and signed the Declaration of Sentiments, is a key figure linking the Harriet Tubman site in Auburn with the historic sites that compose Women’s Rights NHP. Wright’s home in Auburn was part of the Underground Railroad, and she was a friend and supporter of Tubman. Tubman also was active in the woman suffrage movement after the Civil War.⁷⁹

FARMINGTON MEETING HOUSE RECONNAISSANCE STUDY

In 2006 the Farmington [Quaker] Meetinghouse, located approximately thirty miles east-northeast of Seneca Falls, sustained serious damage in a windstorm. When the Farmington Town Board issued a demolition order, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation provided umbrella support for a grassroots coalition that formed to take urgent action. In 2007, at the request of this *ad hoc* group, Rep. John R. Kuhl (R-NY) introduced legislation for a special resource study to determine the suitability of the meetinghouse for inclusion in the National Park System as part of Women’s Rights NHP. After the legislation stalled in committee, Kuhl requested, and the Northeast Regional Office agreed to conduct, a reconnaissance study, which began in FY 2008.⁸⁰ Kuhl lost his bid for reelection in 2010, leaving the status of this study unclear.

⁷⁷ Kirsten Gillibrand, who was appointed to fill Clinton’s seat when she became Secretary of State, also signed on to the legislation.

⁷⁸ S. 277 (111th Cong., 1st Sess.) was introduced on January 13, 2009. The bill was heard before the Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources on July 15, 2009. H.R. 1078 was introduced on February 13, 2009, and heard before the Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests and Public Lands of the House Committee on Natural Resources on March 24, 2009. See <http://thomas.loc.gov>.

⁷⁹ Sherry H. Penney and James D. Livingston, *A Very Dangerous Woman: Martha Wright and Women’s Rights* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 132-133, 174-176; Kate Clifford Larson, *Bound for the Promised Land: Harriet Tubman, Portrait of an American Hero* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1004), 183, 271-274.

⁸⁰ Superintendent’s Annual Report, FY 2008; H.R.3810, to direct the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a special resources study . . . of the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse (110th Cong., 1st Sess.), October 10, 2007, <http://thoms/loc/gov>.

In 2009 the coalition chartered as a non-profit corporation, the 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse Museum. The building is listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a contributing resource to the Quaker Crossroads National Register Historic District for its historical association with the intertwined nineteenth-century movements for anti-slavery, women's rights, and Native American rights. It also is listed on the NPS Underground Railroad Network to Freedom and is a member of the National Collaborative of Women's History Sites.⁸¹

The Farmington Meetinghouse was home to the Genesee Yearly Meeting (Hicksite), encompassing New York, Canada, and Michigan. Junius Monthly Meeting, with a meetinghouse in Waterloo, was part of this Yearly Meeting. As one of the central figures in the Hicksite split of 1827, Thomas M'Clintock with his wife Mary Ann became actively involved in the governance of Junius and Farmington after their arrival in Waterloo in 1836. In June 1848 they joined approximately 200 other reform-minded Quakers in withdrawing from the Genesee Yearly Meeting to form a new religious association, variously called Congregational Friends, Progressive Friends, or Friends of Human Progress, which assumed control of the Junius meetinghouse.

The M'Clintock family provided material support and direction for the organization of the Women's Rights Convention held in Seneca Falls one month later. Twenty-three signers of the Declaration of Sentiments had current or former affiliations with the Genesee Yearly Meeting or with the Quaker faith. The Quaker influence on M'Clintock family reform activity and on the early women's rights movement is interpreted at the M'Clintock House and at the Wesleyan Chapel.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S RIGHTS HISTORY PROJECT

The women's history trail initiative that Rep. Louise Slaughter opened in 1998 continued into Tina Orcutt's superintendency. In 2005 and again in 2007, Representative Slaughter and Senator Clinton introduced companion bills (H.R. 3114 and S. 1816) to authorize all three partnership concepts outlined in the 2003 *Women's Rights National History Trail Feasibility Study*.⁸² The 2007 bills called for NPS authority to establish a "Votes for Women History Trail" throughout New York State with Women's Rights NHP as the administrative unit. The bills also called for special appropriations for a period of five years for the purpose of establishing a National Women's Rights Project (Concept Two) and a National Women's Rights History Project Partnerships Network (Concept Three). Although the NPS took an official position against the special five-year funding provisions because this would "divert available resources from broader historic

⁸¹ James Goodman, "Group works to save 1816 Farmington building," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, May 24, 2009; 1816 Farmington Quaker Meetinghouse website: www.farmingtonmeetinghouse.org.

⁸² Legislative bill summaries for H.R. 3779 (109th Cong.), H.R. 3114 (110th Cong.), and S. 1816 (110th Cong.) are available at <http://thomas.loc.gov>.

preservation purposes to specific sets of beneficiaries,” the bills were incorporated substantially unchanged into the Omnibus Public Lands Management Act of 2009 (P.L. 111-11), which passed both houses of Congress and was signed into law by President Barack Obama on March 30, 2009.⁸³ As of FY 2011 no funds for any purpose under the National Women’s Rights History Project Act had been appropriated.

Section 7111 of P.L. 111-11 enables the National Park Service to establish a vehicular tour route to be known as The Votes for Women History Trail to link properties in New York State that are “historically and thematically associated with the struggle for women’s suffrage in the United States.” No specific sites are named in the legislation other than the “units and programs” of Women’s Rights NHP that “relate to the struggle for woman suffrage” and “other federal, state, local, and privately owned properties that the Secretary [of the Interior] determines have a verifiable connection to the struggle for women’s suffrage.” More generally, the law directs the NPS, through Women’s Rights NHP, to “facilitate the establishment of the Trail” and to disseminate information about it through “appropriate educational materials.” The NPS also is to “coordinate the management, planning, and standards of the auto route in partnership with participating properties, other federal agencies, and state and local governments.”⁸⁴

Implementation this legislation will present new administrative responsibilities and management challenges for Women’s Rights NHP. In order to develop the Hunt House, preserve park resources, and integrate interpretive and educational experiences within the context of a national trail partnership, the park will need a new general management plan. Baseline studies recently completed by the Cultural Resources Division provide much of the information necessary to take this step. Establishing the Votes for Women History Trail also will present new interpretive challenges. Because legislation authorizes the linking of sites in New York State associated with the campaign for woman suffrage in the United States, only one aspect of the women’s rights movement, a major challenge is to figure out how broadly to interpret the suffrage campaign. In other words, will the trail focus narrowly on the campaign for woman suffrage or will it become the entry point for expanding the park’s interpretive themes geographically by linking sites associated with interrelated nineteenth-century reform movements throughout the entire state? This step is critical to writing eligibility criteria and developing an interpretive framework that links disparate sites coherently for visitors. As Tina Orcutt puts it, the park will need to revisit its interpretive mission and ask, “is the park a

⁸³ Quote from statement of Daniel N. Wenk, Deputy Director, NPS, before the Senate Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, 110th Cong., 2nd Sess., July 30, 2008; see also the statements of Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton and Coline Jenkins Sahlin at the same hearing. Additionally, see the statement of Nan Johnson, President Emerita, Friends of Women’s Rights NHP, before the House Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests and Public Lands of the Committee on Natural Resources, September 11, 2008.

⁸⁴ P. L. 111-11 (123 Stat.1199-1201), March 30, 2009.

participant in the women's rights movement or is it a witness to the women's rights movement?"⁸⁵

Orcutt's question harkens back to the aspirations of Nancy Dubner and others who were instrumental in the park's creation. In 1982, as the Equal Rights Amendment was going down to defeat, Dubner was discouraged to "see young women taking fragile gains as their firm rights. They see no threats and are not continuing to fight to keep the gains made in women's rights in the '70s If we slip backward, will historians of the future look at the Twentieth Century revival of the women's movement . . . as a 'flash in the pan?'" Dubner and all of the feminists who lobbied Congress to establish Women's Rights National Historical Park saw it as a beacon to:

help keep the spirit for women's equality alive. By telling and retelling these important chapters in American history, perhaps one day we will have both equal legal rights for all our citizens, and many more historical sites and artifacts, plus a throng of leaders whose achievements will reflect the strength and abilities of America's women.⁸⁶

Feminists were the park's first stakeholders, and they are still a core audience. Yet, the park cannot simply serve as the touchstone for activists' agenda. As the authorizing legislation directs, the park is to preserve and interpret the "nationally significant historical and cultural sites and structures associated with the struggle for equal rights for women." It is also to educate the public about the nineteenth-century beginnings of the women's rights movement and the relevance of this history to present and future generations. To carry out this mandate effectively, Women's Rights National Historical Park not only must stay on the front edge of scholarship; it must continually reach out to new audiences and inspire people to make connections between the complex history of the women's rights movement and their personal lives through civic engagement, civic discourse, and even civic education.

LOOKING BACKWARD AND LOOKING AHEAD

PARK MANAGEMENT CHALLENGES AND PARK SUPERINTENDENTS

In terms of overall park management, Women's Rights National Historical Park has been a proving ground for female superintendents; only Josie Fernandez came to the park with previous park management experience. Even so, superintendents Hart, Canzanelli, Hanley, Fernandez, and Orcutt each brought unique skills that matched the needs of the park during their tenures. They also had solid support from the Regional Office. Regional Director Herbert Cables selected strong personalities to help launch the park at a time when many NPS officials in the Washington office were not convinced that

⁸⁵ Tina Orcutt interview, 15.

⁸⁶ Dubner, "The Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention," Appendix C.2.

the history of women's rights should be recognized with a national park. His successor, Marie Rust, demonstrated her own talent for recognizing the skill strengths of women on the NPS management track. Her ability to match professional and personal strengths with the park's needs at each transition point, and then support each superintendent she chose to advance park development, would be a story of its own. Surely, however, her tenure as Northeast Regional Director deserves recognition as more than coincidental with the park's development. She was not just a superior to whom superintendents reported; conversations with Hanley, Fernandez, and Orcutt reveal the degree to which Rust took a personal interest in selecting each of them and helped to steer park development from Boston. For her part, Rust felt that the park "represented everything women wanted to do in the Park Service," so "of course that's why [I] supported it."⁸⁷

Cables and Rust chose well. It is telling that each superintendent shepherded a major development project during her years of service at Women's Rights NHP. Judy Hart's energy and determination helped drive restoration of the Stanton House and produced a grand vision for preserving the Wesleyan Chapel. She also provided leadership to establish park headquarters in the heart of Seneca Falls Village, a smart move for building and maintaining community partnerships, and to acquire the M'Clintock House in Waterloo. Her legislative experience and network of contacts in Washington were critical to the NPS obtaining special congressional appropriations that made the park a real "place" within a matter of years, not decades. Her vision was large; her accomplishments admirable by any measure. Linda Canzanelli brought equal energy and vision to the task of park building. Not only did she see the Wesleyan Chapel Block project through to completion, but she also began the long process of restoring the M'Clintock House. Canzanelli's background in history and interpretation were particularly valuable for developing the park's story at the Visitor Center. Although not everyone agreed with the interpretive strategy she orchestrated, it complimented the modern commemorative design for preserving the remnants of the Wesleyan Chapel.

Joanne Hanley's three-year tenure as superintendent proved to be a period of reflection and reassessment. She opened the education center on a scale that was consistent with the park's capacity to provide educational outreach. She also moved the M'Clintock House restoration project along and transitioned the park into a new era of accountability and strategic planning. Josie Fernandez led the effort to acquire the Hunt House and finish the M'Clintock House. She also expanded the park's interpretive scope, integrating the history of women's rights into the larger theme of securing human rights in a democratic society and in an international context. Her previous park management experience was especially valuable for making Celebrate '98 a successful event. Without having been involved in any of the planning, she was able, upon arriving at the park, to assess needs and marshal resources that helped the community as well as the park manage a level of visitation neither had experienced before. Fernandez was equally adept at

⁸⁷ Marie Rust, telephone conversation with Elizabeth D. Smith, July 20, 2009.

negotiating the formation of a friends group to help support the work of the park. Tina Orcutt's varied management background enabled her to look at park needs holistically. Her most visible contribution was skillful leadership for a new preservation treatment of the Wesleyan Chapel, one that not only promises better protection for the chapel's remaining historic fabric but also provides an interpretive space that can be utilized year-round. Additionally, in the background, the completion of multiple baseline resource studies and the steady development of collections care procedures helped prepare the park for future growth and development.

The appointment of Tammy Duchesne to succeed Orcutt in August 2011 continues the pattern of using Women's Rights NHP as a management proving ground for women in the NPS who aspire to become park superintendents. Duchesne brings a varied educational background that includes degrees in Spanish and anthropology, teaching, and Micronesian studies, as well as a certificate in museum studies. Like most of her predecessors, she has no park management experience, but her background is noteworthy because she came into the National Park Service through the Student Career Experience Program, demonstrating the value of this professional development program. While pursuing graduate studies at the University of Guam, she worked in cultural resources at War in the Pacific NHP in Guam and American Memorial Park in Saipan. For her role in salvaging park artifacts and assisting in the recovery from Super Typhoon Pongsona, she received the Pacific West Region's Ralph Lewis Award and the Pacific West Region's 2009 Regional Director's Museum Management Award. To her cultural resource credentials, Duchesne brings management training experience in workplace enrichment, regional programs and partnerships, and site management.⁸⁸ As did her predecessors, Duchesne faces a set of management challenges that encompass the core mission-related areas of interpretation, cultural resource management and preservation, and partnerships. The remainder of the chapter summarizes the current state of these areas, as well as opportunities to move forward.

THE PERPETUAL CHALLENGE OF PLACE-BASED INTERPRETATION

The historic sites that make up Women's Rights NHP are linked in time and place by an eclectic group of people who shared a commitment to a powerful idea—that the rights and responsibilities of citizens articulated in the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution should belong to everyone, not a privileged segment of the population as defined by those in power at any given time. The park was established to tell the story of the movement to secure these rights for women, and primarily to tell the story of the first wave of the women's rights movement as embodied in the people and places that gave this movement shape and substance in Seneca Falls and Waterloo. A persistent question has been embedded in internal discussions over several preservation

⁸⁸ "Tammy Duchesne Named Superintendent of Women's Rights National Historical Park," news release, NPS Northeast Region, June 1, 2011.

issues: how much substance does it take to interpret the force of that idea and its enduring relevance to contemporary society? The park's authorizing legislation, in retrospect, is not very helpful in answering this question because much was unknown about the places that were designated for preservation in 1980 and because scholars were just beginning to understand the history of nineteenth-century reform movements. As the complexity of this history has been revealed, the park has expanded its interpretive scope and endeavored to enrich its interpretive and educational programs accordingly. As this administrative history demonstrates, park resources have been touchstones for renewed calls for equality even as park staff have supported initiatives to strengthen the representation of women's integral involvement in the development of U.S. history at NPS and other sites.

Interpretation is intimately tied to the physicality of the park's historic sites. In keeping with standard language for authorizing national parks, P.L. 96-607 stated that the park would "preserve . . . nationally significant historical and cultural sites and structures associated with the struggle for equal rights for women." In the context of legislation, "to preserve" signifies a general mandate, which is the responsibility of the National Park Service to implement in accordance with its own guidelines. The *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation Projects*, adopted in 1978 and revised twice since then, articulates an overarching principle—"repair; restore; replace"—and a corollary set of guidelines for "preservation," "rehabilitation," "restoration," and "reconstruction."⁸⁹ Thus, in the orderly practice of historic preservation, "preservation" became the preferred treatment, and it meant retaining all historic fabric, not selected portions, through some combination of conservation, maintenance, and repair. "Preservation" further meant retaining the physical evidence of successive occupancies to reflect change over time. "Rehabilitation" became the accepted term for the treatment of historic properties that were deteriorated and required intervention to prevent further loss. The second level of treatment meant retaining and repairing historic materials wherever possible and judiciously replacing deteriorated elements elsewhere to maintain "historic character." "Restoration" specifically meant retaining materials associated with the property's period of greatest significance and the removal of materials from other time periods. "Reconstruction," the fourth level of treatment, was just that: the lowest level of treatment recommended only when there was enough visual, documentary, or physical evidence to accurately re-create, with new materials, a non-surviving building, structure, landscape, or object.

These four terms were just entering the vocabulary of historic preservation when Women's Rights NHP was established. It would take some time before cultural resource managers and historic preservationists became equally conversant in the distinguishing

⁸⁹ The current iteration of *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring and Reconstructing Historic Buildings* is the 1992 revision, codified in 1995 as 36 CFR Part 68 (Federal Register, Vol. 60, No. 133).

attributes of each level of treatment. In the context of professionalizing standards of practice, the term “preserve” became a hinge point with the Stanton House, the Wesleyan Chapel, and the M’Clintock House because it was confused with the new technical terms. This was critical because so much of each resource’s historic fabric was either missing or compromised. Thus, each project revealed a great degree of concern about what the term “preserve” meant in the context of professional standards and in relation to the needs of the park for carrying out its interpretive mission. NPS cultural resource management policies were repeatedly debated in the process of developing treatment plans for resource protection as well as for public understanding of the park’s story. With respect to the latter, differing philosophies of preservation clouded discussion. NPS guidelines and standards meant little to those who believe that understanding the significance of a historic place cognitively and emotionally is tied, at some elemental level, to visualizing the past. Thus, regardless of standards and policies, the desire to see historic buildings and sites made whole again has permeated cultural resource management at the park. The Wesleyan Chapel especially demonstrates how conflicting and changing philosophies of historic preservation played out in the 1980s and 1990s. “Preservation” was the only option the NPS would consider in the 1980s, and the preservation challenge was enormous. Although the design-competition approach to grappling with this challenge resulted in a costly and ineffective preservation solution, and one which ultimately hindered interpretation instead of inspiring reflection, there is no assurance that NPS professionals would have produced a better solution. In the end, the NPS came back to embrace a preservation strategy that falls somewhere between “rehabilitation” and “reconstruction,” a treatment that cultural resource professionals in the Regional Office could not have permitted in the 1980s under management policies then in effect.

Restoration of the Stanton and M’Clintock houses further suggests that the NPS protocol—study, analysis, consideration of alternatives, decision-making, action—is somewhat at odds with the art of reflective-reflexive practice. Professionals often must work through the unknowns *in situ*. In this respect, the arcane technological knowledge and expertise of staff at NAHPC, later BCB, was critical to the satisfactory completion of both projects. But “satisfactory” is a comparative term. NPS protocol also demands group consensus, and, in the early years, the more pressing need to open the Stanton House for public visitation generated internal conflict because there was not enough time for reflection on a group scale. In the larger sense, each project became and has been a learning experience. Even though it took fourteen years to complete the M’Clintock House, there was time to integrate knowledge, share ideas, and ponder the implications of various options. As a result, the end product incorporated new research in a reconstructed wing and exhibits that reflected up-to-date scholarship.

The relatively greater importance placed on preservation issues by the regulatory and institutional structure of the National Park Service has tended to overshadow the related issues of interpretation and visitor understanding. This is a common problem at historic sites because it is much easier to focus on things tangible. At the same time, the

weight of professional opinion also has influenced a widely held belief that buildings and artifacts speak for themselves. One of the more important contributions of public history, as a field, is the recognition that a respectful concern for “audience” is central to the practice of history. However, translating a respect for audience into the acts of professional practice is not always easy. Interpretation at the Stanton House, which has been open for twenty-five years, exemplifies some of the difficulties. The ranger-guided house tours provide visitors with all of the interpretive information called for in the *Comprehensive Interpretive Plan*, and the monologue is expertly keyed to the authentic artifacts and furnishings on display. Yet, from a visual perspective, the site as a whole appears to be a work in progress. Preservation decisions made in the 1980s resulted in a restored house core that will be appreciated and admired by architectural historians and historic building preservationists for generations to come. Left unrepresented are the house wings, which might give visitors a clearer picture of the rambling house that “reflect[ed] her domestic management philosophies,” as called for in the *Comprehensive Interpretive Plan*. The contrasting paint on plain end walls from which north and east wings once extended gives the appearance of a project that ran out of funding. The view from any rear window is open space, maintained but devoid of cultural meaning except for that provided by interpretive rangers. The adjacent modular building that serves as a ranger station is visually intrusive. Moreover, there is no provision for visitor comfort anywhere.

Similarly, the house does not hold enough material culture to help visitors make cognitive and affective associations, a point that visitors and interpreters have repeatedly made. While the interior provides a sense of time and place, voices echo in its emptiness. Interpretation suffers from lack of tangible resources with which visitors can interact emotionally and intellectually to make connections with the resource that most represents Stanton’s formative years as a women’s rights reformer. As has been true since the house opened to the public in 1985, interpreters use authentic artifacts as “visual hooks on which to hang story lines” to flesh out details concerning Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who by all accounts presided over a bustling household of seven children and maintained a vibrant intellectual life as well.⁹⁰ Yet, it is hard to imagine the mix and mingle of children’s activities, socializing, meal preparation, and dining with family and house guests amidst the disruptive noise and dust of carpenters whom Stanton routinely employed to make changes small and large to the house. It is even harder to grasp the nature of the relationship she had with her husband, who is interpreted only in outline.

Park visitors surveyed in 2009 expressed a strong desire to see the Stanton House more fully furnished.⁹¹ However, it is not clear whether or how much a fully furnished

⁹⁰ *Interpretive Prospectus* (1988), 16-17.

⁹¹ The survey asked visitors one specific question about furnishings at the Stanton House. Fifty-six percent of the 188 visitor groups who responded to this question indicated that they would like to see the house furnished with period furniture, but not necessarily used by

house would actually produce the desired visitor experience at this site, especially the goal of providing an opportunity for visitors to learn how Stanton “used the entire home and landscape to reflect her domestic management philosophies, child-rearing practices, and her relationships with her neighbors.”⁹² For visitors to understand how Stanton’s intellectual life intertwined with the din of daily household activity, it is important to consider the effect of being able to visualize the volume of the whole house. To understand Stanton’s views on childrearing, outdoor activity and robust health, and the status of the Stanton family in a community context, it is important to consider the effect of being able to visualize the orchard and garden and outbuildings. Visitors also need a reason to go beyond the house and stroll the grounds, and be provided with enough comfort to spend time doing so. Recent baseline studies and new archeological information create an opportunity for the park to rethink the Stanton Site as a cultural landscape in accordance with the *Comprehensive Interpretive Plan*. Particularly germane is the goal of creating opportunities for visitors to learn how the “entire home and landscape” reflects Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s views on domestic management and childrearing, and to place the Stanton family in the cultural environment of the working-class neighborhood that surrounded their house in the mid-nineteenth century.⁹³

The number of visitors may not be commensurate with the significance of the park’s story, but visitation is nonetheless an important concern. Completing restoration of the M’Clintock House in 2004 was a signal achievement, but the park still must figure out ways to draw visitors from downtown Seneca Falls to Waterloo. Restoration of the Hunt House and opening at least part of the house for public visitation should increase interest in the Waterloo sites to some degree. However, even if some combination of strategies succeeds in drawing substantially more visitors to Waterloo, the M’Clintock House and the Hunt House are likely to remain interpretive outposts without a staff presence in the community. The Stanton House draws visitors because Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s name appears in textbooks. By comparison, in terms of public interest, the M’Clintocks and Hunts are footnotes to history.

The recent visitor survey underscores the overwhelming importance of interpretation at the Visitor Center and the chapel for communicating the park’s story to visitors, and the additional challenge of managing a park comprising discontinuous historic sites. Whatever steps are taken to increase visitation at all park sites, the Visitor Center and the Wesleyan Chapel will remain vitally important for achieving most of the park’s visitor-experience goals. Likewise, this complex is the critical venue for attracting new audiences and changing the visitor profile to achieve greater diversity. At the Visitor Center, the 2002 *Comprehensive Interpretive Plan* identified updating exhibits and

Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Visitors were not queried about reconstructing the missing wings or interpreting the historic grounds. See *Women’s Rights National Historic Park Visitor Survey*, 68.

