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Olmsted Center
for Landscape Preservation

Cultural Landscape Report for Booker T. Washington National Monument

Site History, Existing Conditions, Analysis, and Treatment

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Booker T. Washington National Monument
Hardy, Virginia

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The Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation promotes the preservation of significant landscapes through research, planning, stewardships, and education. The Center accomplishes its mission in collaboration with a network of partners including national parks, universities, government agencies and private nonprofit organizations.

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Cover Photo: Portia Washington Pittman and Sidney Phillips pose in front of the future location of the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial's cabin replica. Circa 1947. BOWA files.

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Foreword

Much has changed at Booker T. Washington National Monument since its authorization in 1956. Changing times have led to shifts in park management and stewardship and to the evolution of the surrounding community. Yet, what has not changed is the need for appropriate planning tools to lead the park into the future.

After years of anticipation, a general management plan was completed for Booker T. Washington National Monument in 2000. The plan represents the culmination of exhaustive research and review that explored current and future park needs. After exploring many challenges, including park interpretation, educational needs, and land use issues, the GMP recommends a course of action for Booker T. Washington National Monument to sustain and preserve the park's resources and interpretive mission. The GMP identified information gaps within the park's resource management needs and recommended further studies. It was recognized in the GMP that the cultural landscape was a marginally understood component of the park that needed further documentation and analysis. The cultural landscape report (CLR) will serve as a reference document and as a preliminary action-oriented report to guide good stewardship of Booker T. Washington's cultural landscape resources.

The Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, working closely with Booker T. Washington National Monument staff, prepared this CLR to supplement the recently completed GMP and other research and planning documents. I applaud their efforts and look forward to utilizing the CLR in concert with other resource planning reports to serve Booker T. Washington National Monument's significant message and resources.

Rebecca Harriett

Superintendent

Booker T. Washington National Monument

Acknowledgments

Many people contributed to the following report. Foremost, we thank Rebecca Harriett, Superintendent of Booker T. Washington National Monument, for her contributions and guidance throughout the project. Special thanks are due to Eleanor Long, Administrative Officer, who kept regular contact with the project team. She provided us with research materials, contact information, and invaluable and in-depth comments on drafts of the report. Also, Tina Orcutt, former Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management and Alice Hanawalt, former Park Ranger Interpreter, provided assistance with research and reviewed project drafts. Kenneth Arrington, Facility Manager, and John Mitchell, Maintenance Worker, participated in discussions about landscape treatment issues.

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INTRODUCTION

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Previous Page: Unveiling of the nameplate for Burch Memorial Hall. April 1, 1951. BOWA files.

Introduction

The Purpose of This Report

Booker T. Washington National Monument (Booker T. Washington NM) has been the subject of numerous studies focussing on long-range planning, archeology, and interpretive programming. The following cultural landscape report (CLR), encouraged by National Park Service (NPS) policy and recommended by the park's 2000 General Management Plan (GMP), continues this process and provides background information and basic treatment recommendations to implement sound cultural landscape treatment.

This report includes an illustrated chronological site history documenting how the property changed over time due to internal and external forces. The existing conditions chapter documents what resources are extant, including vegetation, structures, topography, hydrology, and views. The analysis and evaluation chapter addresses the significance and integrity of the landscape based on the National Register of Historic Places criteria. Landscape treatment recommendations are provided in keeping with the philosophical foundations of the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties.* Together, these discreet chapters offer management a tool that is based on historical research and comparative analysis of related properties. It was intended that this report consider and balance the many complexities of the site, including the limited documentation of the primary period of significance, the goal of representing multiple layers of history, and the sensitive question as how to tangibly interpret slavery. These, and other considerations, are incorporated into the treatment recommendations.

This report has further served the park as an opportunity to build an important relationship with the academic community. In this, the park and the Olmsted Center have partnered with the Carter G. Woodson Institute of Afro-American and African Studies at the University of Virginia for completion of chapters that consider historical significance and a contextual survey of landscape treatment at similar properties. These chapters, written from an academic perspective, offer insight into the more complex issues of slavery, race relations, and interpretation at poorly documented sites.

Study Area

Booker T. Washington NM is a 223.92-acre park located in Franklin County, Virginia, twenty-two miles south of Roanoke (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). Legislation has been introduced to authorize purchase of an additional fifteen acres on the eastern boundary. The park contains a visitor center, administrative offices located within a former elementary school building, an 1890s tobacco barn, reconstructed and replica agricultural outbuildings, two marked archeological sites, three small cemeteries, and two walking trails that loop back through the historic core of the property. Twentieth-century replicas include a slave cabin, smoke house, blacksmith shed, privy, hog pen, duck lot, and chicken house. All replicas are highly conjectural; their designs are derived from anecdotal evidence and regional precedent.[1] The local landscape is characterized by rolling topography, agricultural fields, and substantial wood lots typical of this part of Virginia's Piedmont region. Recent suburban and commercial development has altered the character of the surrounding landscape, prompted by the development of lands nearby Smith Mountain Lake.

Historical Overview

Booker T. Washington NM commemorates the birthplace of America's most prominent African American educator and orator of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The property evokes an 1850s middle class tobacco farm, representative of Booker T. Washington's enslaved childhood at the Burroughs farm. He was born in 1856 to the family's cook, Jane, and lived on the farm throughout the Civil War. Compared to their Franklin County neighbors the Burroughs family was in the upper middle class, evidenced by their combined slave and land holdings. They produced tobacco as a cash crop, as well as growing other subsistence crops like flax, potatoes, and grains. Washington lived in the farm's one-room kitchen cabin with his mother and two half siblings. As a small child he brought water to the men in the fields, carried the books of the Burroughs daughters to school, and transported grain to the local mill.

The Civil War interrupted the routine on the Burroughs farm, when all of the sons left to fight for the Confederacy. James Burroughs, the father and master of the farm died in 1861, leaving the supervi-

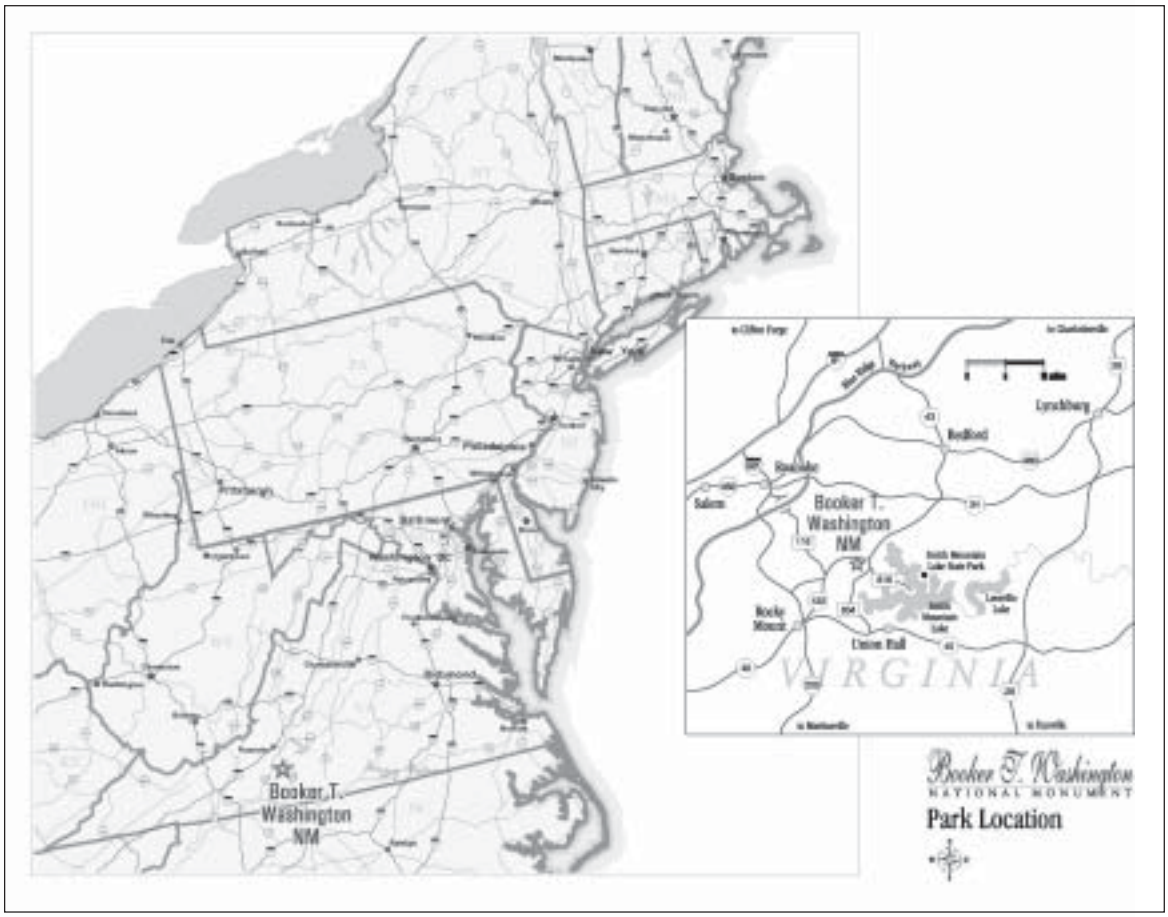

Figure 1.1. Location map generated for the 2000 General Management Plan (GMP). Philadelphia Support Office Stewardships and Partnerships.

sion of daily farm activities to the Burroughs women. Shortages of luxury goods and certain food items were common during the war years. However, the war did more than create shortages and hard economic times, as only two of the Burroughs sons survived the war physically unscathed.

With the southern defeat in 1865, the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation was enforced to free southern slaves. Washington remembered listening to a Union soldier read the document on the porch of the Burroughs house. After receiving the joyous news, his mother Jane took her three children to West Virginia to be reunited with her husband who worked there in the salt mines.

The southern economy suffered tremendously after the war. The Burroughs family was not spared from economic and social turmoil, evidenced by a fifty percent reduction in the family's net worth after the emancipation of their slaves. Post-war land values also plummeted. Since none of the Burroughs children desired to farm the Franklin County property, Elizabeth Burroughs, James' widow, unsuccessfully attempted to rent or sell the land for several years. In 1893, the family sold the property to John Robertson and his family.

By that time, the property had fallen into disrepair due to neglect and abuse by tenants. The farm's infrastructure, including fences, barns, and agricultural fields, required major repairs. The Robertsons improved the property, turning it into a viable farm and remained there until the 1940s. This period is documented through oral interviews with Peter and Grover Robertson, who were small boys when their father purchased the property in 1893. Their recollections of spatial organization, farm fields, structures, and vegetation, are helpful in understanding both the improvements their family made and what remained from the Burroughs ownership of the land.

After many years, the Robertson's grown children sold the farm to satisfy the division of their parent's estate. The farm was offered at auction and

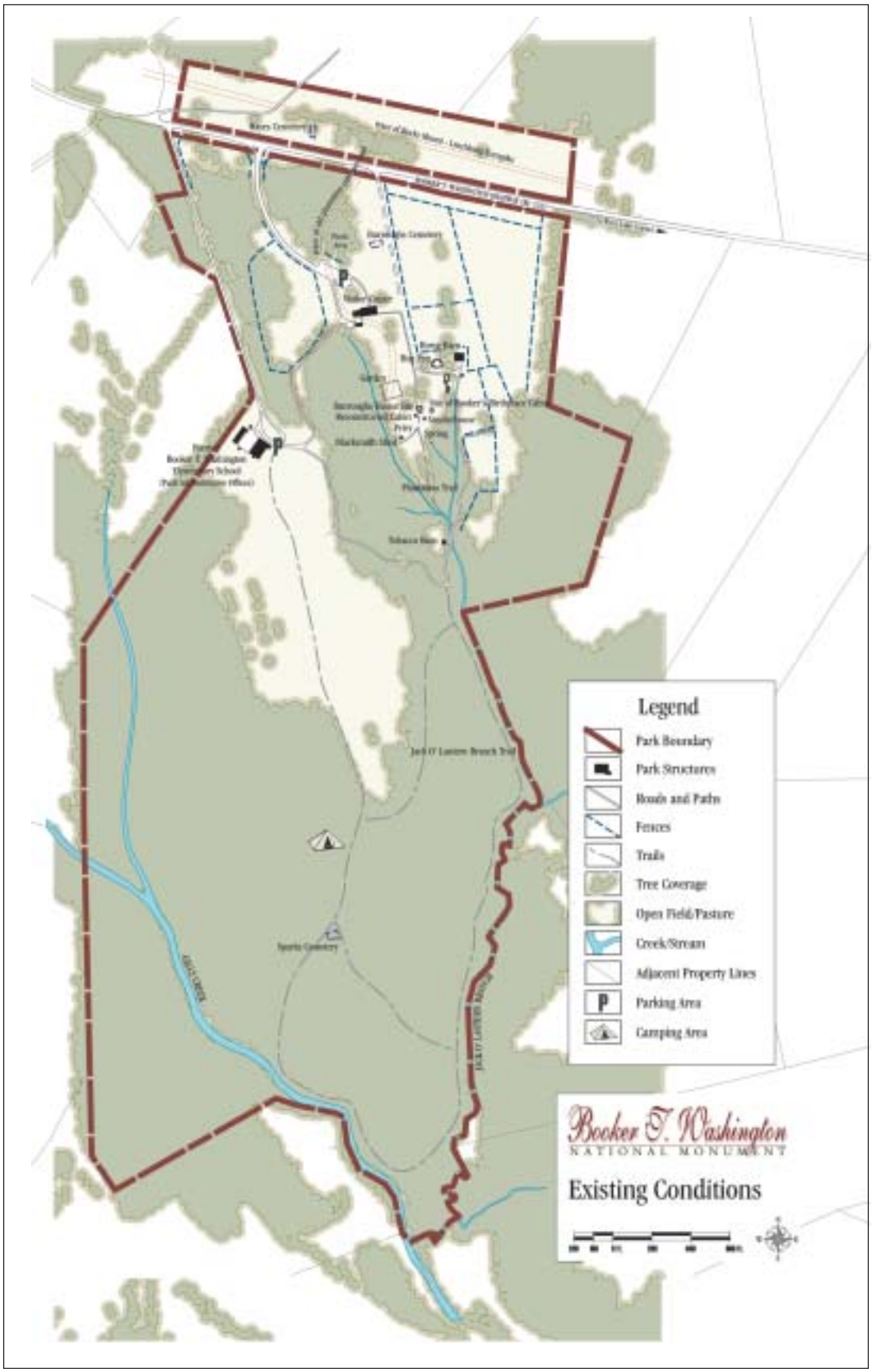

Figure 1.2. Booker T. Washington National Monument in Hardy, Virginia. 2000 GMP. Philadelphia Support Office Stewardships and Partnerships.

generated considerable interest. The interested parties included local farmers and people and organizations with ties to Booker T. Washington, who was by this time deceased. This anticipated a shift in land use, as the plans of several prospective buyers were based on commemoration rather than agriculture. A former student of Washington's, Sidney Phillips who was already involved in the commemoration of George Washington Carver, expressed interest in the property. Allied with Washington's daughter, Portia Washington Pittman, Phillips secured the farm in October 1945 and formed the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial.

Thus began the private-sector memorial period of the property. The Birthplace Memorial was structured as a community service and educational organization that promoted Washington's core values of industriousness, a love of labor, and interracial good will. Phillips and the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial made numerous physical improvements including a two-lane boulevard style driveway, new buildings, building renovations, and a birthplace cabin replica. The Birthplace Memorial also donated land to the local school board to build a segregated African American elementary school, on par with the facilities being constructed for white children. Phillips engaged in several political and economic activities including lobbying for the issuance of the Booker T. Washington stamp and memorial coin, as well as establishing a post office at the site.

However, many Birthplace Memorial programs floundered, causing the Birthplace Memorial to declare bankruptcy in 1955 and sell their land holdings, which had expanded to over 500 acres. Adjacent land owners purchased several tracts, but Phillips bought back the core area. Rather than see the fruits of his labors fragmented and used for agriculture, Phillips encouraged the federal government to purchase the property and establish a National Park in honor of Washington.

The political atmosphere of the post-World War II United States suited the establishment of national monuments to African Americans. While this ran counter to the actual social climate in the southern states, the Cold War and anti-Communist sentiments induced white legislators to support efforts toward limited African American commemoration. Both George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington's birthplaces benefited from this trend. Although the NPS did not support the creation of a national park at Washington's birthplace, Congress, lobbied by Phillips, voted in favor of authorization and Booker T. Washington National Monument was authorized on April 2, 1956.

Phillips initially misunderstood that the new park would be a self contained unit of the national park system and would not accommodate his staff or agenda. However, Phillips did vacate the site, leaving the NPS to the challenging task of developing the new park unit. The NPS's recently launched Mission-66 program provided the framework, guidance, and resources that were needed. Park planners began by drafting a "Mission-66 Prospectus" to address infrastructure, interpretive, and long-range planning needs.

The Booker T. Washington Elementary School closed in 1966 after Virginia's long battle against school integration. The structure remained the property of the Franklin County School Board, sitting unused and deteriorating until 1974 when the board donated the school and its surrounding six-acre parcel to the park. It has since served a variety of uses and is currently the administrative and maintenance center for the park.

The park adopted living history as an interpretive program in the late 1960s, joining many other NPS units embracing the interactive model. Replica buildings were constructed, including a smokehouse, privy, and animal pens and demonstration farm fields worked by local farmers added to the agricultural scene. The park also created interpretive walking trails to tie various resources and regions of the park together.

Where park management once focussed on establishing interpretive programs and infrastructure, priorities have shifted in recent years to encompass more fundamental preservation needs. Contemporary development pressures driven by the attractive recreational opportunities of Smith Mountain Lake have led to unprecedented local growth. A large mixed-use development is currently under construction just a few miles from the park. Recent preservation efforts have focussed on securing adjacent lands threatened with development to buffer and protect the park's important viewsheds.

Scope of Work and Methodology

The recommendations found in this report support the goals and objectives of the GMP, the park's primary planning document. The goals of this project have been to develop landscape treatment recommendations informed by historical research that are consistent with interpretive and resource management objectives and in compliance with the cultural and natural resource management policies of the NPS. Based on existing and new research, the narrative history documents the evolution of the Booker T. Washington NM landscape as it relates to the significant periods and themes in its history. Existing conditions documentation classifies the major categories of landscape features. The Analysis and Evaluation chapter reiterates the current National Register of Historic Places status, and proposes possible periods and areas of significance in addition to the primary significance associated with the life of Booker T. Washington. Treatment recommendations, building on the direction provided in the GMP, provide guidance for implementing actions and physical treatment of features relating to the cultural landscape. The assistance of the Carter G. Woodson Institute for Afro-American and African Studies has been especially valuable in helping to evaluate the historical significance of the site and philosophical choices behind treatment recommendations.

Period Plans are a typical element of a CLR that graphically depict a property at a fixed point in time. Acknowledging the many uncertainties in preparing maps for a site with limited documentation, these period plans were drawn using historical maps, the Robertson oral interviews, analysis of the topography, and aerial photographs. The CLR contains maps depicting the years 1865, 1894, 1945, and 1956.

Summary of Findings and Outstanding Issues

Booker T. Washington NM is most significant, and well-known for its association with Booker T. Washington and its depiction of an 1860s Piedmont farm. Yet through its long and many-layered past, the property has also gained significance for its association with more contemporary movements in American history. The park's characteristics and features reflect aspects of the Civil Rights movement of the 20th century. The park also reflects significant trends in the history of the National Park Service. One such movement that is currently under consideration is the significance of the resources of the Mission-66 era, the ten-year program begun to reinvigorate the parks after the austere budgets of the 1940s and early 1950s. Booker T. Washington NM, authorized by Congress in 1956, was shaped by Mission-66 planning, adhering to typical design standards and interpretive models of the day.

The Virginia Department of Historic Resources concurred with a Determination of Eligibility prepared by the NPS for the Mission-66 visitor center complex at Booker T. Washington NM, scoped to include the visitor center, entry road, parking lot, split rail fences, and associated landscape plantings. These resources were found eligible for the National Register based on their significance to the initial development of the park. The complex was found to be of exceptional historic importance relating to racially motivated social and political developments on a local and state level. This significance is conveyed by the complex's high level of integrity to its original design, though it represents a typical example, rather than an exceptional example, of Mission-66 era architecture and site planning.

This CLR was developed from a variety of primary and secondary sources including park collections, Franklin County Public Library holdings, deed and will research, and published books on local history. While later time periods are well documented, many of the material details of the Burroughs period remain unknown. As was common in that era, the Burroughs vernacular farm went largely undocumented. Burroughs family records of slave activities and farm records describing landscape characteristics do not survive, or are yet to be discovered. This is typical for this area of Virginia. While elite plantations of the Virginia Tidewater are well studied, the less refined society of the Piedmont often escaped documentation. Henry Glassie described this tendency in his history of middle Virginia housing:

> A regular assumption of the historian is that there will be writings to study. Some societies obsessively document themselves, preserving wills, rolls, and accounts in great numbers. Others do not, which makes it much harder to do historical research – or good historical research – in an area like Middle Virginia than in an area like eastern Massachusetts. Not only are early records scanty, there are not even full local histories written by Victorian amateurs. The

> student of a place like Middle Virginia will find only thin, poor local histories. He will find some useful first-hand accounts of explorers, travelers, and early settlers, so that, oddly, the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries can be known better from documents than the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. He will find some professional historical writings that, no matter how stringently they battle stereotyping, still speak in fuzzy generalities about most people and speak with precision only about upper-class men.[2]

Booker T. Washington National Monument was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1966, the year of the program's inception. Yet, official National Register documentation was not completed until 1989. The park's current National Register status associates the primary period of significance with the early life and later career of Booker T. Washington, under Criterion B. However, there are several other important layers of history associated with the site that do not fall under this classification.

Early African American memorialization occurred at the site during the 1940s and 1950s during the complex period of the Civil Rights Movement and the desegregation of America's southern schools. Physically, most of the resources associated with the private memorial era no longer remain, yet what does remain, retaining high integrity to its period of significance, is the former Booker T. Washington Elementary School. This racially segregated school was opened by the Franklin County School board in 1954 during the struggle to resist public school integration in Virginia. These three seemingly disparate themes all contribute to the rich history of the Booker T. Washington site. Understanding the elements of each era will guide decision-making relating to interpreting and managing the complex cultural resources at the park.

Due to the scarcity of primary sources, this CLR contains little new information on the exact configuration of the Burroughs farm. Rather, it is comprised of a compilation of secondary sources that answer specific landscape questions and concerns. Though much remains to be understood surrounding the site's specifics, there is a clearer picture of the generalities that compose the feeling and association of the Burroughs 1850s farm. Amidst these many open questions, it is certain that roads would not have been paved, grass would not have been manicured, and the house and domestic yard would have been shaded from the hot southern sun by a grove of trees. Organized around these fundamentals, landscape treatment recommendations can be implemented to enhance the authenticity of the historic scene. These general recommendations will serve to augment the park's evocation of Washington's birthplace.

There have been inconsistencies in how past documentation refers to the cabin of Washington's birth and the cabin of Washington's childhood. As the two structures were likely crude log cabins that housed enslaved African Americans, they were more ephemeral objects on the landscape than other farm dwellings. This, coupled with the fact that Washington's family moved from his birth cabin to the farm's kitchen cabin when he was a small child, has caused confusion about the two structures. In the past, several people have incorrectly identified the remains of the two cabins in their eagerness to mark the site of Washington's birth. For the purposes of this report, the birth cabin is identified as Cabin One and the kitchen cabin, or dwelling of Washington's youth, is called Cabin Two. It should be remembered that although recent archeological study has allowed the park to more definitively identify both cabin remains, whether these structures represent Washington's birth and childhood homes has not been confirmed.

In preparing this report, members of the CLR team discovered discrepancies in how the Burroughs property has been defined. Through many decades of documenting the Booker T. Washington NM, both the terms "farm" and "plantation" have fallen in and out of favor, depending on the author and the current trends in history. It is proposed, after reevaluating the debate, that both terms may appropriately be used to describe the Burroughs property. Though different sources and scholars offer opposing criteria for what constitutes a farmer versus what constitutes a planter, the true measure should be made using local comparisons. Some consider a planter to be one who held vast quantities of improved land and scores of slaves, characteristic of the plantations in the Virginia Tidewater area and the larger estates of the Carolinas. Others consider one who owned more slaves than the local average to be a planter. In Franklin County, only twenty percent of those legally entitled to own slaves did so. Of those who did own slaves, forty-eight percent held between one and four. Slave ownership

reflected wealth and status in the community, as enslaved people represented a substantial investment and were often worth more than the total value of slave owners' land. That James Burroughs owned ten slaves and farmed more than the county average of improved acreage, shows that he was of above average means. This could classify him as a local planter. However, either term, farmer or planter, or farm or plantation, could be applicable as James Burroughs was not substantially wealthier than his Franklin County neighbors, many of which would undoubtedly be classified as farmers.

Another challenge facing the park is the duality of the extant resources and how they relate to multiple periods of significance. The former elementary school survives in excellent condition to illustrate the period of southern school segregation between 1954 and 1966. This resource is of high quality and integrity and could well serve as an interpretive element. The GMP makes reference to converting the structure, totally or partially, for interpretive functions in the future. However, this is in variance with the park's primary period of significance relating to the Burroughs period. Luckily, the resources devoted to each period of significance are located in different areas of the park. Steep topography and mature vegetation visually and geographically separate the two zones. This creates the opportunity to interpret each discreetly, without creating a conflicting system of layered interpretation. Though both areas speak to different eras and topics in history, they are connected within the framework of Booker T. Washington's life and legacy.

Barry Mackintosh, writing in his 1969 Administrative History, described the opportunities that arise from the complex messages that the resources at Booker T. Washington NM convey. His point is still valid today:

> And yet this place offers the finest opportunity for relevant social-environmental interpretation to be found anywhere in the National Park System. The way of life and the human relationships that were a part of the Burroughs plantation vividly illustrate both the good and the evil of our heritage. What those people sowed, we are reaping today: the crop—and the weeds.[3]

Endnotes- Introduction

[1] Excerpted and paraphrased from, Booker T. Washington National Monument General Management Plan, Record of Decision, 2000.

[2] Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing of Middle Virginia* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), 122.

[3] Barry Mackintosh, "Booker T. Washington National Monument, an Administrative History," Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation. National Park Service, June 18, 1969, 150.

Site History

Pre-History to 1850

Burroughs Period, 1850-1893

Robertson Period, 1893-1945

Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial Period, 1945-1957

National Park Service Period, 1957-Present

Previous Page: Mrs. Portia Washington Pittman views the grave of James Burroughs on a visit to the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial. Circa 1947. BOWA files.

Pre-History to 1850

Native American Habitation and Early European Settlement

The well-tended 224-acre Booker T. Washington National Monument lies in southwestern Virginia's Franklin County. This remote area remained unsettled by Europeans 160 years after Sir Walter Raleigh's exploration of Virginia's coastline in 1584.[1] In fact, the area surrounding the historic site remained unexplored by Europeans until 1671, sixty-four years after the 1607 establishment of Jamestown. Westward settlement had been hindered, at first in 1622, due to an "Indian Massacre" in eastern Virginia that cost the lives of some settlers and frightened many more. Following this, a ban was placed for a time on new settlements while existing Tidewater settlements were fortified with palisades in response to the threat.

The Native American habitation in the area of present-day Franklin County was so well dispersed and hidden that a 1671 exploration party led by Englishmen Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam neither encountered nor reported a native presence.[2] Nevertheless, the explorers were well-prepared for an encounter, guided by a man called Perecute, a Native American of the Appomattox tribe of the Algonquian confederacy, hailing from lands within reach of the James River's tide. While the party of Englishmen passed through the area, the Seneca and Cayuga segments of the greater Iroquois community of New York and Pennsylvania attacked Native American groups to the south. These attacks may be understood in part due to the instability created by contact with European culture, especially over economic markets for trade, and would effect the tribes of southwestern Virginia.

Year after year, attacks from the north pressured the Tutelo and Saponi, Siouan speaking tribes of the foothills of the Blue Ridge and the Shenandoah Valley, leading them to abandon those lands and migrate into Carolina. By 1701, most of the Native Americans had left the area.[3] Removed from their homeland and in reaction to their own fear, these Native Americans constructed their own palisaded settlements as the white settlers had once done along the James River estuary. After living away from their homeland for a generation, Virginia's Lieutenant Governor Spotswood encouraged the Tutelo and Saponi to return to Virginia in 1710 to foster the creation of a small settlement to encourage Indian trade and alliances.[4] However, attacks from the Iroquoian tribes continued in the sparsely settled area, so much so that in 1728 William Byrd II observed what he believed to be the distant effects of Iroquois raids into Saponi and Tutelo lands:

> The atmosphere was so smoky all round us that the mountains were again grown invisible. This happened not from the haziness of the sky but from the firing of the woods by the Indians, for we were now near the route the northern savages take when they go out to war against the Catawbas [Algonquian] southern nations. On their way, the fires they make in their camps are left burning, which, catching the dry leaves that lie near, soon put the adjacent woods into a flame. Some of the men in search of their horses discovered one of those Indian camps, where not long before they had been a-furring and dressing their skins.[5]

Byrd made his observations after the Treaty of the Five Nations in 1722, which supposedly ended hostilities between the Iroquois, their allies and the Native American tribes of the Virginia and Carolina colonies.[6] While it is certain that peace was indeed eventually achieved, this provokes some circumspection toward accounts of the timeliness and perfection of the alleged peace. However, Byrd at the same time makes an interesting reference to a "war-path" which is known as a well documented characteristic of this regional landscape, later used by Anglo and German settlers of the region. Organized to fit the topography of the Great Valley and gaps in the Blue Ridge, this well-worn corridor, first established by Native Americans, continues to serve as the major artery for regional transportation even today. Byrd was writing of the Warriors' Path, or Trace, later to be known as the Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia to the Carolina backcountry. This corridor followed what is now known as the Shenandoah Valley, south past Roanoke (formerly Big Lick), through Windy Gap, only a few miles northwest of the present Booker T. Washington National Monument. [7]

Eventually the tide of white settlement provoked the Tutelo and Saponi to move once more, this time to the north where they found acceptance among the Cayuga peoples in 1740.[8] With the Cayuga acceptance of these two wind-blown tribes, the native peoples of the future Franklin County region became part of the large Iroquoian confederacy that once terrorized them. Only remnants of Native American settlement, most

notably place names, survive in Franklin County as clues to the existence of the land's prior occupants. For example, the land of Booker T. Washington's eventual birth is surrounded by the "Indian Run" tributary of the present day Staunton River, itself known originally as the "Saponi River."

Thomas Jefferson later summarized the fate of the region's Native American population in his 1787 edition of *Notes on the State of Virginia*:

> What would be the melancholy sequel may be argued from the census of 1669; by which we discover that the tribes therein enumerated were, in the space of 62 years, reduced to about one-third of their former numbers. Spirituous liquors, the smallpox, war, and an abridgement of territory, to a people who lived principally on the spontaneous productions of nature, had committed terrible havoc among them. . . We know that in 1712, the Five Nations received the Tuscaroras into their confederacy, and made them the Sixth Nation. They received the Meherrins [*Saponi*] and Tuteloes also into their protection: and it is most probable, that the remains of many other of the tribes, of whom we find no particular account, retired westwardly in like manner, and were incorporated with one or other of the western tribes.[9]

European and African Settlement of Virginia's Piedmont

Settlement in eastern Virginia commenced with the establishment of the Virginia Company's Jamestown in 1607. Africans were introduced to the continent soon thereafter in 1619, first as indentured servants laboring for large Tidewater tobacco planters. Yet while many of Virginia's leading white families and free blacks would in time take pride in their families ascendancy from indentured servitude, the colonial legal system was quick to support and establish a racial and social hierarchy. By the 1660s, permanent African slavery was institutionalized within the laws of the colony. In 1671, two thousand of Virginia's 45,000 people were African slaves.

The backcountry that became Franklin County was part of an area that historian Frederick Jackson Turner once called "the Old West." This was one of the first of many American frontiers that would have a profound effect on its inhabitants through progressive waves of settlement that shed cultural ties with Europe and invented a new independent identity.[10] Nevertheless, backcountry Piedmont culture transplanted by the likes of Israel Pickens, Nicolas Hale and Thomas Gill, represented in part a diluted extension of Tidewater society. A traveler to the region in 1687 observed the following about the early Tidewater model of settlement that the backcountry farmer would attempt to emulate and transform to a new setting:

> Whatever their rank, and I know not why, they build only two rooms with some closets on the ground floor, and two rooms in the attic above; but they build several like this, according to their means. They build also a separate kitchen, a separate house for the Christian slaves, one for the Negro slaves, and several to dry the tobacco, so that when you come to the home of a person of some means, you think you are entering a fairly large village.[11]

By the time of the American Revolution, Virginia's backcountry population contained approximately one-fourth the total population of the colony and an intra-colony rivalry developed with the well established regions to the east. Among the social differences was the backcountry farmer's abhorrence to pretensions of aristocracy, combined with a kind of underdog tenacity.[12] Historian Clement Eaton provides a broad, yet useful, characterization of the rival groups:

> The inhabitants of the Great Valley and the more primitive regions of the Piedmont were called "Cohees," probably from the uncouth phrase used by them, [Quo (th) he,] and the eastern planters were called "Tuckahoes," from an edible swamp root grown in eastern Virginia. The Tuckahoes were inclined to be hedonistic, loving good wine and companionship; the Cohees, having a different set of values, were too busy tilling their fields to waste time on social pursuits.[13]

This schism existed in part because settlement of the Virginia Piedmont was not a simple westward extension of the English Tidewater model, but was further complicated by a mingling of those influences with a mixture of Scotch-Irish and German cultures. Some Tidewater and Piedmont citizens were at odds over another social condition because of ethnic and religious differences. Many of the Pennsylvania Germans opposed slavery as it did not compliment their hard working, self-sufficient ethic.[14] Many of

these new settlers opposed slavery on moral grounds and German churches condemned the increasingly ingrained part of southern society.[15]

Though the German settlers opposed slavery on moral grounds, other Piedmont farmers owned few if any slaves because of economic reasons. Many of the small, subsistence farmers that typified the region during the early days of settlement, did not have the resources to invest in slaves. As a result of many cultural, social and economic differences, African slavery was not as dominant in the backcountry as it was in Virginia's coastal plain.

Franklin County Settlement

The area that became Franklin County was, prior to 1786, comprised of portions of Virginia's Bedford and Henry counties.[16] Franklin's parent counties occupied the margins of Virginia's extensive backcountry, an area extending from the foothills of the Blue Ridge to the state's distant "western waters." Not long after the Saponi and Tutelo had made their 1740 migration north into Pennsylvania, Israel Pickens arrived in 1745 to register the first documented land patent in the area between the Blackwater and Staunton Rivers. Others followed Pickens, and in 1749, Nicholas Haile (Hale) and Thomas Gill were listed within the same tax district.[17]

Many early settlers of Franklin County came from Pennsylvania by way of the Shenandoah Valley and the Great Wagon Road (Figure 2.1).[18] Formed by animal trails and the old Iroquois warpath, this early road was often impassable due to mud, water, and fallen trees.[19] Another transportation route that led new settlers into Virginia's Piedmont region, was the Warwick Road, the main thoroughfare from Richmond to Roanoke.[20] The road followed present day Route 122, from nearby New London to Burnt Chimney.

Settlement of the region occurred in waves. The French and Indian War (1745-1763) interrupted a substantial migration to the area.[21] The conflict between the French, British and their Native American allies created tension amongst local residents. Several recorded murders and kidnappings that were associated with the conflict took place in Franklin County. Because of dangers faced on the unprotected frontier, many settlers fled to safer areas of the Carolinas or eastern Virginia for the duration of the conflict.[22] However, Franklin County did not see much formal fighting. Only one recorded battle between the militia

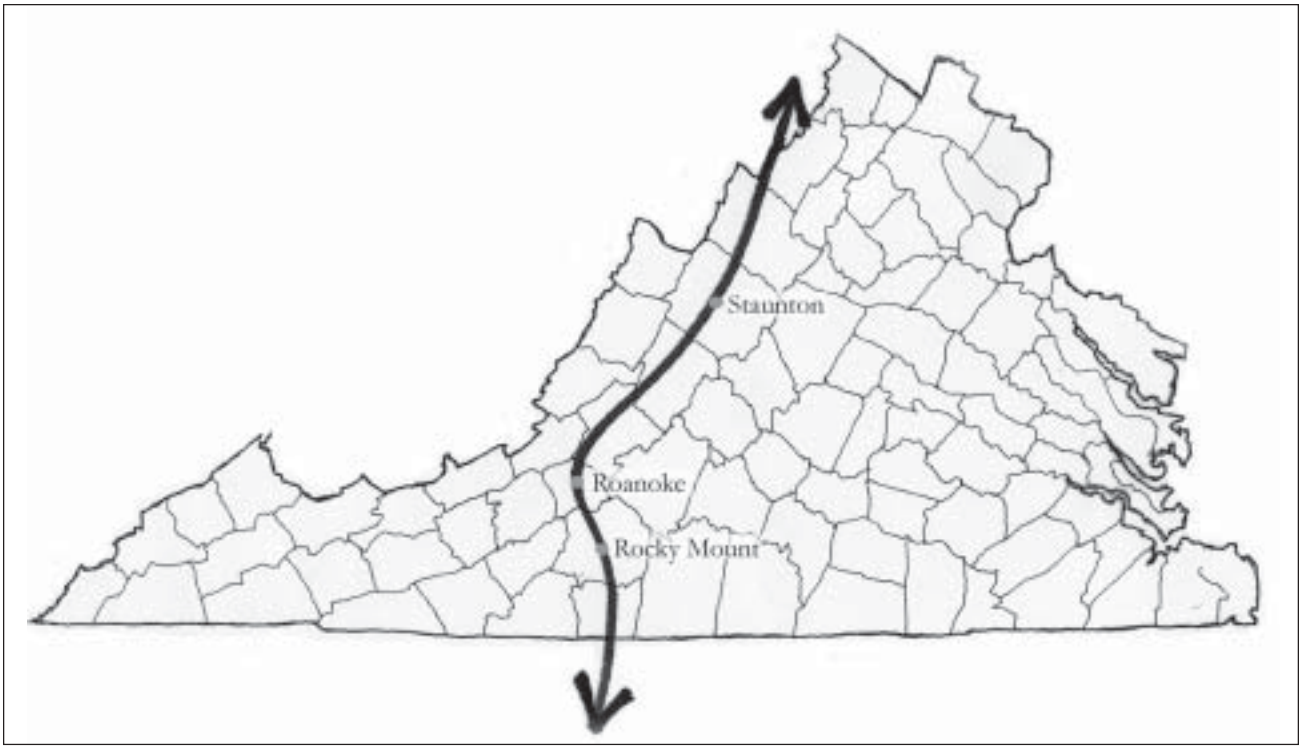

Figure 2.1. The Great Wagon Road connected Pennsylvania and South Carolina by way of Roanoke and Rocky Mount, Virginia. 2001. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation (OCLP).

and Native Americans took place in the area.[23]

The time of peace was short after the conclusion of the French and Indian War. The discord that led to the American Revolution began as an intellectual argument over autonomy of personal finances and freedoms. Relations between colonists and the British deteriorated throughout the 1760s and early 1770s after the government enacted a series of taxes to offset the cost of the recent French and Indian War. However, these grievances escalated beyond verbal debates by 1773 when Boston dissidents took the law into their own hands and staged the Boston Tea Party tax revolt.

Although many of the revolution's early confrontations took place in the northern colonies, Virginia contributed many notable statesmen and soldiers to the cause. Franklin County residents participated by sending men and supplies to the Continental Army and by reviving their local militias for defense. The army commonly purchased or seized crops, goods, and equipment from local citizens.[24] By 1781, nearby Bedford and Henry counties had 2,539 men enlisted in the militia.[25] These militias, comprised of poorly equipped and trained farmers, faced numerous enemies including the British, hostile Native Americans, and loyalists. Local involvement increased substantially when fighting shifted to the southern colonies after 1780. Throughout 1780 and 1781, both Continental soldiers and militia from the area saw heavy fighting. Numerous men from present day Franklin County participated in the devastating Battle of Camden, South Carolina, and the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.[26]

However, a number of local residents pledged loyalty to the crown and resisted the rebellious movement. These Tories, who were in the minority, were harassed, fined, and often imprisoned for not serving in the local militia or for posing a threat to the revolutionary cause.[27]

During the 1780s, while the Revolution continued, the county boundaries of western Virginia shifted to accommodate the growing population. The existing counties were expansive, causing many residents to travel long distances to reach the county seat.[28] Several of these residents proposed to make a new county from parts of Henry and Bedford

Figure 2.2. Detail of the petition to form Henry County Virginia. Note the inaccurate, diagrammatic nature of the map. November 23, 1782. Courtesy of the Virginia State Library.

Counties but some objected, claiming the existing courthouse was not yet paid for and the cost of constructing another with half the tax base would be prohibitively expensive (Figure 2.2).[29] This was a common debate throughout western Virginia and took six years to resolve. Virginia's General Assembly created Franklin County in 1786, two years after the conclusion of the Revolutionary War. Among the founding officers of the county government were Peter Saunders, Asa Holland, and John Booth, whose families would continue to reside in the county for years and own property in proximity to the future birth site of Booker T. Washington.[30]

Most residents of the new Franklin County earned their primary income from tobacco farming. Land, slaves, and livestock usually measured the prosperity of each farm, and a wide range of wealth existed throughout the county. According to sources compiled by John and Emily Salmon in their *History of Franklin County*, the average family was made up of six people who rented or owned three hundred predominantly unimproved acres and lived in a one room log structure. They held scant belongings; a few pieces of furniture, tools, and cooking utensils. They would have held no slaves and farmed their own tobacco, corn, and garden crops themselves.[31] Many late eighteenth-century Franklin County residents did not live above the subsistence level, though more prosperity would follow in time.

Endnotes- Pre-History to 1850

[1] Clement Eaton, *History of the Old South* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), 6.

[2] Emily J. and John S. Salmon, *Franklin County Virginia, 1786-1986* (Rocky Mount, VA: Franklin County Board of Supervisors, 1993).

[3] Marian E. White, "Cayuga" in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Trigger, ed. vol. 15 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 501-502.

[4] Ibid. Also see Eaton, 38. Fort Christiana was located on the Meherrin River, a tributary of the Roanoke River, for the purpose of Indian trade.

[5] Salmon, 19.

[6] White, 501.

[7] Salmon, 13.

[8] White, 501.

[9] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*. William Peden, ed. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 92-97.

[10] Frederick Jackson Turner, *History, Frontier, and Section* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 19.

[11] Gilbert Chinard, ed, *A Huguenot Exile in Virginia, or Voyages of a Frenchman Exiled for His Religion, with a Description of Virginia and Maryland* (New York, 1934), 119-120.

[12] Eaton, 47.

[13] Ibid., 48-49.

[14] Ibid., 48.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Joseph Martin, *Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia and the District of Columbia* (Charlottesville, VA. 1835), and William Chapin, *Complete Reference Gazetteer of the United States of North America* (New York, 1844).

[17] Salmon, 23, 27.

[18] Eaton, 48.

[19] Salmon, 24.

[20] Ibid., 25.

[21] Ibid., 29. Note: In Europe, the French and Indian War was known as the "Seven Years War." It became a global conflict, beginning with a dispute between the British and the French, over the possession of the Ohio Valley.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., 31.

[24] Ibid., 59.

[25] Thomas Jefferson, *Papers, 5:310*, cited in Salmon, 52.

[26] Ibid., 55.

[27] Salmon, 50.

[28] Ibid., 63.

[29] Ibid.,

[30] Ibid., 66.

[31] Ibid. 75.

Burroughs Period, 1850-1894

Franklin County Settlement c. 1850

Franklin County remained a relatively isolated district of western Virginia, lacking improved transportation routes until the later 1800s. The county consisted largely of middle to lower-class farmers who lived fundamentally different lifestyles than the wealthy planters near the Atlantic coastline and fertile river valleys. John Wise, a traveler to the area in 1862, described the character of the region and settlement patterns along the road from Big Lick (Roanoke) to Rocky Mount, which passed through Franklin County. He offered a poetic account of the rustic nature of many hillside farms of the area in comparison to the larger, more stately plantations in the Shennandoah Valley:

> Twenty eight miles of travel over such a route seems much more than the measured distance, and carried us indeed into a new class of population, as distinct from that which we left behind as if an ocean instead of mountain range had separated to two communities. Soon the broad pastures and fields of grain had disappeared. In their place were rough, hillside lots, with patches of buckwheat or tobacco. Instead of the stately brick houses standing in groves on handsome knolls, all that we saw of human habitations were log-houses far apart upon the mountain sides, or in the hollows far below us…Up, up, up, - until our wheels ground into, and our horses scattered about their feet, the broken slate of a roaring stream. Now, following the sycamores along its banks, with here a patch of arable land and its mountain cabin, whence a woman smoking a pipe, and innumerable tow-headed children hanging about her skirts, eyed us silently; and there another roadside cabin, with hollyhocks and sunflowers and bee-hives in the yard, the sound of a spinning-wheel from within, a sleeping cat in the window, and a cur dog on the doorstep; here a carry-log, with patient team drawn aside upon the narrow road to let us pass, the strapping teamster in his shirtsleeves, with trousers stuck into his cowhide boots, leaning against his load so intent in scrutiny of us that he barely noticed our salutation; here a bearded man, clad in homespun and broad slouched hat, riding leisurely along on his broad-backed quiet horse, carrying the inevitable saddle-bags of the mountaineer.[1]

Frederick Law Olmsted Sr., on an earlier tour of the south in the 1850s, also traveled the Piedmont region of Virginia, making observations about the culture, landscapes, farming, and social patterns he encountered. He described an eye-opening experience of boarding with a local farm family during a journey in which he was a two days ride north of Abingdon, Virginia, and eight days west of Richmond:

> After two farmers had declined to receive me, because, as they said, they had not got any corn and were not prepared for travelers, and did not like to take them in unless they could treat them well, I stopped, near nine o'clock, at a house to which they had recommended me, as the best within some miles. It was a boarded log house, of four rooms and a gallery [front porch or veranda]. The owner was a farmer, with two hired white hands besides his sons. . . Although there were four rooms in the house, six of us, including a girl of fifteen, were bedded in one tight room. There were no sheets at all on my bed, and what, with the irritation of the feathers and the blanket, the impurity of the air, and a crying child, I did not fall asleep till near daylight.[2]

Olmsted most likely boarded that night with a subsistence farmer in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains and his account was by no means a thorough representation of area residents. Conversely, some Franklin County heads of household were middle or upper-class slave-owning farmers of above average wealth. For instance, local landowner Peter Saunders, Jr. developed an extensive plantation southwest of Rocky Mount. By the 1850s, Saunders built a large Italianate house reminiscent of stately Tidewater plantation homes.[3] With inherited money, Saunders married well, owned a vast estate, and amassed fifty-two slaves.[4] Saunders and a few others like Abram Childress, a Franklin County farmer who owned 822 acres and thirty-two slaves in 1860, represented a local aristocracy. These men may be considered typical members of the "planter" class, as described by Clement Eaton in *History of the Old South*. Eaton used this term to describe those who owned twenty or more slaves and possessed between 500 and 1,000 acres, of which at least 200 were improved.[5] Michael Vlach in *In Back of the Big House*, describes plantations as "large agricultural estates" or "large tastefully appointed county estates belonging to a prominent gentleman."[6] Vlach classifies plantations as having a distinct separation of labor, usually serviced by an overseer, and

located in an area with a distinct plantation tradition.[7]

Southern "farmers" were of a different socio-economic class than planters but were also defined by their property.[8] Eaton describes Virginia's large middle class as "yeoman" farmers. Members of this group that predominated in the Piedmont region typically owned a smaller number of slaves and more moderate tracts of land. Labor was usually provided by family members and a small number of slaves who produced a variety of crops, both for sale and for family subsistence.

Yet, the two terms, farmer and planter, were often used interchangeably to describe agricultural estates of various size. The most accurate definition of the terms depend on examining the local context. Local land owners who held higher than average productive acreage, greater numbers of slaves, sent their children to school, and practiced a division of labor could be considered local planters even though they held much less property than their Tidewater counterparts.[9]

In 1860, only twenty percent of 2,884 males legally entitled to own slaves in Franklin County did so.[10] These slaveholders were considered upper-class citizens because of the display of status and wealth that accompanied slave ownership and as such, could be classified as planters. Yet within this group, there was a wide range in the number of slaves held. Only one percent of these Franklin County slaveholders owned more than fifty slaves. Eighteen percent of slave owners held between eleven and twenty slaves, twenty-seven percent owned between five and ten slaves, and the vast majority of slave owners (forty-eight percent) had between one and four slaves.[11] Yet, regardless of how many he had, owning slaves put the Piedmont farmer into a higher socio-economic group than his non-slave holding neighbor. The slave owner typically held more wealth through his slaves than his physical property and real estate combined. For example, Samuel Robinson, a farmer in neighboring Bedford County, owned eleven slaves valued at $5,750 while the rest of his worldly belongings were worth just $1,250.[12]

The average tobacco farm in Franklin County in 1860 was 274 acres, yet a small percentage of this total acreage was commonly cultivated.[13] In 1850, the county average of cleared land in production was just thirty-eight percent.[14] Peter Saunders Jr., a local planter, defended his brother's difficulty planting his corn crop in 1850 because "a large portion of the ground that he has now to plant has never been broken for the first time."[15] Many farmers faced this challenge and struggled to both clear the hilly terrain and complete the many daily tasks of running a farm. Cleared land was a valued resource, so much so that little land could be devoted to livestock grazing.[16] The relatively underutilized forest land hosted populations of foxes and wolves, on which the county held bounties as late as the 1850s.[17]

In spite of the rustic conditions, a typical Franklin County farmer grew 826 pounds of tobacco, 315 bushels of corn, 144 bushels of oats, and 59 bushels of wheat in 1850.[18] Farmers benefited from a tobacco boom in the mid-century. By 1860 the United States Commissioner of Agriculture considered tobacco from the Virginia Piedmont to be "leaf of fine quality for both manufacturing and shipping purposes. . . and always commanding the best prices."[19] The decade prior to the Civil War proved to be profitable for Franklin County farmers, seen through appreciating property values and a 144 percent rise in local tobacco production.[20] However, with the onset of war, these prosperous economic times took a downward turn.

Hales Ford of Franklin County was a country hamlet consisting of a post office and ninety-five households spread throughout the rural township (Figure 3.1).[21] The town was dominated by the economics of tobacco, as was much of the Piedmont region. Most adult, white males were involved in growing, selling, or processing tobacco products.[22] The single cash crop arrangement was the most commonly followed agricultural system in the region, which helped define both social hierarchies and the physical organization of the landscape. Relationships between master and slave were ingrained to perpetuate the profitability of the agricultural system, and in turn, shaped land use patterns.

The Burroughs Farm

In 1850, James Burroughs purchased two tracts of seven and 170 acres on Gills Creek in Hales Ford from his brother Thomas, who had owned the land since the 1830s. The property was located on the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike, a major regional thoroughfare.[23] James purchased an additional thirty acres from Thomas in 1854, completing the 207-acre

parcel that the Burroughs family owned for forty years.[24] The parcel was bounded on the north by the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike and on the south by Gills Creek. A portion of the property's eastern boundary followed the modern day Jack-O-Lantern Branch that emptied into Gills Creek.

James Burroughs, his wife Elizabeth, and ten of their fourteen children operated a middle-class Piedmont farm in Franklin County (Figure 3.2)). Their property was typical of a remote farm located near Hales Ford, twenty-two miles southeast of Big Lick (Roanoke) (Figure 3.3). Booker T. Washington later described the location as "about as near to nowhere as any locality gets to be."[25] Like their neighbors, the Burroughs family produced tobacco as a cash crop, although, presumably only a few acres of land were required for its production.[26] Grains, corn, hay, and vegetables to feed the family, slaves, and livestock were grown on the remaining productive acreage.[27] Applying Franklin County's 1850 statistics to the Burroughs farm, between seventy-five and eighty acres may have been cleared.

Labor on the plantation was provided by family members and by the Burroughses' ten slaves. In 1861 the Burroughs family owned two adult male field hands and eight women and children. While is it clear through contextual evidence and the size of their land holdings that the family was not wealthy, they were certainly living above the level of the people described by Olmsted during his overnight visit in the area.[28] Much of the family's wealth was held in their slave holdings, illustrated by the 1860 census that valued their slaves at $5,550, or fifty-four percent of their $10,228 net worth.[29]

Booker T. Washington was born in 1856 to one of the Burroughses' slaves named Jane. Washington, his mother who was the plantation cook, and two half-siblings lived in the one-room, log kitchen cabin. Washington claimed to not know who his father was, but did know him to be a white man. His paternity has been debated for years with different parties identifying a member of the Burroughs family, one of the Fergusons who lived across the road, or another neighbor, Ben Hatcher.[30] However, these claims have not been substantiated.