⁹² *Comprehensive Interpretive Plan* (2002), 17.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

providing a guide to the second-floor exhibits as one of the top interpretive issues.⁹⁴ Eight years later, this remains a critical issue. Since the permanent exhibits were created, the park has expanded its interpretive framework, and the scholarship of women's studies has grown enormously. The field of women's history, once considered a fringe area, is now considered part of the larger interdisciplinary field of gender studies, a widely varied arena of scholarly activity where race, ethnicity, and sexuality are examined in relation to the social and cultural constructions of masculinities and femininities. Baseline research reflecting the discoveries of archeological evidence as well as expanded documentation of activities within and around the structures held by the park can inform a much stronger and more vital interpretive program than that envisioned in 1982. Recasting Visitor Center exhibits to reflect new scholarship could provide a more solid entry into the historic structures, which most convey the national significance of the beginnings of the women's rights movement in the United States.

Educational outreach and interpretive programming offer the best options for reaching new audiences and striving for relevancy while maintaining the integrity of the park's essential story. Instructive is the recent decision of the Village of Seneca Falls to increase tourism by turning from the town's historic past to embrace a supposed connection with the making of a film classic. In the words of Francis Caraccilo, the person behind promoting Seneca Falls as the "real" Bedford Falls depicted in *It's a Wonderful Life*, this annual festival, which began in 2005, has "taken the limelight" from "Convention Days or the idea of celebrating women's rights in general." The reason is that "things haven't worked out the way people expected," meaning hundreds of thousands of visitors spending money locally rather than tens of thousands. He also is being realistic when he adds that, "there may be a lot of splash right now . . . but that will diminish as well, unless things in general just get better."⁹⁵ Local leaders certainly must be concerned about the economic wellbeing of their communities. The National Park Service, in contrast, has an obligation to preserve special places and tell compelling stories that represent the nation as a whole.

CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AND PRESERVATION MAINTENANCE

Historical parks require heavy expenditures for cultural resource management because most of the work requires specialized knowledge from a wide array of disciplinary fields. Additionally, research is labor intensive, adequate time is necessary to make sound decisions, and additional time is required to navigate through compliance processes. Experts outside the NPS have always provided cultural resource studies for the park. However, the nature of these services as well as the level of outside services has changed markedly since the park was established. Until the mid-1990s, the vast majority of cultural resource studies—architectural investigations, archeological investigations,

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

⁹⁵ Francis Caraccilo interview, 17.

historic structure reports, historic furnishings reports—were conducted by professional staff in the Regional Office. Outside experts, when available, were hired to provide specific research tasks that could not easily be done by park staff. A major goal the NPS reorganization in the mid-1990s was to shift more decision making and resource management responsibility to parks, with regional offices providing support. Because so much cultural resource expertise was lodged in the Northeast Regional Office, it continued to conduct many of the resource studies the park needed with additional assistance provided by the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, a park-based research center providing services region-wide. Nonetheless, the shift tended to distance the working relationships between the park and regional staff.

In recent years, the park has turned to contracting more of its cultural resource studies to outside experts. A number of changes have made this both necessary and possible. Funding streams for cultural resource projects have changed, and parks now compete for a limited pool of funds available region-wide. Parks, as a result, are wise to seek out sources of external funding for anything not covered by the base operating budget. When funds are available, cultural resource managers now have a wider pool of expertise outside the Park Service. The number of consulting firms specializing in cultural resource studies has grown considerably since the mid-1990s, and so has the level of education and experience among cultural resource professionals in general. Likewise, the turn to outside contractors has both benefits and liabilities. Outside experts can bring fresh insight to cultural resource issues and sometimes highly specialized knowledge not readily available within the NPS. Additionally, contractors generally work under fixed costs with scheduled deliverables, so costs are more or less predictable. The downside is that, because contracts must be let out for bid, the lowest bidder is not necessarily the best-qualified provider. Additionally, each park has unique resource qualities with corresponding management challenges and these intangibles can never be written into a contract. This kind of knowledge comes only with established working relationships.

As is true for cultural resource studies, preservation maintenance needs have escalated. Modest increases in the Maintenance Division staff have enabled the park to keep up with these needs only to a certain degree.⁹⁶ More and more work is being contracted outside the NPS. Inadequate budgets and staffing levels have been cited as reasons for turning to outside contractors. However, the mid-1990's reorganization of the National Park System also is behind the increasing use of contractors for these purposes, and the results are mixed. The shift at Women's Rights NHP can be seen in the two-phased restoration of the M'Clintock House. Whereas the old North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center handled the entire Stanton House restoration project, including construction, restoration of the M'Clintock House was done by outside contractors. NAHPC's successor, the Building Conservation Branch of the new Northeast Regional Office, managed the 1990 contract to restore the house exterior. A BCB staff person

⁹⁶ Robert Fenton, interview with Rebecca Conard and Elizabeth D. Smith, July 17, 2008, 2-7.

managed the project, assisted by the park's chief of maintenance, who provided much of the on-site supervision. When it became clear that the contractor did not have or could not procure appropriately skilled workers for certain tasks, the BCB was able to pull those tasks from the contract and send in its own work crews to finish them.

A decade later, when the house interior was restored and the south wing reconstructed, the BCB no longer had the ability to send an entire work crew to handle construction tasks that required preservation-level skills. Before the system-wide reorganization, the NAHPC had built up a trained crew of twenty-five to thirty skilled craftspeople, which it moved from project to project throughout the region. After the reorganization, the BCB drastically cut the size of its highly skilled work crew.⁹⁷ For the second phase of the M'Clintock House restoration, BCB again provided design services and contract support, but park staff from the Maintenance Division handled all of the on-site project management and supervision. By this time, Chief of Maintenance Robert Fenton had considerable experience managing preservation construction and maintenance, but he was not a preservation specialist. Full time trained preservation specialists without park operations responsibilities are more likely to be able to focus on best practices in preservation work than park maintenance staff with limited preservation experience and heavy operational responsibilities. Although the second phase of the M'Clintock House restoration went smoothly from a time and budget perspective, Stephen Spaulding, chief of Architectural Preservation, Engineering, and Maintenance for the Northeast Region, notes that the interior suffered considerable loss of historic fabric:

Well, there was a loss of a lot of historic fabric, primarily plaster or glass, but some finished materials. That type of thing happens all the time in preservation, both in the Park Service and outside of the Park Service, because it's easier to pull things out and to put in new, even if you're using like materials, especially when you're trying to get to a certain appearance. I think that was just a lack of understanding of what "the possible" was by the person that was supervising, and a desire to just blow through it by the contractor. We did the plans and specs for that, but we weren't involved during construction.⁹⁸

Visitors, for the most part, are not concerned with preservation details or even able to distinguish between historic fabric and replacement materials unless, as in the case of the Wesleyan Chapel, they are obvious. However, such things do matter within the agency, particularly because the National Park Service is charged with implementing the nation's historic preservation policies. Not only does the NPS set professional standards for historic preservation and cultural resources management, but, since passage of the National Historic Preservation Act, it has assembled and developed a sizable cadre of trained professionals in architecture and historic architecture, history, historic interiors

⁹⁷ Stephen Spaulding, interview with Rebecca Conard, March 23, 2010, 10-12.

⁹⁸ Spaulding interview, 13.

and furnishings, archeology and historical archeology, and historic landscape architecture. Until relatively recently, such professionals often worked alongside facilities managers and spent time on the ground monitoring work crews. Increasingly, they are managing contracts or updating database management systems rather than monitoring actual work.

Contracting out work whenever possible makes it easier for national parks to hold staffing levels steady or even to downsize. However, there are legitimate concerns about the quality of work performed and the amount of maintenance work being entrusted to vendors. In 2007-2008, for instance, the park contracted for roof repairs at the Visitor Center, the Stanton House, the M'Clintock House, and the Hunt House garage/archival storage facility, and to replace sidewalk at the Stanton House.⁹⁹ This work once would have been done in-house. The park also has begun to contract out more of the routine service and maintenance work because "staff either [do] not have proper training or the work [is] out of their trade field."¹⁰⁰ To be sure, the maintenance staff must have diverse skills to handle every possible type of building repair plus cleaning floors and carpets, trimming trees and shrubs, building and repairing fences, installing light fixtures, maintaining vehicles, installing and maintaining wayside exhibits, and setting up for special events. Even so, outside vendors are being used more often on projects that require specialized skills, and the day-to-day work of the Maintenance and Facility Management Division has become more task-oriented, driven by annual goals under GPRA. How well the division is keeping up with its workload is measured by degrees of comparison. Of 295 work tasks scheduled in FY 2008, the Maintenance Division was able to complete 79 percent with available staff.¹⁰¹

MANAGING PARTNERSHIPS

From the park's inception, superintendents have sought opportunities to build partnerships with local and regional cultural organizations as well as academic institutions to support interpretation, education, and development. Yet, certain difficulties are inherent in working with outside organizations and individuals to expand any park's reach. Even when the mission of a cultural organization is similar to a park's purpose, the two are never completely aligned. In the mid-1980s, for instance, few could have imagined that the heritage tourism pursuits of the Village of Seneca Falls would diverge so dramatically from its historic association with the women's rights movement and reform movements in general. The Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation is another case in point. Formed to save a National Historic Landmark from an unknown fate in the hands of a developer, it could be argued that the Stanton Foundation's core mission was accomplished when it transferred the deed to the Stanton House to the National Park

⁹⁹ Superintendent's Annual Reports, FY 2007, FY 2008.

¹⁰⁰ Superintendent's Annual Report, FY 2008.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

Service. Subsequently, the partnership between the park and the Foundation became a network of personal relationships, which changed over time. Although the Foundation has provided many valuable support services to the park over the years, its activities have remained narrowly focused and its resources are limited.

Additionally, the activities of cultural organizations are often more closely tied to the vision of an individual or a small group rather than guided by mission statements. Community activists tend to cluster in multiple organizations, each pursuing more or less discreet objectives that may overlap with the park's mission but not fall within its legislated purview. Moreover, the line between park supporter/partner and political constituent is very thin. Park advocates have long used the offices of Congress to help shape the contours of the National Park System. As a case in point, various members of the Stanton Foundation also are allied with the current effort to seek legislation that would incorporate the Farmington Meetinghouse into Women's Rights NHP. Although the significance of the meetinghouse is well established, and the structure merits preservation, the history of Women's Rights NHP demonstrates the degree of difficulty involved in preserving, maintaining, and interpreting discontinuous historic sites. In three decades, the park has managed to acquire all of the historic properties authorized in the enabling legislation, but only three of them are currently preserved, interpreted, and open to the public. The management issues behind preservation and interpretation are hidden from visitors and rarely apparent to activists who are focused on the next issue, challenge, or crisis.

Women's Rights NHP also has cultivated the involvement of women's history scholars. At its best, alliances with national and regional organizations have produced stimulating conferences and other forums to examine a wide range of women's rights issues, women's history topics, and issues of preservation and interpretation at women's history sites. However, support from scholars has been sporadic, in part because the degree of involvement has varied with each superintendent. The original responsibilities of the park historian included maintaining ties with the scholarly community. Vivien Rose, the first person to hold this position at the park, is among several NPS historians who are active in national as well as regional historical associations. Their involvement has been vital to the National Park Service's ability to infuse new scholarship into cultural resource management as well as interpretive and educational programming. The degree to which the involvement of NPS historians in such organizations translates into support from scholars of individual parks is harder to judge. The academic community tends to focus its attention on the agency as a whole, comfortable in the knowledge that colleagues are situated in parks throughout the system. If called upon to assist, scholars will lend their expertise, but, as suggested by the experience of assembling a scholarly panel to review and revise the text of Pylon Seven, academic scholars still tend to be detached from issues of park management as well as the practices of preservation and interpretation. Even so, the increase in perfunctory duties expected of professional staff and the expanse of new scholarship in women's history suggest that renewed interpretation at the

Wesleyan Chapel and the Visitor Center cannot be accomplished effectively without engaging women's historians who are sensitive to the challenges of place-based interpretation.

The Park Advisory Commission, which was created with little thought as to purpose and function, never materialized into a citizen body that could build a local-to-national support network for the park or into a high-level think tank that could assist with park development in accordance with NPS management policies. Nonetheless, it remains an intriguing experiment with untested possibilities. The demographic character of America assuredly will continue to change, and the recently completed *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment* points to where Women's Rights NHP is currently situated in relation to various constituencies of its potential audience. This study revealed that women's historians and feminist groups feel the greatest affinity with the park, its resources, and its message. Local cultural organizations with longstanding ties to the park also hold a strong attachment. Certain religious groups, namely Quakers, Wesleyan Methodists, Unitarians/Universalists, and AME Zion congregations tend to think of the park as one of several "touchstones" important to their values and history. African Americans, on the whole, have not gravitated to the park as a source of identity even though the history of the women's rights movement is closely intertwined with the history of the Underground Railroad and the anti-slavery movement. The same is true of indigenous groups, who are more focused on maintaining distinct cultural identities. Conversely, descendants of those who participated in the 1848 convention have responded to the park's outreach efforts and are beginning to form a degree of attachment.¹⁰² Armed with this study, it may be time for the park to rethink the possibilities of a formal park advisory commission with appointees representing the various constituencies the park currently holds close and those it would like to embrace in its orbit. The pivotal challenge of managing Women's Rights NHP is to think creatively and work cooperatively in ways that help the park engage new audiences with the core values that are embedded in the park's story.

¹⁰² Heather Lee Miller, Emily Greenwald, and Dawn Vogel, *Women's Rights National Historical Park: Ethnographic Overview and Assessment* (Historical Research Associates, Inc. for Northeast Region Ethnography Program, National Park Service, Boston, MA, July 3, 2009).

RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

In 2005 the NPS Northeast Region, the National Parks Mid-Atlantic Council, and Eastern National cosponsored a conference on “Keeping National Parks Relevant in the 21st Century.” Northeast Regional Director Mary Bomar envisioned this as the first in a series of “conversations” focused on exploring ways to engage the nation’s increasingly diverse population in the heritage of America that is preserved and interpreted at national parks in the region. Recognizing that the white majority demographic will give way to a United States composed entirely of minority populations, the minority-majority demographic as it is called, the conference recognized a critical need to make the stories of national parks relevant to upcoming generations that will be more equally color-balanced and more heterogeneous in historical background, cultural traditions, and personal values.¹ One of the participants, Rev. Jeffrey Leath, offered particularly thoughtful advice regarding the relationship between relevancy and interpretation when he noted that,

There is a difference between information and interpretation. Relevancy does not alter information (facts), but it may inform interpretation (the meaning we give facts). . . . Reinterpreting to *cater* to a changing demographic or political environment will destroy credibility . . . Relevancy cannot replace truth as the primary core value.²

Acknowledging that “truth” as a concept is open to debate, Rev. Leath’s point nevertheless was that national parks should not become places for interpreting multiple points of view at the expense of undermining the history that gives these particular places their significance for understanding America’s past *as a nation*. Accomplishing interpretation at this level requires interpretive staff who embody cultural diversity and who are skilled in communicating with equally diverse audiences. It also requires professional research capability appropriate to a park’s story and professionals who are adept at transforming scholarship into interpretive programs that are consistent with that story. Expanding and reinterpreting park stories to reach new audiences is first an intellectual problem, second a technical challenge.

Action ideas put forth at the 2005 conference included several suggestions for achieving the depth of research required for delivering interpretation that is both relevant and credible. There was nothing new among these suggestions; rather, all of them

¹ Nora Mitchell, Tara Morrison, Virginia Farley, and Chrysandra Walter, eds., *Keeping National Parks Relevant in the 21st Century* (Woodstock, VT: Conservation Study Institute, 2005), v-vi.

² *Ibid.*, 6; emphasis in the original. Jeffrey N. Leath, Pastor, Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church, Philadelphia, PA.

reiterated messages that have been delivered in various NPS advisory reports generated from within and without over the past three decades: utilize cooperative agreements to partner with universities and research institutions; reach out to communities in an effort to understand how their history and culture might relate to NPS resources; continue to cooperate with the Organization of American Historians and other professional organizations; share findings of original research among NPS historians and interpreters; and encourage NPS staff to publish their research and present at professional conferences.³

Superintendents at Women's Rights NHP have variously implemented all five strategies identified at the 2005 conference. The recently completed *Women's Rights National Historical Park Visitor Study* (2009) and *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment* (2009) provide valuable information for renewing these strategies to expand audience reach. For instance, African American and Native American audiences are considered to be potential audiences, but by and large these populations do not perceive the Park as important for understanding their history and culture in relation to the history of the women's movement. The visitor and ethnographic studies strongly suggest a need for collaborative research projects to better understand the historical links between the Iroquois and other indigenous groups with the antebellum women's rights movement. They also suggest a need to continue to share research information as the initiative for the proposed Harriet Tubman NHP in Auburn, NY, and the Harriet Tubman Underground Railroad NHP in Maryland move forward. Assuming that these proposed parks are established and that the language of the enabling legislation is not substantially amended, new collaborative research projects may be needed to link the interpretive programs of these parks with those of Women's Rights NHP. These are particular research needs that certainly would extend the Park's interpretive efforts in important directions, but they do not address the Park's educative purpose holistically.

RESEARCH, EDUCATION, AND INTERPRETATION AT WOMEN'S RIGHTS NHP

The Park's enabling legislation ties the objectives of preservation and interpretation to the larger goals of education and inspiration. These goals are not easily met at Women's Rights NHP because its core story is abstract, rooted in multiple strands of nineteenth-century reform thought, filtered through the lived experiences and observations of intellectually powerful women and men, and articulated variously by many people who played important roles in the women's rights movement's. For park visitors, all of this history must be attached to four specific historic sites and the historical people who made them significant; amplified chiefly through the words of the Declaration of Sentiments; and communicated in ways that inspire ordinary people to make cognitive and emotional connections between this past and their present—to imagine, perhaps, the

³ Ibid. 25.

gender limitations and restrictions their foremothers experienced in relation to their station in society, whatever and wherever that might have been, and to place themselves in the stream of time. Even for the most gifted interpreters, the most talented public programming specialists, and the most creative exhibit designers, this is a great challenge.

The challenge is even greater when one considers the avalanche of scholarship that has ushered forth since the Park was established, and continues to flow with no sign of waning. The literature cited in Appendix H presents three snapshots in time. These snapshots will yield to others, but a scan of the scholarly literature produced in the past twenty years quickly reveals that this body of work is related to issues of relevancy. Leath's caution is well taken: in order to maintain interpretive credibility, messages of relevancy must not cater to the demographic or political environment of the moment. Bending interpretation in pursuit of new audiences runs the risk of eroding the core story. Instead, to advance the twin goals of education and inspiration through the core story, the Park must have the capacity to stay current with new scholarship that supports the Park's primary themes, even better to be engaged with and contributing to that scholarship. The Park also must maintain effective team dynamics so that the research-education-interpretation process is organic and flexible rather than functionally segregated. Scholarly "capacity" can of course be obtained internally through staffing or externally through academic partnerships, or both, but legislative mandate and NPS policy require preservation and interpretation to be grounded in the best available science and scholarship.

Interpretation at each of the Park's resources should be updated consistent with the current status of scholarship and consistent with comprehensive interpretive planning. The permanent exhibit in the Visitor Center is nearly twenty years old and out of date; here, a complete revision rather than updating may be the better course to pursue. The Wesleyan Chapel Site now provides a truly contemplative space that opens up new possibilities for interpreting the connections between religion and reform in the nineteenth century. The two Waterloo sites are rich with possibilities for continuing to expand and more fully interpret the connections between the women's rights movement, the anti-slavery movement, and religious beliefs. Situated near the historic commercial district, the Waterloo sites also offer opportunities for integrating the salient aspects of community settlement and development that are germane to the Park's core story.

The Stanton House, where visitor experience goals have long focused on understanding Elizabeth Cady Stanton's life and personal experiences in relation to her involvement in the women's rights movement, is ready for interpretive refreshing. Land acquisition to reassemble the historic Stanton property has transformed this site from a historic house to a cultural landscape where Stanton's domestic life can be contextualized as part of a neighborhood and a community.⁴ Recently completed baseline studies have laid the groundwork for developing and interpreting the Stanton Site as a cultural

⁴ *Comprehensive Interpretive Plan*, 17.

landscape. A scholarship-driven research agenda for reinterpretation might include detailed investigations of the working class neighborhood in which the Stanton family lived in order to help visitors imagine what Elizabeth Cady Stanton observed and how daily life in this area of Seneca Falls influenced her ideas regarding women's rights. In this context, the house itself merits yet another discussion because the Stantons enjoyed a higher standard of living than their neighbors. Do visitors need visual clues to fully grasp their social and economic status in contrast to that of her immediate neighbors? Similarly, while visitors catch real glimpses of the Stanton children, their father is interpreted mostly in absentia, as he apparently was much of the time in real life. Yet Elizabeth Cady Stanton's status as a wife was as important as her status as a mother and social observer for understanding her dedicated leadership in the women's rights movement. Research might be focused on developing Henry B. Stanton as a historical person to help visitors understand him as a husband and father and the nature of the Stantons' marital relationship in the larger social context of the period.

The *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment* identifies a "special connection" to the Park among women's historians and feminist groups. All of the Park's resources are important to this constituency, but it has a particular interest in the broad sweep of visitor experience goals at the Wesleyan Chapel-Visitor Center Complex. This constituency also is the most attentive and the most demanding of scholarship-based interpretation. Importantly, the ethnographic study also indicates a growing attachment to the Park among the descendants of participants in the 1848 convention. This suggests that the research agenda should include documenting the family histories of descendants and contextualizing those histories to better understand the networks that sustained the women's rights movement in the nineteenth century. This type of research has already proved to be valuable for interpreting the Stanton House and the M'Clintock House, and it may be equally valuable for interpreting the Hunt House. Additional family history research among descendants might enable the Park to discern possible links with other historic sites associated with the women's movement.

HISTORIC PRESERVATION AT WOMEN'S RIGHTS NHP AND IN THE NORTHEAST REGION

The historic resources that make up Women's Rights NHP present interesting historic preservation case studies, and visitor experience goals include interpreting the preservation of the Park's resources. In the context of national parks in the Northeast Region, or the National Park System as a whole, preservation of the Stanton House, the Wesleyan Chapel, and the M'Clintock House represent only a small fraction of the work performed by the National Park Service, although the Wesleyan Chapel would be considered a case study of major significance. This body of work, including the professionals behind it, has never been examined in historical perspective. One tends to think of the NPS as the federal agency that sets criteria and standards for historic preservation and reviews resource management documents for regulatory compliance,

not as an agency with professional practitioners who are intellectually engaged in applying these standards on the ground. Yet, the practice of historic preservation in the National Park Service since passage of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act is an important story waiting to be told. The contributions of professionals like Blaine Cliver demonstrate this point. As the head of the North Atlantic Historic Preservation Center from the mid 1970s, when it was established, until 1990, when he became Chief of Preservation Assistance in the Washington Office, Cliver played an important role in shaping professional practice in the Northeast Region. But his influence was not restricted to the region. During the early 1990s, he also was instrumental in setting up the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training (NCPTT) at Northwestern State University in Natchitoches, Louisiana. Cliver is only one of an unknown number of individuals who shaped the practice of historic architecture and historical archeology in the National Park Service over multiple decades following passage of the National Historic Preservation Act, although the principal actors appear to have been located in four or five centers. In addition to the NAHPC in Boston, which came to specialize in wooden structures, the former Southwest Regional Office in Santa Fe specialized in the preservation of adobe and archeological resources. The reason for the two centers in Boston and Santa Fe was that historical parks and archeological sites were concentrated in the Northeast and Southwest regions. The NPS established the Denver Service Center to provide technical services for all regions but especially those without specialized centers. The Southeast Regional Office in Atlanta had a “work crew” of some sort for a time, and since 1994, the NCPTT in Natchitoches has been a center for research on materials preservation.