The cabin of his childhood stood within a cluster of structures a few yards southwest of the Burroughs residence and set back several hundred

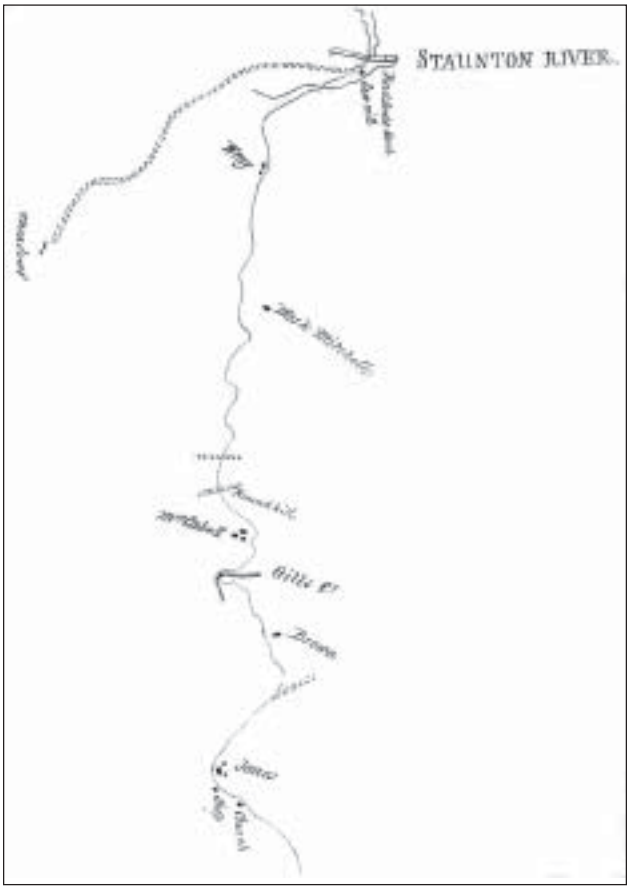

Figure 3.1. Detail of "A correct map of the location of the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike to Franklin County Courthouse." Note the crossing of Gills Creek that abuts the Burroughs farm. 1849. Courtesy of the Virginia State Library.

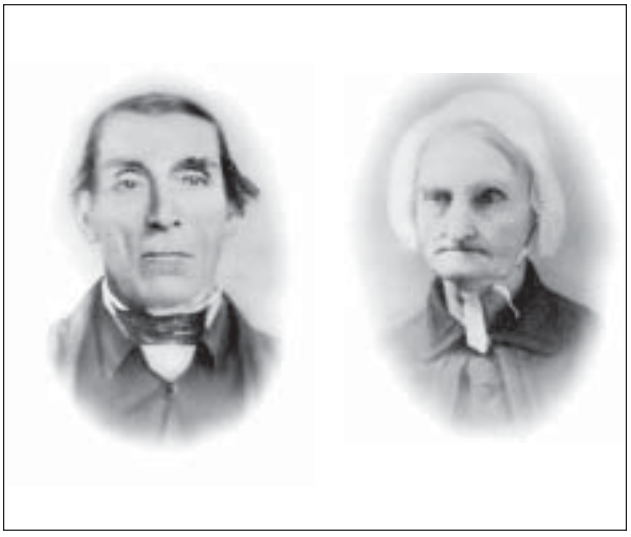

Figure 3.2. James and Elizabeth Burroughs. Booker T. Washington National Monument (BOWA) files.

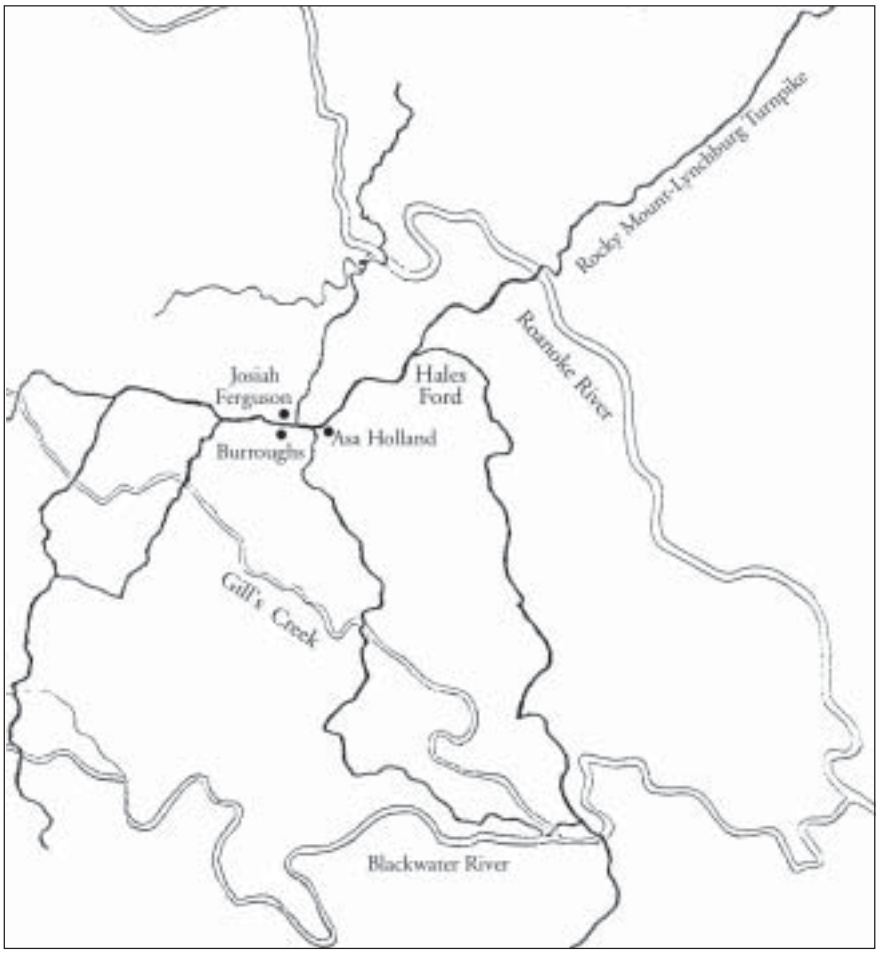

Figure 3.3. The Hales Ford Community circa 1860, including the Burroughs property and their neighbors Josiah Ferguson and Asa Holland. Not to scale. 1968. Adapted from Barry Mackintosh's map "The Hales Ford Community, 1856-1865."

yards from the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike. This however, was not the cabin of his birth. He was born in another cabin (Cabin One) located southeast of the Burroughs dwelling that was reportedly in such disrepair that the slave family moved to the kitchen cabin (Cabin Two) when Washington was a small child.[31]

In Washington's own words the cabin of his childhood was a dilapidated, ramshackle dwelling that barely kept the elements out. The windows had no glass, the floor was earth, and the door was described as, "…but the uncertain hinges by which it was hung, and the large cracks in it, to say nothing of the fact that it was too small, made the room a very uncomfortable one."[32] The children slept, "on a pallet on the dirt floor, or, to be more correct, we slept in and on a bundle of filthy rags laid upon the dirt floor."[33]

Cabins One and Two were only two of the many structures on the farm. The Burroughs family residence is traditionally thought to have existed just a few yards east of Cabin Two, set well back from the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike as was common for nineteenth-century Virginia Piedmont houses, to allow for an adequate view of approaching visitors (Figure 3.4).[34] Regionally, the residence was a typical style for the mid-1800s in both size and design.[35] The Burroughs house would have been positioned near a spring and in the shade of a grove of hardwood trees to help mitigate the heat of summer.[36] Until 2001, an aged catalpa tree and a juniper stood close to the foundations of the Burroughs residence. These and other trees may have comprised part of a shady grove surrounding the house and domestic yard at the time of the Burroughs family occupation. The presence of such a grove is corroborated by the Robertson brothers who moved to the Burroughs farm as children; they remembered a more complete and substantial grove existing in the 1890s.

As reported in the 1937 Works Projects Administration Historical Inventory of Franklin County, several local farms shared the spatial organization of the Burroughs farm. For example, the nearby Hatcher home, also located along the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike, later known as Route 122, was set back 100

Figure 3.4. Diagram of local settlement patterns. The grey dots represent the location of farmsteads. Note the relatively equal number of dwellings adjacent to the road as those setback. Not to scale. Drawn from the 1949 aerial photo. 2001. OCLP.

yards from the road and was situated in a "large oak grove with boxwoods on each side of the front door."[37] The Lovelace Place was described in 1937 as located 200 yards off of Route 122 and surrounded by old locust, maple, and cherry trees.[38]

Recently, the possibility that the Burroughs residence was located closer to the old Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike has been proposed. This alternative hypothesis of the farm's spatial organization is based on a different interpretation of the Burroughs family's socio-economic status within the community and a reexamination of Burroughs land holdings to suggest that they owned frontage on the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike. This runs contrary to the traditional interpretation of the Burroughs farm and proposes that the family may have constructed a larger house for the comfort of their upper middle-class family of eleven.[39] The position raises interesting questions about the way the park interprets slavery through the microcosm of the Burroughs farm but needs further analysis and discussion to be substantiated.[40]

The organization of what is known about the Burroughs farm follows common spatial patterns attributed to the region during the mid-1800s. Although completed many years after the family left the farm, the 1937 WPA inventory of the property documented several agricultural structures a few hundred yards north of the house that may be indicative of developments begun by the Burroughs family. "The stables and most of the outbuildings which have survived are in front of the house, as was the queer custom of many pioneers."[41] This observation corresponds with the location of a slave cabin, corncrib, and tobacco barn near the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike as well as the Burroughs cemetery that the Robertsons claimed predated their improvements of the 1890s. The Robertson brothers also recalled a horse barn, cow barn and chicken house located northeast of the Burroughs house in a depression between two hills.[42] Several other tobacco barns and corncribs were dispersed throughout the landscape, located in proximity to agricultural fields that they served.

It is likely that the Burroughs family farmed fields in the northeast corner of the site, along the ridge in the central portion of the property, and along the banks of Gills Creek in the southern-most region of the farm. Accounts from the Robertson brothers tell of pre-existing fields in these areas that they later expanded.

Much of the food for the family table would have been grown in their substantial kitchen garden that was presumably located in the proximity of the Burroughs house. Typical plants of a nineteenth-century kitchen garden include herbs, tomatoes, potatoes, berries, cucumbers, lettuce, beans, snap peas, turnips, sweet potatoes, asparagus, peppers, celery, cabbage, beets, carrots, artichokes, and horseradish.[43] A pear and apple orchard was presumably located near the garden, though there is no evidence to suggest that the orchard was laid out in a formal grid.[44] Split-rail, worm fencing, generated from the process of clearing woodland, likely enclosed the garden, domestic yard, and large animal corrals. Smaller farm animals, such as poultry, would have roamed the site freely.

Civil War and Emancipation

The nation's internal conflict over slavery escalated into war in April of 1861. Life changed considerably at the Burroughs farm when all of the Burroughses' six sons enlisted in the Confederate Army, leaving the management of the property to their father, mother, and sisters. This arrangement did not last long, for James Burroughs died of "lung disease" in 1861 and willed the property to his widow Elizabeth. He was buried in the family cemetery located in the northern region of the farm. The remaining Burroughs family suffered greatly during the war, in which two sons were killed and two were wounded. The body of one of the sons, Billie, was brought back to the farm and buried beside his father in the family cemetery.

Documentation of the war years on the Burroughs farm is scant. However, it is understood that the Burroughs family, especially the women, continued to oversee the slaves and operate the farm despite numerous shortages and hardships. Washington described the difficulties in obtaining "luxury" goods that the whites were accustomed to, and thought that they suffered because of these depravations:

> Of course, as the war was prolonged the white people, in many cases, often found it difficult to secure food for themselves. I think the slaves felt the deprivation less than the whites, because the usual diet for the slaves was corn bread and pork, and these could be raised on the plantation; but coffee, tea, sugar, and other articles which the whites had been accustomed to use could not be raised on the plantation, and the conditions brought about by the war frequently made it impossible to secure these things. The whites were often in great straits.[45]

News of the war consumed both whites and African Americans. Enslaved African Americans were not generally exposed to newspapers or books, so they relied on what Washington referred to as the "'grapevine' telegraph."[46] At the Burroughs farm this meant the enslaved man who was sent to the post office to collect the mail often overheard the white men conversing and brought back the news to the other slaves. Washington recalled numerous late night whispering sessions from his boyhood in which the slaves discussed the pressing issues. While many slaves were presumed to be ignorant of current events by their masters, they listened closely to the state of the nation's affairs and hoped for freedom. Washington remembers being awakened by his mother one morning, "praying that Lincoln and his armies might be successful, and that one day she and her children might be free."[47]

Perhaps because of its relative isolation, Franklin County did not witness much of the conflict. It was not the scene of major battles nor was it a key transportation route to battle areas. One of the few recorded incidents that disturbed the calm of Franklin County occurred in 1865 when a Union battalion from Pennsylvania marched from Hales Ford to Rocky Mount. The men harassed and looted the property of Asa Holland, which served as the local post office.[48] A few scattered raids occurred locally at the end of the war but the region largely escaped direct involvement in the war.

As recalled by Washington, the "'grapevine' telegraph" buzzed near the close of the war. The impending news of a northern victory brightened the slave's lives in the weeks before they were emancipated. In 1865 a northern soldier came to the Burroughs farm and read the Emancipation Proclamation, that had been issued in 1863, to the whites and African Americans assembled at the front porch.

Washington remembered the day as one of great rejoicing amongst his family, yet feelings of apprehension set in as they realized the enormity of the task of reordering their lives.[49]

Reconstruction

After four years of fighting, a victory for the north in 1865 ended slavery throughout the nation. After emancipation, the future was uncertain for the newly freed slaves and their former masters, who found themselves removed from the former social constructs they were accustomed to. Fannie Burroughs articulated the uncertain roles of whites and African Americans while describing the local behavior of some of the recently freed slaves:

> Times have come to that, that people hardly know what to do. The negroes [sic] are considered free by *Military law*. Some of them are behaving now as well as they did before & some of them are cutting up on a high horse. Some rejoice in their freedom & some are cut down about it but as a general thing they remain with their Marsters & we have heard lately that they are bound to keep them until next April. Some think they will never be free & some think they will. One thing certain the most of them are ruined & the next thing will be to send them off. The Yankees pass in small numbers all most every week along the turnpike. They have been at Rocky Mount for a month & are getting very tired of the blacks behavior and are called upon so often to settle a difficulty between them.[50]

Immediately after the war, some whites did not fully grasp that slavery had been outlawed. George W. Booker of neighboring Henry County wrote, "one of the young Gravelys. . . told me, that his grandfather did not believe that slavery had gone up till the Comr. of the Revenue in listing his property, refused to list his negroes as slaves."[51] These two quotes illustrate the confusion of the post-war period and the insecurity that many whites and African Americans felt with their new relationship.

Most slaves were uneducated and ill prepared at the time of emancipation to make an independent living for themselves and their families. Nonetheless, Washington wrote that most of the former slaves, "left the plantation for a short while at least, so as to be sure, it seemed, that they could leave and try their freedom on to see how it felt."[52] Eventually, many stayed close to home and continued to labor at the same tasks as before the war, only now, they were paid for their efforts. By 1870, half of Franklin County's African Americans were listed as farm laborers.[53] While many stayed locally, some left, including Washington and his family. In 1865, his mother Jane took the family to be reunited with her husband who worked in the salt mines of West Virginia.

Much of the physical infrastructure and economic systems of the south were destroyed during the war, leaving many former families of means impoverished, including the Burroughses. With its slave work force gone, two sons and the father dead, and two sons wounded, the farm declined. By 1870, all of the children and Mrs. Burroughs had left the property.[54] Thus began twenty years of indecision and conflict within the family about how to dispose of the farm. Mrs. Burroughs reportedly rented the property during the 1870s when she could not find a buyer. The property deteriorated during this time with neglect and poor management.[55]

To understand the character of what the Burroughs family was attempting to sell or lease in the 1870s, comparisons can be made with other regional farms. Several properties in Franklin County were listed for sale in the *Virginia Monitor* newspaper in the 1870s. One farm that advertised as "Valuable Blackwater Land for Sale," contained 365 acres, with one third cleared and the balance in "original forest." Improvements included a "New Dwelling House, with five rooms and a well of pure freestone water at the door," as well as six tobacco barns and "three tenement houses [former slave houses] with all necessary out houses." Fencing is listed as in good repair, "nearly all made with locust posts and caps."[56]

Another local farm located on both sides of the Turnpike from Big Lick to Rocky Mount that was sold in the 1870s advertised "225 Acres of Land, about one hundred of which is cleared and under fence." Improvements listed included:

> [a] large two story brick dwelling, with four rooms, wide hall, dining room in basement and a good roomy attic; a brick kitchen and smokehouse; a store house (somewhat out of repair) blacksmith's shop, stables, and four out-houses on different parts of the farm, suitable for tenants or renters. There is a good well in the corner of the yard and an excellent spring about 100 yards from the house. The garden is a very fine one, and contains about

> one acre of land. There is also a fine young apple orchard, of choicest fruit, near the house just beginning to bear. . .[57]

While these properties may have been more substantial than the Burroughs property, they give insight to the characteristic elements of an 1870s Virginia Piedmont farm. Both mention the main dwelling containing between four and five rooms, and out-houses for workers or tenants. The second listing implies that the out-houses were scattered throughout the 225 acres, not necessarily in close proximity to the main dwelling. A key feature attributed to both properties was the presence of conveniently located potable water supply. The first property claimed to have one third of its total acreage cleared, corresponding with other accounts of the limited percentage of improved land on mid-nineteenth-century tobacco farms. Three tobacco barns are specifically referred to as selling points on one of the properties. Interesting is the reference to a garden and orchard that were both common features on local, self-sufficient farms, owing to their isolation and the agricultural economics of their day.

To recover a fraction of the monetary value of her life estate, Mrs. Burroughs successfully sued her children to partition her interest in the land, leading to its sale. The family sold the property to Robert T. Crook in 1885 for $1,000, or one third of the 1860 value of $3,105.[58] Land in Virginia that had sold for one hundred and fifty dollars an acre prior to the war was selling for just two dollars an acre after the war.[59] Having lost the value of their slaves, the Burroughs family was cash poor and needed money from the sale of their land, however small the sum. Crook gave the Burroughses one hundred dollars in cash and agreed to make three payments of three hundred dollars after the first, second, and third years past sale.[60] Unfortunately for the Burroughs family, Crook did not uphold his word and was summoned to Franklin County court two years later for defaulting on his purchase of the property.[61]

The farm reverted back to the Burroughs family who tried unsuccessfully to lease the property. In 1890, John Robertson offered 900 dollars for the farm. During the ensuing sale in 1891, Joseph Nicholas Burroughs claimed in court that his mother was deceased, when in fact, she did not die until 1895.[62] He may have done this to remove his mother from the legal process of the sale, or because she was being uncooperative. His reasons are unknown, but the sale to the Robertsons was finalized in 1893.

The Robertsons most likely acquired a poorly maintained property needing substantial attention to restore it to working order. Fences surrounding the house, garden, and animal pasture would have been in disrepair, barns and outbuildings would have needed maintenance, and successional growth in agricultural fields would have needed clearing. Conceivably, the orchard and garden needed maintenance to coax them back into production.

While definitive information is not known about specific field, structure, road, garden, or orchard locations, later documented patterns in the landscape can be used to hypothesize about the spatial organization begun by the Burroughs family (Figures 3.5 and 3.6). Using physical evidence about hydrology and topography along with personal recollections of later inhabitants, it is assumed that the Burroughs family cleared large tracts of land in the northeast section of the property, along the ridge in the central region, and areas along Gills Creek floodplain in the southern portion of the site. Typical of the time period, more acreage was forested than cleared because of the laborious practice of clearing the forest. The Burroughs family would have located common agricultural elements throughout the farm, including tobacco barns, corn cribs, worm fencing.

The largest concentration of resources were most likely located directly adjacent to the main house and domestic yard. The yard may have included a smokehouse, kitchen garden, orchard, animal enclosures, animal barns, a spring, and fencing to keep animals away from the house. After years of neglect fueled by harsh economic times after the Civil War, the deteriorated Burroughs farm stood ready for a new steward to return the land to productivity.

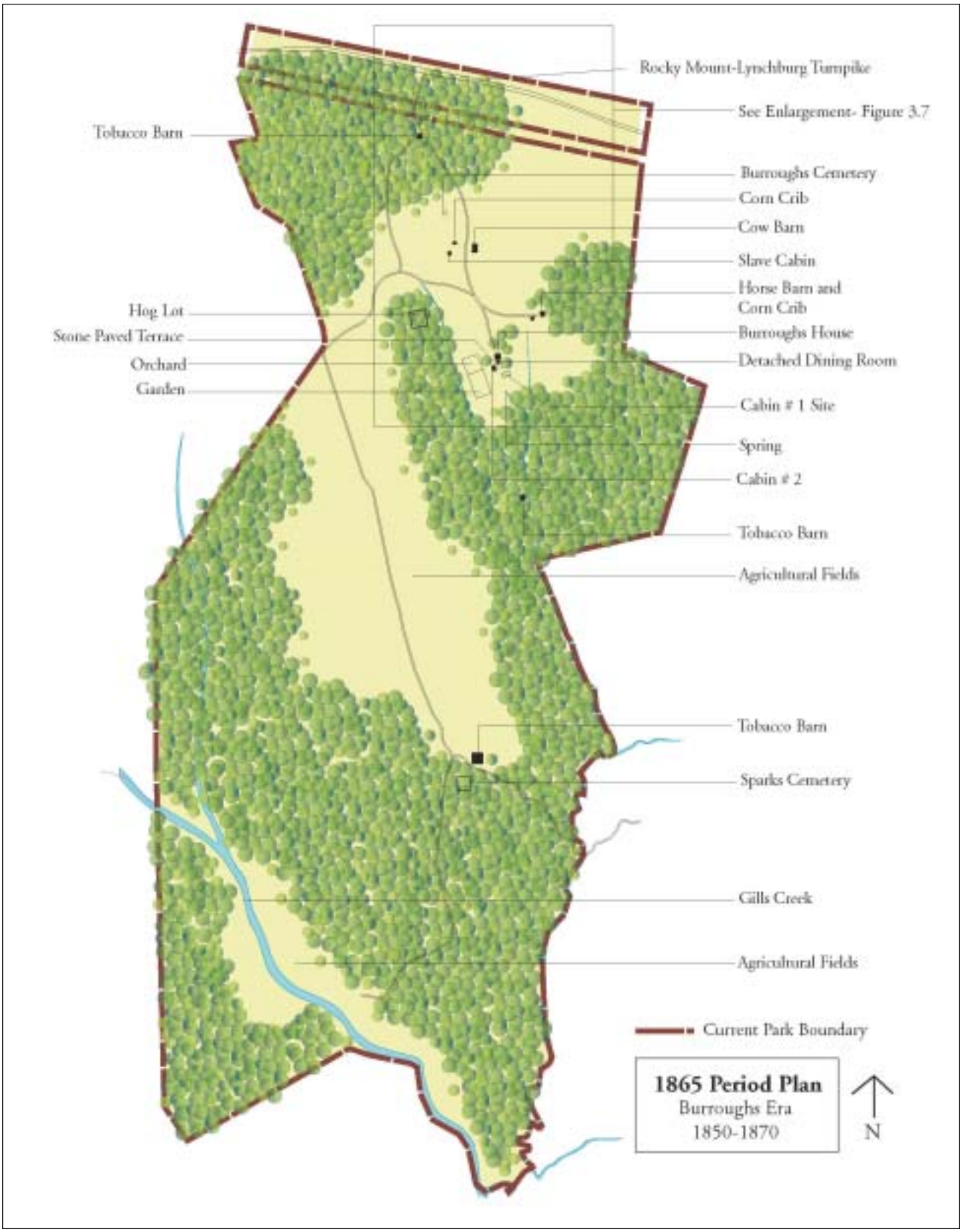

Figure 3.5. 1865 Period Plan. Locations of features are approximate and diagrammatic due to limited documentation of the spatial patterns and organization of the Burroughs farm. Not to Scale. 2001. Image manipulated by OCLP from GMP maps created by Philadelphia Support Office Stewardships and Partnerships.

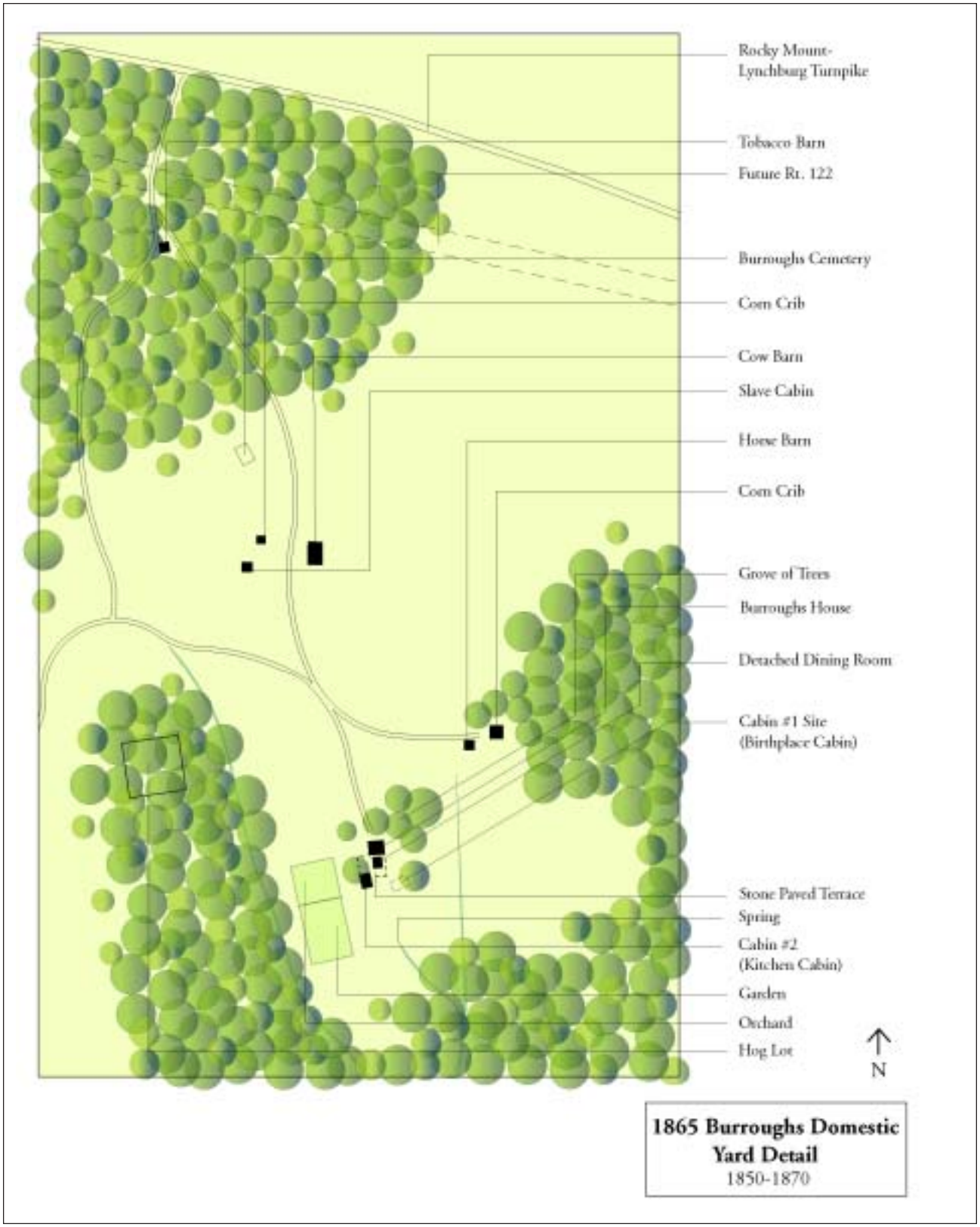

Figure 3.6. Diagram of the Burroughs domestic yard, 1865. Locations of features are approximate due to limited documentation of the spatial patterns and organization of the Burroughs farm. Additional outbuilding and landscape features are certain to have existed. However, mapping their locations will require a long-term program of archeological research. Not to scale. 2001. Image manipulated by OCLP from GMP maps created by Philadelphia Support Office Stewardships and Partnerships.

Endnotes- Burroughs Period

[1] Emily J. and John S. Salmon, *Franklin County Virginia, 1786-1986* (Rocky Mount, VA: Franklin County Board of Supervisors, 1993), From Wise, *End of an Era*, 291.

[2] Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey in the Back Country*, originally published in 1860, New York: Mason Brothers (Williamstown, Mass: Corner House Publishers, 1972), 278-279.

[3] Roy Talbert Jr., Gary Lee Cardwell, and Andrew L. Baskin, *Studies in the Local History of Slavery* (Ferrum, VA: Ferrum College, 1978), 18.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Clemont Eaton, *History of the Old South* (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1976), 389.

[6] Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House,* as cited in *Scholarship on Southern Farms and Plantations*, 5. On-line books. www.cr.nps.gov/history/slave.htm

[7] Ibid.

[8] Hilliard, 106-107, cited in *Scholarship on Southern Farms and Plantations*, 5. On-line books. www.cr.nps.gov/history/slave.htm

[9] Phillip Troutman, research fellow at the Carter Woodson Institute, proposed the argument to base the definitions of these terms on local context rather than using state-wide comparisons. He cites Ed Baptist's book *Making an Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002, p. 39), describing how on the Florida frontier, a sparsely populated area that had roughly similar economic conditions as the Virginia Piedmont, owning ten slaves marked the approximate delineation between yeoman farmers and local planters. Baptist based this rough cut-off on a comparison of the local socioeconomic environment.

[10] Ibid., 15.

[11] Ibid., 15.

[12] Will and Deed Book, R 17, 374, Bedford Courthouse, cited in Talbert, Cardwell and Baskin's *Studies in the Local History of Slavery*. BOWA files.

[13] Salmon, 134.

[14] Salmon, 134.

[15] Peter Saunders Jr. to Dear Mother, May 4, 1850. *Saunders Papers*, University of Virginia, cited in Talbert, Cardwell and Baskin, 19.

[16] Talbert, Cardwell and Baskin, 19.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Salmon, 137.

[19] *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1870*. Washington, 1871, cited in Edwin C. Bearss, "The Burroughs Plantation as a Living Historical Farm. Booker T. Washington National Monument," National Park Service. Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, 1969, 13.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Talbert, Cardwell, and Baskin, 1.

[22] Talbert, Cardwell, and Baskin, 3.

[23] Deed dated May 27, 1847. Aquilla Divers and Nancy Divers to Thomas Burroughs. Item seven as cited in Abstract of Title Prepared for the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial. June 18, 1953. BOWA park files. Contrary to traditional interpretation of the farm's boundaries, the 1847 deed of the land Thomas Burroughs sold to his brother James three years later, states that the property was located on the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike.

[24] Bearss, 4.

[25] Booker T. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work*, quoted in Louis R. Harlan, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, Vol. I: *The Autobiographical Writings* (Urbana, 1972), 10.

[26] Bearss, 39.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Olmsted, 278-279.

[29] Talbert, Cardwell, and Baskin, 17.

[30] Louis R. Harlan. *Booker T. Washington, The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901*, 4-5 and Mackintosh, "General Background Studies, Part A," 10, 12-13.

[31] Dr. Amber Bennett, "Booker T. Washington National Monument Archeological Overview and Assessment," Sweet Briar College, May 1999, 23.

[32] Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 2.

[33] Washington, *Up from Slavery*, 3.

[34] Henry Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), 121.

[35] Henry Glassie performed an extensive study of vernacular architecture in middle Virginia, predominantly in several counties between Richmond and Charlottesville. The Burroughs house design, based on later photographs and descriptions of the Robertson brothers, was found to be a very common example of housing. The house's height, depth, and number and location of chimneys identified it as a conventional middle Virginia house, that can be compared to the similar socioeconomic environment of Franklin county. Glassie, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia*.

[36] Ibid., 137.

[37] WPA Historical Inventory of Franklin County. Research by Essie Smith, "Hatcher Home," WPA Vol. II. 728.09755 Wor. Rocky Mount Public Library.

[38] WPA Historical Inventory of Franklin county. Research by Ann Joplin, May 17, 1937, "Lovelace Place." WPA Vol. II. 728.09755 Wor. Rocky Mount Public Library.

[39] Dr. William Baber, "An Ethnohistorical Analysis of Booker T. Washington National Monument," University of North Carolina, Greensboro, Department of Anthropology, 1998.

[40] See Dr. Baber's "Ethnohistorical Analysis of Booker T. Washington National Monument" and further discussion of this issue in the NPS-Present chapter of this report.

[41] WPA Historical Inventory of Franklin County, Research by Essie W. Smith, "Old Burroughs Home, Birthplace of Booker T. Washington of Rocky Mount Virginia," November 8, 1937. BOWA files.

[42] Grover and Peter Robertson, interviewed by BOWA historian Albert. J. Benjamin, December 1964. BOWA files.

[43] Bearss, 91-94.

[44] Peter and Grover Robertson, 1964.

[45] Ibid., 7.

[46] Ibid., 5.

[47] Ibid., 5.

[48] Salmon, 296.

[49] Washington, 14.

[50] Salmon, 301.

[51] Salmon, 130.

[52] Washington, 16.

[53] Salmon, 301.

[54] Bearss, 5.

[55] Bearss, 5.

[56] *The Virginia Conservative and Monitor*, May 12, 1876. Virginia State Library (VSL) Microfilm.

[57] *The Virginia Conservative and Monitor*, July 6, 1876. VSL Microfilm.

[58] Report of Sale- July 1, 1885. Court files collected by Dr. William Baber. Franklin County Courthouse.

[59] Dabney, 357.

[60] Ibid.

[61] December 9, 1887. Court files collected by Dr. William Baber. Franklin County Courthouse.

[62] Chancery file 2902. Files collected by Dr. William Baber. Bedford County Courthouse.

Robertson Period, 1893-1945

By the late 1890s, Booker T. Washington, detached from his childhood on the Burroughs farm by many years and experiences, transformed himself into a nationally recognized figure in the arena of race relations and education. Washington served as the first teacher at the Tuskegee Normal School in Macon County Alabama, which was formed in 1881 and later renamed Tuskegee Institute. This school, dedicated to educating African American teachers, became a forum from which Washington exercised substantial influence during the late 1800s and early 1900s. In a speech that helped define his legecy, Washington addressed the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 on the "proper role of the Negro." His famous address, while welcomed by some whites and southern African Americans at the time, was seen by northern black intellectuals as an appeasement of whites, and was later blamed by them for the policy of "separate-but-equal." The following year, the Supreme Court ruled the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" as constitutional in *Plessey vs. Ferguson*. This decision enabled the so-called "Jim Crow" laws, a set of discriminatory policies against African Americans, to spread across the South and become ingrained in the regional culture. Despite this criticism, Washington remained an influential figure until his death in 1915.

The Robertson's Improvements to the Farm

Washington's new life was far removed from the daily activities occurring at his birthplace. After several years of legal wrangling and Burroughs family disputes, John Robertson moved his substantial family, that would eventually include eleven children, to the former Burroughs farm. The Robertsons, who made payments on the land starting in 1890, began their fifty-five year tenure at the property in 1893.[1] Upon arrival, the Robertsons found the property in serious disrepair. Peter Robertson, one of John's eight sons who was a small child in 1893, remembered that the farm "looked like they just quit doin' it."[2] A court report of 1890 claimed that Crook, the former tenant, had devalued the property due to poor management. The land had been "deserted and gone greatly to ruin by the breaking down of fences and the destruction of outbuildings during the time that Crook had it in possession."[3]

To make the devalued property both habitable and profitable, the Robertsons began restoring agricultural fields and repairing fences, barns, and the main dwelling. The family began their improvements by demolishing a detached frame building located directly behind the main dwelling that previously served as a dining room. They filled the foundation with rocks and built a one story addition on the south side of the house. The addition served as an attached kitchen and dining space, a necessary improvement for the comfort of the large family. The family's sole hired African American servant slept in the small attic space above the addition. According to Peter Robertson, they moved the cooking stove to one of the nearby outbuildings to keep the temperature down in the home during the summer months.[4] The 1937 WPA Historical Inventory of Franklin County described a similar addition on a local farm house of comparable age. Similarly to the Burroughs home, the "Old Lester Home," built in 1848 and located south of Rocky Mount, also had a rear addition that served as the family dining room.[5]

Several features of the Robertson farm, including the addition, were described in the 1937 WPA inventory (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). The inventory described the addition as standing to the rear left of the house. Two stairways, front and back, stood in the house, connecting the three first-floor rooms with the upstairs sleeping quarters. The house was described as "primitive" and built of logs sheathed with weatherboarding.[6] The Robertsons added a small front porch. Although the WPA inventory speculated that a decorative element in the porch's gabled roof had special meaning, the Robertson brothers recalled that the hired man who built the porch designed the ornament as having no particular symbolism.

Figure 4.1. Former Burroughs house, with Robertson additions. Note the addition to the rear of the house. Works Projects Administration (WPA) Historical Inventory of Franklin County. 1937. BOWA files.

An extensive outdoor terrace made of flat stones and packed earth, that may have pre-existed the Robertsons, connected the rear of the house with several adjacent outbuildings, including the former kitchen cabin of Washington's day. Peter Robertson described the yard in saying, "You could walk and not get your feet dirty. It was all flat rocks. It was more than a walkway, it was spread out. . . it was a great big place. . . went to the kitchen and all around. . . . Of course between the rocks in the summer time the grass would grow up in between them."[7] He told of the chore of cutting the grass between the stones with a butcher's knife.

The yard surrounding the stone terrace and Mrs. Robertson's flower garden was fenced to keep the free roaming chickens away from the house (Figure 4.3). Peter described the domestic yard and fencing:

> My dad had the yard fenced. . . I don't know just how far, twenty feet, thirty, twenty-five, and my mother had rosebushes alongside that fence, and there's a gate right straight in front of it, the porch here that the path went through, but this particular rose bush sat on the side, the right hand side [of the house].[8]

Peter and his younger brother Grover remember the roses she grew along the fence, especially an old rose bush at the corner of the house that may have dated back to Washington's time. "It was there when it [the property] sold [to the Robertsons]. . . It was a great big one."[9] The brothers also told of several memorable trees located near the big house. Two locusts, a catalpa, or "pea tree" as Peter referred to it, and a cedar tree shaded the house from the hot summer sun. Grover recalled the comfort of sitting on the bench under one of the locust trees. Despite the decades since the Burroughs family inhabited the farm, the 1937 WPA inventory described the remains of the yard's shade trees. "It [the house] stands in a grove of trees, many of which have disappeared. Only a few old box bushes and evergreen trees testify to the antiquity of the place."[10]

The Robertson family's water supply came from a spring located just south of the house, the same spring used by the Burroughs family. When the Robertsons arrived, the spring was lined with flat rocks made into a square and capped with an addi-

Figure 4.2. Photo of the west side of the former Burroughs house with Cabin Two (kitchen cabin) missing. Note the packed earth yard. Circa 1925. BOWA files.

Figure 4.3. Mrs. Robertson at the rear of the house. Despite the poor quality of the photo, note the outbuilding on the left and the fence which may have surrounded the domestic yard. Circa 1925. BOWA files.

tional large rock. They later removed this and made a wooden spring box with a concrete floor where milk and butter were chilled by the cool water.

For several decades, the Robertsons used and improved the former slave cabin that once housed Washington and his family (Cabin Two). They stored potatoes and dry goods in the log cabin and used the dry, enclosed attic to store sorghum, or cane seed. Grover and Peter remembered an external staircase with a landing leading to the attic. Grover also claimed that his father cut a hole in the cabin's ceiling and provided interior access to the attic with a board ladder.[11] Although Washington's birth cabin had been abandoned long before the Robertsons arrived, its remains were visible at the turn of the century. While the Robertson brothers remembered the chimney remnants, a potato hole, and the raised earth floor, recent research has not corroborated their claims of the potato hole and chimney.

Other farmstead features located in the proximity of the main dwelling included the hog lot, garden, and orchard. Much of the food for the family table came from the extensive vegetable garden. Mrs. Robertson grew peas, potatoes, tomatoes, green beans, cabbage, beets, and other fruits and vegetables in the garden that stretched from just west of the former slave cabin down to a tributary of the Jack-O-Lantern Branch. Fruit trees were located "all around the house here. . . apples and all kinds of fruit. . . old trees, rustic old apples they called them."[12] The orchard extended from behind the main dwelling down to the spring. Although the Robertsons may have tended the orchard diligently during the early part of their ownership of the property, it was apparently neglected in later years. The 1937 WPA inventory described the "fine old orchard that survived years of inattention."[13]

According to the Robertson brothers, when they were children and young men, the springs and creeks of the property held more water than they did at the time of their interviews in the 1960s. Grover recalled the hog lot located in a wooded swamp west of the house.[14] Blackberry vines, pine trees, and oak trees surrounded the enclosure.

Several barns and farm outbuildings were located in the northern region of the property, which is consistent with what is known of the Burroughs farm organization. The Robertson brothers remembered a corncrib, tobacco barn, and an unnamed barn on the high, northern ground of the property near the farm drive and the Burroughs cemetery. The corncrib, located near the cemetery and facing the road, was a long structure divided into two sections, each with its own door. Thirty or forty yards south of the cemetery, the ruins of another old barn were visible. Peter speculated that the barn had been used to store feed. Remnants of a double room slave cabin and a single room slave cabin remained in the vicinity of the cemetery, though barely extant by the 1890s.[15]

Another feature of the Burroughs farm that the Robertsons utilized and improved was a tobacco barn south of the big house near the Jack-O-Lantern Branch. The Robertsons repositioned and repaired the old barn in subsequent years, utilizing the structure as one of the eight working tobacco barns throughout the farm.[16]

The Robertsons stabled their horses in a barn built by the Burroughses, located in a grove of catalpa trees east of the main dwelling. Peter remembered the route between the house and horse barn being marked by three well spaced cherry trees. The barn had two stables and was surrounded by a ten foot shed roof on three sides. Upon arriving at the farm, the Robertsons found the barn in poor condition and set about renovating the structure and surrounding fencing. They added a horse pen that extended thirty or forty yards in the direction of the farm road.[17] An additional corn crib was located just a few paces from the horse barn.

Dilapidated fences, that once surrounded the entire property, marked the old Burroughs landscape. Peter recalled seeing the old crooked rail fences lying along the ground at the property's boundaries.[18] He and his family replaced the fences using chestnut or pine rails to reestablish the perimeter boundaries, as well as the separations by the hog lot, horse pen, and created several "cross fences" to delineate fields. Very few gates were built into these fences. "Draw bars," or rails in the fence that could be slid aside served as entry points. Peter described them as:

> Just a couple of posts. . . about ten foot wide, and then they'd cut holes in two flat posts made out of chestnut, you know and they'd cut a hole something like about three by six in 'em, and then they'd slip big poles through them holes, you see. . . pull them in

> and out when you want to go through. There wasn't very many gates.[19]

The Robertsons rotated tobacco, wheat, corn, sorghum, and flax throughout their fields. While tobacco was the cash crop, the family used most of their wheat crop on the farm, selling limited amounts at market. The other crops were grown to sustain the family and the farm. The family was largely self-sufficient like most turn-of-the-century Franklin County farmers who depended on homegrown produce. The Robertsons extracted molasses from sorghum, or "cane" as Peter and Grover referred to it, ground cornmeal, and milled flour from their wheat.

The Robertson's located working fields throughout the landscape on the soils that were best suited for agriculture. They utilized the high lands near the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike, the level region southeast of the future elementary school, and a fertile but narrow strip of land along Gills Creek where yearly flooding replenished soil nutrients. However, typical of the region, much of the farm was kept in forest. Grover remembered that "there wasn't too much land around the house that was cleared land, most of it [the cleared land] was around back side of Gills Creek."[20] Large stands of forest with abundant Virginia pines and red and white oaks were located in the northwest, south-central, and east-central areas of the property.

Booker T. Washington Visits His Birthplace

After an absence of forty-three years, Washington returned to his birth site on September 26, 1908. After years of using the real and symbolic elements of the Burroughs farm in his teachings, he journeyed back to Franklin County with several students and colleagues to see what remained of the old farm. Washington and his entourage were greeted and guided around the farm by the grandson of his former master, James Burroughs. Among Washington's many observations, he noted how little remained of the landscape in his memory. In an address to the sizable crowd that had gathered, he said:

> Everything is changed. After all, the most remarkable changes that I notice is in the size of things. It seems incredible to me that the Ferguson place where I used to go as a boy is now only just across the road. The old dining room, too, is not nearly as large now as it used to be, or at least as it seemed to be once.[21]

When walking down to the spring, he asked Mr. Robertson if he could take a piece of bark from a nearby tree as a souvenir. He expressed his lifelong respect for labor and the productive landscape when he reprimanded an onlooker who attempted to take a piece of bark from one of the Robertson's fruit trees, claiming that the working tree should not be disturbed.[22] Paying respects to his former master, Washington picked a flower from the old rose bushes in the front of the house and placed it on James Burroughs' grave.[23]

One of the most important aspects of Washington's return to his birthplace centered around the location of his birth cabin, or Cabin One. Washington emphasized the slave cabin in his teachings and writings to symbolize his humble beginnings and the depths from which he rose in later life. In an article written in the same year as his visit, Washington wrote, "Probably there is no single object that so accurately represents and typifies the mental and moral condition of the larger proportion of the members of my race fifty years ago as this same little slave cabin [the cabin of his birth]."[24] Because of the importance of the slave cabin as a reflection of slavery and the social condition of southern African Americans, Washington speculated on the location of the absent Cabin One. Interestingly, according to the Robertson brothers, though traces of Cabin One remained until the 1890s, no remnants were visible by the time of his visit.[25] Regardless, Washington made an assessment of where he thought the cabin used to be, later changing his mind, experiencing the common failure of memory toward ephemeral elements in the landscape (Figures 4.4 and 4.5). Indeed, he placed most of the emphasis of his visit on Cabin One and the Burroughs house. He paid little regard to Cabin Two, that was still standing, even though it was the structure where he spent most of his childhood. This was his first and only visit to the Robertson farm. He died in 1915 and was buried at Tuskegee Institute.

Transition to a Memorial Landscape

Following Washington's visit in 1908, no measures were taken to publicly mark the farm as the site of his birth for many years. This changed in 1937

Figure 4.4. The first of two photos published in Outlook Magazine *that speak to the confusion between Cabin One, the birth cabin, and Cabin Two, the kitchen cabin. This photo is of Cabin Two, which stood until the 1920s. November 3, 1900.* Outlook Magazine.

Figure 4.5. The second photo from Outlook Magazine *describing the place of Washington's birth. While the caption claims to be the place where Washington thinks he was born, his birth cabin no longer remained by the time this article was written in 1900. The cabin shown above may not have even existed on the site. November 3, 1900.* Outlook Magazine.

when African American Congressman Arthur Mitchell visited the farm to lobby for the establishment of an industrial trade school at the site. Mitchell addressed a crowd in Rocky Mount, promoting the commemoration of Washington and his birthplace. Proceedings were later taken to the Robertson farm where "Uncle" Henry Swain, a childhood friend of Washington's, identified the site of Cabin Two as Washington's birthsite and marked the location with an iron stake. The accuracy of Mr. Swain's identification was later called into question, as very little of Cabin Two existed to help him place the stake. Regardless of the conjectural nature of the identification, this visit celebrated the connection between the site and Booker T. Washington.

After the Robertsons returned the farm to working order, few traces of the farm of Washington's memory remained. Cabin Two, that for a time housed John Robertson's mother-in-law, was removed in 1922 and most other Burroughs era improvements were either obliterated or substantially altered.

John Robertson died in 1927, leaving the farm to his wife Martha and their sons. One son, Tony, took up residence in the main house and constructed a small two-room house northwest of the main dwelling in 1932 for his widowed mother.[26] She lived in the cottage until her death in November 1943. Tony Robertson continued to live on the property for another two years until it was sold to divide the value of the estate among the Robertson siblings.

Tony Robertson farmed the land until he left the property in 1945, though probably less intensively than his father had in the early part of the 1900s. An aerial photo from 1949, though taken several years past the Robertson's departure, shows the structures, roads, and patterns of field and forest that were largely created during the family's time on the property (Figure 4.6). Cleared agricultural fields were located on the ridge of the future elementary school, along the flat lands by Gills Creek, and in the northeastern corner of the property. Much of the site remained in original forest.

Several tobacco barns remained, notably the Burroughs-era barn near the Jack-O-Lantern Branch and one near Route 122. A cluster of agricultural buildings was located on the ridge near the future school site, surrounded by working fields. As documented in aerial photos from the 1940s, several barns and outbuildings were still located in the proximity of the former Burroughs residence, including animal enclosures and storage barns (Figure 4.7). These buildings and landscape patterns provided the basic spatial framework on which the next tenants structured their their vastly different mission.

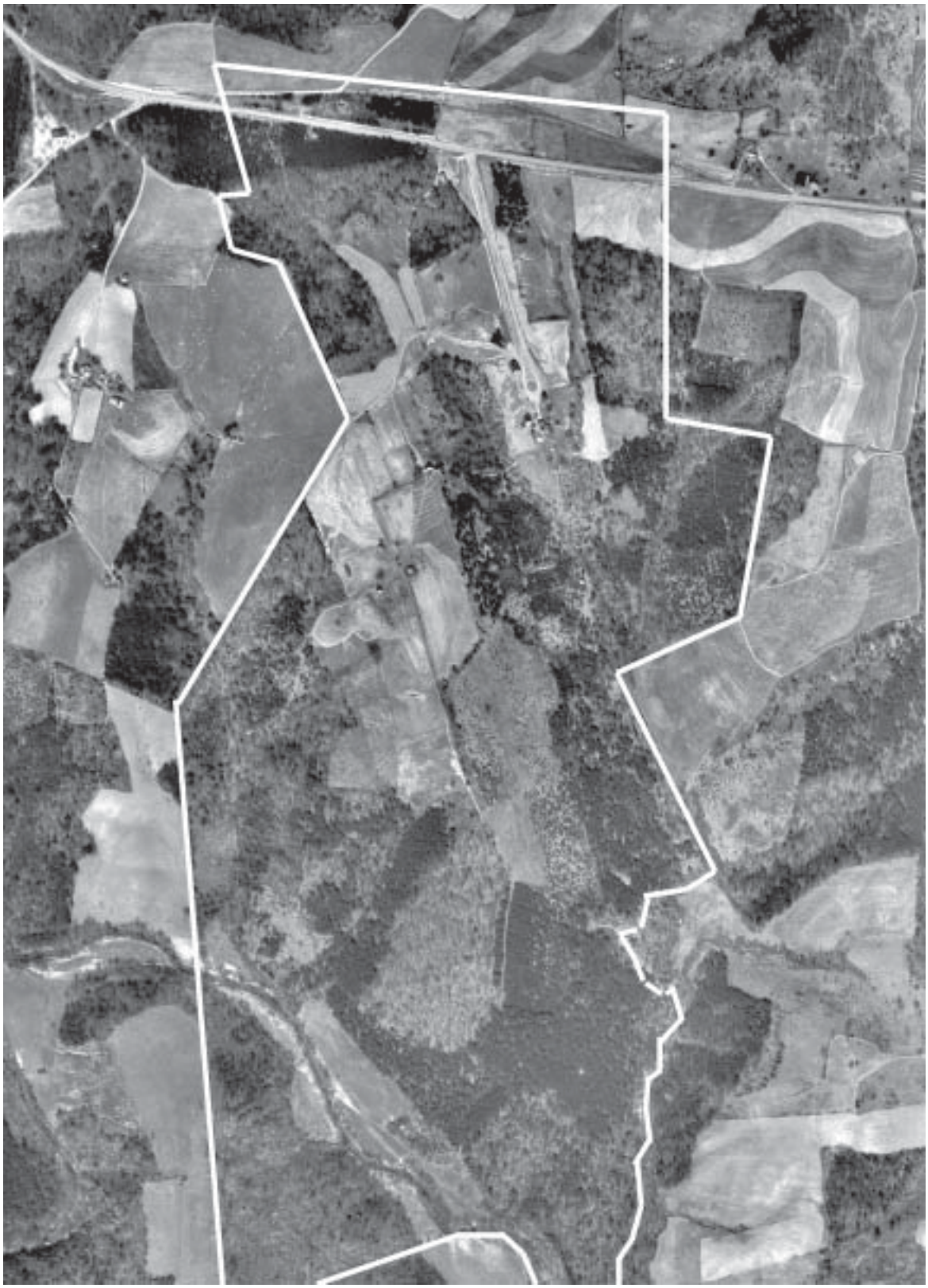

Figure 4.6. 1949 aerial photo of the site. This photo can be used to speculate about former activities using field and forest patterns in varying stages of successional growth, traces of roads and trails, and agricultural outbuildings. The white line represents the approximate park boundary today. Photo courtesy of the U.S. Geological Survey. EROS Data Center. Sioux Falls, SD.