The interpretation of historic preservation at Women’s Rights NHP and parks throughout the Northeast Region would be immeasurably enriched by an administrative history of the cultural resource functions of the Regional Office beginning in the mid 1970s, when NPS reorganized into ten regions. At that time, regions had responsibility for Section 106 compliance, and each region had a staff of professionals—historical architect, archeologist, historian—to handle this responsibility. The Northeast Region was unusual because of the Historic Preservation Center, which, as the history of historic preservation at Women’s Rights reveals, generated important debates that turned on preservation principles and philosophy.

The interpretation of preservation at the Stanton House, the Wesleyan Chapel, and the M’Clintock House would be similarly enriched if visitors understood these preserved places in the context of evolving and changing historic preservation philosophies and practices in the Northeast Region. Such interpretation also would contribute much to visitors’ understanding of the history of historic preservation in the United States in the wake of the National Historic Preservation Act. A larger comparative study of historic preservation, post-1966, in the National Park Service would, of course, contribute even more to the overall history of historic preservation.

THE NPS HISTORICAL PROGRAM, RESOURCE MANAGEMENT, AND INTERPRETATION

The administrative history of Women’s Rights NHP suggests the need for a broader history of the NPS historical program within the overall context of agency culture and the priorities of directors. Historic preservation is just one aspect of cultural resource management in historical parks and, in the larger picture, only one aspect of historical practice. Yet, within the NPS, history tends to be treated as a research function that informs various aspects of park development and resource management at key points. Expertise in history is not well utilized to integrate the resource management and interpretive functions of historical parks in day-to-day operations. The relative importance of history tends to rise and fall with the priorities of superintendents and their perceptions of where history should be fitted into the park’s organizational structure. In short, historians do not yet have a well-defined place or role in the management of national parks and the interpretation of park stories.⁵ This is of no small consequence because historical parks have come to play an increasingly important role in the system over the past forty years.

Above all, history is important to the educative function of national parks. The enabling legislation specifically mandates education as a purpose of Women’s Rights NHP, and since the 1970s successive NPS directors have embraced education as a necessary function of the National Park Service. Education is now seen as key to keeping the agency relevant in a rapidly changing American society. Former NPS Chief Historian Dwight Pitcaithley has argued that a renewed vision for the future of national parks should include a commitment by the NPS to enhance the scholarly credentials of its employees in all disciplines in order to apply the “very best of current science and scholarship” to the management of resources.⁶ Knowledge is one competency in the matrix of effective management. Communicating meaning, significance, and relevancy is an increasingly complex art. As former NPS Deputy Director John Reynolds reminds us, “The national parks have lived off the Mather–Albright–Yard constituency model and its legacy for decades However, it is a construct, while good for its times, that is far too narrow for the 21st century, for who ‘we the people’ are has changed, and change continues at an accelerating pace.” He argues that to remain relevant in the twenty-first century, the National Park Service throughout the ranks must think in terms of “personal relevancy,” that is, “how each individual and group discerns value to themselves in the

⁵ The 2008 report of the National Academy of Public Administration on NPS cultural resource programs found that NPS staff and external experts “value . . . both administrative histories and historic resource studies for managing park cultural resources.” The report goes on to note: “Others pointed out that while historic resource studies and administrative histories are important and urgently needed by every park, counting these tangible work products is a poor measure of outcomes for historians. They emphasized that the ultimate goal is *understanding* historical context—by superintendents, resource managers, interpretation staff, researchers, and park visitors.” See Hodsoll, et al., *Saving Our History: A Review of National Park Cultural Resource Programs*, 35-37, 59.

⁶ Dwight T. Pitcaithley, “On the Brink of Greatness: National Parks and the Next Century,” *George Wright Forum* Vo. 24, No. 2 (2007); 16.

national parks and the national park idea.” He further notes that, “personal-direct relevancy is generally reflected in the ‘rewards’ individuals receive from a personal visit.” Among other things, visitors “expand themselves at interpretive and education programs, through Junior Ranger offerings and in bookstores. They expand their personal outlooks by experiencing history, social movements, and other occurrences in the very places where they happened.”⁷ In a nutshell, knowledge is important, but the delivery of relevance is vital.⁸ Returning to the point made earlier, expanding the interpretation of national parks to include supporting stories that are relevant to new audiences is an intellectual problem. It is one that requires an ongoing commitment to research and scholarly engagement as well as collaboration to reach those audiences. If the NPS is serious about maintaining “relevancy” in American society, the agency must think more critically about the role of history in the national parks and the commensurate responsibilities of history and historians in integrated resource management-interpretation.

⁷ John Reynolds, “Whose America? Whose Idea? Making “America’s Best Idea, Reflect New American Realities,” *George Wright Forum*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (2010): 129, 131.

⁸ *Ibid.* 3-4.

APPENDIX A

WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY EMPLOYEES, 1981-2012¹

SUPERINTENDENTS		
Judy Hart	Park Coordinator Superintendent	01/81 – 02/82 03/82 – 01/89
Linda Canzanelli	Superintendent	02/89 – 05/94
Laura Rotegard	Assistant Superintendent/ Community Planner Acting Superintendent	08/16/93 – 07/07/95 06/94 – 10/94
Joanne Hanley	Superintendent	10/94 – 10/97
Vivien Rose	Acting Superintendent	11/97 – 03/98, 11/01
Josie Fernandez	Superintendent	04/98 – 03/04; active reserve military deployment 11/01 – 12/02
BJ Dunn	Acting Superintendent	12/01 – 01/02
Nancy "Lizzie" Watts	Acting Superintendent	02/02 – 11/02
Michael Caldwell	Acting Superintendent	04/04 – 07/04
Tina Orcutt	Superintendent	08/04 – 08/11
Tammy Duchesne	Superintendent	8/2011–present
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION		
Margaret Bourke	Secretary	1982
Cathie Bertino		1982 – 1983
Marcia Lerkins	Administrative Clerk Administrative Officer	08/83 – 1992 1993 – 2009
Darcy Battaglia		02/87 – 07/87
Mary Kelly Black	Clerk/Typist	08/87 – 1992
Dorothy Fenton	Secretary/Stenographer	04/06/92 – 2010
Jim Schumacher	Administrative Technician	1992
Cathy Roth	Administrative Technician	1992 – 1995
Beth Frank	Administrative Technician	04/19/93 – 2000
Gene Freese	Administrative Assistant (SCEP) Administrative Officer	2009 2010 – current
INTERPRETIVE DIVISION [2001-2006, SEE VISITOR SERVICES & CULTURAL RESOURCES]		
Judith Wellman	Historian	1982
Nancy Hewitt	Assistant Historian	1982
Gina Moriarty	Chief of Interpretation	10/83 – 09/85
Margaret McFadden	Chief of Interpretation	1986 – 1989
Terry Roth	Chief of Interpretation	1991 – 07/95
MaryEllen Snyder	Chief of Interpretation	1995 – 07/17/00
Lee Werst	Chief of Interpretation	05/2006 – 08/2011
Toni Dufficy	Supervisory Ranger	1989 – 11/92
Blanca Stransky	Supervisory Ranger	06/03/93 – 01/95
Liza Stearns	Lead Park Ranger	1987 – 1989
MaryEllen Snyder	Lead Park Ranger	1991 – 1995
Vivien Rose	Historian; Acting Chief, 07/00-04/01	08/12/91 – 1996
Victor Jorrin	Historical Architect	05/86 – 08/86

¹ There is no comprehensive record of employees between 1982 and 1991. Names of permanent employees and dates of employment are believed to be correct, but titles are sometimes missing. Names of seasonal employees and dates of employment are given as best they could be ascertained by Mary Kelly Black and Mary Ellen Snyder, who retrospectively compiled a summary list of personnel in 2000.

RANGERS-PERMANENT		
Liza Stearns		1985 – 1988
Mardi Butt		1989 – 1990
Yvette Daniels		05/16/93 – 11/94
Felicia Moss	Acting Supervisory Ranger, 1995	1994 – 1998
Susanne Norris		1995 – 08/96
Jamie Wolfe		1995 – current
Jack Shay		1997 – 2005
David Malone		1999 – current
Charles Cousins	Program Assistant	2001 – 2002
John Stoudt		2006 – current
SEASONAL RANGERS/PARK GUIDES		
Janice Friebaum	Ranger [seasonal hires classified as Ranger 1982-1999]	1982
Connie L. Hasto		1982
Anne Ritter		1982
Debbie Wolf		1982
Hanns Kuttner		1983
Linda Ford		1984
Rebecca Slattery		1984
Anne Swiatek		1984
William Barr		1985? – 1988?
Gail Neisner		1985? – 1988?
Kim Raia		1985? – 1988?
Michael West		1985? – 1988?
Michael Cuddy		1986
Eliza Russell		1986, 1991, 1992
Trudy Bayer		1988
Kristen (Momberger) Britain		1988, 1991, 1992
Amy Ablove		1989
Patricia Dantona		1989, 90?, 91? 1992, 1993
Kelly Fellner		1989
Jennifer Langdon		1989
Judith Magee		1989
Julie Onnenga		1989
Lynn Pino		1989
Martha Szufnarowski		1989
Teresa Worman		1989
Melissa Cahn		1990? – 1991?
Amy Smoyer		1990? – 1991?
Elaine Terman		1990? – 1991?
Barbara Westmoreland		1990? – 1991?
Maarit Berman		1990?
Dale Dickerhoof	Law Enforcement Ranger	1990?
Danielle Johnson		1990?
Sarah Fatherly		1990, 1991, 1992
Lia Vella		1990, 1991, 1992
Bob Ditolla	Law Enforcement Ranger	1991
Aimee Fantazier		1993
Glen Fish		1993
Kim Heveron		1993
Andrea McDowell		1993
Penny Percival		1993
Pat Rittenhouse	Term/Intermittent	1993 – 12/22/98
Carol Ash		1994
Amy Glowacki		1994

Sandra Kelly		1994
Doug Bohnenblust		1995, 1996
Bruce Hale	Law Enforcement Ranger	1995
Rebecca LoTurco		1995, 1996
Erin Stepowany		1995 – 2001
Douglas Vigneron		1995
Julie McLaren		1996, 1997
Kristen Ford		1997
Sara Brainard	SCA	1997, 1998
Tara McCarthy		1997, 1998
Richard Pardee		1997, 1998, 2001
Megan Wolford	SCA	1997
Cindy Dubuque	SCA	1998
Annie LoTurco	SCA	1998
Jeannette Oliver	SCA	1998
Sharon Collyer		1999
Mary Guererri		1999, 2000
Bobbi Hughes		1999
Deborah Kreiser		1999
Pat Dudley	Museum Technician	2000
Bonnie Gisel	Park Guide [seasonals classified as park guides from this point forward]	2000
William Lell		2000
Vincent Mele		2000
Kerry Vincent		2000, 2001
Teresa Kalloch		2001, 2002
Kara Motosicky		2001
Barbara Walden		2001
Andrea DeKoter	SCEP GS 9 Ranger as of 2010	2002, 2005 – current
Patricia Lindor		2002
Elizabeth Povero		2002, 2003
Jessica Queener		2002 – 2011
Gaylynn Welch		2002
Jason Boyd		2003
Mariska Brown		2003 - 2005
Megan Burger		2003
Joseph Carlson		2003
Angel Engman		2003, 2004
Alita Howard		2003
Penny Sutterby		2004 - 2005
Helen Chmura		2006
Linda Frank		2007, 2008, 2009
Elizabeth Babiarz		2008
Meghan Barbay		2008, 2009, 2010, 2011
Alice Beattie		2008, 2009
Elizabeth Maple		2008, 2009
Mary Harris		2009, 2010
Regan Thomas		2010
OFFICE OF HISTORIAN		
Vivien Rose	Historian	05/01/96 – 2000

VISITOR SERVICES AND CULTURAL RESOURCES DIVISION		
Vivien Rose	Chief, VS/CR	2000 – 2006
Anne Derousie	Historian	5/21/01 – 2006
Jude Pfister	Curator	5/13/01 – 2004
CULTURAL RESOURCES DIVISION		
Vivien Rose	Chief of Cultural Resources	2006 – current
Anne Derousie	Historian	2006 – current
MAINTENANCE DIVISION		
Leroy Renninger	Chief of Maintenance/Facility Manager	02/11/86 – 2000
Robert Fenton	Maintenance Mechanic Facility Manager	04/26/93 – 2001 2001 – 2009
Guy Hock	Maintenance Mechanic Facility Manager	1997 – 2009 2010 – current
Charles Taylor	Mechanic	2001 – 2005
Alfred Manino	Maintenance Worker	1988 – 1996
Ronald Naragon	Maintenance Worker	1991 – 2011
Benjamin Secor	Maintenance Worker	2001 – current
John Teachout	Maintenance Worker	2009 – current
Mary Kelly Black	Secretary Program Assistant	04/05/92 – 1996 1997 – 2003
SEASONAL MAINTENANCE WORKERS		
Marie Lucas	Clerk (JTPA)	1997
Eve Roloson	Clerk (Green Thumb)	1997
Amy Skinner	Clerk (JTPA)	1997
Donald Taber	(Green Thumb)	1997, 2002
Randon Fenton		1999
Brian Boles		2001
Jeffrey Gibbs		2001
Daniel O'Neil		2001
Paul Peterman	Clerk	2002
Jerry Simpson		2002, 2003
Penny Sutterby		2002, 2003
Gene Freese		2005 – 2009
Benjamin Beals		2006
Aaron Ryrko	STEP	2006 – 2009
Jacob Queener	STEP	2008, 2009, 2010, 2011
Bryan Scharf	STEP	2009, 2010, 2011
William Reilly	STEP	2010

EASTERN NATIONAL BOOKSTORE		
Sylvia Manino	P-T Clerk	1991-at least 1993
Amy Glowacki	P-T Clerk	1993
Doug Bohnenblust	P-T Clerk	1995
Jessica Grace	P-T Clerk	1995
Rebecca LoTurco	P-T Clerk	1995
Marie Queener	P-T Clerk, year round; became site manager in 2002	1996 – current
Stephanie McMahon	Clerk (seasonal)	1996

APPENDIX B

ANNUAL VISITATION FY 1983 – FY 2010 WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Fiscal Yr	Recreational Visitors
2010	22,951
2009	20,971
2008	22,482
2007	18,046
2006	16,397
2005	17,794
2004	19,863
2003	19,944
2002	21,034
2001	25,244
2000	28,404
1999	36,246
1998	71,831
1997	27,109
1996	30,105
1995	34,858
1994	28,929
1993	27,178
1992	17,808
1991	16,757
1990	16,041
1989	16,107
1988	24,284
1987	15,235
1986	17,237
1985	14,035
1984	8,115
1983	6,759

Note: The annual report of recreational visitors counts the number of people who visit the park for tours, educational programs, special events, etc. Women's Rights NHP reported visitor statistics for the first time in 1983. Statistics were recalculated after this study was complete.

Source: National Park Service Public Use Statistics Office, U.S. Department of the Interior. Available online at <https://www.irma.nps.gov/Stats/SSRSReports/>.

APPENDIX C

EARLY MEMBERS OF THE ELIZABETH CADY STANTON FOUNDATION¹

January 1979	Members: Marina Brown, Wells College Mary Curry, National Women's Hall of Fame Dr. Corinne Guntzel, Wells College Ann Hermann, S.F. Historical Society Myrna Pollino Lucille Povero Charles Shaffer, S.F. attorney Elizabeth Shultis, writer Dr. August Sinicropi, S.F. ophthalmologist Ralph Sinicropi	Honorary Members: Nancy Dubner Rhoda B. Jenkins, architect, Elizabeth Cady Stanton descendant Hans Kuttner, Young Peoples Committee Albert Ossman Ralph Peters, owner Stanton House Marjorie Smith George Souhan
May 1979	Members added: Dr. Rosemary Agonito, Eisenhower College Patricia Chiodo, S.F. business owner Dr. Suzanne Cusick, Eisenhower College Alaine Espenscheid, attorney, Ontario Co. Frances Farenthold, Wells College (Pres.) Joan Olmstead, owner Richard and Jane Hunt House	
August 8, 1979	ECSF chartered by State of New York	
as of 11/7/1979	Members of ECSF Board: Dr. Rosemary Agonito Patricia Chiodo Dr. Suzanne Cusick Marcia Dugan Alaine Espenscheid Harlene Gilbert-Karsten, Women's Resource Center, Geneva Elizabeth Shultis, writer	

¹ Compiled from materials in the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation Collection, Penfield Library, SUNY-Oswego, and a handwritten list compiled January 1980, located in park files.

January 1980

Trustees:

Lucille M. Povero, President
Marina B. Brown, Vice President
Dr. Suzanne Cusick, Secretary
Dr. Corinne Guntzel, Treasurer
Dr. Rosemary Agonito
Patricia Chiodo
Mary Curry
Marcia Dugan
Alaine Espenscheid
Harlene Gilbert-Karsten
Ann Hermann
Elizabeth C. Shultis
Robert Staley-Mays, owner Bloomer House

Honorary Trustees:

Alan Alda
Rev. Betty Bone Schiess, Episcopal priest
Sey Chassler, editor *Redbook*
Judy Chicago, artist
Rep. Shirley Chisholm, NY-12 (D), 1969-1983
Karen DeCrow, attorney, author
Nancy Dubner
Frances Farenthold, president, Wells College
Betty Friedan, author/feminist
Elisabeth Griffiths, historian
Rhoda B. Jenkins, architect
Lynda Johnson Robb, presidential advisor
Ashley Montague, anthropologist
Ralph Peters
Adrienne Rich, poet
Marjorie Smith
Gloria Steinem, president, *Ms. Magazine*

APPENDIX C.1

ELIZABETH (BETSY) SHULTIS TO MARJORIE SMITH JULY 17, 1981²

Dear Marjorie,

I hope to be able to talk to you while you are in Seneca Falls, but because I seem to do some of my best thinking on paper, I thought I would jot down a few perceptions that might add to the positive dialogue in which we are all engaged.

First of all, let me express my gratitude to you for coming to Seneca Falls, especially at a time of such incredible stress and difficulty for both you and Ralph.

I wonder if I might tell you a little of my history and commitment to the Stanton house to add to the tapestry which we are all weaving. I moved to Seneca Falls in July, 1972 from a very alive and rapidly-growing New York City satellite community in Connecticut. The move was, for me, infinitely more than physically relocating my family, for I went from a full, totally committed life, to one of incredible isolation and loneliness on the outskirts of Seneca Falls. I soon took a part-time job at the Mynderse public library in S.F. and it was there that I first discovered Elizabeth Cady Stanton. We were separated by a century and a quarter, but the critical issue in the disequilibrium of our lives was essentially the same.

As time went on, my husband became involved as a trustee of the Seneca Falls Historical Society and I had a tentative relationship with the Hall of Fame, which at that time lacked much of the substance and purpose which it has since acquired. We both, as newcomers, tried to convince both organizations of the value of acquiring and preserving the ECS house. But we were met with the official kind of resistance to Stanton that persisted even until that time. (Maybe the word should be indifference.)

In the Fall of 1973, I began working at the Intermediate School library, in the old Mynderse Academy building on the town park. My desk was in the media room on the south-east corner of the building, on the second floor, and I placed it in such a way that I could look across the river and see the unmistakable green house that had been Stanton's home. I dreamed of finding others who would share my feelings about acquiring and preserving the house, and I dreamed about writing a play.

Five years later, in the spring of 1978, the house did indeed come up for sale. By that time I was on the staff of the Wells College Library, and we were in the process of moving again. . . this time to Ithaca. Marina Brown, with whom I drove and worked, had also seen the "Historic House for Sale" ad in the paper. Together, we set out to find a way

² Exact transcription of letter used with permission of Elizabeth Shultis; Rebecca Conard to Elizabeth Shultis, letter, August 1, 2009; Conard to Shultis, August 14, 2009.

of saving the house for preservation, recognizing the importance of opening the house to the public to tell the story of ECS.

We again approached the Historical Society, the Hall of Fame, and the Seneca Falls Revitalization Committee which had become especially active in promoting community consciousness under the leadership of Augie Sinicropi. Although there were no “takers” . . . there was an unmistakable interest in doing something that I had not observed before. Marina and I became aware of a purchase offer made by a Rochester developer and the need to save the house became more urgent.

Casting our bread upon the waters, I wrote to Mary Ann Krupsak, then Lieutenant Governor of NY State, who had been in Seneca Falls the previous September for the beginning of the S.F. to Houston torch relay. We sent a copy to Midge Costanze who was the Assistant to President Carter, and who is a native of Rochester. I have a copy of this letter. It says essentially . . . “HELP”! This is the situation. What can we do?”

At that point, events began to move very swiftly. Marina and Dick Brown, Berenice Pannucci, Rick Keumpel and I met with the Rochester developer. We were relieved several days later to learn that his low purchase bid had been refused. I think our meeting was valuable in alerting him that there would be considerable resistance to his plan, which included moving the house, and he did not pursue the purchase offer further.

Enter simultaneously Ralph Peters and Marjorie Smith from Seattle, Washington and Nancy Dubner from Rochester. Anyone who does not believe in destiny should have such an experience. On exactly the same day, I received a phone call at the Wells College Library informing me of your visit and interest in the house, and Nancy was answering my letter. At the same time, the Historical Society was beginning to explore a role for themselves as an agency which might serve as an “umbrella” for grant applications. Needless to say, there had been a monumental shift in attitudes. Ann[e] Ackerson, director of the S.F. Historical Society, and Nancy Dubner called a meeting, bringing together all the interests that had emerged, with one goal in mind . . . to save and preserve the Stanton house. Realtor Austin Malone represented the Smith/Peters interest during this early stage.

Ann Ackerson was the convener of the first three meetings of this group, and Nancy Dubner provided the primary leadership. Various groups were represented: Augie Sinicropi from the S.F. revitalization Committee; Lucille Povero, organizer and former President of the ECS Chapter of NOW (no longer active by this time); Eileen Carmer, AAUW; Bill Ottemiller, President of the Historical Society; Hans Kuttner, Young People’s Committee and Yorker’s Club; Ed Moran, Director of Development, Eisenhower College, and those mentioned before.

Nancy Dubner provided a great deal of expertise, having come recently from helping to organize the Eleanor Roosevelt, Valkill [sic] restoration in Hyde Park. Her knowledge of funding source and possible avenues of approach were invaluable. She was also employed by the State of NY and knew what possibilities were available to us at that level. Ed Moran, as Development Director at Eisenhower College, dealt with Foundations

and grants on a routine basis, and as a Trustee of the Historical Society, had a committed interest in this project. Ann Ackerson was leaving Seneca Falls for a new job, and at the third meeting it was necessary to name a new temporary chair. Lucille Povero volunteered to act in this capacity and went on to formalize the effort. In October, when Ralph Peters came from Seattle to complete the purchase of the Stanton House, Lucy called the first meeting of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation. It took the form of a luncheon at the Gould Hotel at which all interested parties gathered. The goal was to raise funds to purchase the house from Ralph for historical preservation as the first step in creating a Women's Rights Historic District.

The next few months were filled with activity that sometimes outweighed organization, as the more formal structures of By-Laws and Incorporation were being drawn up. It had soon become apparent that such steps were necessary before funds could be raised . . . and that such steps took time.

In the meantime, the Boston regional office of the National Park Service had taken an interest in Seneca Falls and soon thereafter began a feasibility study of a Women's Rights National Historical Park. Nancy Dubner, at our first meeting, had suggested this as a possibility for preserving these sites, but I remember her suggestion being a heady one; one beyond our wildest dreams.