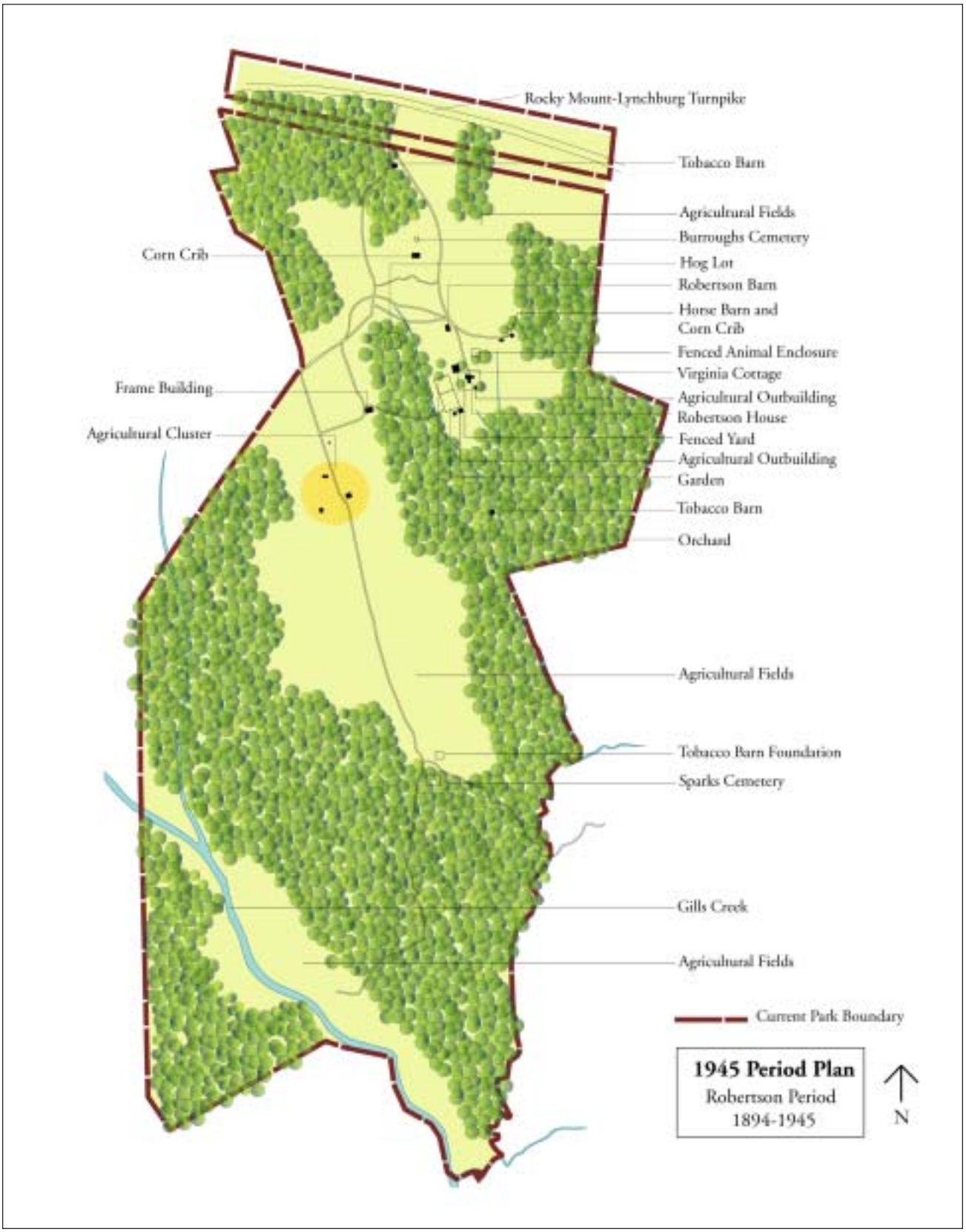

Figure 4.7. 1945 Period Plan. Not to scale. 2001. Image manipulated by OCLP from GMP maps created by Philadelphia Support Office Stewardships and Partnerships.

Endnotes- Robertson Period

[1] Report of R. Burroughs, receiver, Case of Burroughs vs. Burroughs, Franklin County Court, VA. c. December 1890. Court records courtesy of Dr. William Baber. Franklin County Courthouse.

[2] Peter Robertson, interviewed by BOWA historian Albert. J. Benjamin, December 1964. BOWA files.

[3] Report of R. Burroughs, receiver, Case of Burroughs vs. Burroughs, Franklin County Court, VA. c. December 1890. Court records courtesy of Dr. William Baber. Franklin County Courthouse.

[4] Peter Robertson, 1964.

[5] WPA Historical Inventory of Franklin County. "Old Lester Home." WPA Vol II. 728.09755 Wor. Rocky Mount Public Library.

[6] Works Projects Administration of Virginia, Historical Inventory of the "Old Burroughs Home," Birthplace of Booker T. Washington. Research by Essie W. Smith of Rocky Mount Virginia, November 8, 1937. BOWA files.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10]Ibid.

[11] Grover Robertson, interviewed by BOWA historian Albert. J. Benjamin, December 1964. BOWA files.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Works Projects Administration of Virginia, Historical Inventory of the "Old Burroughs Home." 1937. BOWA files.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Grover Robertson, 1964.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Peter Robertson, 1964.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Grover Robertson, 1964.

[21] Mackintosh, "Booker T. Washington National Monument, an Administrative History," Division of History. Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, June 18, 1969, 13.

[22] Grover Robertson, 1964.

[23] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 13.

[24] Booker T. Washington, "Negro Homes," *Century Illustrated Magazine,* May 1908, 71. The historical record provokes a long-standing controversy over the existence of the birthplace cabin versus the cabin of Washington's childhood. The Robertson brothers remembered that their father told them that Thomas Burroughs, son of Washington's former master, had said that Booker was born in a cabin east of the house. According to Burroughs, the cabin was in such poor condition that the mother and her family were subsequently moved into the cabin to the right (or west) of the so-called "big house." The only parts of the birthplace cabin that the Robertsons could recall were the chimney and the potato hole. The logs from which it had been built had rotted and had been removed. (Bearss - citing tape recorded interviews with Peter & Grover Robertson Dec. 1964 - on file BOWA) However, as this testimony was based on hearsay that was more than one hundred years old at the time of the recording, its reliability is questionable.

[25] Ibid., 9.

[26] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 24.

Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial Period, 1945-1957

Formation of the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial

The disparity between African Americans and whites in the eyes of the law and general culture was stark between the Reconstruction and the mid-1900s. In response to the grossly unequal and discriminatory culture that pervaded the nation, African American leaders began to unify in the early part of the twentieth century. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was one of the first organizations to address the issue of race relations. They organized in 1909 and slowly gained membership and recognition, tackling examples of racial inequality on a local and national level. By the 1940s, the Civil Rights Movement had gained momentum and during the next two decades exploded onto the national scene with the leadership of such figures as Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X.

During the early years of this era, national leaders began to recognize the power of the unified African American political voice and courted their vote with a series of accommodations.[1] According to Patricia West in *Domesticating History, The Political Origins of America's House Museums*, with World War II taxing the nation's resources and racial unrest intensifying throughout the nation, the federal government placated African Americans through commemoration of notable African American figures.[2] The first such site authorized by Congress was the George Washington Carver National Monument in Diamond, Missouri in 1943, which was promoted for its potential to stimulate "interracial understanding."[3]

One of the early promoters of the George Washington Carver Monument was Sidney J. Phillips, a graduate of Tuskegee Institute, who was an educator, and a marketing professional with the Nehi soft-drink company (Figure 5.1). Phillips was interested in advancing the name and ideals of early African American leaders such as Carver and Booker T. Washington, both of whom were his former teachers. In addition to his effort on behalf of the George Washington Carver National Monument, he became involved with Washington's birthplace in 1945, when the Robertson farm was put up for sale. The advertised sale first caught the eye of Washington's daughter, Portia Washington Pittman, who became interested in securing the site. After being told that Tuskegee Institute did not have the resources for the purchase, she approached her friend and neighbor Sidney Phillips and found him receptive to the idea.[4]

Other parties besides Pittman and Phillips were interested in the sale including several local farmers and the Negro Organization Society. While Tuskegee Institute did not formally bid on the property, they supported the Negro Organization Society's efforts to secure the land.[5] *The Journal and Guide* of Norfolk, Virginia wrote an editorial about the forthcoming sale:

> The farm on which the late great Booker T. Washington was born near Rocky Mount, Virginia, is to be put up for sale at auction. . . . This occasion will present a great opportunity to our race to secure ownership of the birthplace of a great American and to dedicate it to a use suitably perpetuating the memory of a revered leader and educator. . . . One proposal would be this: for the Negro Organization Society, perhaps in cooperation with others purchase the farm and then get the state of Virginia to establish and operate thereon a first-class trade technical and agricultural school.[6]

Figure 5.1. Sidney Phillips, president of the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial. Circa 1945. BOWA files.

Phillips is said to have scouted the auction early, claiming to be with the press in order to see how much money was being sought for the property.[7] After learning how much he might need, he arranged financing through his employer, the Nehi Company. Phillips subsequently outbid the other parties and purchased the property on October 15, 1945 for $7,610.[8] Tuskegee Institute objected to the method by which Phillips secured the estate, marking the beginning of a long conflict between the two parties.

After the sale, Phillips formed the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial, established as a legal entity to commemorate Washington through physical monumentation and industrial training at his birth site.[9] As president of the organization, he sold the newly acquired property to the Birthplace Memorial in January 1946.[10]

From the very beginning, Phillips had high hopes for the Birthplace Memorial and was vocal with state and local lawmakers regarding his agenda. He was anxious to combine two of his key interests; the advancement of Washington's message and product marketing. His lofty vision for the new Birthplace Memorial included the establishment of community organizations, educational opportunities, and commemorative resources that would spread Washington's message of goodwill and interracial harmony.

Phillips' lobbying was rewarded with an appropriation of $15,000 from the Virginia Legislature in March 1946 for general promotion and physical improvements at the site. As the property had been a private agricultural landscape for decades, the site and its resources required many alterations to meet the institutional needs of the new organization. A photo from 1946 shows the existing narrow, rutted dirt driveway, weeds and scrub growth in the former farm yard, and the decaying residential and agricultural buildings that were unfit for Phillips' projected organization (Figure 5.2).

Early Accomplishments of the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial

Although the State appropriated $15,000 for the advancement of the private Birthplace Memorial, Phillips knew that sum would not sustain his ambitions. To generate additional funds, Phillips proposed the minting of commemorative coins honoring Booker T. Washington, the profits from which would benefit the Birthplace Memorial. Such an undertaking required congressional support. He allied himself with several influential federal legislators who helped successfully pass a bill on August 7, 1946 authorizing the minting of the coins. After an auspicious beginning, coin sales languished well below projected levels. Sluggish sales continued in following years, plaguing Phillips' administration of the Birthplace Memorial.

Beginning in 1946, with the state funds, Phillips implemented a series of physical improvements and outreach programs. The Commonwealth of Virginia constructed the first tangible improvement; a new two-lane driveway connecting the former Burroughs house to the new State Route 122 that had been widened and straightened in 1945 from the old Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike (Figures 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5).[11] The new driveway, with its formal, linear alignment, contrasted with the former meandering farm entry drive. Stone pillars punctuated the graded and surfaced driveway at the entrance of Route 122.

Phillips constructed or renovated several buildings in the late 1940s to house Birthplace Memorial programs. The organization utilized the old Burroughs house for their headquarters but completed substantial renovations to modernize the aging structure. As seen in a photo from the early years of the Birthplace Memorial, the house needed a coat of paint, the small porch sagged, and the yard was overgrown with weeds, tall grass and poorly maintained trees (Figure 5.6). To update the structure, the Birthplace Memorial rebuilt an enlarged front porch on both the main dwelling and the east addition,

Figure 5.2. An early Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial photo that shows the condition of the farm when Phillips acquired it. Note the numerous barns, agricultural outbuildings, and heavily rutted driveway. Circa 1946. BOWA files.

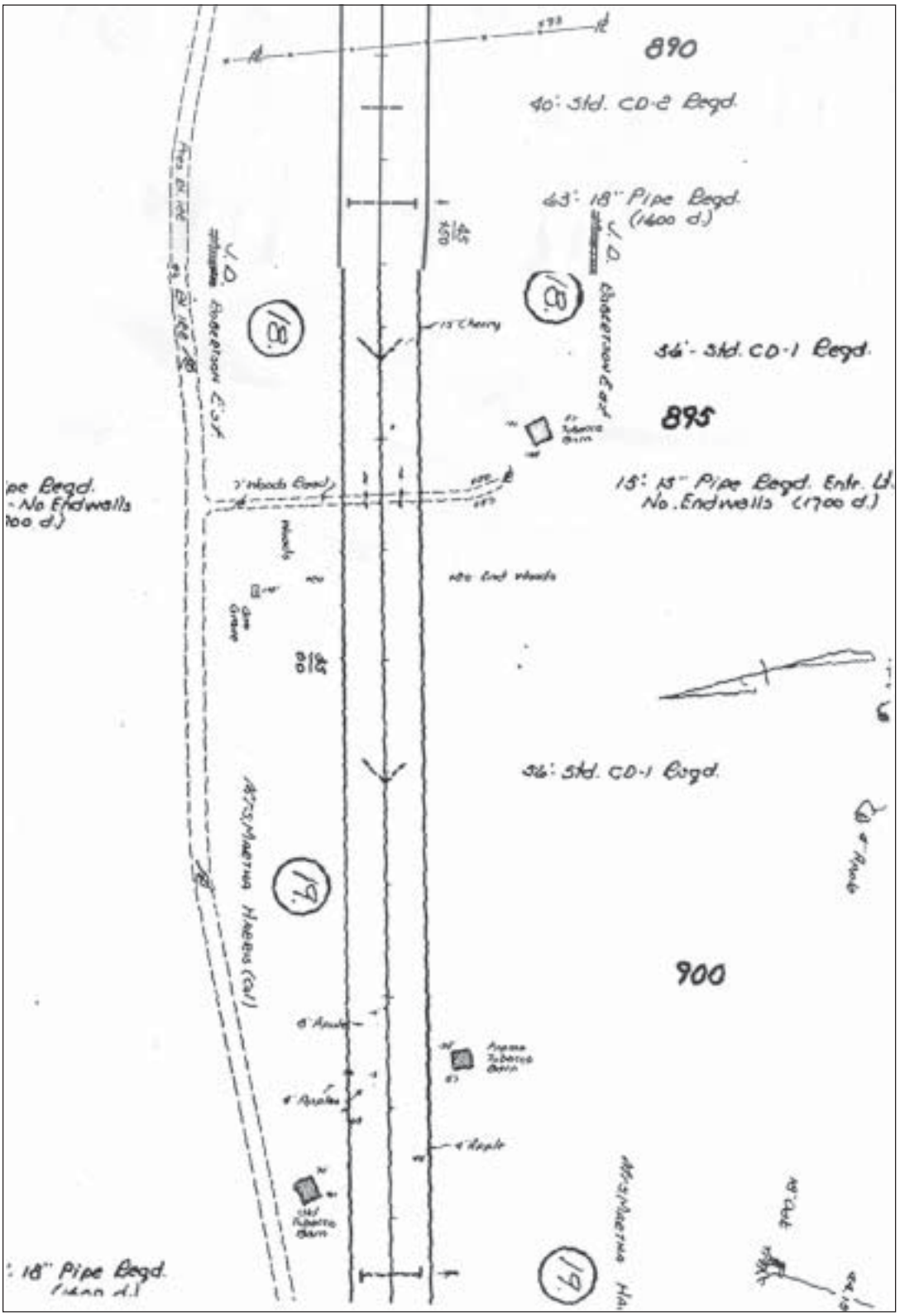

Figure 5.3. "Plan and Profile of Proposed State Highway. Franklin County from 0.865 mi. S. of Staunton River to Burnt Chimney." Note that three tobacco barns remained into the 1940s, as did several old apple trees, possibly remnants from former orchards. October 16, 1941. Revised August 31, 1945. no A 2076-1. Drawing courtesy of Virginia Department of Transportation.

Figure 5.4. Construction of the new Birthplace Memorial driveway. Note the old entry drive along the tree line at the far right of the image. 1946. BOWA files.

Figure 5.5. The completed double-lane boulevard style driveway. Note the graded roadbed and shoulder. The Burroughs family cemetery is visible at image right. Circa 1946. BOWA files.

Figure 5.6. Former Burroughs house as seen shortly after the Birthplace Memorial acquired the site. The house was in disrepair and the yard was overgrown. Note the fence that enclosed the yard, the large, declining tree on image right, the addition to the left of the main structure, and the outbuilding located behind the house. Circa 1946. BOWA files.

Figure 5.7. The former Burroughs house after improvements were made by the Birthplace Memorial. The structure served as Birthplace Memorial headquarters until it burned down in 1950. Circa 1949. BOWA files.

Figure 5.9. Hopkins Hall, constructed in 1949. Circa 1950. BOWA files.

Figure 5.8. Tuck Hall, the renovated barn that served as a dormitory and dining room for the Birthplace Memorial. Note the boulevard entry road and circular turn-around. Circa 1950. BOWA files.

Figure 5.10. The east side of Hopkins Hall. Note the cabin replica in the background. Circa 1952. BOWA Files

painted the house, replaced the roof, and cleared vegetation (Figure 5.7).

Phillips and his organization also converted an old Robertson frame barn into Tuck Industrial Hall in 1949 to serve as a dormitory and dining hall (Figure 5.8). The building was located approximately one hundred yards north of the former Burroughs house, at the juncture of the old farm road and the Memorial driveway, facing south into the heart of the property. Also constructed in 1949 was Hopkins Hall, a two story brick building, named after Walter L. Hopkins, one of the first white men named to the Memorial's board of trustees (Figure 5.9 and 5.10).[12]

Hopkins Hall was set into a hill east of the former Burroughs house with a walkout basement facing the Birthplace Memorial's eastern boundary. The small house originally built for the Robertson widow was also utilized for Birthplace Memorial activities. It was eventually expanded into a twelve room structure and named Virginia Cottage. The Birthplace Memorial located this cluster of buildings in the center of the old farmstead, drawing on the existing infrastructure and the symbolic proximity to Washington's birthsite for the focus for their activities (Figure 5.11).

In February 1948, Phillips flexed his political muscles and had a United States post office located at

the site, called "Booker T. Washington Birthplace, Virginia."[13] This was a triumph for the Birthplace Memorial, giving it instant credibility as a federally recognized establishment. Phillips wrote:

> To have a community named for the noted educator is a great tribute. The center of this community is a second-class United States Post Office through which millions of pieces of mail pass annually. With each piece carrying the postmark, the public is reminded of a memorial to a great American.[14]

The post office almost exclusively serviced the mailings of the Birthplace Memorial. Phillips' political clout continued to marshal the post office through the next decade when it came under scrutiny from various officials for being too small to enjoy full post office status. He managed to keep it operating, had his wife appointed postmistress, and saw about the issuing of the Booker T. Washington Centennial Stamp.[15]

On December 23, 1950, not long after repairs were made to the former Burroughs house, the dwelling was destroyed by fire. As seen in a photo taken after the blaze, the fire devastated the structure and damaged adjacent buildings (Figure 5.12). The organization sustained the loss of office equipment, supplies, and records from sale of the Booker T. Washington commemorative coins. The Birthplace Memorial received $133,800 to cover the loss of the one million names and addresses of coin purchasers, office equipment, the building, and damages to adjacent structures.[16] As the leader of the organization, Phillips was accused by some of orchestrating the blaze for the insurance payment; an unsubstantiated charge that nevertheless shadowed him in subsequent years as the Birthplace Memorial fell under increased scrutiny by a sometimes hostile public.

The Birthplace Memorial continued to expand its landholdings after the initial acquisition in 1946. In October 1949, neighbor Albert J. Saunders sold 246 acres of his abutting lands to the Birthplace Memorial. This expanded the Birthplace Memorial's holdings on the north and east of their existing property.[17] Posey L. Plybon sold an additional one hundred acres to the Birthplace Memorial a month later. These new parcels brought the Birthplace Memorial's total holdings to 550 acres.[18]

The Birthplace Memorial continued its campaign to transform the former farm into a campus-like

Figure 5.12. The fire of December 1950 destroyed the former Burroughs house, all of its contents, and damaged the cabin replica, pictured in the rear of the photo. 1950. Photo courtesy of Mrs. Alice Smith Jones.

Figure 5.11. The core landscape of the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial. Graded and surfaced paths led between the driveway turn-around and numerous structures, including the Virginia Cottage, Tuck Hall, poultry houses, and a concession stand. Circa 1952. BOWA files.

setting by beginning construction on Burch Hall in 1951. This structure was planned as a two-story, thirty by sixty foot, brick building located south of Hopkins Hall. After the foundation was partially completed, a celebration was held on April 1, 1951 to dedicate the proposed structure.[19] Despite the fervor surrounding its dedication, construction of Burch Hall never progressed beyond its foundation, which deteriorated in subsequent years.

While most of the property was not actively used, a demonstration farm operated there in cooperation with the Booker T. Washington Memorial Trade School in Roanoke and local farmers. The demonstration farm educated students and local farmers in the spirit of Washington's respect for labor and about recent advances in agriculture and conservation. Wheat, corn, tobacco, cotton, and vegetables for canning were grown on the Birthplace Memorial's farm. However, this work-study program lasted only a year due to the Korean War draft.[20] Undoubtedly, only a small percentage of the land owned by the Birthplace Memorial was ever put into agricultural production and by 1953, only "a mere handful" of workers were farming at the Birthplace Memorial.[21]

Commemoration on the Landscape

While most activities of the Birthplace Memorial sought to educate southern African Americans, several activities spoke directly to honoring Booker T. Washington. The most tangible of these was the "reconstruction" of Washington's birthplace cabin. Henry Swain, Washington's boyhood friend who identified the site of the cabin in 1937, was called upon again to site the cabin replica. On Swain's advice, the cabin was located at the southwest corner of the former Burroughs house, or the approximate location of Cabin Two (Figure 5.13).[22] Swain confused Cabin One and Cabin Two, identifying the location of Cabin Two as the place of Washington's birth. Using Swain's judgement, the birthplace replica was built on the remains of Cabin Two that had been removed in 1922.

Phillips, who was well acquainted with Washington's autobiography that clearly described the condition and appearance of the cabin, supervised the design and construction (Figure 5.14). However, when completed in 1949, the neat, charming, log cabin bore little resemblance to the one of Washington's memory (Figure 5.15). The original cabin with its window without glass, uncertain door, and pile of rags for sleeping, was not replicated.[23] Patricia West in her book *Domesticating History*, discussed the cabin replica:

> In keeping with the early house museum movement's general emphasis on glorification rather than historical reproduction, the Phillips replica suggested a tidy all-American "log-cabin." Although to Washington himself the cabin demonstrated the circumstances from which he was able to rise "up from slavery," the replica sidestepped the negative comment on the antebellum South that would have been made had the cabin been refurnished accurately.[24]

Phillips may have chosen this interpretation for several reasons; to avoid arousing animosity of the

Figure 5.13. The site identified by Henry Swain as the place of Washington's birth. Circa 1947. BOWA files.

Figure 5.14. Construction of the cabin replica. Note the sign that identifies this as the location where Washington was born. 1949. BOWA files.

Figure 5.15. Birthplace Memorial cabin replica, built in 1949 virtually on top of the remains of Cabin Two. Circa 1949. BOWA files.

Figure 5.16. Dedication of the Booker T. Washington cabin replica. 1949. BOWA files.

whites that funded its construction, or because he did not want to dishonor his mentor by accurately recreating the squalid conditions of his youth. Regardless of its accuracy, the birthplace cabin was hailed as a great achievement for the Birthplace Memorial. The structure was dedicated in May of 1949, during a ceremony attended by high school bands, local citizens, school children, and William Tuck, the Governor of Virginia (Figure 5.16). *The Southern Letter* wrote of the great success, describing the industrial demonstrations, musical pageantry, and socializing that took place.[25]

Built next to the cabin replica was a wishing well, inscribed with Washington's quote "Cast down your bucket where you are" (Figure 5.17). Phillips claimed that up to a thousand dollars a year was tossed in the

Figure 5.17. Wishing well at the Birthplace Memorial, inscribed "Cast Down Your Bucket Where You Are." Circa 1950. BOWA files.

well as donations.[26] Another commemorative effort arranged by Phillips was the landscape memorial of "The Life of Booker T. Washington in Electrical Illumination." The five acre parcel at the core of the site was encircled by electrical wire, supported by ninety-three posts.[27] Each post, adorned with colored lights to correspond with important events, symbolized a year of Booker T. Washington's life. As seen in photographs from the 1950s, the posts, lights, and plaques were located throughout the core area. A light can be seen attached to the cabin and other posts were arranged to the southeast and southwest of the cabin replica and behind Hopkins Hall (Figures 5.18 and 5.19):

> The scheme is so arranged that the white bulbs begin on the first post, which is marked 1857, and end on the post marked 1914. The cabin wherein Booker was born represents the beginning and is marked within with a red light while the amber in the post is marked 1915 represents the year of his death. Between these are red lights here and there, representing the years in which outstanding events happened during his lifetime. The amber lights, beginning in 1915, appear on each post except those representing years that indicate the bestowment of national honors upon his name and memory. In such years the blue lights appear.[28]

With this exhibit's installation in 1949, the Birthplace Memorial took early, though unconventional, measures to interpret Washington's life. The exhibit was lauded as giving "a historical background to the Birthplace for the study of visitors and to the passerby it is more than an attraction – it is a beautiful and solemn reminder of the life and leadership of a great man."[29] Phillips used this expression to convey historical and educational information about his organization while attracting visitors with an eye-catching display.

Further commemoration occurred in 1953 with the designation of a fifty-five mile stretch of Route 122 as the Booker T. Washington Memorial Highway. This designation occurred during the heated national debate over Jim Crow legitimacy, school desegregation, and race relations. A group from the neighboring town of Moneta opposed the new highway markers, claiming that property values along the newly designated highway would decrease.[30] Their concerns went unanswered by the state. Possibly in response to the state's inattention to their concerns, dissenters pulled the signs down and scattered them along the road the first night they were installed. After the state replaced the signs two days later, angry citizens again defaced them, this time with black paint.[31] While the State made a conscious effort to restore the signs, vandalism continued and only a few remained standing.[32]

The Booker T. Washington Elementary School

Sidney Phillips' promotion of Washington's message of passive interracial goodwill fell out of favor during the growing national Civil Rights Movement that called for the desegregation of American schools. However, on a local level, Phillips remained influential by maintaining a comfortable relationship with many white lawmakers and made proclamations supporting a continued "separate-but-equal" philosophy toward school segregation. Under Phillips' leadership, the Birthplace Memorial donated six acres of land to Franklin County during the early 1950s for the establishment of an African American elementary school. These six acres were located in the northwest area of the property, set well back from Route 122 and on the ridge where the Burroughs and Robertson families once farmed.

Figure 5.18. Enlargement of a photo that shows the dated posts, part of the "Booker T. Washington in Electrical Illumination," located southwest of the cabin replica. Note the posts on image right that depict important years in Washington's life. Circa 1955. BOWA files.

Figure 5.19. Taken immediately after the former headquarters building fire, dated posts of the "Booker T. Washington in Electrical Illumination" exhibit appear unharmed behind the damaged cabin replica. 1950. BOWA files.

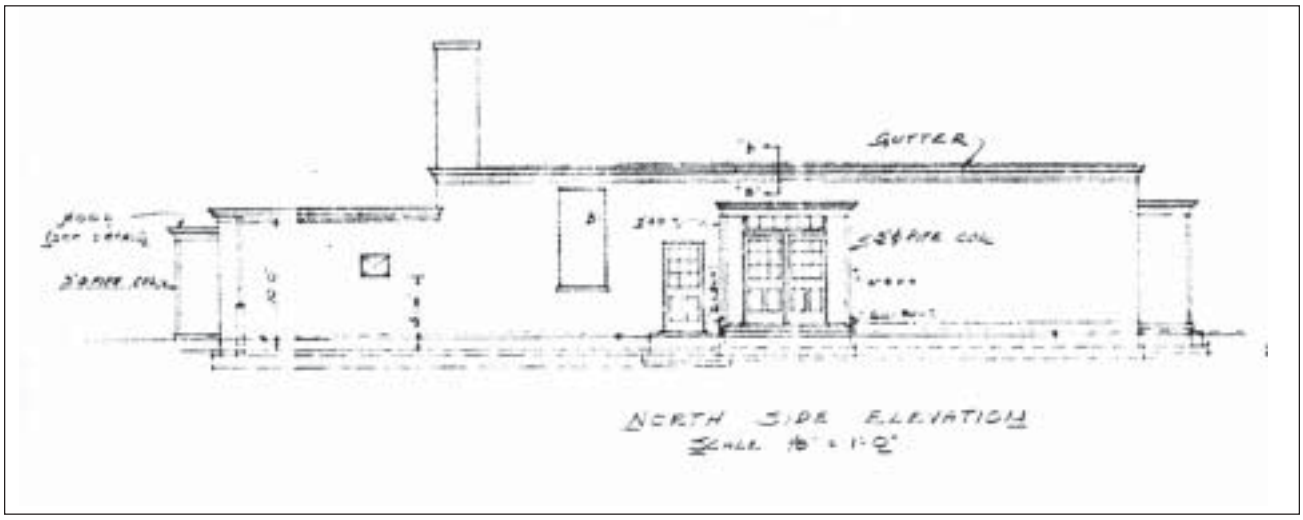

Figure 5.20. Booker T. Washington Elementary School, constructed by the Franklin County School Board and opened for African American students in 1954. July 16, 1953. TIC drawing number 404-25900. BOWA files.

Amidst tension created by the unprecedented *Brown vs. Board of Education* case, Phillips continued to support racially segregated schools in several arenas including the state legislature and the National Baptist Convention. He wrote numerous articles in the *Roanoke Tribune* in 1953 discouraging school desegregation.[33] Largely because of Phillips' advocacy, the state built the Hales Ford Negro Elementary School, a tidy one-story brick building, for $81,000 from Virginia's State School Construction Funds (Figure 5.20).[34] Prior to its construction, African American schools in the county were unimpressive collections of buildings that often lacked central heating systems and indoor plumbing.[35] The new school was a vast improvement over previous segregated structures and others that remained scattered throughout the county, including a one-room school house approved for construction that same year.[36]

Ironically, five months after the Supreme Court ruled against segregation in *Brown vs. Board of Education*, the Hales Ford Negro Elementary School opened for classes, making it the first consolidated African American school in Franklin County.[37] The school's name was soon changed to the Booker T. Washington Elementary School in October 1954 at the request of the parent-teacher association and was touted by local leaders as a positive experiment in racial understanding.[38] Reportedly, President Eisenhower sent a telegram supporting the school and its role in promoting good democratic citizens.[39]

James Holmes came to the school in 1954 as principal, teacher, and basketball coach, remaining until the school closed in 1966. He and his family lived in Tuck Hall, the Robertson's renovated barn, during his tenure at the school. Holmes and three other teachers educated a small number of local children in combined classes up to grade seven (Figures 5.21, 5.22).

Figure 5.21. The Wolverines; Booker T. Washington Elementary School's basketball team, coached by Principal Holmes. Note the homemade hoop and packed earth surface. Circa 1955. BOWA files.

The rural school stood amongst agricultural fields and forests on the western side of the property, separated from the Birthplace Memorial's activities by steep topography and vegetation. Holmes reported

that the baseball outfield backed onto a hay field. Views on the west of the school would have been similarly agricultural, as the neighboring farmer worked fields directly adjacent to the school. Outdoor facilities at the school included playing fields to the south, a packed earth basketball court to the west, and a playground with a swing set and merry-go-round on the school's eastern side. The school's gravel entry road traveled along the property's far western boundary, culminating in a roughly circular turn-around in front of the school. The front of the school was supplemented by a flagpole and landscaping donated by the parent-teacher association (Figure 5.23).[40] The plantings consisted of barberry and juniper shrubs and a Norway spruce tree.

Financial Troubles of the Birthplace Memorial

Despite his gift for promotion and political maneuvering, Phillips constantly found the Birthplace Memorial in financial trouble. He placed a great deal of hope in the possibility of continued profits from the sale of commemorative coins to finance his plans. However, after the initial success of the Booker T. Washington Commemorative coins, sales dropped dramatically and languished well below optimistic projections. To broaden their appeal, Phillips successfully lobbied Congress to mint a combination Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver coin in 1951.[41] Many of the original unsold coins were melted and recast. Phillips increased promotion of the coins using anti-Communist rhetoric at the height of the McCarthy era. He promised to use fifty-percent of the profits to "fight communism" in the African American community.[42] Yet, even this timely endorsement failed to help sales. Although five million coins were slated for minting, only two million were made, and after five years only 130,000 of the two million had sold.[43]

In a dispute over coin profits, Portia Washington Pittman and Robert Ephraim, president of the Booker T. Washington Foundation, filed a breach of contract suit against Phillips in 1953.[44] The two claimed that Phillips owed them $45,750 for payment of services relating to the sale of the Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver commemorative coins. This conflict was eventually resolved and Washington Pittman's involvement in the Birthplace Memorial continued.

Figure 5.22. Students from the Booker T. Washington Elementary School's safety patrol. Circa 1955. BOWA files.

Figure 5.23. Students raising the flag in the circular turn-around in front of the school. Circa 1955. BOWA files.

By 1953, the Birthplace Memorial's ongoing financial troubles reached a breaking point. They had defaulted on their taxes for two years, the mortgage was still outstanding, and Phillips was under investigation by the Internal Revenue Service.[45] Amongst the many reasons for the Birthplace Memorial's insolvency was Phillips' perception that long-standing opposition from Tuskegee Institute, of which he had recently been denied the presidency, and apathy on the part of African Americans hindered the progress of his organization.[46] He wrote, "Our experience indicates that the white people were more interested in seeing the ideals and teachings of Booker T. Washington

perpetuated than Negroes."[47] Another interpretation of the collapse of the private Birthplace Memorial is that many southern African Americans were no longer interested in accommodating a culture of white supremacy. Phillips often courted whites and tread softly around the issue of segregation to further his agenda for the Birthplace Memorial. In the process of promoting the goals and teachings of a man from a prior generation, he may have alienated the contemporary populace he sought to reach.[48]

Booker T. Washington National Monument Foundation

As early as 1953, Phillips wrote a letter to the Director of the National Park Service, Conrad Wirth, asking him to consider the formation of the Booker T. Washington National Monument. Although official bankruptcy would not follow for two more years, Phillips knew that alternative measures must be taken to secure the Birthplace Memorial's legacy. Since Congress and the nation had already opened the debate on African American commemoration ten years earlier with the establishment of the George Washington Carver National Monument, Wirth approved a historical and recreational study of Booker T. Washington's birthplace.[49]

The study raised several issues that caused the NPS to reserve enthusiasm for national park status. Assistant Regional Historian Frank Barnes, the author of the historic study, claimed the integrity of the site relating to Booker T. Washington's life there was very poor, the "birthplace cabin" was non-authentic, and many noncontributing features would have to be removed if the property became a national park.[50] Many of Barnes' arguments resembled those made during the study of the George Washington birthplace in eastern Virginia. Both expressed doubt about the respective site's limited integrity and the possibility that the subjects may be better commemorated at other sites that related to their later professional development.[51] Also, the remote location of Booker T. Washington's birthplace caused Barnes to question the merit of a national park at the site. Observing the local political atmosphere, he cited potential difficulties with establishing a national to an African American figure, such as the recent conflict over the dedication of the Booker T. Washington Memorial Highway.[52] Barnes chose not to recommend the site as a suitable addition to the National Park Service based on a practical knowledge of the region's low tolerance for racial integration and the property's lack of physical integrity.

The recreational portion of the study claimed that the site was "not scenically outstanding," and "not particularly attractive."[53] The less than stellar evaluation of the site's natural and scenic qualities reinforced the tone set by Barnes' historical report, yet Washington's significance in American history was not overlooked. The compiled report of October 1953 by Regional Director Cox that presented the negative findings to Director Wirth gave faint praise to Washington's contributions as a national figure:

> On the basis of Barnes' evaluation I would agree that the man himself is of national significance and from the standpoint of his importance in American history, he is deserving of national recognition. However, the birth site itself is not equally impressive, and lacks the potential interest and value for commemorative purposes which are necessary to justify inclusion in the National Park System.[54]

Upon learning of the National Park Service's findings, Phillips sought political assistance from Congress. He successfully lobbied for the introduction of a bill in 1954 to establish the Booker T. Washington National Monument without first seeking support from the NPS.[55] Phillips used the remainder of the year before the next congressional vote to drum up support in letter writing campaigns and newspaper columns. Again, Phillips' views of gradual integration and accommodation toward white interests helped him achieve his goal. While the home of Frederick Douglass was rejected for National Park status during this time, perhaps because of his more radical views, Washington may have been perceived as being more in tune with white social and economic agendas. He was viewed as a nonthreatening representation of national African American leadership.[56]

After defaulting on bank payments in 1955, the Birthplace Memorial's holdings were sold at auction and the property was divided amongst several buyers.[57] The former Plybon tract sold to John W. Booth, the former Saunders tract sold to Ruth Jane and Thomas R. Saunders, and the central tract containing the Birthplace Memorial's buildings and activities sold to Sidney Phillips and Portia Washington Pittman.[58] Phillips and Washington Pittman created yet another organization, the Booker T. Washington National Monument Foundation, underwritten by the

Nehi Corporation, to hold the land and lobby for federal acquisition in the absence of the bankrupt Birthplace Memorial.[59] The Booker T. Washington National Monument Foundation was joined by the Mary Bethune Women's Club, a local organization of African American women, in promoting the former Birthplace Memorial as a national treasure in need of federal recognition.[60]

The escalating Cold War fed American paranoia of communism and aided Phillips and the Bethune Club's promotion of Washington's legacy. Although many white leaders did not support the Civil Rights Movement on its own merits, the threat that the Soviet Union may use America's alienation of its own citizens to undermine American international authority helped African American causes.[61] Faced with this potential international image crisis, white leaders considered promoting the least threatening of African American leaders. Phillips and the Bethune Club were rewarded both for their perseverance and because the political climate proved ready for acknowledgment of Washington's contributions. President Eisenhower authorized the Booker T. Washington National Monument on April 2, 1956.

Sidney Phillips, his Birthplace Memorial, and the Booker T. Washington National Monument Foundation altered the landscape significantly throughout their twelve years at the site. Although they once owned over 500 acres, most of the landscape manipulation occurred within the central tract of land containing the historic resources. As can be seen in careful observation of the 1949 aerial photo, the historic core contained numerous new structures and features built during Phillips's tenure (See Figure 4.6). Phillips transformed the old Burroughs/Robertson farmhouse and domestic yard into a humble campus of administrative buildings and created paths, roads, and parking lots to service the buildings. Undoubtedly, many archeological resources were disturbed during this era of change. Using hindsight, the Birthplace Memorial's accurate location of the cabin replica damaged archeological remains of Cabin Two. Yet, several old Robertson structures remained, altered and unaltered, to recall the former agricultural use of the site. Photos of the period show the extant chicken coop and several old barns standing in proximity to the Birthplace Memorial's contemporary improvements. Following the brief and limited activities of the demonstration farm in the early 1950s, most agricultural fields, especially ones in the southern half of the property, reverted to successional growth (Figure 5.24). It appears that the majority of the southern end of the property remained undisturbed by Birthplace Memorial activities.

While Phillips was undoubtedly successful in promoting his interpretation of Washington's teachings, he failed to ensure his long-term interests. The Birthplace Memorial never achieved financial stability and was scrutinized for its mishandling of numerous situations. It also appears that Phillips failed to adapt with the times and alienated many African Americans in his attempts to advance his and Washington's approach to race relations. Furthermore, few of the Birthplace Memorial's many social, educational, and political accomplishments translated into tangible connections between Washington and the site. After his many years on the site it can be suggested that Phillips' social and cultural vision did not manifest into good stewardship of the land or historical resources. The NPS, the property's future steward, and Phillips' Birthplace Memorial differed greatly in their missions and goals, which translated into vastly different interpretations of the merit and potential of the site.

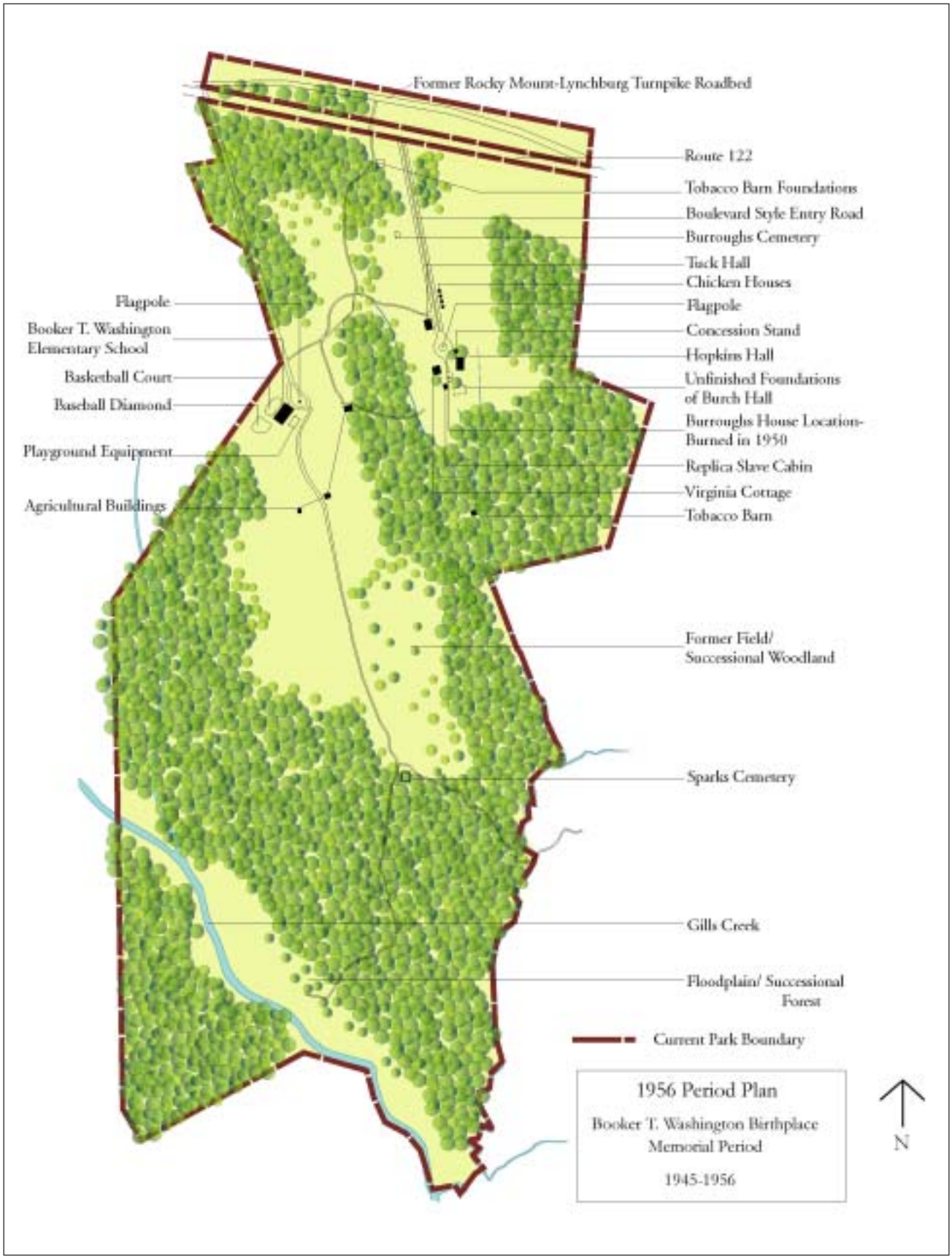

Figure 5.24. 1956 Period Plan. Not to scale. 2001. Image manipulated by OCLP from GMP maps created by the Philadelphia Support Office Stewardships and Partnerships.

Endnotes- Birthplace Memorial Period

[1] Patricia West, *Domesticating History, The Political Origins of America's House Museums* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 136.

[2] Ibid., 137.

[3] Ibid., 139.

[4] Barry Mackintosh, "Booker T. Washington National Monument, An Administrative History," Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation. National Park Service, June 18, 1969, 15.

[5] West, 142.

[6] "Proposal for a Booker T. Washington Memorial." *Journal and Guide*, Norfolk, Va. Saturday, September 29, 1945. BOWA files; Birthplace Memorial, 1946-1955/57.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 16.

[9] Charter Book B. 25, Franklin County Courthouse, Rocky Mount, Va. as cited in Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 18.

[10] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 18.

[11] Ibid., 19.

[12] Ibid., 23

[13] Ibid., 27.

[14] Ibid., 28.

[15] Ibid., 29.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., 26.

[18] Ibid., 27.

[19] Ibid., 24.

[20] Ibid., 33.

[21] Ibid., 33.

[22] Sidney J. Phillips, "Facts and Accomplishments of Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial, Covering a Nine Year Period." BOWA clippings file; Booker T. Washington Centennial Commission Records. 1956-1957 and Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 20.

[23] Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery* (New York: Penguin Putnam Inc., 2000), 2-3.

[24] West, 145.

[25] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 21.

[26] Ibid., 22.

[27] Ibid., 25.

[28] *The Southern Letter*, September 1949, 1, from Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 25.

[29] Ibid.

[30] "Group Protests Road Name," 1953. BOWA clippings file, Birthplace Memorial 1946-1955/57; Highway – 1953.

[31] "Booker T. Washington Markers Smeared," 1953. BOWA clippings file, Birthplace Memorial 1946-1955/57; Highway – 1953.

[32] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 38.

[33] West, 151.

[34] James Holmes claims that the building was constructed for $81,000. Notes from Franklin County School Board meeting minutes of August 10, 1953 cite that $64,869 was appropriated for the school's construction. The difference in price, while not verified, may have been due to cost overruns or change orders. Franklin County School Board Meeting Minutes. August 10, 1953 and May 10, 1954. Franklin County School Board Department, Rocky Mount, Va.

[35] Franklin County School Board Meeting Minutes, October 12, 1953. These notes document that African American parents from the Ephesus and Brown Schools petitioned the school board for a well, a coal stove, and coal. Parents agreed to dig the well themselves if the county furnished the materials. Franklin County School Board Department, Rocky Mount, Va.

[36] Franklin County School Board Meeting Minutes, July 13, 1953. The county agreed to provide construction supervision of the Hales Ford Elementary Negro School, later dedicated as Booker T. Washington Elementary School, and appropriated funds for a one-room school in the Naff's community. Franklin County School Board Department, Rocky Mount, Va.

[37] James Holmes interviewed by Eliot Foulds. June 14, 2000.

[38] *Franklin News-Post*, October 21, 1954, From Franklin County Afro-American Community News, 1964-1966, vol 7. Hayes, 929-FRA. Franklin County Public Library.

[39] Ibid.

[40] James Holmes interviewed by Eliot Foulds. June 14, 2000.

[41] Q. David Bowers, *Commemorative Coins of the United States: A Complete Encyclopedia* (Wolfeboro, NH: Bowers and Merena Galleries, Inc., 1992), 465.

[42] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 51.

[43] Ibid., 52.

[44] "Legal Woes Beset Plans for Memorial," *Washington*

Post, March 16, 1953. BOWA files, 1946-1955.

[45] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 63.

[46] West, 151.

[47] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 72.

[48] West, 151.

[49] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 65.

[50] Ibid., 66.

[51] West, 139.

[52] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 66.

[53] Ibid, 67.

[54] Regional Director Elbert Cox in a letter to Director Wirth, October 23, 1953, cited in Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 68.

[55] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 69.

[56] West, 154.

[57] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 72.

[58] Ibid., 72-73.

[59] Ibid., 73.

[60] *Franklin News-Post*, "Bethune Park re-dedicated; founders cited," Monday, November 27, 2000. BOWA files.

[61] West., 154.

National Park Service Period, 1957-Present

Transfer to the National Park Service

Despite prior recommendations by the NPS and the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, and Monuments discouraging the inclusion of Booker T. Washington's birthplace in the national park system, cursory planning efforts toward the creation of the national park took place. Sidney Phillips' adept lobbying coupled with contemporary political views that supported recognition of African American achievement overrode the negative judgements of NPS officials.

As late as September 1955, the Advisory Board supported honoring Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute, rather than at his birthplace.[1] Yet almost concurrently, NPS District Ranger Hadley submitted a report in August 1955 concerning the lands necessary to establish the National Monument at the site. Hadley, acting on the initiative of the Regional Director of Region One, identified multiple desirable properties. Among them were 207 acres owned by Phillips and the Booker T. Washington National Monument Foundation, 101 acres owned by John and Nellie Booth, and 297 acres owned by Ruth and Thomas Saunders.[2]

In 1956, NPS staff historian Roy E. Appleman visited the area to consider potential boundaries for the park. Foremost, he contradicted Hadley and recommended acquiring only the amount of land containing the historic core, or just over 100 acres.[3] "The national monument tract should be kept as small as possible and still permit adequate entrance and landscape control of the historical features. Any land over and above that would simply invite pressure for development of recreational uses."[4]

Appleman viewed many of the private foundation's achievements unfavorably, questioning their goals, physical improvements, and future at the site. After the tour, Appleman recommended razing all existing structures, considered them obtrusive. He also conversed with several Booker T. Washington National Monument Foundation employees at the site, who said that they fully expected to remain at the site to "carry on our goodwill work" after federal acquisition.[5] Appleman discouraged this in his report. "I consider it very important for the future operation of the national monument that Dr. Phillips and all his associates be removed from the national monument area."[6] Phillips, who wholeheartedly supported the creation of a national monument, misunderstood what the eventual transfer would mean for him and his organization. He would soon find that donating Washington's birthplace to the NPS meant relinquishing control.

Although the land holdings of the former Birthplace Memorial had been divided and sold at auction, the property still held substantial debt. To expedite the inevitable transfer process to the NPS, the Commonwealth of Virginia relieved Phillips' first organization of its obligation for back taxes totaling $17,000 just as Congress passed legislation to authorize the Booker T. Washington National Monument in 1956.[7] The NPS accepted the donation of 199 acres from Virginia in June of that year and began the gradual process of initiating operations on the site.[8]

Phillips' stewardship of the land fell short of NPS standards. The park's first superintendent, Chester Brooks, described the condition of the property when the NPS acquired the site. "The area looked like a city dump."[9] It was reported that eighteen pickup trucks full of trash were removed from the site in December of 1957:[10]

> The buildings at the Monument constitute one of the worst imaginable fire hazards. The attics are filled with papers; the fire extinguishers have not been recharged since 1950; the wiring is unsatisfactory and there are a host of other conditions existing there that defy fire prevention standards.[11]

Aside from the untidiness and safety concerns at the site, the physical improvements made by the Birthplace Memorial dominated the landscape. Entry to the site was provided by the linear, boulevard style, two-lane entry drive built in 1946 (Figure 6.1). The collection of structures located around the historic area, with the exception of the birthplace cabin replica, made no attempt to evoke historic conditions. The remaining structures were created to serve the Birthplace Memorial's educational, promotional, and community programming needs, not the interpretive needs of the NPS (Figures 6.2 and 6.3).

Most of the National Monument's acreage consisted of a patchwork of field and forest. Much of the land adjacent to the core area was maintained as

field and the southern end of the park was kept in forest. A large, linear field on the ridge in the southern region of the site was surrounded by forest that stretched down to Gills Creek. Several structures existed in this large upper field, presumably left over from former agricultural activities. Successional forest growth sprouted within the southeast section of the field, indicating that it had not been cultivated for many years.

Planning the Park's Future

For several months after the NPS began operations at the park, Phillips' private Booker T. Washington National Monument Foundation and the NPS coexisted on site. Public scrutiny of Phillips and his organization intensified during this period. The most stinging attack came from the *Roanoke World-News* which disclosed information about the organization's finances, casting Phillips in a decidedly negative light. Reporter Dick Southerland lambasted Phillips for his expenditure of $225,000 of public money in a series of articles. The articles disclosed information about the commemorative coin sales, employee salaries, and Phillips generous bi-weekly salary of $660.[12] This negative press undermined Phillips' support within the Virginia state government and reinforced the NPS position to remove his organization from the site.

By December 1957, the Booker T. Washington National Monument Foundation and post office vacated the site.[13] The NPS moved the visitor center into the newly vacated Hopkins Hall and restored the former Virginia Cottage for use by the park maintenance foreman and his family.[14]

Figure 6.1. Deteriorated entry road as it appeared when the National Park Service (NPS) acquired the site. Circa 1958. BOWA files.

Initial Mission-66 Planning

Austere budgets during World War II and Cold War military spending of the late 1940s and early 1950s starved the national parks of the funding to sustain proper maintenance activities and modernization campaigns. Crumbling infrastructure, neglected management and maintenance programs, and deferred research efforts characterized these lean years. Many parks first authorized during the 1940s and 1950s never received the funding needed to pursue effective planning and development. Consequently, in 1956 Congress approved the ten-year, comprehensive Mission-66 program. The program addressed a marked increase in post World War II visitation and planned for the fiftieth anniversary of the NPS at the program's fruition in 1966. Mission-66 allowed for major developments including visitor centers, campgrounds, roads, bridges, employee housing, and road

Figure 6.2. The remnants of Burch Hall. Construction never progressed beyond the foundation, which was left to deteriorate. Circa 1958. BOWA files.