This has been a long recital of the early facts and the rest is a matter of record, so I will not go on. I think it is obvious that the action taken by you and Ralph was the keystone of the whole project. "Without you it couldn't have been done," as they say. However, I realized that other evening when you were speaking at our meeting at "The Gould," that there is a dimension of a process that needs defining. What a major part of that process the house purchase has been, but the process goes on . . . and the dream goes on. You and Ralph came to Seneca Falls and actualize the effort which had begun and has now grown until we have within our grasp the possibility of Elizabeth Cady Stanton becoming known to millions of Americans who have never even had a text-book knowledge of Seneca Falls and the woman who defined the American Woman's Movement for us all.

Marjorie, I hope that you have been able to see us (the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation) as an incredibly hard working and committed organization of individuals who have literally moved mountains to actualize their dream . . . and I hope, yours. For we are just that.

I hope that your visit continues to be a pleasant one, and an affirming one. And I sincerely wish that each day finds you feeling better and in stronger health.

In Sisterhood,
Betsy Shultis

APPENDIX C.2

**“THE SENECA FALLS WOMEN’S RIGHTS CONVENTION:
THE PEOPLE AND THEIR WORLD”
DELIVERED BY NANCY DUBNER
AT THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS CONFERENCE
PHILADELPHIA, PA
APRIL 3, 1982³**

Undoubtedly modern feminists question why Seneca Falls was the site of the formal beginnings of the American women’s movement. It seems such an unlikely place for radical ideas. Even today, Seneca Falls is a small conservative town of 10,000 in the Finger Lakes region of New York State, and off the beaten track. Nonetheless, it is the location, and will be appropriately preserved and interpreted by the National Park Service in the Women’s Rights National Historical Park recently established there.

I have been involved in this effort since [1978], when I went to Seneca Falls in response to a letter from a local resident to then Lt. Governor Mary Anne Krupsak, for whom I worked as Director of the Western New York office. The resident was concerned about two of the historic houses associated with leaders in the 1848 Women’s Rights Convention. Both the Stanton and Bloomer (Amelia) houses were for sale. The Wesleyan Chapel, site of the convention not mentioned in the letter, is a laundromat.

On several visits in [1978] and [1979], I talked with Community leaders about my belief that Seneca Falls should capitalize on its historic roots. I recall feeling that many of them would rather have had Elizabeth Cady Stanton call someplace other than Seneca Falls home. There was an obvious connection between this feeling and the modern feminist movement. The demands of modern feminist[s] are not popular with many people in Seneca Falls today.

A committee was formed in [1978] to try to save the historic houses. It proved unsuccessful, but a year later another group was formed. It became the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation. It was a small group of essentially powerless women, 2 or 3 men, and a teenage boy, who became a Congressional page. The members were most political neophytes, but they learned about the legislative and political processes and got a bill introduced into Congress, lobbied it through the system, and saw it signed into law in 1980.

³ Reproduced with permission of Nancy Dubner, Rebecca Conard to Nancy Dubner, email, August 28, 2009; Dubner to Conard, email, August 29, 2009. Date corrections and comments appearing in brackets were inserted by Corinne Guntzel.

For quite a while, from [1978-1979], the committee had problems gaining support from the community leadership for a national park in the village. This was due in part to the Stanton Foundation's image problems. While its members were hardly "battling feminists" they were viewed as supported by perceived undesirable elements. They were viewed also as having little power in the community.

Eventually, the Stanton Foundation began to gain "respectable" outside support. At the request of the Foundation, a retired school administrator from Seattle, Ralph Peters bought the Stanton house to protect it. Later, Alan Alda contributed \$11,000 so the Stanton Foundation could repurchase the house from Peters and donate it to the National Park Service. Following these and other events, support began to grow in Seneca Falls. It could be argued that support coincided with the realization that historic sites are good business. Seneca Falls has a marketable and unique past. It could be the equivalent of 200 jobs in the community.

As the park proponents began to gather support, their project came into competition with another project in the town. The Women's Hall of Fame had been formed some years earlier and was struggling to survive. Local fathers decided to support and promote the Hall of Fame. They viewed it as a "nice ladies" organization. The Hall of Fame is a worthy project which recognizes the achievements of many great women. All of them are dead, so their actions can no longer embarrass the town fathers. The Women's Hall of Fame and the Stanton Foundation work side by side today toward similar goals. With the park a reality, they are no longer in competition for attention or for scarce financial resources. The Hall of Fame, sustained by private donations, and the Park complement each other. If there is a parallel in the efforts by the Stanton Foundation to get the park established in Seneca Falls and the convention of 1848, it is not in the powerlessness of the participants. The women of 1848 were probably more powerful. As Judy Wellman has pointed out, they benefited from their association with powerful ideological movements of the time. These movements were particularly strong in the Burned Over District, as Western New York has been called. Included were the Free Soil Movement, Spiritualism, abolitionist and temperance movements. The Mormons got their start on the farm of Joseph Smith only a few miles from Seneca Falls near Palmyra.

The Stanton Foundation benefited and suffered from its identification with modern feminists. The town residents seem to view the past and the present in separate compartments. The past is acceptable, a thing to promote, good business for Seneca Falls. Generally, they seem to prefer not to be associated with the modern feminist movement.

Many modern feminists come to this shrine to commemorate their formal beginnings. Some of them and the events celebrated there evoke positive impressions in the community. As Judy Wellman notes, the 1977 Houston Women's Rights Convention, to which I was a N.Y. delegate, spotlighted Seneca Falls historic role by starting a 1700 mile torch marathon from the front of the Wesleyan Chapel laundromat. But the feminist movement has garnered bad publicity, often focused on a handful of radical members. Thus, the power structure of Seneca Falls has been concerned about the town's image.

In time the community has come to recognize its heritage, and supports the creation of the park. Some of this support has been manifest in interesting ways. One example: the Department of Transportation announced plans to replace a 70 years old bridge across the Canal in the center of town. Its construction would have destroyed a row of Italianate buildings which form the south side of the main street. The increased awareness of its heritage and that history is good business led local leaders to seek an altered design for the bridge which would avoid the buildings and preserve the 19th century ambiance of downtown.

Another example is the removal of a silver bullet-shaped diner from a small triangular piece of land on the main street. The land was also owned by the Department of Transportation. Removing the diner opened a vista of the canal and led to the creation of a small town park named for Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

I spent three years as Executive Officer of the Department of Transportation in Albany before taking my present position. The Department is a bastion of maleness. Recently I wrote a paper for a university course in which I discussed how powerful it must make those men feel to recall their boyhoods, when they built highways and bridges in their mashed potatoes and gravy. Now they make them for real. Highways have been notorious for past insensitivities to archeological, historical and aesthetic properties in the way of progress.

The modern feminist movement was, in fact, responsible for the creation of the park. The movement was happening. Support for substantive women's issues and support for the park came from many of these same legislative leaders.

One of its early and significant supporters was Congressman Jonathan Bingham, who introduced the bill in the House of Representatives. Bingham is a democrat from the Bronx, who also introduced the bill to create Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic site in Hyde Park in 1976. Bingham is the ranking Democrat on the House Sub-Committee on Parks. With his sponsorship, the bill entered the legislative process in a strong position. Senators Jacob Javits and Daniel Patrick Moynihan sponsored it in the Senate. The measure was then co-sponsored by Gary Lee, the local Congressman. It also received the support of the entire New York Delegation and the Congressional Women's Caucus. Many national women's organizations lobbied for it. When Philip Burton, Chairman of the House Sub-Committee on parks joined the sponsorship of the bill, its passage was virtually assured.

Within the National Park Service, the measure had considerable support. The Park Service has only a few sites which commemorate American women. A longtime friend of the idea of establishing more parts to recognize women's achievements is Associate Director Ross Holland. Holland's base is now in Washington and he administers all the historic properties owned by the NPS. When he was Associate Regional Director in the Boston office, he was instrumental in the creation of the Lowell National Historical Park, the first urban cultural park. He was one of the earliest supporters of the Seneca Falls park.

In 1976[?], he accepted an invitation from the Lt. Governor's office to go to Seneca Falls to see if the park idea was viable. He endorsed it publicly then and has been a friend throughout the effort. He has visited Seneca Falls more than any other high ranking public official.

Judy Hart was formerly Legislative Liaison in the NPS Boston office. She is now the first Superintendent of the Women's Rights Park. A few years ago, but independent of the effort going on in Seneca Falls, she began to seek more parks which reflected the contribution women have made to America. In Rochester to visit Susan B. Anthony's House she was encouraged to "go to Seneca Falls". One visit and she became the tireless guiding light for the creation of the park. In her job as Legislative Liaison, she was a critical link in the enactment of the bill.

While we are talking about the Susan B. Anthony house in Rochester, 40 miles from Seneca Falls, let me say I believe the Women's Rights Park will not be complete until the Anthony house is included. Anthony was not a participant in the 1848 convention. She came to the movement a few years later from Quaker activism and the anti-slavery movement. Yet her association with Stanton forms the central pivot of the movement. Anthony was the point person. She was the itinerant traveler who gave electrifying speeches around the country; from a speech text written by Stanton, who had to stay home because of domestic responsibilities and seven children. Anthony never married and spent full time on the movement. For that reason she is identified in the public mind as the leader of the suffrage movement. The Nineteenth Amendment is the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, and she is the one on the dollar—not Stanton.

Having three children of my own, at one point all under five years old, I identify with Stanton not Anthony. My domestic economy, like Stanton's suffered from the demands of my children during the long years they took to grow up. (Other people's children grew up faster than mine. Other people's pregnancies were shorter too.) As it had with Stanton, my home situation repoliticized me. How long can an adult woman live in the world of three year olds' conversation. I knew it was time for radical surgery on my life in suburbia when I realized that the only adult male in it (except my husband) was Captain Kangaroo. And I was beginning to fantasize about Captain Kangaroo. During my college and work career, I had been a politically involved citizen, so I rejoined the Democratic Party, installed a mimeograph machine in my laundry room (see the connection) and threw my hat in the ring for local public office. It worked like this: a load of diapers in the washer, crank out 5000 copies of a statement or issue paper. (One arm is bigger than the other to this day.) The diapers went into the dryer. Then out the door with the kids to a shopping plaza to pass out the flyers to my neighbors.

That's why I relate to Stanton. But back to Anthony for a minute.

A few years ago, some Rochester feminists had to embarrass the trustees by public disclosure of the condition of Anthony's papers in order to get them moved. They were in cardboard boxes in the attic of the home. They are now safely stored in the climatically controlled archives of the University of Rochester, where they are open to historians.

They form the core of an emphasis by the University on collections of papers by famous women.

Rochester has a number of other sites which related to Susan B. Anthony. Near her house on West Main Street is the building where she voted and later was arrested for doing so. It is not marked. Anthony's grave is in Rochester's Mt. Hope Cemetery. It has been vandalized too. Paint throwing "women libbers" defaced it in the late 1960s. They smashed teacups on the headstone. The reasons behind their actions were never very clear. The paint and the broken china [were] cleaned up by some other Rochester feminists.

Anthony's desk is located in the private home of the University of Rochester's president. Susan Anthony sold her life insurance and other personal belongings to raise the last \$2,000 required to reach the \$50,000 she had pledged to raise in exchange for the University's admitting women in the 1890s.

These sites and artifacts are tangible evidence and sacred symbols. They deserve to be preserved as part of the Women's Rights Park. It will take years, but in the interim, I urge the Park Service to develop an interpretive visitors trail which includes the sites in Seneca Falls and Waterloo now in the park, and those Rochester sites. Others include: the Ontario County Courthouse in Canandaigua between Seneca Falls and Rochester. Susan B. Anthony was tried there for voting. The venue had been changed from Rochester because of the high emotion surrounding the trial. Susan was found guilty of violating the 14th Amendment of the Constitution. An embarrassed judge fined her \$1.00.⁴ On principle, she never paid.

The job of preserving and chronicling this historic movement has just begun. These sites and artifacts must be used to teach about the incredibly long and frustrating fight for women's equality. It is a fight which continues today and which could be in jeopardy.

It is sad, no, it is infuriating that so many of the 18 sentiments in the Document still need to be enacted into law and integrated into American life after 134 years. It must be disturbing to Stanton and Anthony. It is disturbing to me. I see how quickly some of the gains in recent years look lost in the present Washington administration. The attitude of the White House on women is personified by Nancy Reagan.

Reforms in the Democratic Party are faring no better. Rules changes instituted during the 1970s which opened the party to wider participation by women and minorities are already chopped out. The Party is headed towards its old, closed rules for the next Convention. The Democrats have to blame their losses at the polls on something.

Most discouraging of all is that I see young women taking fragile gains as their firm rights. They see no threats and are not continuing to fight to keep the gains made in women's rights in the '70s. I fear some gains could be lost again.

⁴ The fine actually was \$100.00

If we slip backward, will historians of the future look at the Twentieth Century revival of the women's movement (started by Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* and symbolized by the Equal Rights Amendment) as a "flash in the pan"? A pimple on the nose of mankind? Will it be a movement that never got its act together? Will it be allowed to die by the 51.8% of the population it purported to speak for and whose condition it sought to improve?

The Women's Rights National Historical Park can help keep the spirit for women's equality alive. By telling and retelling these important chapters in American history, perhaps one day we will have both equal legal rights for all our citizens, and many more historical sites and artifacts, plus a throng of leaders whose achievements will reflect the strength and abilities of America's women.

APPENDIX C.3

“COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN ESTABLISHING THE WOMEN’S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK”

prepared for the

SECOND SENECA FALLS WOMEN’S HISTORY CONFERENCE

JULY 16, 1982

CORINNE ANN GUNTZEL

WELLS COLLEGE AND THE ELIZABETH CADY STANTON FOUNDATION, INC.⁵

When Judy Hart and Shary Page Berg from the National Park Service arrived in Seneca Falls in December, 1978, they found a community ready to demonstrate its fitness as a park site. The reasons for this willingness spring from a set of serendipitous events; from a growing awareness of the historic importance of Seneca Falls; and from an appreciation of the economic benefits to the community this history could provide.

The serendipitous events began when the Stanton and Bloomer houses were offered for sale in the late spring of 1978. These houses had been in private hands for many years and although the Stanton House had been listed on the National Register in 1965,⁶ its owners had not been interested in further historic interpretation. It soon appeared that a Rochester housing developer might purchase the Stanton House as the centerpiece of a senior citizen development he was proposing. This possibility galvanized local feminists who began contacting groups, like the Seneca Falls Historical Society and the Downtown Revitalization Committee. Together with representatives of these groups, they searched for ways to preserve the historic integrity of these important houses. They even had some sense that the time might be ripe for a national movement to commemorate the events of 1848.

The story of these local feminists, historians and business interests intertwines with a larger community of women’s historians and feminists whose help has been crucial from the beginning. Indeed four years ago in July, two different kinds of outsiders, exemplifying the contemporary women’s movement added crucial momentum to the community efforts. One of them was Ralph Peters, who stopped in Seneca Falls at the urging of his wife, Marjorie Smith, and wound up purchasing the Stanton House to preserve it until some suitable use could be found for it. The other was Nancy Dubner, then on the staff of Lt. Gov. Mary Anne Krupsak, who responded to a letter to her boss

⁵ Notes at the end of the manuscript indicate that Guntzel taped interviews with Lucille Povero, Betsy Shultis, Opal and Bill Ottemiller, Mary Curry, Austin Malone, and Augie Sinicropi. Guntzel died in 1986, and the tapes appear to have been lost. However, handwritten notes on these interviews are located in park files as well as in the Corinne Guntzel Papers of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation at SUNY Oswego.

⁶ The house was designated a National Historical Landmark in 1965.

from a concerned local feminist. These two people, one from Seattle, Washington, the other from Rochester, N.Y., gave time and a wider perspective to community efforts. Peters gave the community group time to develop an organization to seek a suitable interpretation of Stanton's work in Seneca Falls. Dubner brought with her political contacts and experience in preservation from her work with Eleanor Roosevelt's Valkill [sic]. As things progressed other people outside Seneca Falls have contributed time, money and prestige to the cause, but these two people were crucial at its inception.

Any of the local groups alone would not have been strong enough to generate the necessary enthusiasm which emerged. Local feminists had formed a chapter of NOW in 1974 and organized a dinner to commemorate the ratification of the suffrage amendment in August, 1974,⁷ which involved a number of nationally prominent women, including Rhoda B. Jenkins, [great-]great-granddaughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The group had gradually become inactive, but when the Stanton and Bloomer houses appeared endangered, Lucille Povero called them together to discuss the situation. Two of these women took the immediate step of writing options to purchase on the houses to secure them temporarily.

When the Rochester developer submitted a purchase offer on the Stanton house in early June, these concerned local women met to develop a strategy for forestalling his purchase and removal of the Stanton house from Washington St. One of them, Betsy Shultis wrote to Krupsak, which in turn led to Dubner's visit. During a luncheon meeting, representatives of the local Historical Society and the downtown business community were drawn into the process. Both the President and Executive Director of the Seneca Falls Historical Society began exploring what purchase and management of the house would mean to the Society. Since the Director resigned her position at the end of the summer, her strong enthusiasm did not sway the Historical Society Board, which decided in October that its focus on local history was not compatible with the project.

The downtown business community had been active for several years in projects to improve the general atmosphere of the central business district. Grant money from HUD to repair sidewalks and stimulate local planning resulted in the Revitalization Committee headed by Dr. August Sinicropi, a young optometrist. In early 1978, Sinicropi had developed a four phase plan for improving the local commercial base, which included emphasizing the importance of Seneca Falls history, especially that which focused on women's rights and the canal. He joined the other concerned citizens in considering ways to assure the integrity of the Stanton House. His work had also been instrumental in alerting the community to the economic potential proper historic preservation could bring.

In November, 1978, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation began the process of incorporating as a not-for-profit educational foundation whose function would be to promote the history of the women's rights movement, especially as it relates to Elizabeth

⁷ The 55th anniversary of the Suffrage Amendment was 1975.

Cady Stanton and Seneca Falls. It was this group, and mainly its first president Lucille Povero, which arranged the luncheon where the NPS staff was introduced to the community. It was also the Stanton Foundation which was primarily responsible for encouraging them to produce a study of park feasibility in Seneca Falls, and led the lobbying to have the legislation introduced and passed by Congress. We also raised money to purchase the house from Peters and will be formally presenting it to the NPS at tomorrow's Park opening. Without this commitment of energy and money, the Park could not have opened this summer.

A group like the Foundation, interested in women's history and issues would have had a difficult time mobilizing community support even three or four years earlier. Why it was possible in 1978, resulted from a changed climate of opinion about the women's movement, but mainly from a perceived congruence of interests between these feminists and the local business community.

Local interest in women's history and accomplishments had stimulated some residents to establish a National Women's Hall of Fame to honor notable American women. This idea had emerged in 1968 and while its backers had held a ceremony in 1973, and even briefly set up an office, it faced a large amount of local apathy. The revitalization Committee's plan re-emphasized its potential for the community by suggesting it be located in the central business area instead of at Eisenhower College as had been intended earlier.

Perhaps the strongest stimulus to local interest, however, came from the torch run to the Houston Meeting in 1977, which began from the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls. Mary Anne Krupsak, Sissy Farenthold and Sey Chassler attended the ceremonies at the Chapel and some local runners began the run. The run helped spark a successful fundraising effort in 1978 to purchase the present site of the National Women's Hall of Fame, which opened July, 1979.

Earlier attempts at historic preservation had begun in the mid-1960s, when some citizens banded together in a petition campaign to save four Federal style houses on Bayard Street, now the site of a super market. (One of the homes once belonged to Edward Bayard, Stanton's brother-in-law.) That square cinder block structure is testimony to the conflict between commercial development and preservation of historical structures. Although everyone agrees the houses were lovely, no one found it more profitable to renovate and maintain them than to sell the land to a food chain. Such a situation would probably be less true under current tax law, but in the late 60's and early 70's historic preservation was not a public policy. Indeed as late as 1977, citizens who attempted to persuade the village that it did not need to raze another Federal style house on Bayard Street for a new fire barn were unsuccessful. (One of the houses razed belonged to Lovina Latham, a signer of the 1848 "Declaration of Sentiments.") The Latham House was torn down a matter of months before the efforts to preserve the Stanton House began.

Why the latter succeeded so spectacularly, while the former failed is explained by the greater historic importance of the Stanton House (surely not by its more pleasing

architecture), and by the possibility of its contribution to the village's economic base. As the Director of the County Chamber of Commerce (Richard Campo) once unfortunately put it, "We have a gimmick here that we should milk for all it's worth." While his formulation offended many people, myself included, he simply put in the strongest terms the perception of long-term self-interest he hoped his audience would recognize.

Not all communities see where their long-term interest lies. That this one did can be explained in part by a new element which emerged in this community in 1968. The founding of Eisenhower College [1965] brought new people to the village in the form of faculty and students. These people have been disproportionately active in the efforts to preserve Seneca Falls history and have been quick to link this history to their curriculum. Three members of the College faculty and one faculty spouse have been board members of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation. The faculty members were part of a team which developed a Women's Studies program here with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities. That program has flourished under the leadership of Professor Rosemary Agonito, who has brought nationally and regionally important figures to campus and thus to the community.

The elements of outsider interest has been a stimulus to community activity from the start, Stanton Foundation Board member Mary Curry, a lifelong Seneca Falls resident believes. Peter's purchase of the Stanton House "touched a nerve of local pride." Certainly the interest of the NPS and state agencies raised community consciousness about importance of its past. This consciousness even seems to be trickling down via classroom histories of the Women's Rights Movement in the public schools. All the native veterans of this four year campaign recall they were taught nothing about their important local history and are encouraged that the system is correcting this omission. How much the average Seneca County resident understands even now about the Women's Rights Historical Park is debatable. We are still asked where the park is, especially now that Alan Alda will be speaking at its opening.

If, as I suspect, the benefits of having a national park in Seneca Falls continue to grow, the excitement of the community vanguard who have worked so hard over the past four years will be transmitted to the community as a whole. Because in addition to economic benefits, there is something of fundamental importance in this history. Underlying all this activity has been the strength of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's vision, which continues to compel and move us over petty impediments, keeping us on the path she helped to mark out in 1848.

APPENDIX D

APPOINTEES: WOMENS' RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK ADVISORY COMMISSION

Harold Bartram

Harold Bartram was the Village of Seneca Falls appointee to the Advisory Commission. Bartram was a graduate of Mynderse Academy and a veteran of World War II. He was involved in local organizations including the Board of Education, the Seneca Falls Kiwanis Club (past president), the Seneca Falls Little League (founder and former director), the American Cancer Society, the Seneca Falls Country Club, and the Seneca County Chamber of Commerce. Bartram also was a member of the Bridgeport Fire Commission and was one of the originators of the Bridgeport Sewer District. He was employed as Plant Manager at Matthews International of Seneca Falls. Bartram resigned from the Commission in May 1983 and currently resides in Seneca Falls.

John Becker III

John Becker III was nominated for a seat on the Advisory Commission as a representative of the Town of Seneca Falls following the resignation of Harold Bartram. Becker was president, treasurer and sole stockholder of Gay & Son Insurance Agency in Seneca Falls. He was also a past president of the Seneca County Chamber of Commerce and past chairman and vice chairman of the Seneca County Industrial Development Agency. He also served as a trustee of the Seneca Falls Historical Society.

Marilyn Bero

Marilyn Bero was appointed to the Advisory Commission as the representative of the National Women's Hall of Fame, at which time she was serving as president. She is a graduate of Marywood College in Scranton, PA, and completed graduate work at Syracuse University. Bero also is founder and past president of Seneca County Child Care Center, past president of the Women's League, past president of the Seneca Falls School Board, former board member of the Happiness House in Geneva, NY, former board member of Alpha Day School. Bero lives in Seneca Falls, remains on the Board of Directors of the National Women's Hall of Fame, and is a member of the Friends of Women's Rights National Historical Park.