Figure 6.3. Phillips' wishing well still remained on the site when the NPS arrived. Circa 1958. BOWA files.

and trail construction.[15] Aside from basic infrastructure improvements, the Mission-66 program sought to create higher standards throughout the system. Elements such as uniform entrance markers listing park resources, a minimum number of employees, and paved trails to points of interest became standardized.[16]

As the park was established a year after the inception of the program, Mission-66 provided the funding to build many of the critical elements needed for Booker T. Washington NM's development. In 1958, the park submitted the first draft of its "Mission-66 Prospectus" (Figure 6.4). Like other parks, the National Monument sought numerous physical improvements, such as new roads and a visitor center, but the prospectus also spoke to the important question of the park's interpretive vision. Because, "Most of the visitors experience only slight inspiration from the visit," the park stressed the importance of interpreting Booker T. Washington's life and accomplishments.[17] The report acknowledged the challenges associated with this because of the lack of physical remains dating to Washington's time at the site and the relatively brief time he lived there.

To address these concerns, the park planned to interpret the site as a typical middle-class 1850s farm. Park historian James Kirkwood, one of the first employees of the new park, described the interpretive goals in saying "we plan to recreate, by means of pictures and written material, the plantation scene of Civil War days. . . . We hope to use this rather typical small plantation to "balance" the distorted and erroneous "magnolia concept" of the South."[18] Physical improvements planned in the prospectus included the construction of a visitor center, new park entry road, interpretive trails, new cabin replica, employee housing, utility building, and removal of non-historic structures. Total estimated costs for the site's Mission-66 program added to $313,060.[19]

Figure 6.4. View of Hopkins Hall. The park advertised its Mission 66 planning agenda to inform people of the substantial changes that were proposed. Circa 1958. BOWA files

Armed with the "Mission-66 Prospectus," park staff embarked on a research and planning campaign to bring the site up to public expectations and the high standards of the NPS. Kirkwood began by gathering materials relating to Booker T. Washington and nineteenth-century Piedmont farms. He sought out people from Washington's past, looking for photos, remembrances, letters, and journals. He also traveled throughout the region taking photos of tobacco barns and farm structures and solicited advice about common farm plants and medicinal herbs from academics.

To evoke a more authentic 1850s farm appearance, the park demolished Tuck Hall, the renovated Robertson barn, the unfinished foundations of Burch Hall, an abandoned house near the elementary school, and several barns and outbuildings constructed by the Robertsons. The park rented forty-three acres to a local farmer who used the land as pasture "so it will look more like it did in Booker T. Washington's day," according to park staff.[20]

Kirkwood prepared a "Vegetational and Historic Base Map" in 1958. This conjectural map was created largely on the recollections of Grover and Peter Robertson. Their memories of springs, structures, field patterns, orchards, and gardens were helpful to Kirkwood who had little else to work from, but were subject to question because of the age of the men and accuracy of their recollections.

A general development plan was also created in 1958 to outline the park's vision for the future and introduced several features that would be debated and revised for years to come (Figure 6.5). Visitor and staff-oriented features such as a visitor center, entry drive, parking lot, utility area, and park residences, were illustrated along with interpretive elements such as reconstructed buildings and roads to be restored, including the old farm entry drive. The plan called for removal of the linear driveway and structures built by Phillips.

The tobacco barn located behind the historic core along the Jack-O-Lantern Branch was inventoried for the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) in 1959 (Figure 6.6). According to the Robertson brothers, one third of the structure was built with logs from a Burroughs tobacco barn. The brothers claimed the structure had been moved approximately one hundred feet from its original location by James Robertson to place it on level ground. The NPS added replacement logs to the structure in 1958 during a restoration project but many original rough-hewn logs remained.[21] Indicative of the site's overall lack of integrity, the barn became the only structure at the park to be listed in the HABS directory.

Cabin Fever

The one so-called "historical" attraction created by the private Birthplace Memorial was Phillips' 1949 kitchen cabin replica. By the late 1950s, the cabin was in disrepair and deemed both unsafe and unsightly by NPS staff. It was listed in a 1959 inventory of the property as in "very poor condition" and subsequently demolished in September of that year.[22]

Knowing nothing definitive about the original structure aside from descriptions of its appearance and location from Washington's autobiography, the Robertson brothers, and "Uncle" Henry Swain, the proposed recreation of the cabin was disputed within the NPS. Charles Peterson, Supervising Architect of Historic Structures, argued against any reconstruction for several reasons, including the lack of background information. He also thought one lone cabin replica would appear out of context on the larger landscape and would become a maintenance problem. Peterson described the project's failings by comparing this proposal to one of his prior experiences with restoration. "In many ways it reminded me of the other Washington birthplace project as it stood in 1930, only this new project appeals to me even less."[23] Peterson recommended using dioramas in the visitor center and a marker at the site of the cabin to depict the structure.[24]

Historian Kirkwood countered Peterson's views, emphasizing the need for some tangible element to mark the scene and "to make the visitor aware of the humble conditions surrounding Washington's birth and early life."[25] Regional Director Cox agreed with

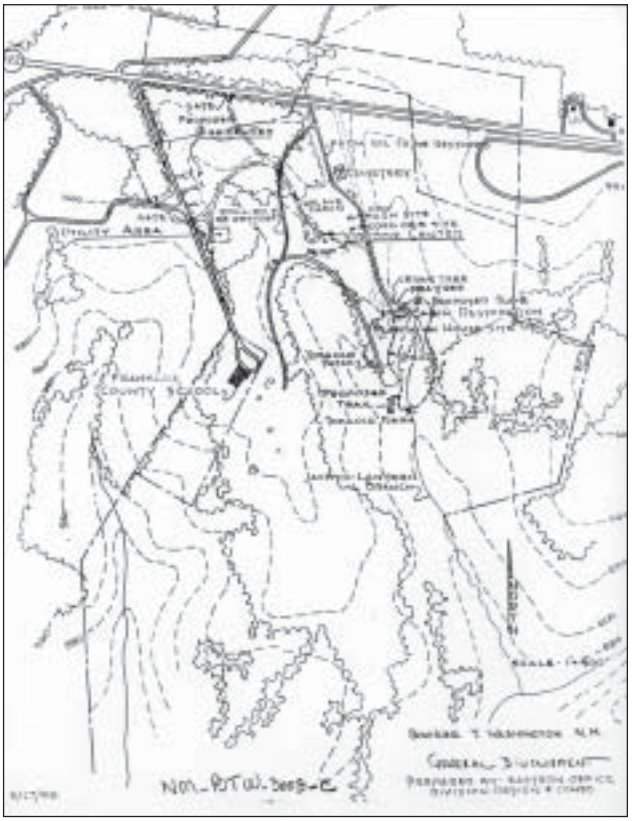

Figure 6.5. Detail of the 1958 General Development Plan. Not to scale. BOWA files.

Figure 6.6. Repair of the tobacco barn. The barn contains logs that date to the Burroughs period. 1958. BOWA files.

Figure 6.7. Regional archeologist John Griffin studying the Cabin Two site. Although the Phillips-era reconstruction did considerable damage to the remains, Griffin determined the approximate location of the original cabin. 1959. BOWA files.

Kirkwood, pressing for the reconstruction. He described the proposed cabin as a "prop" rather than an authentic reconstruction that would symbolize the vision of the park.[26] Cox's support proved to be the authorization Kirkwood was looking for. Planning for the replication of the cabin went forward in 1959.

To take some of the speculation out of the reconstruction, archeological research was undertaken in the fall of 1959 by Regional Archeologist John W. Griffin. His completed study of the Phillips cabin site determined that its location was indeed almost on top of the original kitchen cabin (Figure 6.7). Construction of the Phillips replica, being so close to the original site, had done significant damage to the subsurface resources. Concrete footings disturbed much of the original cabin's remains. However, numerous artifacts were found including traces of the chimney, broken china, nails and glass, indicating nineteenth-century occupation of the site (Figure 6.8).

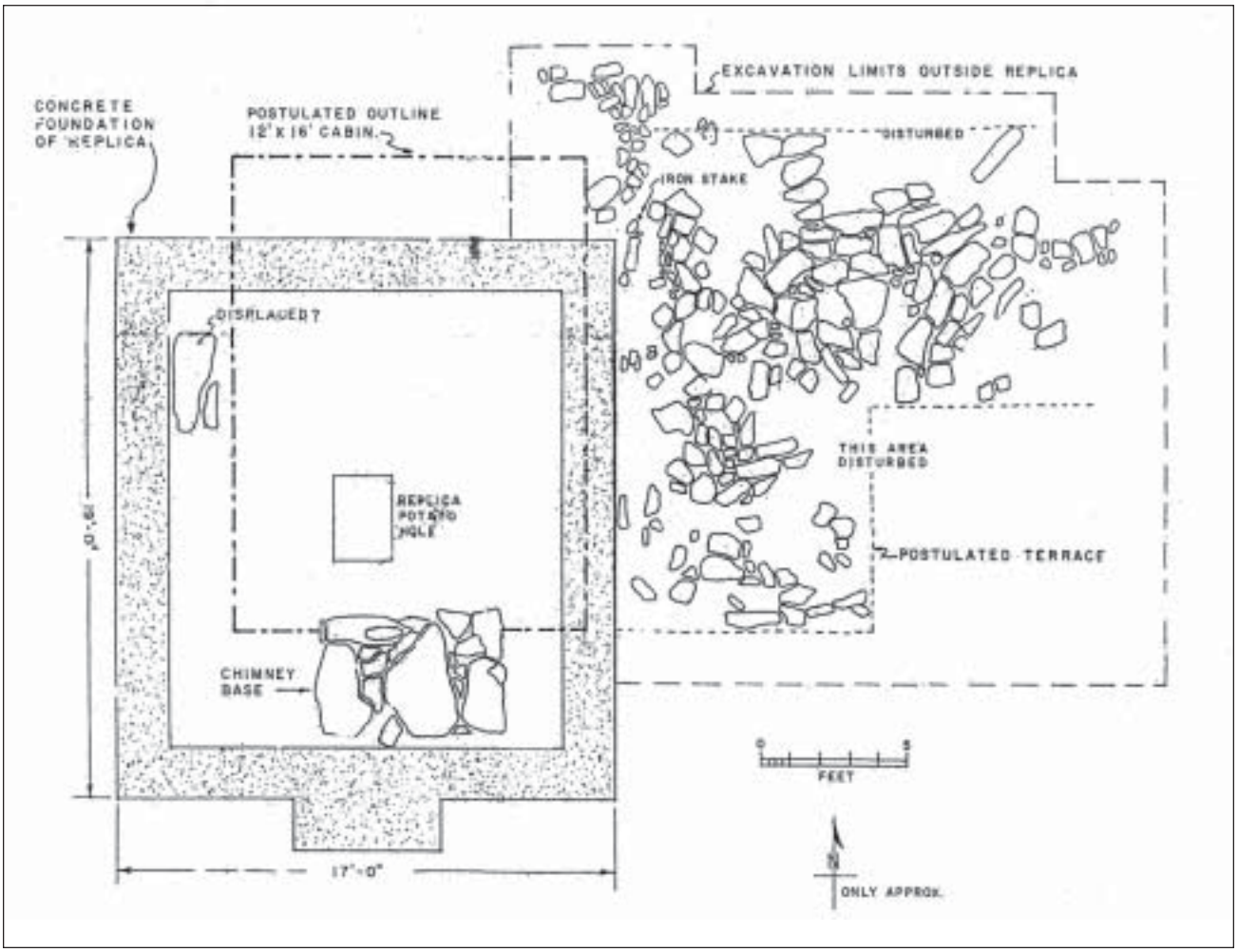

Figure 6.8. John Griffin's graphic of his 1959 Cabin Two archeological study. BOWA files.

Griffin inferred that the original cabin was approximately twelve by sixteen feet.[27] Washington's autobiography spoke of the sixteen-foot square cabin, and W.E.B. Du Bois described common southern one-room square cabins, "now standing in the shadow of the Big House."[28] These sources may have helped Griffin reach his conclusion.

The NPS replica cabin, designed by Jack Lawson of Saunders and Waggoner Architects, and constructed during the spring and summer of 1960, closely resembled the one built by Phillips (Figure 6.9).[29] It remained a one room, one and a half story log cabin, containing a fireplace, an earthen floor, and few windows. An exterior timber ladder led to the small attic. This, like the Phillips reconstruction, was an antiseptic version of the cabin described by Washington in his autobiography. It was clean, neat, and well constructed. Nonetheless, the reconstruction became the central element in the park's interpretive program.

Figure 6.9. Construction of the NPS cabin replica. 1960. BOWA files.

The Roll Road Trail

The Roll Road Trail, or park interpretive trail, was developed to work in conjunction with the reconstructed cabin, as few above ground resources existed by the late 1950s. The Roll Road Trail used the landscape, topography, vegetation, and a few period structures to evoke the Burroughs' 1850s farm. It was planned to lead past forest enclosures, historic replicas, and agricultural fields to bring visitors in contact with natural and cultural patterns of the landscape resembling what Washington would have experienced as a boy.

Planning for this self-guided trail began in 1959. Kirkwood and Brooks located fifteen waysides, partially connecting the interpretive stops with an historic road trace to create a trail loop throughout the historic core and fields and forests to the south (Figure 6.10). In the absence of documentation about the Burroughs period, the researchers likely relied on the memories of Grover and Peter Robertson to structure the interpretive program. Most of Kirkwood and Brooks' designated sites were marked with interpretive panels including text and graphics to depict elements that no longer remained (Figure 6.11). Elements, both conjectural and actual, like the historic catalpa and cedar trees that dated to the 1800s, and the hypothetical location of the Burroughs corn crib and horse barn, were included.

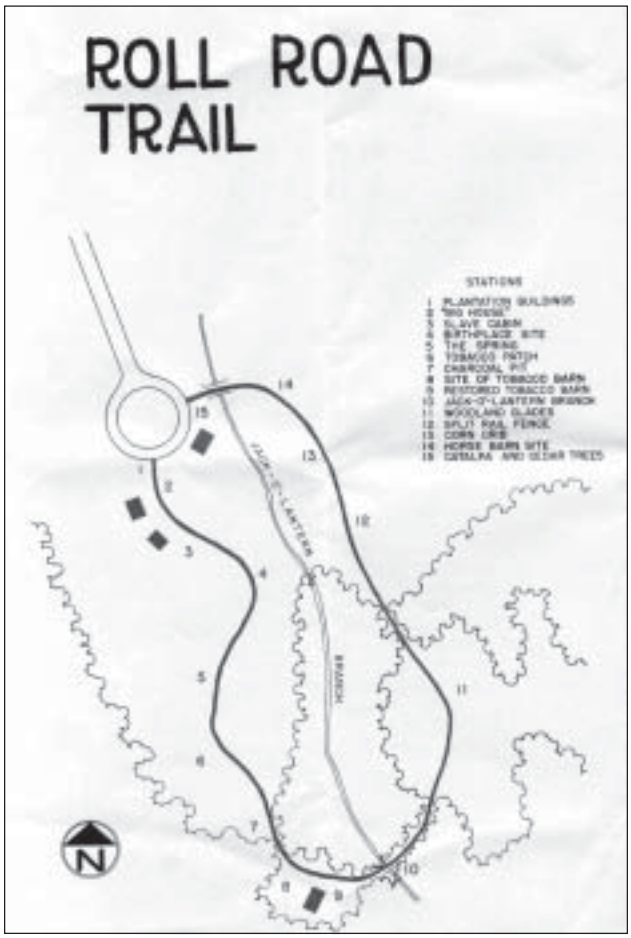

Figure 6.10. Roll Road Trail Brochure. The Roll Road Trail encircled the historic core and surrounding landscape and was completed in the early 1960s. Note the presence of both pre and post-NPS features such as the new cabin replica and the driveway turn-around. Circa 1961. BOWA files.

After the completion of the Roll Road Trail, the park brochure, and replica cabin, the park had implemented an early interpretive plan and was equipped to receive visitors. Hopkins Hall served as a temporary visitor center and the landscape, through continued farming and the site's rural context, maintained the appearance of the historic setting, alluding to Washington's early life.

Land Acquisition

Shortly after authorization of the park in 1956, park staff recognized the need to acquire additional properties along Route 122. A legislative proposal from 1958 identified twenty acres of adjacent land that, if acquired, would increase the park's visual buffer as well as provide convenient access to the proposed utility building and entry road.[30] The NPS was interested in increasing its holdings on the northern and western boundaries to include segments of the old Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike and original Burroughs property. The western-most tract in question, owned by Mrs. Lizilia Hayes, was needed to complete the new entry road proposed in the Mission 66-Prospectus (Figure 6.12).

Discussion continued between the park and the landowners for several years and in 1962, after the NPS's initial offer to buy the tracts for $250 an acre was refused by the three owners, court proceedings took place to acquire the land by eminent domain.[31] Mrs. Hayes refused the offer on several grounds. She and her lawyer claimed that her land the NPS valued at $1,190, was worth $6,350.[32] Hayes also objected to selling on grounds that a family burial plot was located on the land in question. In an attempt to accommodate her, the park offered her continued use of a sixty-foot square plot around the existing cemetery. This offer was refused as well.

The Saunders family also refused an offer of $2,480 for their land. In response to these actions the NPS stated, "Acquisition of the property is necessary for protection and development of the area. Therefore, we recommend that action be started to acquire the property by condemnation proceedings."[33] The properties were transferred to the park in 1964 after two years of legal proceedings and an expenditure of $7,554 to the three land owners. This allowed park developments to continue as planned in the Mission-66 Prospectus.

Figure 6.11. Sidney Wright and his son pose in front of a series of interpretive signs located near the maintenance foreman's house. Circa 1960. BOWA files.

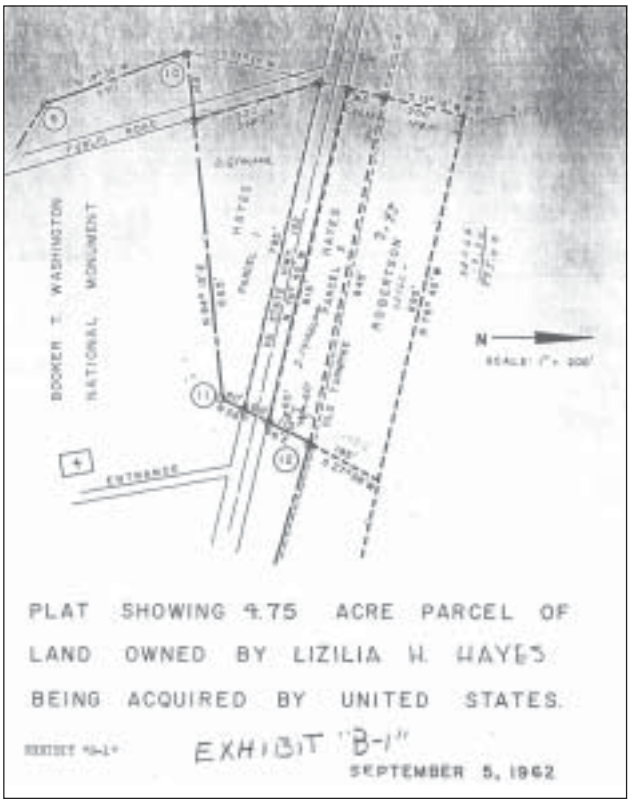

Figure 6.12. Map of Mrs. Hayes's parcel that the park obtained in the 1960s. 1962. BOWA files.

Mission-66 Revisited

Planning for park improvements continued with a 1962 revision of the 1958 Mission-66 Prospectus that further articulated the park's basic planning framework. The NPS hoped to use Mission-66 funding and planning resources to create an "attractive and appropriate monument to the man and ideal it commemorates."[34] The limitations of achieving this goal with so few remaining historical resources were recognized and remedied by planning for improved museum exhibits, interpretive signs, and the self-guided interpretive trail.[35] This 1962 report was followed by the 1963 Planning Report on the Burroughs Plantation that again revisited and refined the goals outlined in the initial prospectus.

The planning report placed emphasis on clarifying the park's identity, image, and visitor services. To mark the park entrance and reduce confusion for drivers, signs were to be installed along Route 122. Once near the National Monument, visitors would identify the property as a historic site through the visual motif of replica split rail fencing. Construction of park residences along the elementary school access road would strengthen interpretation in the historic core by allowing for the removal of the maintenance foreman's house. Another key feature of the report was the construction of a new entry road, to be located west of the historic farm road, leading to the proposed visitor center and parking lot. These developments, consistent with standard Mission-66 goals, became central to the park's future.

To step-up the interpretive program that was now heavily geared toward the generalized portrayal of a nineteenth-century farm, tobacco and hay were to be grown in the agricultural fields. Additionally, an open-air shelter next to the visitor center was planned to service staff-guided interpretation. Self-guided programming was addressed through the development of push button audio message centers along the Roll Road trail to provide music and commentary relevant to Washington's life. The report outlined sixteen stations for the self-guided tour. Leaflets for the Roll Road Trail would be made available at the visitor center, and would mark the numerous interpretive stops along its length. Interpretive exhibits were to be simple to avoid confusing the visitor with unwieldy commentary. "Except for the replica of the birthplace slave cabin, a tobacco barn, a trailside interpretive shelter, and a sheltered sign, all other interpretive exhibits would be of the simple easel type with the lift up cover. . . . The trailside exhibits would contain the barest minimum of text. Their impact would be primarily visual."[36] These goals focussed on describing life on an 1860s Piedmont farm, but fell far short of the park's mission to relay information about Washington's life and accomplishments. They were predictable responses to the uncomfortable issues of slavery and race relations during the height of the Civil Rights Movement.

Park staff sought to replicate structural and landscape features of the Burroughs era. However, the park's only historical tool, the vegetational and historical base map of 1958, was recognized as a marginal piece of scholarship and largely discredited. "[N]one of the data appearing thereon as to fences, historic tree lines or gardens have appeared on any approved Master Plan drawing. . . . Actually, we have no evidence which could qualify, under the principles of historical methodology, in establishing locations of any of the features referred to above."[37] In response, the historical base map was updated in 1963 to remove references to purely conjectural elements (Figure 6.13). While this revision was not based on significant scholarly findings, it departed from the 1958 plan in several areas. The 1963 revision moved the hog lot farther from the big house to the forest in the northwest corner of the site and removed representations of the conjectural fence lines:

> Available evidence does not indicate the location of fencing during the historical period. If fences did exist, they would have been small fenced corrals or lots by the cow and horse barns and some fences in the fields. Fencing along the highway was built as a result of the 1893-94 act requiring property owners to prevent trespassing on roads and highways by livestock.[38]

At this attempt, park staff was unwilling to commit to representing fences lines due to the lack of documentation.

Significantly, the general pattern of field and forest remained constant on both historic base maps. Both the 1958 map and 1963 revision showed a roughly equal percentage of forested and cleared land. A Vegetative Treatment Plan was created in 1963 to address implementation of conditions represented in the 1963 Historic Base Map (Figure 6.14). As approximately three-quarters of the site was forested in

1963, the plan recommended clearing a substantial amount of existing vegetation, specifically in the southern region of the site and to the west and south of the former Burroughs house. A notable exception to the massive clearing was the recommendation to reforest a small area in the northeast corner of the property, adjacent to Route 122.

This treatment plan proved to be premature, owing to highly conjectural nature of the findings. Subsequent study of similar farms discovered that the Burroughs family most likely cleared far less land than what was proposed in the 1963 plan. Information about Burroughs' limited resources and evidence about contemporary crop yields led historians to later amend the representation of field and forest percentage.

On a smaller scale, treatment of the landscape surrounding the slave cabin and what became known as the historic core was dynamic. During this time, the park experimented with different ways to represent the Burroughs house. As seen in a 1960s photo of James Holmes, principal of the Booker T. Washington Elementary School and seasonal ranger at the park, the building's foundation was outlined with flowers (Figure 6.15). This may have been done to allude to flowers that grew around the house and domestic yard in the 1800s. Later, the flowers were replaced with an outline of flat stones that depended less on the seasons and required less maintenance.

Visitor Center Comes to Fruition

After the park successfully obtained ownership of the parcels of land along Route 122, the construction of numerous key Mission-66 improvements began. Visitor center construction began in 1964 and continued through 1966. Construction of the new entry road also commenced during this period. In addition to the visitor center and entry road, a deceleration lane and turning lane along 122, the visitor center parking lot, and sidewalk from the parking lot to the visitor center were completed.[39]

As seen in a schematic plan of the entry drive and parking lot from August 1964, multiple design solutions had been proposed before the plans were

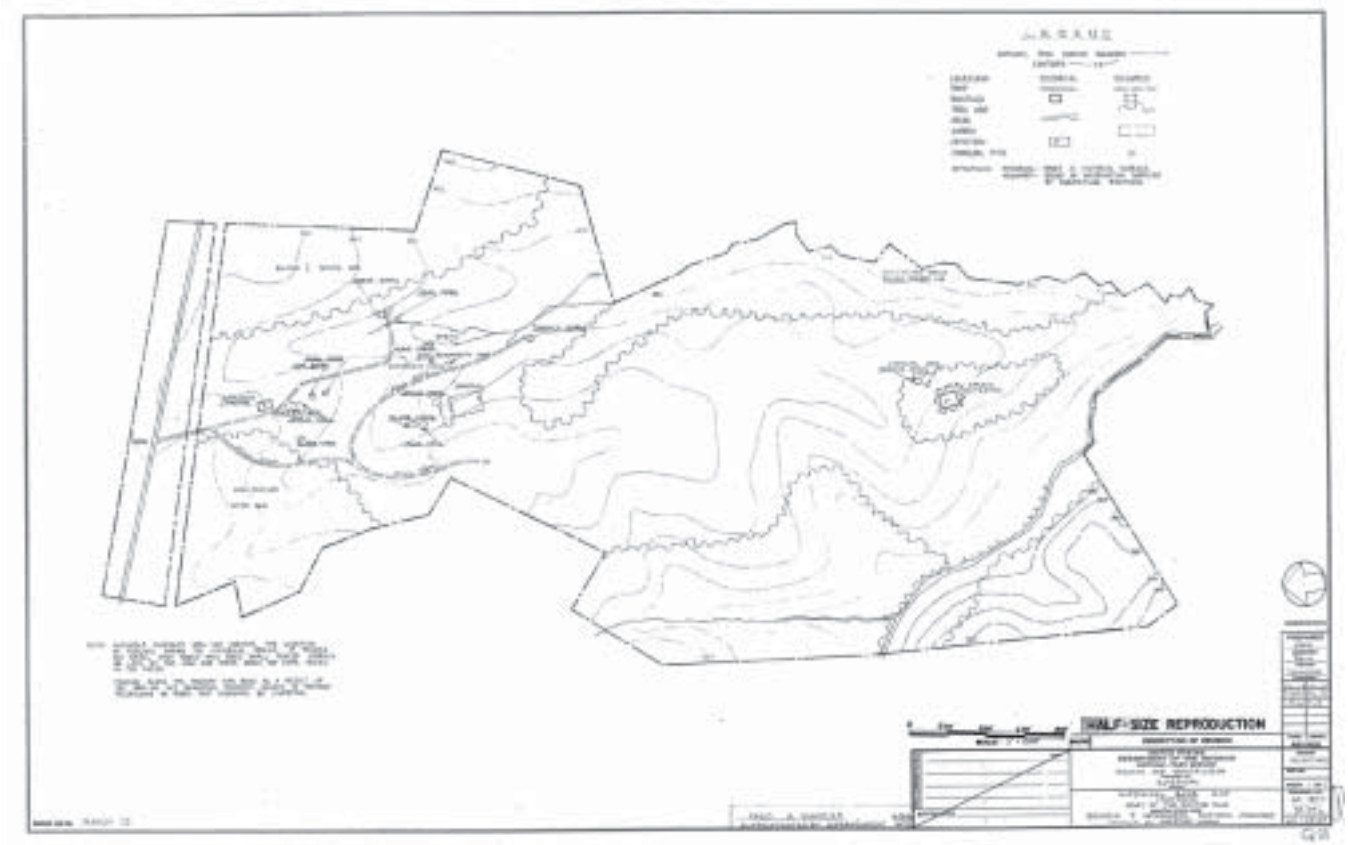

Figure 6.13. 1963 Historic Base Map. This revision of the 1958 plan most notably removed large tracts of forest from the central and southern regions of the park. 1963. BOWA files.

finalized (Figure 6.16). One such alternative included retaining the existing Phillips-era driveway and locating the parking lot directly adjacent to it, south of the Burroughs cemetery. While the chosen scheme placed the roadbed in the path of a historic road trace and in the vicinity of possible nineteenth-century slave cabin and barn remains, it avoided extant features such as the Burroughs cemetery and Phillips driveway.