Charlotte W. Conable

Charlotte Conable was a Secretarial appointee to the Advisory Commission. She graduated from Cornell University and earned a master's degree at George Washington University. Conable was coordinator of public policy projects at the Women's Studies Program and Policy Center at George Washington University at Washington, D.C. She attended both Women's History Conferences held in Seneca Falls and testified for the establishment of Women's Rights National Historical Park at the 1980 Senate hearing. Her publications include *Women at Cornell* (Cornell University Press, 1977) and several

articles. Conable also served as a member of the Federal Council of Aging Advisory Board, the Institute on Women and Work, the Federation of Organizations for Professional Women, the National Coalition for Older Women's Issues, the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, the Older Women's League, and the National Woman's Party. She was also a member and delegate to the 1981 White House Conference on Aging, a member of the Board of Trustees of Cornell University, and an advisory council member of New York State College of Human Ecology. She is a member of the Friends of Women's Rights National Historical Park.

Suzanne G. Cusick

Suzanne Cusick was appointed to the Advisory Commission as a replacement for Judy Jensvold in early 1984, representing the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation. As a member of the ECSF, she served as trustee, treasurer, and chair of the Park Support Committee. She also was a member of the National Women's Hall of Fame, the Geneva Women's Resource Center, and the Seneca County Peace Awareness. Cusick received her Ph.D. in musicology from the University of North Carolina in August 1975. Currently she is Associate Professor of Music at New York University.

Nancy Dubner

Nancy Dubner was a gubernatorial representative to the Advisory Commission. She was regional manager for the Power Authority of the State of New York and before that served as executive officer of the New York State Department of Transportation. She also worked in the New York State Lt. Governors Office. In 1975 she was the recipient of the Susan B. Anthony "Woman of the Year" award. Dubner worked tirelessly to establish the Eleanor Roosevelt National Historical Park in Hyde Park, NY, and equally hard to establish Women's Rights National Historical Park. After Dubner retired in 1996, she founded the Mohawk Valley Institute for Learning in Retirement at the State University of New York Institute of Technology. Dubner currently resides in Clinton, New York.

Dorothy Duke (deceased)

Dorothy Duke of Akron, Ohio was chairperson of and a secretarial appointee to the Advisory Commission. She was elected as a member of the Board of Directors for the National Housing Conference between 1971- 1978 and was appointed by Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Mitt Romney to the Board of Directors of the National Center for Housing Management. President Gerald Ford appointed Duke to the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association. She was an active participant in several other advisory groups, including the President's Task Force on Low Income Housing (appointed by President Richard Nixon), the Citizens' Task Force on Home Ownership Through Public Housing (appointed by HUD Secretary Romney), the National Advisory Committee on the San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit for the National Academy of Engineering, and the National Advisory Committee on Flammable Fabrics (appointed by Secretary of Commerce Frederick B. Dent). Duke also served as commissioner and consultant for several federal or national offices including the National Commission on Fire Prevention and Control (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development), the National Forest Products Association, the National Council of Negro Women, the National Conference on the International Women's Year, the National Fire Prevention and Control Administration, and the Housing for the Elderly for Urban

America. She was a member of the National Organization for Women. Duke also served on several state and local offices in her home state of Ohio. After retiring to Florida, she founded, in 1993, Homes for Hillsborough, Inc., a non-profit organization that used the USDA Self-help Housing Program to provide affordable housing for low-income residents; see Florida Home Partnership website, <http://www.flhome.org/history.html> [accessed January 31, 2009]. She died in 2005.

Carrie L. George

Carrie George, Ph. D. was a Secretarial appointee to the Advisory Commission. George received a master's degree in Mathematics from Atlanta University, a Masters of Divinity in Theological Education from Gammon Theological Seminary, and a Ph.D. in Guidance and Counseling Psychology from Atlanta University. George was on the faculty of the Atlanta University Center, the Interdenominational Theological Center, and Georgia State University, where she was Coordinator of Research for Student Services and Assistant Professor of Curriculum and Instruction. George was very active in the women's rights movement in relation to the ministry and equal pay for equal work. She was a member of the National Council for Negro Women, Church Women United, the American Association of University Women, the Black Women's Coalition, and the NAACP. She was also an ordained clergywoman and was a writer for an Atlanta newspaper.

Judy M. Jenvold

Judy Jenvold of Ithaca, New York was appointed to the Advisory Commission as a representative of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation but resigned in early 1984. Jenvold received a B.A. in History from University of Washington in Seattle and a Masters of Education from Holy Names College. She taught American history at the high school level and was program director of the YWCA in Cortland, NY. She served as vice president of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation and participated in raising funds to purchase the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House. Jenvold also lobbied for the passage of the bill that established Women's Rights National Historical Park. She is currently Senior Associate Director of Health Careers, Cornell Career Services, Cornell University.

Neal Peden

Neal Peden was a Secretarial appointee to the Advisory Commission. She represented the Republican National Committee, where she was director of Administrative Services. She also served on the staff of Rep. Trent Lott prior to campaigning with Ronald Reagan in 1975. After the 1980 GOP convention, Peden was named national deputy treasurer for the Reagan-Bush Committee. Following that position, she served as comptroller for the Reagan-Bush Presidential Transition. She also served as an assistant administrator of the Agency for International Development (Bureau for Private Enterprise) in the U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency.

August P. Sinicropi

August Sinicropi, O.D. was appointed to the Advisory Commission as representative of the Town of Seneca Falls. He practices optometry in Seneca Falls, and is past president of

the Finger Lakes Optometric Association. Sinicropi is a founding board member of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation and served as technical advisor to the Seneca Falls Historic District Commission. He also has served as chair of the Seneca Falls Revitalization Committee (1976-1979), co-chair of Seneca Falls Convention Days Committee, and member of the Seneca Falls Development Corporation. He resides in Seneca Falls currently serves on the Seneca Falls Historic District Commission.

Donna Carlson West

Donna Carlson West was a Secretarial appointee to the Advisory Commission. She served as a member of the Arizona House of Representatives from 1974-1982. In the 32nd legislature, she was vice chair of the Judiciary Legislative Committee, and she was chair of the Counties and Municipalities Committee in the 33rd, 34th, and 35th legislature. She also was a former member of the Arizona State Board of Education Commission on Health Goals and founding member of the Arizona Home and Family Committee. West also served as past president of the Arizona Council of Republican Women. On a national level, West served as a member of the first All-State Legislative American Council of Young Political Leaders Delegation to the Soviet Union in 1978, and was a member of the Advisory Board of the United Families of America as well as the National Advisory Committee for Citizens for Decency through Law. She also served as national president of the Committee on the Status of Women. West was an active member of the Board of Directors of the American Legislative Exchange Council between 1977-1982, national chair of the American Legislative Council between 1978-1980, member of the Committee on Suggested State Legislation between 1980-1982, and the official speaker for presidential candidate Ronald Reagan in 1980. In 1981, West participated in the U.S. Senate Committee on Judiciary in support of the nomination of Sandra Day O'Connor for Supreme Court Justice.

APPENDIX E

FOUNDERS, OFFICERS, CHARTER MEMBERS FRIENDS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, INC. [compiled from organizational records]

FOUNDING BOARD OF DIRECTORS (ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING OF APRIL 30, 1999)

Nan Johnson, President
Gayle Porter, Vice President
Gwendolyn Webber-McLeod, Secretary
Susan Besaw, Treasurer

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Ertem M. Beckman, Rochester, NY
Dr. Renan Beckman Will (in memorium)
Barbara E. Benson, Hockessin, DE
Marilyn Bero, Seneca Falls, NY
Susan Besaw, Rochester, NY
Jill Bowden, New Windsor, NY
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Virginia L. Goyer, Rochester, NY
Susan Grant, Big Rapids, MI
Bettina Gregory, Washington, DC
Elisabeth Griffiths, McLean, VA (B)
Carol E. Hoffecker, Hockessin, DE
Swanee Hunt, Cambridge, MA

Bonnie Jackson, Rochester, NY
Coline Jenkins-Sahlin, Old Greenwich, CT [great, great granddaughter of Eliazbeth Cady Stanton]
Beth D. Johnson, Willoughby Hills, OH
Nan Johnson, Rochester, NY (B)
Barbara Kelly, Old Greenwich, CT
Rose-Marie Klipstein, Rochester, NY
Connie Laxton, Auburn, NY
Linda Lamel, South Organge, NJ
Emery Lapinski, San Diego, CA
Dorothy McKinnon, Rochester, NY
Carolyn M. McNeice, Wilmington, DE
Miriam Monfredo, Rochester, NY
Barbara Moore, Rochester, NY
Regina M. Mullen, New Castle, DE
Margaret Neely, Lakeland FL [great, great granddaughter of Mary Ann M'Clintock]
Kathy Nixon, Pittsford, NY
Mary Ann Pumphrey, San Jose, CA
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Louise Rosell, Newark, DE
Brenda Smart (in memorium), Greenville, DE
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Miriam Shapiro, Rochester, NY
Liane Sorenson, Newark, DE
Darla Smith, Simi Valley, CA
Marilyn C. Tedeschi, Rochester, NY
Robert Thompson, Pittsford, NY
Rose Thorman, Annapolis, MD
Bill Watson, Rochester, NY (B)
Virginia Whitehill, Dallas, TX
Gwen Webber-McLeod, Auburn, NY
Effie E. Westervelt, Tiburon, CA
Margaret Williams, Wilmington, DE
Doris Wolf, Waterloo, NY
Women Historians of Greater Cleveland, OH
Harriet Woods (deceased), St. Louis, MO
Louise Woerner, Rochester, NY (B)
Goulds Pumps/ITT Industries, Seneca Falls (S)

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Heidi I. Hartmann, president, Institute for Women's Policy Research, Washington, DC
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Melanie A. May, dean, Colgate Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, NY
Tanya Melich, author, New York, NY
Kate Millett, author and artist, Poughkeepsie, NY
Miriam Monfredo, author, Rochester, NY
Mary Beth Norton, professor, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY
Antonio Novello, NYS Commissioner of Health, New York, NY
Bernice R. Sandler, senior scholar, National Association for Women in Education,
Washington, DC
Phyllis Hill Slater, president, Hill Slater, Inc., Great Neck, NY
Eleanor Smeal, president, Feminist Majority, Arlington, VA
Linda Tarr-Whelan, president, Center for Policy Alternatives, Washington, DC
Sheila Tobias, educator and consultant, Tucson, AZ
Patricia Vasbinder, vice president, New Hampshire Charitable Foundation, Concord, NH
Sheila Widnall, professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, MA
Louise Woerner, CEO, Health Care Resources, Rochester, NY
Harriet Woods, (deceased), former lt. governor of Missouri
Betsey Wright, consultant, Rogers, AR
Ann Broderick Zill, director, Women's Center for Ethics in Action, Portland, ME

OFFICERS AND FIRST BOARD OF DIRECTORS (2001)

Nan Johnson, President
Susan Besaw, Vice President
Virginia L. Goyer, Treasurer
Gwendolyn Webber-McLeod, Secretary
Elain Spaul
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Penny Townsend-Quill

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Terry Martinez, 2002
Debra Martin, 2002
Madeline Hansen, 2003

ORGANIZED CHAPTERS

Rochester, NY (2002)

Buffalo/Niagara NY (2003)

Finger Lakes (2003)

APPENDIX F

WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS

- January 3, 1984** Women's Rights National Historical Park and Eastern National Park and Monument Association. Memorandum of Agreement designating Eastern National Park and Monument Association as the Cooperating Association to assist Women's Rights National Historical Park in its interpretive and visitor service program.
- December 6, 1995** Scope of Sales Statement. Women's Rights National Historical Park and Eastern National Parks and Monument Association.
- August 28, 1996** Memorandum of Understanding between the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service and the 1998 Celebration Committee. Sets forth an agreement concerning the services of Joanne M. Hanley as a member of the 1998 Celebration Committee Board of Directors as part of her official government duties.
- September 9, 1996** Agreement 1443-CA-1230-96-006, National Park Service and Arizona State University, Office of Research and Creative Activities. Cultural Resources Training Initiative grant of \$21,200 for the National Women in Historic Preservation Conference [CRTI grant H-5 1996].
- March 20, 1997** Memorandum of Understanding 1443MU4520-97-01 between the United States Department of Interior, National Park Service, and the Seneca County Chamber of Commerce. Agreement to allow the Chamber to use office space at 116 Fall Street for two years to promote the recreational and educational resources of Seneca County, including the cultural resources of Women's Rights NHP. Extended for one year through April 1, 2000 by agreement of all parties.
- June 24, 1997** Interagency Agreement between the Northeast Region, National Park Service, and the Office of Community Planning and Development, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Agreement that HUD would provide \$120,000 in Community Development Block Grant funds to NPS for technical assistance to the Canal Corridor Initiative to ensure that federal historic preservation standards were incorporated into CCI projects.

- November 25, 1997** Memorandum of Understanding between the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, and Celebrate '98 Inc. Agreement to allow the Celebrate '98 executive director to use second floor office space at 116 Fall Street to conduct business related to organizing and promoting the 150th anniversary of the Women's Rights Convention.
- January 8, 1998** Memorandum of Understanding between the National Park Service and the National Women's Studies Association, Inc. Agreement for the purpose of facilitating a jointly sponsored conference, "Women's Rights Around the World" embedded in the National Women's Studies Annual Conference in 1998.
- February 2, 1998** Memorandum of Understanding between the National Park Service and the State University of New York at Oswego. Agreement for the purpose of facilitating an exchange of educational and professional services, specifically courses in public history incorporating projects driven by management needs at Women's Rights NHP and team taught by Judith Wellman (SUNY-Oswego) and Vivien Rose (NPS).
- August 25, 1999** Cooperative Agreement between the National Park Service and the Eastern National Association [blanket agreement for all national parks served by Eastern National].
- September 27, 2002** Cooperative Agreement between the Department of Interior, National Park Service, and the National Women's Hall of Fame, Inc. Agreement for development and coordination of an educational program to be completed by May 30, 2006.
- July 23, 2005** General Agreement between the National Park Service and the Friends of Women's Rights National Park, Inc. Agreement to work cooperatively to enhance the quality of the park's public programs and promote the park through newsletters, press releases, websites, and other media.
- May 17, 2006** Fundraising Agreement between Friends of Women's Rights National Historic Park, Inc. and Women's Rights National Historical Park. Agreement to permit Friends to raise funds within the guidelines of NPS Director's Order #21 to develop public programs for children, provide a transportation scholarship program for school children, and provide internships and temporary staff positions to increase staff capacity for conducting interpretive and education programs.

May 29, 2008

Cooperative Agreement between the National Park Service and Washington State Historical Society. Agreement to collaborate in the research, design, fabrication, and display of a six-panel interpretive exhibit on Catharine Paine Blaine's involvement in the women's rights movement, the settlement of Seattle, and Seattle's educational history, and a two-panel traveling exhibit on the same to be displayed at twelve historic sites in Washington State and at Women's Rights NHP. The NPS additionally agreed to provide financial assistance through the Challenge Cost Share Program.

APPENDIX G

NPS MANAGEMENT POLICIES—CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT:

TREATMENT OF HISTORIC STRUCTURES¹

1978 MANAGEMENT POLICIES

OVERALL POLICY STATEMENTS—CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Some parks preserve only cultural or natural resources. Many, however, have both significant natural and cultural features. Thus, parks of the [National Park] System must be seen as constituting a continuum from natural through cultural, and capable of accepting recreational use in varying degrees . . . The National Park Service shall faithfully preserve the cultural resources entrusted to its care and provide for their understanding, appreciation, and enjoyment through appropriate programs of research and interpretation.

TREATMENT—HISTORIC STRUCTURES

In its treatment of historic structures, the National Park Service shall heed the following internationally accepted maxims, adopted in 1936 by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments (now the National Park System Advisor Board):

“Better preserve than repair, better repair than restore, better restore than reconstruct.”

“It is ordinarily better to retain genuine old work of several periods, rather than arbitrarily to ‘restore’ the whole, by new work, to its aspect at a single period.”

The restoration of a historic structure to reflect an earlier period of its existence usually involves the impairment or destruction of some of its original fabric and a degree of conjecture in the replacement of missing fabric. Alterations to a structure are often of historical or architectural value in themselves and convey a desirable sense of evolution over time. No matter how well conceived and executed, a restoration will be an artificial modern interpretation of the past rather than an authentic survival from it. Accordingly, the preservation of a historic structure in its existing form shall always be given first consideration.

A historic structure, whether preserved in existing form, restored, or reconstructed, may be subject to adaptive use. Adaptive use may be appropriate for structures that are visually important in the historic scene but do not otherwise qualify for exhibition purposes. In such cases the

¹ This appendix contains verbatim excerpts from the 1978, 1988, and 2001 NPS Management Policies that are referenced throughout the administrative history in relation to the treatment of historic structures.

façade, or so much of the exterior as is necessary, is treated to achieve the management purpose so that it will be properly understood from the public view. The interior is usually converted to modern functional use, but original fabric is retained wherever practicable.

PRESERVATION

A historic structure shall be preserved in its existing form on the basis of the following criteria:

1. The structure, upon acquisition, already possesses the integrity and authenticity required; or
2. Restoration is indicated but most, for reasons of cost or the lack of sufficient data, be postponed; or
3. The structure has been restored or reconstructed and now must be preserved.

RESTORATION

Full restoration of a historic structure may be undertaken when essential for public understanding and appreciation of the historical or cultural associations of the park. Partial restoration (usually for adaptive use) may be undertaken when necessary to insure preservation of the structure or to restore the historic scene, or when desirable for interpretive purposes. In all cases, sufficient historical, architectural, and archeological data must exist to permit accurate restoration, with a minimum of conjecture.

Every restoration shall be preceded by detailed documentation of the structure, and any changes made during restoration shall be carefully documented. Original historic fabric shall be safeguarded to the extent possible during and after restoration. Important structural features, samples of surviving historic paint, and other elements of the structure removed during restoration and important to a technical understanding of the structure shall be preserved.

RECONSTRUCTION

The reconstruction of a vanished historic structure shall be authorized only when the following criteria are met:

1. There are no significant preservable remains that would be obliterated by reconstruction.
2. Historical, archeological, and architectural data are sufficient to permit an accurate reproduction with a minimum of conjecture.
3. The structure can be erected on the original site.
4. All prudent and feasible alternatives to reconstruction have been considered, and it is demonstrated that reconstruction is the only alternative that permits and is essential to public understanding and appreciation of the historical or cultural association for which the park was established.

All reconstructions shall be clearly identified as such to the public.

All reconstructions shall be intended to reproduce structures existing on the site during the historic past. Reconstructions to provide “typical” or “commemorative” or “suggestive” examples of historic structures, or intended primarily to serve as stages for demonstrations or other activities, are not permitted. The reconstruction of vanished structures to portray them in a ruined, damaged, or partially demolished state is prohibited, even when such may have been their condition during the historic period.

1988 MANAGEMENT POLICIES²

OVERALL POLICY STATEMENTS—CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

The National Park Service will preserve and foster appreciation of the cultural resources in its custody through appropriate programs of research treatment, and interpretation.

All NPS programs affecting cultural resources are subject to the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act (16 USC 470), the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation’s regulations regarding “Protection of Historic and Cultural Properties” (36 CFR 800), and the Secretary of the Interior’s standards and guidelines regarding “Archeology and Historic Preservation” (FR 48:44716-40) and “Federal Agency Responsibilities under Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act” (FR 53:4727-46). Specific management procedures are detailed in the NPS “Cultural Resources Management Guideline” (NPS-28).

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PLANNING AND PROPOSAL FORMULATION

Overall direction for the identification, protection treatment, and use of cultural resources will be provided in the basic planning document(s) for each park.

Each park with cultural resources will prepare and periodically update a cultural resource component of the park’s resource management plan, defining and programming the activities required to perpetuate and provide for the public enjoyment of those resources.

Any action that might affect cultural resources will be undertaken only if it meets of the following criteria:

The action is consistent with the park’s purposes and applicable NPS policies and guidelines.

Cultural resource specialists have participated in planning, and sufficient data have been gathered to assess the probable effects.

² Significant changes introduced in the 1988 Management Policies for cultural resources included an emphasis on interdisciplinary research

Relevant sections of the National Historic Preservation Act have been complied with in accordance with the regulations of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (36 CFR 800) and the “Guidelines for Federal Responsibilities under section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act” (FR 53:4728).

In cases involving ethnographic resources, associated native American and other ethnic groups have been consulted, and their concerns have been taken into account.

Any action that will affect cultural resources adversely will be undertaken only if the following additional criteria are also met:

There is no reasonable alternative.

All reasonable measures to limit adverse effects will be taken, including recovery of data and salvage of materials, as appropriate.

.....

TREATMENT OF CULTURAL RESOURCES [GENERAL]

With some differences by type, cultural resources are subject to several basic treatments, including preservation as is, restoration to earlier appearances by the removal of later accretions and replacement of missing elements, and reconstruction or reproduction to replicate absent original resources. The fundamental question of which treatments will best provide for the preservation and public enjoyment of particular cultural resources will be decided through planning. No treatment project will be undertaken unless supported by an approved proposal, plan, or report appropriate to the proposed action. The significance of the resource, its condition, its interpretive value, its research potential, and the availability of data will all be weighed in determining the appropriate treatment. The appearance and condition of the resource before treatment and the changes made during treatment will be thoroughly documented. Pending planning decisions, all cultural resources will be protected and preserved in their existing conditions.

As a basic principle, anything of historical appearance that the National Park Service presents to the public in a park will be either an authentic survival from the past or an accurate representation of that which formerly existed there. Reconstructions and reproductions will be clearly identified as such.

Achievement of other park purposes may sometimes conflict with and outweigh the value of cultural resource preservation. The planning process will be the vehicle for weighing conflicting objectives and deciding that a cultural resource should not be preserved. Following such decision, significant resource data and materials will be retrieved. The resource will then be permitted to deteriorate naturally, unless its destruction or direct removal is necessary for public safety or to eliminate an unacceptable intrusion. This policy does not apply to museum objects.

ARCHEOLOGICAL RESOURCES—TREATMENT

Archeological resources will be left undisturbed unless removal of artifacts or intervention into fabric is justified by protection, research, interpretive, or development requirements. They will be preserved in a stable condition to prevent degradation and loss of research values or in-situ exhibit potential. Structures of archeological significance and recovered archeological objects are also subject to the treatment policies for structures and museum objects.

STRUCTURES—TREATMENT

PRESERVATION

A structure will be preserved in its present condition if (1) that condition allows for satisfactory protection, maintenance, use, and interpretation, or (2) another treatment is warranted but cannot be accomplished until some future time.

REHABILITATION

A structure may be rehabilitated for contemporary functional use if (1) it cannot adequately serve an appropriate use in its present condition, and (2) rehabilitation will not alter its integrity and character or conflict with park management objectives. Rehabilitation does not apply to prehistoric structures.

RESTORATION

A structure may be restored if (1) restoration is essential to public understanding of the cultural associations of a park, and (2) sufficient data exist to permit restoration with minimal conjecture.

RECONSTRUCTION

A vanished structure may be reconstructed if (1) reconstruction is essential to public understanding of the cultural associations of a park established for that purpose, (2) sufficient data exist to permit reconstruction on the original site with minimal conjecture, and (3) significant archeological resources will be preserved in situ or their research values will be realized through data recovery. A vanished structure will not be reconstructed to appear damaged or ruined. Generalized representations of typical structures will not be attempted.

2001 MANAGEMENT POLICIES³

OVERALL POLICY STATEMENTS

The National Park Service will preserve and foster appreciation of the cultural resources in its custody, and will demonstrate its respect for the peoples traditionally associated with those resources, through appropriate programs of research, planning, and stewardship.

The National Park Service is the steward of many of America's most important cultural resources. These resources are categorized as archeological resources, cultural landscapes, ethnographic resources, historic and prehistoric structures, and museum collections. The Service's cultural resource management program involves:

Research to identify, evaluate, document, register, and establish basic information about cultural resources and traditionally associated peoples;

Planning to ensure that management processes for making decisions and setting priorities integrate information about cultural resources, and provide for consultation and collaboration with outside entities; and

Stewardship to ensure that cultural resources are preserved and protected, receive appropriate treatments (including maintenance), and are made available for public understanding and enjoyment.

The cultural resource management policies of the National Park Service are derived from a suite of historic preservation, environmental, and other laws, proclamations, Executive orders, and regulations. A comprehensive list can be found in the Cultural Resource Management Handbook issued pursuant to Director's Order #28. Taken collectively, they provide the Service with the authority and responsibility for managing cultural resources in every unit of the national park system so that those resources may be preserved unimpaired for future generations. Cultural resource management will be carried out in a manner consistent with these legislative and regulatory provisions, and with implementing policies and procedures such as the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation (48 Federal Register (FR) 44716-740), and Standards and Guide lines for Federal Agency Historic Preservation Programs Pursuant to the National Historic Preservation Act (63 FR 20497-508).

Park superintendents and appropriately qualified cultural resource professionals will work together to carry out the Park Service's cultural resource management program. Other NPS staff and volunteers participating in cultural resource research, planning, and stewardship activities will be supervised by full-performance-level cultural resource professionals of the appropriate disciplines. Law enforcement professionals will consult with full-performance-level cultural resource

³ The 2001 Management Policies for cultural resources included for the first time traditional peoples and ethnographic resources.

professionals of the appropriate disciplines when investigating cultural resource crimes.

The Service will support its cultural resource professionals in maintaining and improving their disciplinary knowledge and skills and in promoting their professionalism through continuing education, graduate-level courses, seminars, training, teaching, attendance at professional conferences, and other programs sponsored by professional or scholarly institutions. NPS personnel with cultural resource responsibilities will acquire and maintain the knowledge, skills, and abilities necessary to carry out those responsibilities. All occupational groups in or associated with cultural resource research, planning, and stewardship activities will complete the relevant cultural resource competency requirements commensurate with their job and grade. Park superintendents and cultural resource professionals will ensure that research about and stewardship of cultural resources are carried out only after adequate planning and consultation with interested or affected stakeholders and other outside entities.

.....

5.2 PLANNING

Effective park stewardship requires informed decision-making about a park's cultural resources. This is best accomplished through a comprehensive planning process. Effective planning is based on an understanding of what a park's cultural resources are, and why those resources are significant. To gain this understanding, the Service must obtain baseline data on the nature and types of cultural resources, and their (1) distribution; (2) condition; (3) significance; and (4) local, regional, and national contexts. Cultural resource planning, and the resource evaluation process that is part of it, will include consultation with cultural resource specialists and scholars having relevant expertise; traditionally associated peoples; and other stakeholders. Current scholarship and needs for research are considered in this process, along with the park's legislative history and other relevant information.

Planning decisions will follow analysis of how proposals might affect the values that make resources significant, and the consideration of alternatives that might avoid or mitigate potential adverse effects. Planning will always seek to avoid harm to cultural resources, and consider the values of traditionally associated groups. To ensure that approaches and alternatives for resource preservation have been identified and considered, planning processes that could affect cultural resources must include cultural resource specialists, traditionally associated peoples, and other stakeholders, and provide them with appropriate notification about opportunities to become involved.

The general management planning process will include goals and strategies for research on, consultation about, and stewardship of cultural resources, and for research on and consultation with traditionally associated and other peoples. Planning for park operations, development, and natural resource management activities will integrate relevant concerns and

program needs for identifying, evaluating, monitoring, protecting, preserving, and treating cultural resources.

Superintendents will ensure full consideration of the park's cultural resources and values in all proposals for operations, development, and natural resource programs, including the management of wilderness areas. When proposed undertakings may adversely affect national historic sites, national battlefields, and other predominantly cultural units of the national park system that were established in recognition of their national historical significance, superintendents will provide opportunities for the same level of review and consideration by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and the Secretary of the Interior that the Advisory Council's regulations require for undertakings that may adversely affect national historic landmarks (36 CFR 800.10).

Each park will prepare and periodically update cultural resource components of the park's management plans. Resource plans will define and program activities needed to identify, evaluate, manage, monitor, protect, preserve, and treat the park's cultural resources, as well as provide for their enjoyment and understanding by the public.

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5.3.5 TREATMENT OF CULTURAL RESOURCES

The Park Service will provide for the long-term preservation of, public access to, and appreciation of, the features, materials, and qualities contributing to the significance of cultural resources. With some differences by type, cultural resources are subject to several basic treatments, including (1) preservation in their existing states; (2) rehabilitation to serve contemporary uses, consistent with their integrity and character; and (3) restoration to earlier appearances by the removal of later additions and replacement of missing elements. Decisions regarding which treatments will best ensure the preservation and public enjoyment of particular cultural resources will be reached through the planning and compliance process, taking into account:

- The nature and significance of a resource, and its condition and interpretive value;

- The research potential of the resource;

- The level of intervention required by treatment alternatives;

- The availability of data, and the terms of any binding restrictions; and

- The concerns of traditionally associated peoples and other stakeholders.

Except for emergencies that threaten irreparable loss without immediate action, no treatment project will be undertaken unless supported by an approved planning document appropriate to the proposed action.

The preservation of cultural resources in their existing states will always receive first consideration. Treatments entailing greater intervention will

not proceed without the consideration of interpretive alternatives. The appearance and condition of resources before treatment, and changes made during treatment, will be documented. Such documentation will be shared with any appropriate state or tribal historic preservation office or certified local government, and added to the park museum cataloging system. Pending treatment decisions reached through the planning process, all resources will be protected and preserved in their existing states.

As a basic principle, anything of historical appearance that the National Park Service presents to the public in a park will be either an authentic survival from the past, or an accurate representation of that once existing there. Reconstructions and reproductions will be clearly identified as such.

The Service will holistically approach the treatment of related cultural resources in a park. All cultural resource and natural resource values will be considered in defining specific treatment and management goals. Research will be coordinated and sequenced so that decisions are not made in isolation. Each proposed action will be evaluated to ensure consistency or compatibility in the overall treatment of park resources. The relative importance and relationship of all values will be weighed to identify potential conflicts between and among resource preservation goals, park management and operation goals, and park user goals. Conflicts will be considered and resolved through the planning process, which will include any consultation required by 16 USC 470f.

Although each resource type is most closely associated with a particular discipline, an interdisciplinary approach is commonly needed to properly define specific treatment and management goals for cultural resources. Policies applicable to the various resource types follow.

.....

5.3.5.4 HISTORIC AND PREHISTORIC STRUCTURES

The treatment of historic and prehistoric structures will be based on sound preservation practice to enable the long-term preservation of a structure's historic features, materials, and qualities. There are three types of treatment for extant structures: preservation, rehabilitation, and restoration.

5.3.5.4.1 PRESERVATION

A structure will be preserved in its present condition if:

That condition allows for satisfactory protection, maintenance, use, and interpretation; or

Another treatment is warranted but cannot be accomplished until some future time.

5.3.5.4.2 REHABILITATION

A historic structure may be rehabilitated (rehabilitation does not apply to prehistoric structures) for contemporary use if:

It cannot adequately serve an appropriate use in its present condition; and

Rehabilitation will retain its essential features and will not alter its integrity and character or conflict with approved park management objectives.

5.3.5.4.3 RESTORATION

A structure may be restored to an earlier appearance if:

All changes after the proposed restoration period have been professionally evaluated, and the significance of those changes has been fully considered;

Restoration is essential to public understanding of the park's cultural associations;

Sufficient data about that structure's earlier appearance exist to enable its accurate restoration; and

The disturbance or loss of significant archeological resources is minimized and mitigated by data recovery.

5.3.5.4.4 RECONSTRUCTION OF MISSING STRUCTURES

No matter how well conceived or executed, reconstructions are contemporary interpretations of the past rather than authentic survivals from it. The National Park Service will not reconstruct a missing structure unless:

There is no alternative that would accomplish the park's interpretive mission;

Sufficient data exist to enable its accurate reconstruction based on the duplication of historic features substantiated by documentary or physical evidence, rather than on conjectural designs or features from other structures;

Reconstruction will occur in the original location;

The disturbance or loss of significant archeological resources is minimized and mitigated by data recovery; and

Reconstruction is approved by the Director.

A structure will not be reconstructed to appear damaged or ruined. Generalized representations of typical structures will not be attempted.

APPENDIX H

A BRIEF SURVEY OF SCHOLARSHIP INFORMING RESOURCE PRESERVATION AND INTERPRETATION AT WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

PART 1

Among the first individuals to attract attention from the nascent field of women's history were women's rights leaders Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. The origins of the nineteenth-century women's rights movement in which they were invested and the organizations that sprang from it also came under scrutiny. New scholarship helped contextualize the importance of upstate New York to those movements and organizations, and gave legitimacy to the effort to save the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House and to establish Women's Rights NHP. This body of work directly informed understanding of the significance of park resources and the interpretation of those resources.

In 1979, available secondary and primary sources on Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her home in Seneca Falls included *Eighty Years and More (1815-1897): Reminiscences of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (New York: European Publishing Company, 1898), providing vivid descriptions of Stanton's life in Seneca Falls and her involvement in the 1848 convention and ensuing movement, and limited information in Arthur Harry Rice, "Henry B. Stanton as a Political Abolitionist" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1968). The first volume of the six-volume *History of Woman Suffrage*, edited by Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage and (the last three volumes) Ida Husted Harper between 1881 and 1922 also included information about Stanton's life in Seneca Falls. Janet L. Cowing, Seneca Falls historian, published "Mrs. Stanton Our Pioneer Suffragist" in *State Service: The New York State Magazine* 3 (May 1919) shortly after New York women won suffrage. The passage of the federal amendment prompted a collection of Stanton's papers. Theodore Stanton and Harriot Stanton Blatch, eds., *Elizabeth Cady Stanton as Revealed in Her Letters, Diary, and Reminiscences*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1922) prepared the way for Alma Lutz, *Created Equal: A Biography of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (New York: The John Day Company, 1940), and "Elizabeth Cady Stanton" in *Notable American Women, 1607-1950*, Edward T. James, ed. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971).

As a movement co-worker, Susan B. Anthony was a frequent visitor to the Stanton House. Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, 2 vols. (Indianapolis, IN: The Bowen-Merrill Company, 1898); Katherine Anthony, *Susan B. Anthony: Her Personal History and Her Era* (New York: Doubleday, 1954); and Alma Lutz, *Susan B.*

Anthony: Rebel, Crusader, Humanitarian (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959) provided information about her activities in the Stanton House and in the movement.

Literature on the convention itself was limited to a single monograph by Miriam Gurko, *The Ladies of Seneca Falls: The Birth of the Women's Rights Movement* (New York: Macmillan, 1974), and Timothy Terpstra, "The 1848 Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention: Initial American Public Reaction," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, Mississippi State University, 1975) who traced newspaper coverage of the convention. A description of the convention was also included in volume one of the *History of Woman Suffrage* cited above.

Available biographical information regarding participants in the Seneca Falls convention in 1979, in chronological order, included "History of the Bonnel Family," typescript, Waterloo Library and Historical Society (no date); Charles L. Hoskins, *Portrait and Biographical Record of Seneca and Schuyler Counties, New York* (New York and Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company, 1895); James T. Whit, "Elisha Foote," *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography XXI* (1931): 339-340; "Mrs. Amy Post at Rest" and "Isaac Post" *Dictionary of American Biography 8* (1935); Philip S. Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass, Early Years, 1817-1849* (New York: International Publishers, 1950); Frederick B. Tolles, ed., "*Slavery and the Woman Question*": *Lucretia Mott's Diary of Her Visit to Great Britain to Attend the World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840* (Haverford, PA, 1952); Constance Buel Burnett, *Five for Freedom: Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, Carrie Chapman Catt* (New York: Abelard Press, 1953); Otelia Cromwell, *Lucretia Mott* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958); Dorothy Sterling, *Lucretia Mott: Gentle Warrior* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964); Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: Atheneum, 1970); Paul Messbarger, "Wright, Martha Coffin Pelham," in Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer, eds., *Notable American Women, 1607-1950* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1971); Anne L. Hoblitzelle, "The Ambivalent Message: Sex-role Training in Mid-19th Century United States as Reflected in the Correspondence of Martha Coffin Wright to Ellen Wright Garrison" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Sarah Lawrence College, May 1974); Cheryl Schmidt, "Manuscript Collections: The Papers of Amelia Jenks Bloomer and Dexter Bloomer," *Annals of Iowa*, 45, 2 (1979): 135-146.

Context for the importance of the Seneca Falls convention to the development of the U.S. women's movement included Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 6 vols. (Rochester and New York: 1881-1922); Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959, rev. ed. 1975); Robert E. Riegel, "Women's Clothes and Women's Rights," *American Quarterly* 15, 3 (1963): 390-401; Ira V. Brown, "The Woman's Rights Movement in Pennsylvania, 1848-1873," *Pennsylvania History* 32, 2 (1965): 153-165; Gerda Lerner, "Women's Rights and American Feminism," *American Scholar* 40, 2 (1971): 235-248; Miriam Schneir, *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings*, (New York: Vintage, 1972); Richard J. Evans, *The Feminists: Women's Emancipation Movements in*

Europe, America and Australia 1840-1920 (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1977); Keith Melder, *Beginnings of Sisterhood: The American Woman's Rights Movement, 1800-185*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1977); Barbara Berg, *The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism, The Woman and the City, 1800-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); and the ground-breaking work by Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Woman's Movement in America, 1848-1869*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978).

The importance of women's activities in the U.S. and international anti-slavery movement and that of Quaker reformers active in many reform movements to the nascent women's rights movement of the 1840s and 1850s was documented in Albert F. Wahl, "The Congregational or Progressive Friends in the Pre-Civil-War Reform Movement," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Temple University, 1951); Gerda Lerner, *The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Abolition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967); Katherine Du Pre Lumpkin, *The Emancipation of Angelina Grimke* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1974); Clare Taylor, *British and American Abolitionists: An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 1974); Albert F. Wahl, "Longwood Meeting: Public Forum for the American Democratic Faith," *Pennsylvania History* 42, 1 (1975): 43-69; Philip S. Foner, ed., *We, the Other People: Alternative Declarations of Independence by Labor Groups, Farmers, Woman's Rights Advocates, Socialists, and Blacks, 1829-1975* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1976); Ira V. Brown, "Cradle of Feminism: The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, 1833-1840," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 103 (1978); Blanche Glassman Hersh, *The Slavery of Sex: Feminist-Abolitionists in America*, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1978); Irving H. Bartlett, *Wendell and Ann Phillips: The Community of Reform, 1840-1880*, (New York: Norton, 1979); and Ellen Carol DuBois, "Women's Rights and Abolition: The Nature of the Connection," in Lewis Perry and Michael Fellman, eds., *Antislavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Abolitionists* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979).

General information about women's lives was included in Alice Rossi, ed., *The Feminist Papers* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1973); Keith Melder, "Ladies Bountiful: Organized Women's Benevolence in Early 19th-Century America," *New York History* 48, 3 (1967): 231-254; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Beauty, The Beast and the Militant Woman: A Case Study in Sex Roles and Social Stress in Jacksonian America," *American Quarterly* 23, 4 (1971): 562-584; Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control, and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," *Feminist Studies* 1:3-4 (1973): 40-57; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* I (1975): 1-29; and Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present*, second edition (New York: New Viewpoints, 1979).

PART 2

As the park developed between 1980 and 1992, so too did scholarship in the field of women's history, with biographies of two organizers of the 1848 convention published the year enabling legislation passed: Lois Banner, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: A Radical for Woman's Rights* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, 1980) and Margaret Hope Bacon, *Valiant Friend: The Life of Lucretia Coffin Mott* (New York: Walker and Company, 1980) as well as Dana Greene, ed., *Lucretia Mott: Her Complete Speeches and Sermons* (New York: Edmund Mellon Press, 1980). As new scholarship became available, park staff built a core library collection from the growing number of monographs and articles related to park interpretive themes.

Among these core works were secondary and primary sources on Elizabeth Cady Stanton, including Ellen Carol DuBois, *The Elizabeth Cady Stanton-Susan B. Anthony Reader* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1981); Amy Dykeman, "'To Pour Forth from My Own Experience': Two Versions of Elizabeth Cady Stanton," *The Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* XLIV:1 (June 1982); and Elisabeth Griffiths, *In Her Own Right: The Life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984). Kathleen Barry, *Susan B. Anthony: A Biography of a Singular Feminist* (New York: New York University Press, 1988) provided information about the relationship between Stanton and Anthony in the 1850s while the microfilm collection edited by Ann D. Gordon and Patricia Holland, *The Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1991) made primary source documents available to park and other researchers.

Judith Wellman approached the 1848 convention through the lens of social history, using petitions, census data, and property data to inform "Women and Radical Reform in Antebellum Upstate New York: A Profile of Grass Roots Female Abolitionists" in Mabel E. Deutrich and Virginia C. Purdy, eds., *Clio Was a Woman: Studies in the History of American Women* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1980); "Women's Rights, Republicanism, and Revolutionary Rhetoric in Antebellum New York State," *New York History* 69, 3 (1988): 353-84; and "The Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention: A Study of Social Networks," *Journal of Women's History* 3, 1 (Spring 1991): 9-37.

The Bloomer Costume adopted by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and publicized by Amelia Bloomer in her newspaper, *The Lily*, was the subject of two articles: Paula Welch, "The Relationship of the Women's Rights Movement to Women's Sport and Physical Education in the United States 1848-1920," *Proteus* 3, 1 (1986): 34-40; and Amy Kesselman, "The 'Freedom Suit': Feminism and Dress Reform in the United States, 1848-1875," *Gender & Society* 5, 4 (1991): 495-510. Stanton pursued health reform in her family; Susan B. Anthony sought relief at water cure establishments. Historic efforts of women to regain health were examined in Jane B. Donegan, *Hydropathic Highway to Health: Women and Water-Cure in Antebellum America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986).

New biographies and edited collections of papers of anti-slavery activists informed research on the early women's rights movement. Works on Douglass included Waldo E. Martin, Jr., *The Mind of Frederick Douglass* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984) and Philip Foner, ed., *Frederick Douglass on Women's Rights* (New York: Da Capo, 1992). Studies of other anti-slavery activists included Robert H. Abzug, *Passionate Liberator: Theodore Dwight Weld and the Dilemma of Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Leslie Wheeler, ed., *Loving Warriors: Selected Letters of Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell, 1853-1893* (New York: Dial Press, 1981); Janice Sumler-Lewis, "The Forten-Purvis Women of Philadelphia and the American Anti-Slavery Crusade," *Journal of Negro History* LXVI (1981-82); Ray Allen Billington, ed., *The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten: A Free Negro in the Slave Era* (New York: Norton, 1983); Elizabeth Cazden, *Antoinette Brown Blackwell: A Biography* (New York: Feminist Press, 1983); Melba Joyce Boyd, *Discarded Legacy: Politics and Poetics in the Life of Frances E. W. Harper, 1825-1911* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1984); Dorothy Burnett Porter, "The Remonds of Salem, Massachusetts: A Nineteenth-Century Family Revisited," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 95, pt. 2 (October 1985): 259-95; Carol Lasser and Marlene Deahl Merrill, *Friends and Sisters: Letters between Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown Blackwell, 1846-93* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Larry Ceplair, ed., *The Public Years of Sarah and Angelina Grimke: Selected Writings, 1835-1839* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989); Margaret Hope Bacon, "'One Great Bundle of Humanity': Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825-1911)," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 113, 1 (1989): 21-43; Ira V. Brown, *Mary Grew: Abolitionist and Feminist, 1813-1896* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1991); Dorothy Sterling, *Ahead of Her Time: Abby Kelley Foster and the Politics of Antislavery* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991); Deborah Pickman Clifford, *Crusader for Freedom: A Life of Lydia Maria Child* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992); and Andrea Moore Kerr, *Lucy Stone: Speaking Out for Equality* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

Primary sources for the experiences of African American women included Dorothy Sterling, ed., *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984); Marilyn Richardson, ed., *Maria W. Stewart, America's First Black Woman Political Writer: Essays and Speeches* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987); Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, Jean Fagan Yellin, ed., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987); and Gerda Lerner, ed., *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972, reprint 1992).

Women's work in anti-slavery was examined in Ira V. Brown, "'Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?' The Anti-Slavery Conventions of American Women, 1837-1839," *Pennsylvania History* L (1983); Glenn Altschuler and Ian Saltzgeber, *Revivalism, Social Conscience, and Community in the Burned-over District: The Trial of Rhoda Bement*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983); Donald R. Kennon, "'An Apple of Discord': The Woman Question at the World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840," *Slavery and Abolition* V (1984); and Kathryn Kish Sklar, "'Women Who Speak for an Entire Nation': American

and British Women Compared at the World Anti-Slavery Convention, London, 1840,” *Pacific Historical Review* 59, 4 (1990).

Women in reform in general attracted the attention of Nancy A. Hewitt, one of the park’s first historians, in *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1984). Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Woman’s Rights in Nineteenth Century America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989) sought to contextualize the involvement of reformers, including participants in the 1848 Seneca Falls convention, in early spiritualist activities. Other works on women in reform included Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992) and Shirley Yee, *Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828-1860* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992). When confronted with the Civil War, women’s rights activists turned their attention to demonstrating support for the end of slavery in a massive petition campaign organized by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, examined by Wendy Hamand Venet, *Neither Ballots nor Bullets: Women Abolitionists and the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991).

Hewitt was also one of several authors to consider the affect of Quaker schisms on reform movements and the effect of Quaker women reformers on reform movements in general, including the women’s rights movement. The literature includes J. William Frost, "Years of Crisis and Separation: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1790-1860," in John M. Moore, ed., *Friends in the Delaware Valley* (Haverford, PA: Friends Historical Association, 1981); Margaret Hope Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986); Nancy A. Hewitt, "Feminist Friends: Agrarian Quakers and the Emergence of Woman’s Rights in America," *Feminist Studies* 12, 1 (1986): 27-50; H. Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986); Nancy A. Hewitt, "The Fragmentation of Friends: The Consequences for Quaker Women in Antebellum America," in Elisabeth Potts Brown and Susan Mosher Stuard, eds., *Witnesses for Change: Quaker Women Over Three Centuries* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989, 93-108); Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism, Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); and Nancy A. Hewitt, "Compounding Differences," *Feminist Studies* 18, 2 (1992): 313-26.

Overviews of the women’s rights movement contextualized the Seneca Falls convention: Nancy E. McGlen and Karen O'Connor, *Women's Rights: The Struggle for Equality in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Praeger, 1983); Steven M. Buechler, *Women's Movements in the United States* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); and Rita J. Simon and Gloria Danziger, *Women's Movements in America: Their Successes, Disappointments, and Aspirations* (New York: Praeger, 1991).

A consideration of the foundations of gender roles led to examinations of the U.S. Constitution, the early Republic, and early political culture, as well as other antecedents: see Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 1980); Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Female Power and Male Dominance: On the Origins of Sexual Inequality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and the American Political Society, 1780-1920," *American Historical Review* 89 (June 1984): 620-47; and Gerda Lerner, *Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her*, 2 vols. (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1989) examined the rhetorical choices of women's rights advocates. Judith Apter Klinghoffer and Lois Elkis, "The Petticoat Electors': Women's Suffrage in New Jersey, 1776-1807," *Journal of the Early Republic* 12 (1992); and Glenna Matthews, *The Rise of Public Woman: Woman's Power and Woman's Place in the United States, 1630-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) considered women's political activity. Barbara Ryan, *Feminism and the Women's Movement: Dynamics of Change in Social Movement Ideology and Activism* (New York: Routledge, 1992) was a sociological study of women's movements.

Scholarship on legal rights provided a framework for understanding grievances cited in the Declaration of Sentiments. Among the new works examining property and other law were Peggy A. Rabkin, *Fathers to Daughters: The Legal Foundations of Female Emancipation* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1980); Norma Basch, *In the Eyes of the Law: Women, Marriage, and Property in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982); Richard H. Chused, "Married Women's Property Law: 1800-1850," *Georgetown Law Journal* 71 (June 1983) and "The Oregon Donation Act of 1850 and Nineteenth Century Federal Married Woman's Property Law," *Law and History Review* 2, 1 (1984): 44-78; Martha Minow, "'Forming Underneath Everything that Grows': Toward a History of Family Law," *Wisconsin Law Review* (July-August 1985); Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Charlotte: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Ellen Carol DuBois, "Outgrowing the Compact of the Fathers: Equal Rights, Woman Suffrage, and the United States Constitution, 1820-1878," *Journal of American History* 74, 3 (1987): 836-862; Elizabeth Bowles Warbasse, *The Changing Legal Rights of Married Women, 1800-1861* (New York: Garland, 1987); Michael Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth: Law and the Family in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); and Nina Morais, "Sex Discrimination and the Fourteenth Amendment," *Yale Law Journal* 97 (May 1988).

By the late 1980s, changing courtship, marriage, and family patterns also attracted the attention of scholars including Ellen K. Rothman, *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987); Stephanie Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families, 1600-1900* (New York: Verso, 1988) and Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social*

History of American Family Life (New York: Free Press, 1988). An interest in domestic labor prompted an overview of women's work in the home by Ruth Schwartz Cohen, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York: Basic Books, 1983). Mary P. Ryan argued that class and gender formed together in the home; see *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1780-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Women's history scholars studying gender roles argued that they were historically constructed. Gender as a category of historical analysis led to studies of masculinity in the United States, among them studies of male anti-slavery and women's rights supporters: Nancy Cott, "On Men's History and Women's History," in Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds., *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Donald Yacovone, *Samuel Joseph May and the Dilemmas of the Liberal Persuasion, 1797-1871* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1991); and Michael S. Kimmel and Thomas E. Mosmiller, eds., *Against the Tide: Pro-Feminist Men in the United States, 1776-1990: A Documentary History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992).

PART 3

From 1992 to the present, the maturing field of women's history has yielded increasingly sophisticated theoretical frameworks. Leila J. Rupp, "Eleanor Flexner's Century of Struggle: Women's History and the Women's Movement," *National Women's Studies Association Journal* 4, 2 (1992): 157-169, examined previous histories of the woman suffrage movement. Kathleen M. Brown considered the differences between women's history and the history of gender in "Brave New Worlds: Women's and Gender History," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Ser. 50:2 (April 1993): 311-328; Jean V. Matthews, "Consciousness of Self and Consciousness of Sex in Antebellum Feminism," *Journal of Women's History* 5, 1 (1993): 61-78 applied models of consciousness to antebellum feminism; and Elizabeth Ann Bartlett compared intellectual ties between early feminists in *Liberty, Equality, Sorority: The Origins and Interpretation of American Feminist Thought: Frances Wright, Sarah Grimke, and Margaret Fuller* (New York: Carlson Publications, 1994). The use of postmodern theory in women's history was evaluated in Manuela Thurner, "Subject to Change: Theories and Paradigms of U.S. Feminist History," *Journal of Women's History* 9:2 (1997): 122-47 and Lisa Duggan, "The Theory Wars, or, Who's Afraid of Judith Butler"?, *Journal of Women's History* 10:1 (1998): 9-20. Donald Yacovone and Laura McCall, eds., *A Shared Experience: Men, Women and the History of Gender* (New York: New York University Press, 1998) focused on the social construction of gender norms and gendered experience, while Gretchen Becht and Kathryn Kish Sklar compared intellectual support for women's rights in "Why Did Some Men Support the Women's Rights Movement in the 1850's, and How Did Their Ideas Compare to Those of Women in the Movement?" *Women and Social Movements in the United States* 3: 1 (1999). Joan Wallach Scott discussed *Gender and the Politics of History*, rev. ed. (New York:

Columbia University, 1999) while others reexamined the early and influential work on women's bonds and separate spheres: see Molly McGarry, et.al., "Women's History in the New Millennium: Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's 'The Female World of Love and Ritual' after Twenty-Five Years," *Journal of Women's History* 12:3 (2000): 8-38 and Leila J. Rupp, "Women's History in the New Millennium: A Retrospective Analysis of Barbara Welter's 'The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860,'" *Journal of Women's History* 14:1 (2002).

Patricia A. Cain and Linda K. Kerber, "Subversive Legacies: Learning from History/Constructing the Future," *Texas Journal of Women and the Law* 13 (Fall 2003) argued for the applicability of historical events to current issues. Nancy Cott, Gerda Lerner, Kathryn Kish Sklar, Ellen DuBois, and Nancy Hewitt discussed advances in the field in "Considering the State of U.S. Women's History," *Journal of Women's History* 15:1 (2003): 145-163. Peter Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America," *Journal of American History* 89, 1 (2005): 1-43, examined new interest in whiteness, while S. Jay Kleinberg, Eileen Boris, and Vicki L. Ruiz, eds., summarized *The Practice of U.S. Women's History: Narratives, Intersections, and Dialogues* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007).

New works on Elizabeth Cady Stanton reflected new intellectual approaches and tools. Among some of the new treatments were Jeanne Stevenson-Moessner, "Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Reformer to Revolutionary: A Theological Trajectory," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 62, 3 (1994): 673-697; Joseph E. Ryan, "Prelude to Seneca Falls: An Analysis of Elizabeth Cady Stanton Prior to the Convention," *New England Journal of History* 52, 1 (1995): 21-27; Phyllis Cole, "Stanton, Fuller, and the Grammar of Romanticism," *New England Quarterly* 73, 4 (2000): 533-559; Kathi Kern, *Mrs. Stanton's Bible* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); Roberta J. Park, "All the Freedom of the Boy: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Nineteenth-Century Architect of Women's Rights," *International Journal of the History of Sport* [Great Britain] 18, 1 (2001): 7-26; Judith M. Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the Beginning of the Women's Rights Movement* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2004); Ellen DuBois and Richard Candida Smith, eds., *Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Feminist as Thinker: A Reader in Documents and Essays* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); Sue Davis, *The Political Thought of Elizabeth Cady Stanton: Women's Rights and the American Political Traditions* (New York: New York University Press, 2008); and Lori D. Ginzberg, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: an American Life* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2009). The publication of multiple volumes of the edited and annotated papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony renewed interest in this political pair by scholars and the public: Ann Gordon, ed., *The Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*. 5 vols. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997-2006).

Susan B. Anthony's life and work were considered in Lynn Sherr, *Failure Is Impossible: Susan B. Anthony In Her Own Words* (New York: Times Books, 1995) and Ken Burns and Geoffrey C. Ward, eds., *Not For Ourselves Alone: The Story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1999), published to accompany

their Public Broadcasting System film of the same name. A scholarly treatment was Kathleen M. Barry, *Susan B. Anthony: A Biography of a Singular Feminist* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

The convention received its first scholarly treatment since 1976 in Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the Beginning of the Women's Rights Movement* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004). Based on social history methods, the work used business, church, deed and probate records, membership records, petitions, and newspapers to contextualize the convention, while published primary sources and secondary sources informed Sally G. McMillen, *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Antecedents of the convention were investigated in Carol Mattingly, *Well-tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998); Louise Michele Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Anne M. Boylan, *The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797-1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Pauline Schloesser, *The Fair Sex: White Women and Racial Patriarchy in the Early Republic* (New York: New York University Press, 2002); Lisa Levenstein, "Rethinking the Origins of Woman's Rights: Gender and Nineteenth-Century Political Culture," *Reviews in American History* 34, 1 (2006), 28-33; and Daniel S. Wright, *"The First Causes to Our Sex": The Female Moral Reform Movement in the Antebellum Northeast, 1834-1848* (New York: Routledge Press, 2006). Margaret Nash, *Women's Education in the United States, 1780-1840* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) and Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2006) discussed the types of education and public skills necessary to create and sustain a movement.

Participants in the Seneca Falls convention continued to receive attention: Anne C. Coon, *Hear Me Patiently: The Reform Speeches of Amelia Jenks Bloomer* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994) and William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: Norton, 1995). Participants with Quaker background were the subject of Christopher Densmore, "The Dilemma of Quaker Anti-Slavery: The Case of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, 1836-1860," *Quaker History* 82:2 (Fall 1993) and "Quaker Comeouters and the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention of 1848," unpublished paper, Conference on New York State History, 4-5 June, 1993 as well as Hugh Barber and Christopher Densmore, eds., *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995) and Christopher Densmore and Judith Wellman, "The M'Clintock Family," in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography*, vol. I (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Scholars expanded knowledge of convention organizers and sisters Lucretia Mott and Martha C. Wright and of Elizabeth M'Clintock. Carol Faulkner and Beverly Wilson Palmer, "How Did Lucretia Mott Combine Her Commitments to Antislavery and

Women's Rights, 1840-1860?" *Women and Social Movements* 3, 1 (1999); Beverly Wilson Palmer, ed., *Selected Letters of Lucretia Coffin Mott* (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002); Sherry Penney and James D. Livingston, "Expectant at Seneca Falls," *New York History* 84 (Winter 2003): 33-49; "Getting to the Source: Hints for Wives—and Husbands" *Journal of Women's History* 15, 2 (2003): 180-187; and *A Very Dangerous Woman: Martha Wright and Women's Rights* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004) moved scholarship beyond the most well-known of the early women's rights reformers. Andrea Constantine Hawkes, "The Life of Elizabeth M'Clintock Phillips, 1821-96: A Story of Family, Friends, Community, and A Self-Made Woman," (Ph.D dissertation, University of Maine, 2005) examined the reform family and the economic independence gained by M'Clintock. Sandra Stanley Holton provided an overview of Quaker women in *Quaker Women: Personal Life, Memory and Radicalism in the Lives of Women Friends, 1780-1930* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

Published works on other nineteenth century women's rights reformers provided context for understanding the movement: Carol A. Kolmerton, *The American Life of Ernestine L. Rose* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999); Leila R. Brammer, *Excluded from Suffrage History: Matilda Joslyn Gage, Nineteenth Century American Feminist* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000); Diane Eickhoff, *Revolutionary Heart: The Life of Clarina Nichols and the Pioneering Crusade for Women's Rights* (n.p.: Quindara Press, 2006); and Matthew J. Gallman, *America's Joan of Arc: The Life of Anna Elizabeth Dickinson* (New York: Oxford, 2006).

The rhetoric of rights, press coverage of women's rights, and the gradual growth of a women's press drew attention from Sylvia D. Hoffert, "New York City's Penny Press and the Issue of Woman's Rights, 1848-1860," *Journalism Quarterly* (Autumn 1993): 656-665; and *When Hens Crow: The Women's Rights Movement in Antebellum America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995); and Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture & Votes for Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). Women's extension of home life into political activities was discussed in Mary P. Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City During the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Elizabeth R. Varon, *We Mean to Be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Lyde Cullen Sizer, *The Political Work of Northern Women Writers and the Civil War, 1850-1872* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Melanie Gustafson, *Women and the Republican Party, 1854-1924* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2001); Carol Lasser, "Beyond Separate Spheres: The Power of Public Opinion," *Journal of the Early Republic* 21:1 (Spring 2001): 115-123; Tina Stewart Brakebill, "Circumstances are destiny": *An Antebellum Woman's Struggle to Define Sphere* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006); and Ronald Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, *Voices without Votes: Women and Politics in Antebellum New England*, (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2010).

Among those considering the religious or spiritual basis for social reform were Beverly Ann Zink-Sawyer, *The Preachers and the Suffragists: The Role of Preachers in the Ideological Transformation of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the United States* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University, 1997); Barbara Goldsmith, *Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism, and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull* (New York: Harper, 1999) and T. Gregory Garvey, *Creating the Culture of Reform in Antebellum America* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2006).

A sampling of the scholarship on founding principles of government and the rights of citizenship included Candace Lewis Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Nancy Isenberg, *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999); Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*. (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Sandra F. Van Burkleo, "Belong to the World": *Women's Rights and American Constitutional Culture* (New York: Oxford, 2001); Adam Winkler, "A Revolution Too Soon: Woman Suffragists and the 'Living Constitution,'" *New York University Law Review* 76 (November 2001): 1456–1526; Claudia Zaher, "When a Woman's Marital Status Determined Her Legal Status: A Research Guide on the Common Law Doctrine of Coverture," *Law Library Journal* 94 (Summer 2002); Ariela Dubler, "In the Shadow of Marriage: Single Women and the Legal Construction of the Family and the State," *Yale Law Journal* 112 (2003): 1641-1715; Donna C. Schuele, "'None Could Deny The Eloquence Of This Lady': Women, Law, And Government In California, 1850-1890," *California History* 81, 3-4 (2003): 169-198; Felice Batlan, "Review Essay: Engendering Legal History," *Law and Social Inquiry* 30 (Fall 2005): 823; Sandra R. Zagier Zayac and Robert A. Zayac, Jr., "Georgia's Married Women's Property Act: An Effective Challenge to Coverture," *Texas Journal of Women and the Law* 15 (Fall 2005); and Kathleen S. Sullivan, *Constitutional Context: Women and Rights Discourse in Nineteen-century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

Domestic labor and dress reform received analysis in Reva B. Siegel, "Home as Work: The First Woman's Rights Claims Concerning Wives' Household Labor, 1850-1880," *Yale Law Journal* 103 (March 1994) and Gayle V. Fischer, *Pantaloon and Power: Nineteenth-Century Dress Reform in the United States* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001).

Historical investigation of women's involvement in anti-slavery movements in the U.S. and abroad included Karen I. Halbersleben, *Women's Participation in the British Anti-Slavery Movement, 1824-1865* (Lewiston: Edmund Mellon Press, 1993); Debra Gold Hansen, *Strained Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993); Kristin Hoganson, "Garrisonian Abolitionists and the Rhetoric of Gender, 1850-1860," *American Quarterly* 45, 4 (1993): 558-595; Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, eds., *Abolitionist Sisterhood* (Ithaca,

NY: Cornell University Press, 1994); Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998); Douglas M. Strong, *Perfectionist Politics: Abolitionism and the Religious Tensions of American Democracy* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999); Bonnie Anderson, *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women's Movement, 1830-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Henry Mayer, *All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2000); Stacy M. Robertson, *Parker Pillsbury: Radical Abolitionist, Male Feminist* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), Anna M. Speicher, *The Religious World of Anti-Slavery Women: Spirituality in the Lives of Five Abolitionist Lecturers* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000); Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Growing Up Abolitionist: The Story of the Garrison Children* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); Deborah Bingham Van Broekhoven, *The Devotion of These Women: Rhode Island in the Antislavery Network* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); Milton Sernett, *North Star Country: Upstate New York and the Crusade for African American Freedom* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002); Sherry Penney and James Livingston, "How Did Abolitionist Women and Their Slaveholding Relatives Negotiate Their Conflict over the Issue of Slavery?" *Women and Social Movements* 7 (2003); Michael D. Pierson, *Free Hearts, Free Homes: Gender and American Antislavery Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Susan Zaeske, *Signatures of Citizenship: Petitioning, Antislavery, and Women's Political Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Beth A. Salerno, *Sister Societies: Women's Antislavery Organizations in Antebellum America* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005); Bruce Laurie, *Beyond Garrison: Antislavery and Social Reform*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Ryan P. Jordan, *Slavery and the Meetinghouse: The Quakers and the Abolitionist Dilemma, 1820-1865* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006); James Oakes, *The Radical and the Republican: Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and the Triumph of Antislavery Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007); and James Brewer Stewart, *Abolitionist Politics and the Coming of the Civil War* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008).

Scholars continued to write biographies of anti-slavery women, notably Carolyn L. Karcher, *The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994); Gerda Lerner, *The Feminist Thought of Sarah Grimké* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Mark Perry, *Lift Up Thy Voice: The Grimké Family's Journey from Slaveholders to Civil Rights Leaders* (New York: Viking, 2001) and Pamela R. Durso, *The Power of Woman: The Life and Writings of Sarah Moore Grimké* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2003).

A growing body of work examined the experiences of African-American women, including Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown, Roslyn Terborg-Penn, eds., *Black Women in America* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1993); Carlton Mabee, with Susan Newhouse Mabee, *Sojourner Truth: Slave, Prophet, Legend* (New York: New York University Press, 1993); Erlene Stetson and Linda David, *Glorying in Tribulation: The*

Lifework of Sojourner Truth (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994); Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996); Ann Gordon and Bettye Collier-Thomas, eds., *African-American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997); Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *African American Women and the Struggle for the Vote, 1850-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Jane Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999) Jean M. Humez, *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003); Catherine Clinton, *Harriet Tubman: The Road to Freedom* (New York: Little, Brown, and Co., 2004); Kate Clifford Larson, *Bound for the Promised Land: Harriet Tubman, Portrait of an American Hero* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004); Jean Fagan Yellin, *Harriet Jacobs: A Life* (New York: Basic Books, 2004); Frances Smith Foster, *A Brighter Coming Day: A Frances Ellen Watkins Harper Reader* (New York: Feminist Press of City University of New York, 2006); Martha Jones, *All Bound Up Together: The Woman Question In African American Public Culture, 1830-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); and Margaret Washington, *Sojourner Truth's America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press).

New scholarship uncovered growing international networks of women's rights reformers. Some of the sources, in chronological order, include Sandra Stanley Holton, "To Educate Women Into Rebellion": Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the Creation of a Transatlantic Network of Radical Suffragists," *American Historical Review* 99, 4 (1994): 1112-1136; Christine Bolt, *The Women's Movements in the United States and Britain from the 1790s to the 1920s* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993); Nancy A. Hewitt, "Re-Rooting American Women's Activism: Global Perspectives on 1848," *Osterreichische Zeitschrift fur Geschichtswissenschaften* [Austria] 9, 4 (1998): 457-470; George Klosko and Margaret G. Klosko, eds., *The Struggle for Women's Rights: Theoretical and Historical Sources* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1999); Margaret McFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy: The Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-Century Feminism* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999); Karen M. Offen, "Women and the Question of "Universal" Suffrage in 1848: A Transatlantic Comparison of Suffrage Rhetoric," *NWSA Journal* 11, 1 (Spring 1999); Jean H. Baker, ed., *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Eleanor Clift, *Founding Sisters and the Nineteenth Amendment* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2003); Jeydel, Alana S. *Political Women: The Women's Movement, Political Institutions, The Battle for Women's Suffrage and the ERA* (London & New York: Routledge, 2004); Rebecca J. Mead, *How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914* (New York: New York University Press, 2004); Lisa Tetrault, "The Memory of a Movement: Woman Suffrage and Reconstruction America, 1865-1890," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004); and Jean H. Baker, *Sisters: The Lives of America's Suffragists* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005).

A few of the many works tracing women's activism after the Civil War included Suzanne M. Marilley, *Woman Suffrage and the Origins of Liberal Feminism in the United States, 1820-1920*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Ellen Carol DuBois, *Harriet Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); and Carol Faulkner, *Women's Radical Reconstruction: The Freedmen's Aid Movement*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2003).

Anniversaries of significant events in the U.S. women's rights movement brought new scholarly works. The seventy-fifth anniversary of the passage of the 20th amendment brought new attention to the sweep of the historical women's rights and woman suffrage movements. Among the new works were Virginia Bernhard and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, eds., *The Birth of American Feminism: The Seneca Falls Woman's Convention of 1848* (New York: Brandywine Press, 1995); Carolyn S. Bratt, "The Sesquicentennial of the 1848 Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention: American Women's Unfinished Quest for Legal, Economic, Political, and Social Equality," *Kentucky Law Journal* (Summer 1995/1996); Janette C. Russell, "The Perfect Thirty-Six: Tennessee and the Woman Suffrage Movement," *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers* 49 (1995): 238-242; Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, ed., *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement* (Troutdale, OR: New Sage Press, 1995); and the reissued memoir of Doris Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom: American Women Win the Vote*, Carol O'Hare, ed., (Troutdale, OR: New Sage Press, 1995).

The sesquicentennial of the 1848 convention resulted in an outpouring of presentations, articles and speeches, including Christopher Densmore, "The Quaker Tradition: Sustaining Women's Rights" National Women's Studies Association, 1998, <http://ublib.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/urr/>; Ellen Carol DuBois, "Remembering Seneca Falls, 1848: Honoring the Women Who Paved the Way: An Essay," (Cambridge: Radcliffe College, 1998) and *Woman Suffrage and Women's Rights* (New York: New York University Press, 1998); Nancy A. Hewitt, "Re-Rooting American Women's Activism: Global Perspectives on 1848," *Osterreichische Zeitschrift fur Geschichtswissenschaften* [Austria] 9, 4 (1998): 457-470; Gerda Lerner, "The Meanings of Seneca Falls, 1848-1998," *Dissent* (Fall 1998): 35-41, in Linda K. Kerber and Jane DeHart, *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*, 5th Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Constance Rynder, "All Men and Women Are Created Equal" *American History* 33, 3 (1998): 22-26,69; Jean V. Matthews, *Women's Struggle for Equality: The First Phase, 1828-1876* (New York: Ivan R. Dee, 1998); and Jessica Newirth, "From Seneca Falls to the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Gauging the Campaign for the Human Rights of Women," *Journal of International and Comparative Law* 5 (Spring 1999). The celebration of this event was discussed in Vivien E. Rose, Molly Murphy McGregor, Ann Gordon, and Ellen Carol DuBois, "Seneca Falls Goes Public," *Public Historian* 21:2 (1999): 41-47 and in Vivien E. Rose, "Seneca Falls Remembered: Celebrations of the 1848 First Women's Rights Convention," *CRM* 21:11 (1999): 9-15.

In 2000, scholars revisited a debate about the women's rights movement concerning the split of the movement into two factions in 1869 as represented by Paulina Wright Davis, *A History of the National Woman's Rights Movement for Twenty Years: with the Proceedings of the Decade Meeting held at Apollo Hall, October 20, 1870, from 1850 to 1870* (New York: Journeymen Printers' Co-operative Association, 1871). John F. McClymer, *This High and Holy Moment: The First National Woman's Rights Convention, Worcester, 1850* (London: Harcourt Brace, 1999) was followed by Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Women's Rights Emerges within the Antislavery Movement, 1830-1870: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000) and Elizabeth R. Osborn, "The Seneca Falls Convention: Teaching About the Rights of Women and the Heritage of the Declaration of Independence," ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 2001, ERIC ED 1.310/2:453151. Joelle Million, *Woman's Voice, Woman's Place: Lucy Stone and the Birth of the Woman's Rights Movement* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003) focused on the wing of the women's movement led by Stone.

Examinations of origins of the 1848 convention included Nancy A. Hewitt, "Re-Rooting American Women's Activism: Global Perspectives on 1848," in *Women's Rights and Human Rights*, ed. Patricia Grimshaw et al. (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 123-37; "Origin Stories: Remapping First Wave Feminism," from "Sisterhood and Slavery: Transatlantic Antislavery and Women's Rights," *Proceedings of the Third Annual Gilder Lehrman Center International Conference at Yale University* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 2001) and Lori D. Ginzberg, *Untidy Origins: A Story of Woman's Rights in Antebellum New York* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2006). Sally Roesch Wagner argued that Iroquois practices informed the beginning of the women's rights movement in New York in *The Untold Story of the Iroquois Influence on Early Feminists* (Aberdeen, SD: Sky Carrier Press, 1996) and *Sisters in Spirit: Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Influence on Early American Feminists* (Summertown, TN: Native Voices, 2001).

As the field developed, collected essays and overviews of various aspects of women's history appeared. Among them were Linda K. Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Kathryn Kish Sklar, eds., *U.S. History as Women's History* (Charlotte: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Linda K. Kerber and Jane Sherron DeHart, *Women's America: Refocusing the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Estelle Freedman, *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2003); Nancy Cott, ed., *No Small Courage: A History of Women in the United States*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Judith Wellman, "The Women's Movement in New York State, 1848-1990," in Peter R. Eisenstadt, ed., *Encyclopedia of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005); Ellen Carol DuBois and Lynn Dumenil, *Through Women's Eyes: An American History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005); Genevieve G. McBride, *Women's Wisconsin: From Native Matriarchies to the New Millennium* (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 2005); and Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men and the Quest for Economic Citizenship*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

The relationship between history and memory began to attract considerable scholarly attention following the appearance of Michael Kammen's magisterial *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1991). Other areas of new interest included women in relation to nature, cultural landscapes, gendered space, and material culture. Among the works which offered historical context for historic furnishing plans, analysis of interior spaces, and cultural landscape treatment decisions are Vera Norwood, *Made from This Earth: American Women and Nature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Mona Domosh and Joni Seager, *Putting Women in Place: Feminist Geographers Make Sense of the World* (New York: Guilford Press, 2001); and Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes of Public History* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), followed by Dana Agrest et al, eds., *The Sex of Architecture* (New York: Harry N. Adams, Inc., 1996); Katherine Martinez and Kenneth L. Ames, *The Material Culture of Gender, the Gender of Material Culture* (Winterthur, DE: University Press of New England, 1997); Sally McMurry, *Families & Farmhouses in Nineteenth Century America: Vernacular Design and Social Change* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997); Eleanor Thompson, *The American Home: Material Culture, Domestic Space and Family Life* (Winterthur, DE: University Press of New England, 1998). Scholarly studies of women and art and architecture include Annmarie Adams and Peta Tancred, *Designing Women: Gender and the Architectural Profession* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Sarah Deutsch, *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). Other studies of note include Polly Welts Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice: A History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Jane R. Glaser and Artemis A. Zenetou, eds., *Gender Perspectives: Essays on Women in Museums* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994); Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999); and Daphne Spain, *How Women Saved the City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001). A focus on women's history sites begun under a study for the National Park Service resulted in Page Putnam Miller, *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992); Lynn Sherr's guidebook, *Susan B. Anthony Slept Here: A Guide to American Women's Landmarks* (New York: Times Books, 1994), was followed by Katharine T. Corbett, *In Her Place: A Guide to St. Louis Women's History* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1999). Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman, eds., *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002) and Page Putnam Miller, *Landmarks of American Women's History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) summarized recent scholarship and provided a standard introduction into historic architecture and women's history.

APPENDIX I

PARK LEGISLATION

94 STAT. 3539

PUBLIC LAW 96-607—DEC. 28, 1980

Public Law 96-607
97th Congress

Dec. 28, 1980
[S. 2363]

An Act

To provide, with respect to the national park system: for the establishment of new units; for adjustment in boundaries; for increases in appropriation authorizations for land acquisition and development; and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

94 STAT. 3540

TITLE V

GENERAL MANAGEMENT PLANS

Submitted to
congressional
committees.
16 USC 41011
note.

SEC. 501. Within three complete fiscal years from the effective date of this Act, the Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the United States House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the United States Senate, comprehensive general management plans for the areas established pursuant to titles XII and XVI of this Act, pursuant to the provisions of section 12(b) of the Act of August 18, 1970 (84 Stat. 825; 16 U.S.C. 1a-1 et seq.).

TITLE XVI

94 STAT. 3546

WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

16 USC 41011

SEC. 1601. (a) The Congress finds that—
(1) The Women's Rights Convention held at the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848 was an event of major importance in the history of the United States because it marked the formal beginning of the struggle of women for their equal rights.
(2) The Declaration of Sentiments approved by the 1848 Women's Rights Convention is a document of enduring relevance, which expresses the goal that equality and justice should be extended to all people without regard to sex.
(3) There are nine sites located in Seneca Falls and Waterloo, New York, associated with the nineteenth century women's rights movement which should be recognized, preserved, and interpreted for the benefit of the public.

94 STAT. 3547

(b) it is the purpose of this section to preserve and interpret for the education, inspiration, and benefit of present and future generations the nationally significant historical and cultural sites and structures associated with the struggle for equal rights for women and to cooperate with State and local entities to preserve the character and historic setting of such sites and structures.

(c) To carry out the purpose of this section there is hereby established the Women's Rights National Historical Park (hereinafter in this section referred to as the "park"). The park shall consist initially of the following designated sites in Seneca Falls and Waterloo, New York:

- (1) Stanton House, 32 Washington Street, Seneca Falls;
- (2) dwelling, 30 Washington Street, Seneca Falls;
- (3) dwelling, 34 Washington Street, Seneca Falls;
- (4) lot, 26-28 Washington Street, Seneca Falls;
- (5) former Wesleyan Chapel, 126 Fall Street, Seneca Falls;
- (6) theater, 128 Fall Street, Seneca Falls;
- (7) Bloomer House, 53 East Bayard Street, Seneca Falls;
- (8) McClintock House, 16 East Williams Street, Waterloo; and
- (9) Hunt House, 401 East Main Street, Waterloo.

(d) The Secretary is authorized to acquire by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, transfer from any other Federal agency, or exchange lands and interests therein within sites designated as part of the park, except that the Secretary may not acquire the fee simple title to the land comprising the sites designated in paragraphs (7) through (9) of subsection (c). Lands and interests therein owned by a State or political subdivision thereof may be acquired only by donation.

(e) The Secretary is authorized to enter into cooperative agreements with the owners of properties designated as part of the park, pursuant to which the Secretary may mark, interpret, improve, restore, and provide technical assistance with respect to the preservation and interpretation of such properties. Such agreements shall contain, but need not be limited to, provisions that the Secretary shall have the right of access at reasonable times to public portions of the property for interpretive and other purposes, and that no changes or alterations shall be made in the property except by mutual agreement.

(f) The Secretary shall encourage State and local governmental agencies to develop and implement plans for the preservation and rehabilitation of sites designated as part of the park and their immediate environs, in order to preserve the historic character of the setting in which such sites are located. The Secretary may provide technical and financial assistance to such agencies in the development and implementation of such plans, but financial assistance may not exceed 50 per centum of the cost thereof.

(g) The Secretary shall administer the park in accordance with the provisions of this section and the provisions of law generally applicable to the administration of units of the National Park System, including the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535; 16 U.S.C. 1, 2-4) and the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666; 16 U.S.C. 461-7).

Establishment Membership. (h)(l) There is hereby established the Women's Rights National Historical Park Advisory Commission (hereinafter referred to as the "Commission"). The Commission shall consist of eleven members, each appointed by the Secretary for a term of five years as follows:
(A) One member appointed from recommendations submitted by the Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation;
(B) One member appointed from recommendations submitted by the Women s Hall of Fame;
(C) Two members appointed from recommendations submitted by the Governor of New York;
(D) One member appointed from recommendations submitted by the village of Seneca Falls;
(E) One member appointed from recommendations submitted by the town of Seneca Falls; and
(F) Five members appointed by the Secretary, at least one of whom shall represent an institution of higher learning and at least two of whom shall represent national women's rights organizations.

(2) The Secretary shall designate one member to be the Chair of the Commission. Any vacancy on the Commission shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

Expenses. (3) Members of the Commission shall serve without compensation as such, but the Secretary may pay the expenses reasonably incurred by the Commission and its members in carrying out their responsibilities under this section upon presentation of vouchers signed by the Chair of the Commission.

(4) The function of the Commission shall be to advise the Secretary with respect to matters relating to the administration of the park and the carrying out of the provisions of this section. The Secretary shall consult with the Commission from time to time with respect to his responsibilities and authorities under the section.

Termination. (5) The Commission shall terminate ten years from the effective date of this section.

Appropriation authorization. (i) There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section, but not to exceed \$490,000 for acquisition, and \$500,000 for development.

94 STAT. 3549 Approved December 28, 1980.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORTS: No.96-1024 accompanying H.R.3 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs) and No. 96-15 20 (Comm. of Conference).

SENATE REPORT No. 96-755 (Comm. on Energy and Natural Resources).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 126 (1980):

May 20, H.R. 3 considered and passed House.

June 5, considered and passed Senate.

June 17, considered and passed House, amended.

Dec. 3, House and Senate agreed to conference report.

Public Law 98-402
98th Congress

An Act

Aug. 28, 1984
[H.R. 4596]

To amend section 1601(d) of Public Law 96-607 to permit the Secretary of the Interior to acquire title in fee simple to McClintock House at 16 East Williams Street, Waterloo, New York.

16 USC 41011

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 1601(c) of Public Law 96-607 (16 U.S.C. 41011(c)) is amended by striking paragraph “(8)” and inserting the following:

“(8) McClintock House and related structures, 14 and 16 East Williams Street, Waterloo; and”.

Historic
preservation

(b) Section 1601(d) is amended by striking out the word “through” and inserting the word “and” in lieu thereof; and by adding at the end of the subsection the following: “Within two years of the acquisition of the property listed in subsection (c)(8) the Secretary shall have removed all structures from the property that are not relevant to the historic integrity of the McClintock House.”

Approved August 28, 1984.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—H.R. 4596 (S. 2331):
HOUSE REPORT No. 98-722 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).
SENATE REPORT No. 98-558 (Comm. on Energy and Natural Resources).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 130 (1984):
April 30, May 1, considered and passed House.
Aug. 9, considered and passed Senate.

Public Law 104-333
104th Congress

An Act

Nov. 12, 1996
[H.R. 4236]

To provide for the administration of certain Presidio properties at minimal cost to the Federal taxpayer, and for other purposes.

Be in enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Omnibus Parks
and Public Lands
Management Act
of 1996.
16 USC 1 note.

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS.

This Act may be cited as the “Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996.”

TITLE V
HISTORIC AREAS & CIVIL RIGHTS

110 STAT. 4155

SEC. 505. WOMEN’S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK.

(a) INCLUSION OF OTHER PROPERTIES.—Section 1601(c) of Public Law 96-607 (16 U.S.C. 41011) is amended to read as follows:

“(c) ESTABLISHMENT.—To carry out the purposes of this section there is hereby established the Women’s Rights National Historical Park (hereinafter in this section referred to as the “park”). The park shall consist of the following designated sites in Seneca Falls and Waterloo, New York:

- Stanton House, 32 Washington Street, Seneca Falls;
- Dwelling, 30 Washington Street, Seneca Falls;
- Dwelling, 34 Washington Street, Seneca Falls;
- Lot, 26-28 Washington Street, Seneca Falls;
- Former Wesleyan Chapel, 126 Fall Street, Seneca Falls;
- Theater, 128 Fall Street, Seneca Falls;
- McClintock House, 16 East Williams Street, Waterloo;
- Hunt House, 401 East Williams Street, Waterloo;
- Not to exceed 1 acre, plus improvements, as determined by the Secretary, in Seneca Falls for development of a maintenance facility;
- Dwelling 1 Seneca Street, Seneca Falls;
- Dwelling, 10 Seneca Street, Seneca Falls;
- Parcels adjacent to Wesleyan Chapel Block, including Clinton Street, Fall Street, and Mynderse Street, Seneca Falls; and
- Dwelling, 12 East Williams Street, Waterloo.”.

(b) MISCELLANEOUS AMENDMENTS.—Section 1601 of Public Law 96-607 (16 U.S.C. 41011) is amended by redesignating subsection (i) as “(i)(1)” and inserting at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

“(2) In addition to those sums appropriated prior to the date of enactment of this paragraph for land acquisition and development, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated an additional \$2,000,000.”

Appropriation
authorization.

Public Law 106-258
106th Congress

An Act

Aug. 8, 2000
[S. 1910]

To Amend the Act establishing Women’s Rights National Historical Park to permit the Secretary of the Interior to acquire title in fee simple to the Hunt House located in Waterloo, New York.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United State of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. ACQUISITION OF HUNT HOUSE.

- (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1601(d) of Public Law 96-607 (94 Stat. 3547; 16 U.S.C. 41011(d) is amended—
 - (1) in the first sentence—
 - (A) by inserting a period after “park”; and
 - (B) by striking the remainder of the sentence; and
 - (2) by striking the last sentence.
- (b) TECHNICAL CORRECTION.—Section 1601(c)(8) of Public Law 96-607 (94 Stat. 3547; 16 U.S.C. 41011(c)(8) is amended by striking “Williams” and inserting “Main”.

Approved August 8, 2000.

PUBLIC LAW 111-11—MAR. 30, 2009

[123 STAT. 1199-2000]

SEC. 7111. WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK.

(a) VOTES FOR WOMEN TRAIL.—Title XVI of Public Law 96- 607 (16 U.S.C. 4101l) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“SEC. 1602. VOTES FOR WOMEN TRAIL.

“(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section: “(1) PARK.—The term ‘Park’ means the Women’s Rights National Historical Park established by section 1601. “(2) SECRETARY.—The term ‘Secretary’ means the Secretary of the Interior, acting through the Director of the National Park Service. “(3) STATE.—The term ‘State’ means the State of New York. “(4) TRAIL.—The term ‘Trail’ means the Votes for Women History Trail Route designated under subsection (b).

“(b) ESTABLISHMENT OF TRAIL ROUTE.—The Secretary, with concurrence of the agency having jurisdiction over the relevant roads, may designate a vehicular tour route, to be known as the ‘Votes for Women History Trail Route’, to link properties in the State that are historically and thematically associated with the struggle for women’s suffrage in the United States.

“(c) ADMINISTRATION.—The Trail shall be administered by the National Park Service through the Park.

“(d) ACTIVITIES.—To facilitate the establishment of the Trail and the dissemination of information regarding the Trail, the Secretary shall—

- “(1) produce and disseminate appropriate educational materials regarding the Trail, such as handbooks, maps, exhibits, signs, interpretive guides, and electronic information;
- “(2) coordinate the management, planning, and standards of the Trail in partnership with participating properties, other Federal agencies, and State and local governments;
- “(3) create and adopt an official, uniform symbol or device to mark the Trail; and
- “(4) issue guidelines for the use of the symbol or device adopted under paragraph (3).

“(e) ELEMENTS OF TRAIL ROUTE.—Subject to the consent of the owner of the property, the Secretary may designate as an official stop on the Trail—

- “(1) all units and programs of the Park relating to the struggle for women’s suffrage;
- “(2) other Federal, State, local, and privately owned properties that the Secretary determines have a verifiable connection to the struggle for women’s suffrage; and
- “(3) other governmental and nongovernmental facilities and programs of an educational, commemorative, research, or interpretive nature that the Secretary determines to be directly related to the struggle for women’s suffrage.

“(f) COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS AND MEMORANDA OF UNDER- STANDING.—

- “(1) IN GENERAL.—To facilitate the establishment of the Trail and to ensure effective coordination of the Federal and non-Federal properties designated as stops along the Trail, the Secretary may enter into cooperative agreements and memoranda of understanding with, and provide technical and financial assistance to, other Federal agencies, the State, localities, regional governmental bodies, and private entities.
- “(2) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary such sums as are necessary for the period of fiscal years 2009 through 2013 to provide financial assistance to cooperating entities pursuant to agreements or memoranda entered into under paragraph (1).”.

(b) NATIONAL WOMEN'S RIGHTS HISTORY PROJECT NATIONAL REGISTRY.—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary of the Interior (referred to in this section as the “Secretary”) may make annual grants to State historic preservation offices for not more than 5 years to assist the State historic preservation offices in surveying, evaluating, and nominating to the National Register of Historic Places women’s rights history properties.

(2) **ELIGIBILITY.**—In making grants under paragraph (1), the Secretary shall give priority to grants relating to properties associated with the multiple facets of the women’s rights movement, such as politics, economics, education, religion, and social and family rights.

(3) **UPDATES.**—The Secretary shall ensure that the National Register travel itinerary website entitled “Places Where Women Made History” is updated to contain— (A) the results of the inventory conducted under paragraph (1); and (B) any links to websites related to places on the inventory.

(4) **COST-SHARING REQUIREMENT.**—The Federal share of the cost of any activity carried out using any assistance made available under this subsection shall be 50 percent.

(5) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—There is authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary to carry out this subsection \$1,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2009 through 2013.

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The Federal share of the cost of any activity carried out using any assistance made available under this subsection shall be 50 percent.

(B) **STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICES.**—Matching grants for historic preservation specific to the network may be made available through State historic preservation offices.

(4) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—There is authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary to carry out this subsection \$1,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2009 through 2013.

(c) NATIONAL WOMEN'S RIGHTS HISTORY PROJECT PARTNERSHIPS NETWORK.—

(1) **GRANTS.**—The Secretary may make matching grants and give technical assistance for development of a network of governmental and nongovernmental entities (referred to in this subsection as the “network”), the purpose of which is to provide interpretive and educational program development of national women’s rights history, including historic preservation.

(2) **MANAGEMENT OF NETWORK.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary shall, through a competitive process, designate a nongovernmental managing network to manage the network.

(B) **COORDINATION.**—The nongovernmental managing entity designated under subparagraph (A) shall work in partnership with the Director of the National Park Service and State historic preservation offices to coordinate operation of the network.

(3) **COST-SHARING REQUIREMENT.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The Federal share of the cost of any activity carried out using any assistance made available under this subsection shall be 50 percent.

(B) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—There is authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary to carry out this subsection \$1,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2009 through 2013.

ANNOTATED LIST OF REPOSITORIES

ADVISORY COUNCIL ON HISTORIC PRESERVATION (ACHP), WASHINGTON, DC
Executive Director's Report on the Proposal to Preserve and Interpret the
Wesleyan Chapel at Women's Rights National Historical Park on June 11-12, 1991.

HARPERS FERRY CENTER (HFC), NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, HARPERS FERRY, WV
Holdings include many park reports and planning documents in addition to copies
of some annual reports of the park superintendent. The library also is the
repository for interviews conducted by Polly Welts Kaufman for her book
National Parks and the Woman's Voice (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico
Press), including a recorded 1985 interview with first superintendent Judy Hart.

HORNBAKE LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, COLLEGE PARK, MD
Papers of Theodore McCann
McCann's papers are a rich source of information and contain many documents
that are not in park files. Holdings include materials pertaining to the Seneca Falls
Urban Cultural Park discussing early park management and legislation.

INTERNATIONAL COALITION OF SITES OF CONSCIENCE RECORDS, 333 Seventh Avenue, 14th
Floor, New York, NY 10001-5108
Holdings include material on the involvement of Women's Rights National
Historical Park in the planning of the coalition.

LILLY, RUTH, ARCHIVES, INDIANA UNIVERSITY-PURDUE UNIVERSITY AT INDIANAPOLIS, IN
Records, Organization of American Historians; see also Organization of American
Historians
Box 54 contains correspondence and grant applications related to the 1982
Women and Community Conference and the Seneca Falls Women's History
Project.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORD ADMINISTRATION, COLLEGE PARK, MD
Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79 (RG 79).
Records of Office of Planning and Review: Project Review Case Files, Record Group
536 (RG 536). Holdings include Superintendent's Annual Reports and legislative
records up to 2005. Of note are:

- correspondence and other documents pertaining to several bills
introduced from 1991 to 1995 to expand Women's Rights National
Historical Park and raise the ceiling for land acquisition and development.
- extensive notes from and documents related to the June 21, 1994 hearing of
the House Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests, and Public Lands of
the Committee on Natural Resources concerning H.R.359, "To improve
the administration of Women's Rights National Historical Park and to
obtain properties important to the interpretation of this unit," which set
the provisions that ended up in the 1996 Omnibus Parks and Public Lands
Management Act.

- Records of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation hearing on the Wesleyan Chapel.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, HISTORY OFFICE, WASHINGTON, DC

Holdings include miscellaneous documents pertaining to Eastern National's operations at the park.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, NORTHEAST REGION HISTORIC ARCHITECTURE PROGRAM, LOWELL, MA

Holdings include plans, reports, and memoranda related to park development as well as Section 106 compliance.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, NORTHEAST REGION CULTURAL RESOURCES DIVISION OFFICE, CHARLESTOWN NAVY YARD, BOSTON, MA

Holdings include plans, reports, and memoranda related to park development as well as Section 106 compliance.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, NORTHEAST MUSEUM SERVICES CENTER, CHARLESTOWN NAVY YARD, BOSTON, MA

Holdings include documents pertaining to collections development and management at Women's Rights National Historical Park.

NPS PARK PLANNING AND SPECIAL STUDIES DIVISION, WASHINGTON, DC

Holdings include park planning documents and reports.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S HALL OF FAME, SENECA FALLS, NY

Holdings pertaining to Women's Rights NHP are limited to newsletters and a small file of publicity materials.

NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY, ALBANY, NY

Holdings limited to miscellaneous National Park Service studies and reports as well as published records of the U.S. Congress. Print and online versions of the [Rochester, NY] *Democrat and Chronicle* also are available.

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS, EXECUTIVE OFFICE, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA; SEE ALSO LILLY ARCHIVES, INDIANA UNIVERSITY-PURDUE UNIVERSITY AT INDIANAPOLIS, IN

OAH Executive Board minutes for November 1980, 1981, 1983, and 1983 contain reports and other information pertaining to the Committee on the Status of Women in the Historical Profession. During 1981-1983, when Judy Wellman served as committee chair, she was instrumental in securing OAH endorsement of grant applications related to the 1982 conference and the Seneca Falls Women's History Project.

PENFIELD LIBRARY, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK AT OSWEGO, OSWEGO, NY

Elizabeth Cady Stanton Foundation Records

Holdings include financial and legal records, meeting minutes, the historical research collection, newsletters, correspondence, publicity, photographs, and general files from the foundation's inception in 1978 to 1994. Several series are of special importance for the history of Women's Rights NHP, including:

Series 2: Papers of Corrine Guntzel
Series 4: Papers and Archives of Mary Curry
Series 6: Papers of Emil Bove
Series 7: Papers of Suzanne Cusick
Series 9: Papers of Judy Hart
Series 14: Papers of Lucille Povero
Series 15: Papers of Judith Wellman

SENECA FALLS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SENECA FALLS, NY

Holdings include information regarding community wide events involving the park. Of special note are materials pertaining to Celebrate '98 and the premiere of the Ken Burns/Paul Barnes documentary, *Not For Ourselves Alone: The Story of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony*.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, SENECA FALLS, NY

The Park library holds research material for interpretive development; photographs of park events, resources, and people; a limited number of tape recorded interviews; the video-recorded proceedings of the Wesleyan Chapel design competition and the ACHP hearing; and printed materials produced by the Park for public distribution.

Administrative office files 1980 – 2006, including staff, budget, and procurement records are housed in a non-climate-controlled storage room in the Park's maintenance building. In addition, records of the National Park Service-National Endowment for the Arts design competition records are held in this room.

Administrative files, 2007 – current, are held in the respective offices of the Maintenance, Interpretation, Cultural Resource, and Administrative divisions. These files include property records, cultural resource records, collections records, interpretive ranger files, exhibit development files, special event files, Friends of Women's Rights NHP files, and copies of annual reports and planning documents.

VILLAGE OF SENECA FALLS, SENECA FALLS, NY

Holdings include correspondence, reports, and other materials pertaining to the 1987 design competition for Wesleyan Chapel, park special events, and park management.

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_____. Senate. Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. *Hearing on H.R. 694, Minor Boundary Adjustments and Miscellaneous Park Amendments Act of 1995*, April 18, 1995. 104th Cong., 1st sess. S. Rpt. 104-50.

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P.L. 98-402. An Act to amend section 1601(d) of Public Law 96-607 to permit the Secretary of the Interior to acquire title in fee simple to McClintock [sic] House at 16 East Williams Street, Waterloo, New York, August 28, 1984. 98 Stat. 1478. [See Appendix I.]

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P.L. 104-333. An Act to provide for the administration of certain Presidio properties at minimal cost to the Federal taxpayer, and for other purposes [Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996], November 12, 1996. 110 Stat. 4093. [Title V, Sec. 505, Women's Rights National Historical Park @ 110 Stat. 4155.]

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