A dedication ceremony was held in June of 1966 to celebrate the completion of the visitor center (Figure 6.17). Portia Washington Pittman, NPS Director George B. Hartzog, and the President of Ferrum College attended. The visitor center and surrounding land, including the entry drive and historic core, was further improved in the years directly after the dedication through the addition of benches, a flagpole, trees and shrubs, and 31,000 square feet of seeded lawn (Figure 6.18).[40] While key components of long-term planning documents were built, several proposed features, including the park residences and utility area, remained unfunded. Nevertheless, these features appeared on planning documents for years, including the 1971 General Development Plan.

Figure 6.15. James Holmes, seasonal park ranger, standing in the Burroughs house foundation. At this time, the foundation was interpreted using a flower border. Circa 1965. BOWA files.

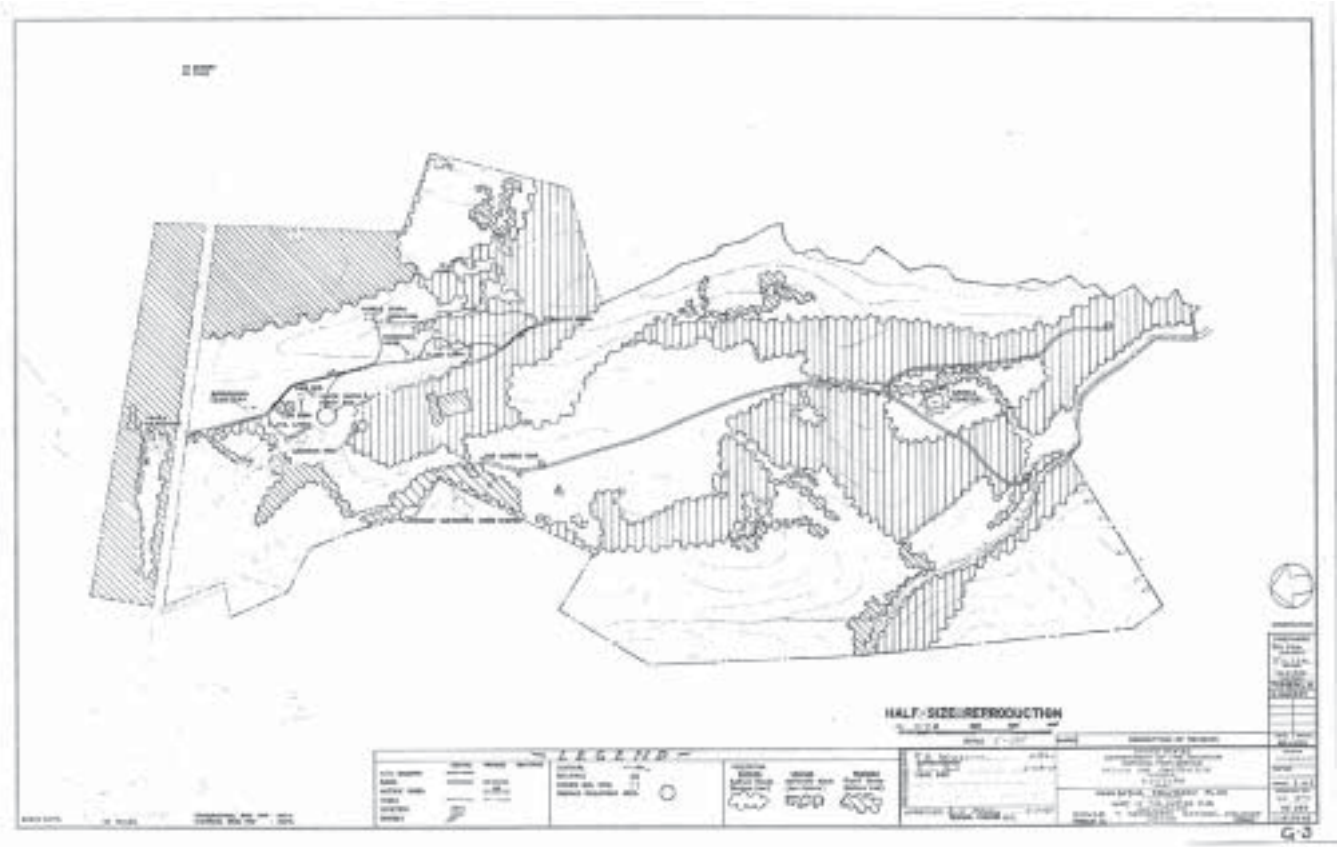

Figure 6.14 1963 Vegetative Treatment Plan. Drafted in conjunction with the 1963 Historic Base Map, this plan highlighted where vegetation needed to be added and removed. 1963. BOWA files.

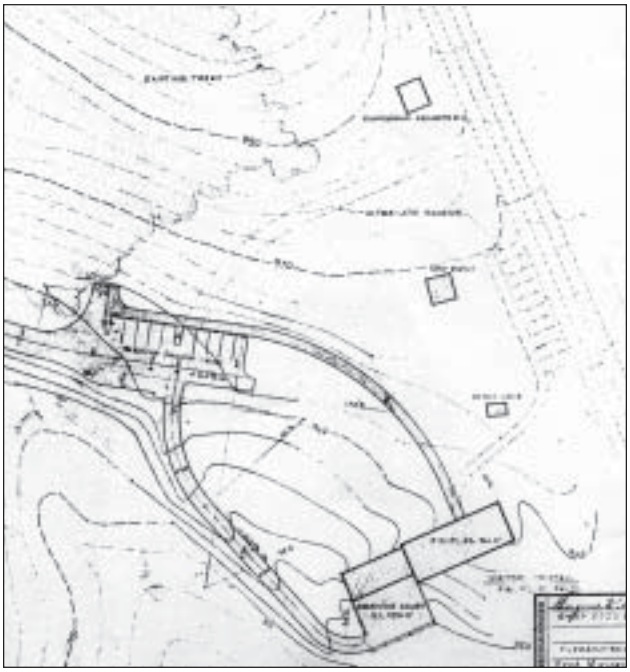

Figure 6.16. Parking lot alternatives. Notice the parking lot pictured northeast of the visitor center. 1964. BOWA files.

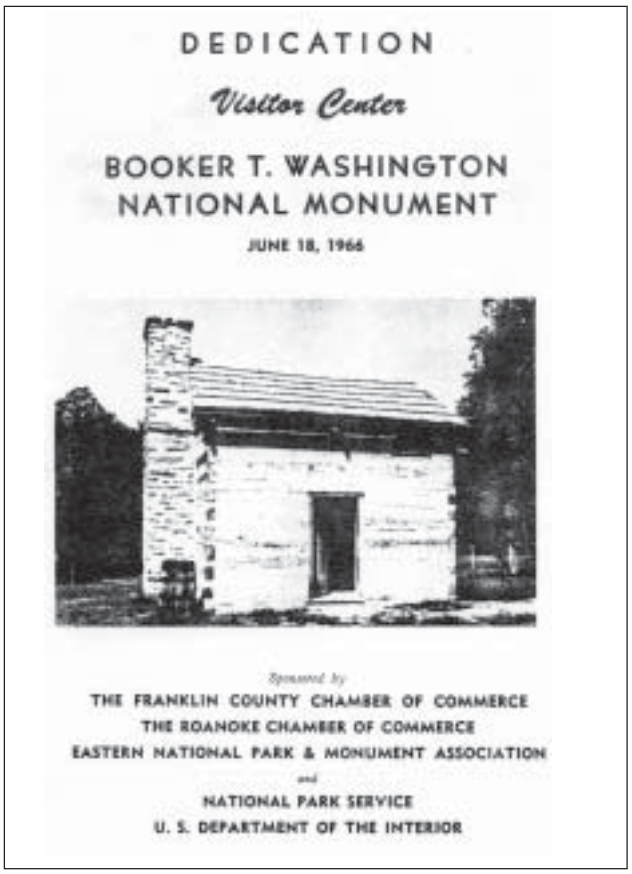

Figure 6.17. Brochure from the visitor center dedication. 1966. BOWA files.

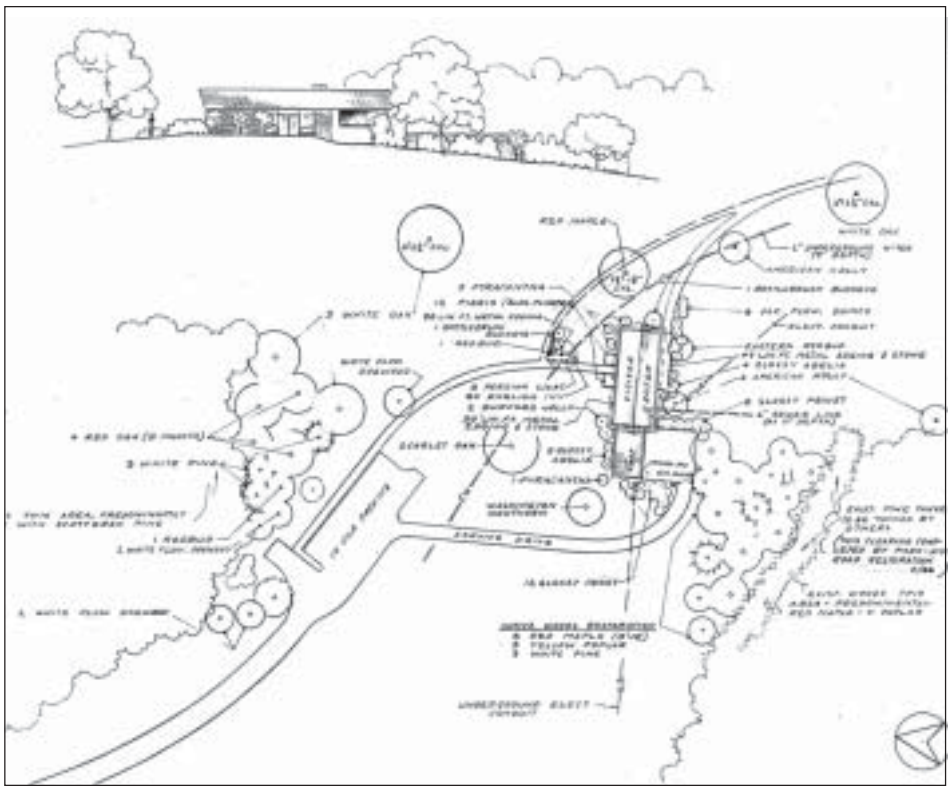

Figure 6.18. Landscape plan for the visitor center grounds. Detail from As Built Drawing, Planting and Grounds of the Visitor Center at Booker T. Washington National Monument. 1965. Drawing # NM-BTW 3016-A. BOWA files.

Restoration of the historic farm entry road also went unrealized, as did the obliteration of the Phillips-era paved driveway.

Desegregation and Booker T. Washington Elementary School

At the same time that significant changes were occurring at the Booker T. Washington NM, the southern states underwent monumental societal and educational shifts. Although the 1954 Supreme Court case *Brown vs. Board of Education* deemed "separate but equal" education unconstitutional, Virginia, along with several other states, delayed the implementation of school integration for many years. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibiting discrimination in public accommodations, including public schools, based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin was the catalyst in Virginia's integration compliance. As a result, Franklin County began discussion of the inevitable desegregation of their schools in August of 1965:

> Whereas, the Congress of the United States has passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964; and, consequently, the provisions of this Act have become a part of the law of our land. . . be it resolved this 8th day of February, 1965, by the School Board of Franklin County. . . . That it believes that the public schools are to be maintained and operated for the collective benefit of all children within the county. . . That it therefore executes the assurance of compliance in good faith with the intention of carrying out to the best of its ability requirement set forth in the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[41]

The county instituted a system called "Freedom of Choice" that offered parents of African American children in grades one, eight, ten, and twelve the option to send their children to previously white schools for the school year of 1965-1966. The "Freedom of Choice" program would be extended to four additional grades in the 1966-1967 school year, followed by voluntary system-wide integration by 1967.[42] The "Freedom of Choice" system made allowances for a few brave families to begin the integration process without the support of a systematic desegregation policy that would be followed by the entire African American community. In response, Virginia's Department of Health, Education, and Welfare admonished the Franklin County school board's integration policy in 1966:

> Based on the information available to us, including all data you have made available to us, free choice procedures are probably no longer appropriate for moving toward the complete elimination of a dual school structure for white and negro [sic] students in your district. . . . In these circumstances we believe your district should be able to prepare as soon as possible suitable plans for the total desegregation of your schools in time for the opening of the new school year six months hence.[43]

In the face of this criticism, Franklin County school board offered a compromise. They planned to continue a limited "Freedom of Choice" program in several county schools while closing several others. In reality, partial segregation continued in Franklin County well past 1966. Among the eliminated schools was the Booker T. Washington Elementary School. The school's pupils were relocated to the Dudley or Burnt Chimney integrated elementary schools for the school year of 1966 to 1967.[44] Franklin County school board retained ownership of the school and associated six acres without allocating further use of the property.

A Future for the Booker T. Washington Elementary School

After the dissolution of the Booker T. Washington Elementary school in 1966, the facility sat vacant and deteriorated from lack of maintenance. The Franklin County School Board attempted to sell the facility to the NPS in 1967 but the offer was declined. Neither institution saw a need for the structure and surrounding land at the time.[45] Yet by the early 1970s, encouraged by the advocacy of the Bethune Club of Rocky Mount, the NPS reconsidered its earlier stance and requested that the school board donate the school and surrounding six acres to the government.[46] Superintendent William Webb made numerous arguments in defense of the NPS's proposal, arguing that the school's six acres were part of the original Burroughs farm and as such, should belong to the park. The acreage was said to be needed in order to properly restore the Burroughs nineteenth-century farm.

Webb referred to the introduction of Virginia's Environmental Education Bill, part of a growing national trend spurred by the first Earth Day celebration in 1970, to emphasize environmental awareness and responsibility. The former school building was slated for conversion to an environmental center,

something Webb promoted to the business-minded members of the board. Webb claimed that "many of our visitors use the Monument just for fun – as a rest stop, a picnic area, and sometimes to learn a little of our history."[47] It was argued that transferring the former school to the NPS would benefit both the county and the park through increased visitation and improved educational opportunities. The potential for increased tourism coupled with the prestige accompanying one of the first environmental centers in the area helped the NPS's argument.[48]

The NPS was also concerned about maintenance issues associated with the former school. During the years since the school closed, vandals and weather took a toll on the structure. The grounds surrounding the school became popular with locals, who used the area for unauthorized activities. Webb wrote, "The road leading to it is used by deer poachers, drunks, and lovers."[49] Webb was concerned about the possibility of fire in the old structure. By owning the former school and surrounding six acres, the park would control trespassing and other unauthorized use.

Some members of the School Board requested $20,000 for the property. A local church group was also interested in the property but growing community pressure for the county to donate the land to Booker T. Washington NM stalled the school board's acceptance of their offer.[50] Franklin and Roanoke Valley Historical Societies, the Franklin County Planning Commission, Franklin County Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, and the Henry School PTA all supported donation to the NPS even though the county would not receive payment.[51] Webb's wish was granted in December 1973 when the Franklin County School Board donated the former school building and its associated six acres to the park.[52]

The Booker T. Washington Environmental Education and Cultural Center was dedicated on April 5, 1976 (Figure 6.19).[53] The facility was to be used for environmental education, arts and crafts, and historical and cultural activities. Unfortunately, early environmental education workshops were poorly attended and the facility was predominantly used for other purposes. The park housed its library in the former principal's office and moved its museum collection into the former kitchen.[54] Two working looms that were part of the park's living history program were moved to one of the former classrooms. The remaining former classroom served as meeting and

Figure 6.19. Dedication of the Environmental Education and Cultural Center. 1976. BOWA files.

educational space. Between 1979 and 1988 the facility was used mostly for traveling exhibits and by outside organizations, including the Girl Scouts and the fledgling Smith Mountain Lake Association.[55]

Beginning in 1983, park operations began to gradually use more space in the former school. Initially, the maintenance department relocated there, utilizing a classroom, the kitchen, and the principal's office. In 1986, the former basketball court on the west side of the building was fenced, providing secure storage for vehicles and fuel.[56] Interpretation and administrative staff relocated to the building between 1991 and 1993, relieving congestion in the overcrowded visitor center. By 1994, staff referred to the structure to as "park headquarters" because management and administration staff had fully moved into the building the year before.[57] At the same time, Interpretation and Resource Management relocated back to the visitor center to be in proximity to school groups, visitors, and the historic resources. The school structure currently houses the superintendent's office, administrative staff, maintenance staff, and several other park offices.

The Shift to Living History

During the 1960s, the NPS experimented with a new interpretive program called "living history" on a system-wide basis. As early as the 1930s, several parks, notably western parks with prominent Native American groups, featured people performing cultural tasks in native dress as an interpretive tool. Most of these programs functioned independently of regional or national NPS policies. In 1965, Marion Clawson, a Resources for the Future program director, wrote a

paper about living history, recommending that the NPS run a system of twenty-five to fifty operating historical farms.[58] Director Hartzog supported the recommendation and quickly stood behind the development of a living history farm at Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial in Indiana.[59] The development of the "living farm" there was promoted to increase visitation and more authentically recreate the experience of Lincoln's early life. This same argument was applied at Booker T. Washington NM. "It [the monument] is off the beaten path – way off – and as an historic attraction it just doesn't draw. For one thing few people know where it is or how to get there. And if they should locate it they may wonder why they took the trouble as there is little to see."[60] A living history program was viewed as a potential remedy to the site's low visitation, which was attributed to the remote location and comparative lack of interpretative elements.

By the summer of 1967, the Washington office requested that all regions experiment with living history and interpreters in period dress. This directive, coupled with concerns over the impact of the new visitor center at Booker T. Washington NM, led to an amended interpretive prospectus to include a component of living history.

Writing with a great deal of foresight, Barry Mackintosh discussed the pros and cons of living history at Booker T. Washington NM in the shadow of Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination. In the conclusion of his 1969 Administrative History, Mackintosh clearly articulated the park's future challenges:

> Clearly, Booker T. Washington National Monument faces many challenges. But perhaps its greatest challenge lies in the field of interpretation. The monument can fully develop the Burroughs plantation as a living historical farm, and it can greatly increase public use by doing so and by vigorously publicizing it. Herein lies the danger. It will be all too easy for the farm to become merely a pretty pastoral scene - - an end in itself - - an "attraction." Why bring up the unpleasant subject of slavery at all? And yet this place offers the finest opportunity for relevant social-environmental interpretation to be found anywhere in the National Park System. The way of life and the human relationships that were a part of the Burroughs plantation vividly illustrate both the good and the evil of our heritage. What those people sowed, we are reaping today: the crop—and the weeds.[61]

Despite Mackintosh's concerns, planning continued for the living history farm. As stated in the 1968 amendment, several replica farm buildings including a blacksmith shop, corn crib, privy, and smokehouse were slated for construction. Farming activities shifted considerably from the previous system of pasturing of a few dozen acres to include working fields and livestock tended using nineteenth-century methods (Figure 6.20, 6.21). Crews in period clothes would perform the daily maintenance and farming activities.[62] The Regional Director approved the changes to the Interpretive Prospectus in May 1968 and the plan was implemented that summer.

To prepare for the park's shift in interpretation, and management, NPS chief historian Edwin C. Bearrs completed "The Burroughs Plantation as a Living Historical Farm," a research document meant to guide implementation of the new policy. Bearrs used local and regional sources of information about typical mid- nineteenth century Piedmont farming to recreate what practices, crops, and livestock, the Burroughs might have employed. However, he recognized that the impact of the report would be limited by insufficient funding to accurately portray 1850s conditions.

Between 1970 and 1974, park staff constructed several conjectural farm buildings to add to the living history farm ensemble including a smokehouse, corn crib, privy, horse barn, and chicken house.[63] Visitors and staff alike desired additional tangible features at the site. The actual sites of the structures were not known, so staff used suggestions from Bearrs's living history report to locate features.

Living history became a popular form of interpretation throughout the NPS, and Booker T. Washington NM was no exception. By 1972, a Park Operations Evaluation Report stated that their current 1964 Master Plan was no longer "in line with the approved Statement for Management" because it did not "envision the Living Farm Development on the scale that has since evolved."[64] Visitation increased appreciably in the early 1970s, from 20,468 in 1970 to 35,848 in 1973.[65] The park's increased interpretive programming may have played a factor in this increase. Writing in 1973 about the success of living history, Bill Everhart wrote:

Figure 6.20. Costumed interpreters in front of the cabin replica. Circa 1974. BOWA files.

Figure 6.21. Farm animals contribute to the setting of the living historical farm. Circa 1974. BOWA files.

> NPS in recent years has stressed the need to make history come alive. As a result, almost every historical park has introduced living history programs. These innovative approaches have greatly enhanced visitor appreciation and substantially improved the quality of NPS interpretation.[66]

Inevitably, living history's popularity waned. Criticism of its methods within the NPS began in the mid-1970s when people began to question its value as an accurate and appropriate interpretive tool. Frank Barnes, interpretive specialist for the Northeast Region wrote, "Our currently over-stressed living history activities may just possibly represent a tremendous failure on the part of our traditional interpretive programs—above all, a cover-up for lousy personal services."[67] Likewise, Historian Nicholas J. Blesser of Tumacacori National Monument criticized the movement:

> Living history is but one of several bandwagons upon which the Service has leaped with gay abandon. . . . I am personally convinced that we still need areas in the Service that allow visitors the freedom and privacy necessary to arrive at their own conclusions. Perhaps they'd prefer to walk with ghosts in silence for a change.[68]

Barnes, echoing the earlier concerns expressed by Mackintosh, singled out Booker T. Washington NM as an example of where living history may have misled visitors:

> [T]he Booker T. Washington farm comes out as a charming scene, of course, complete with farm animals with picturesque names, with almost no indication of the social environmental realities of slave life (indeed, how far can you go with 'living slavery'?).[69]

Despite the program-wide critique, living history continued at the park until 1994. A management shift under Superintendent William Gwaltney spurred the change in interpretive direction. Although living history had been identified earlier as distracting from the main interpretive theme of Washington's greater accomplishments, it took many years to move away from this popular form of historical interpretation.

Smith Mountain Lake

Beginning in 1945, the Army Corps of Engineers, power companies, and various local citizens began a dialogue about harnessing the Roanoke River for hydroelectric power, flood control, and recreational use. In 1953 the Army Corps and Virginia Electric Power Corporation created the first of several dams in the Roanoke River Basin. After the completion of the first dam at Buggs Island, discussion of several other reservoirs began, including Smith Mountain Lake. Appalachian Power, now known as American Electric Power, began planning for the new reservoir in 1953 and construction started in 1960. Substantial site work was completed during construction of the dam, including the clearing of trees, bridges, cemeteries, and buildings in the area that would be inundated (Figure 6.22 and 6.23). Indeed, sixty-eight cemeteries were relocated.[70] Upon completion in 1966, Smith Mountain Lake encompassed five hundred miles of shoreline. Its 20,000 acres of water made it the second largest lake in Virginia (Figure 6.24).[71]

The completed lake soon became a recreational attraction, drawing lakefront development, raising property values, and attracting seasonal visitors. Construction of lakefront homes, new bridges, and supporting retail and commercial services rose steadily after the lake's completion in 1966, altering the regional landscape. The lakebed submerged agricultural land, dispersing local farmers. Booker T. Washington NM was located on the outskirts of the lake, yet in close enough proximity to experience both an increase in visitation and development pressure. This was especially true with respect to growth of the Westlake community located just east of the park.

Shortly after its completion, Appalachian Power donated land around Smith Mountain Lake to the Commonwealth of Virginia for the establishment of a state park. The commonwealth recognized the lake's recreational potential and began supplementing the existing park lands to develop visitor amenities for an outdoor tourist destination. Smith Mountain Lake State Park opened in 1983 on the eastern shore of the lake, and currently contains 1,248 acres for camping, hiking, lodging, picnicking, and boating.[72] The state park and other recreational, commercial, and residential areas became defining elements in Booker T. Washington NM's regional setting.

Figure 6.22. Construction of the Hales Ford Bridge during the building of Smith Mountain Lake. January 18, 1962. American Electric Power Company construction files. Roanoke, Virginia. RB .577.

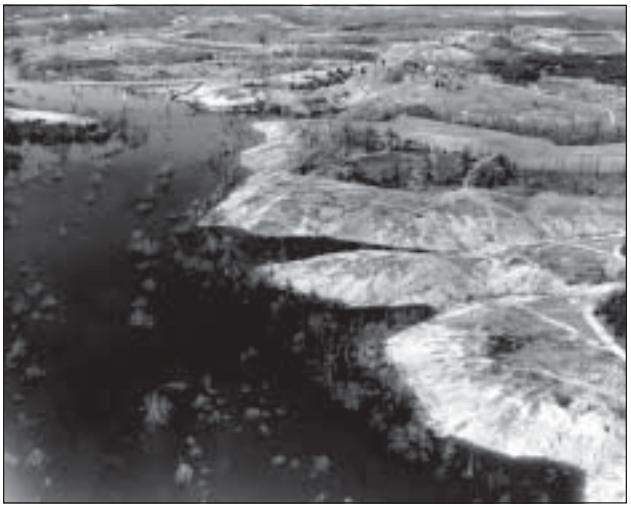

Figure 6.23. Smith Mountain Lake, partially filled. January 10, 1964. American Electric Power Company construction files. Roanoke, Virginia. UD 1458.

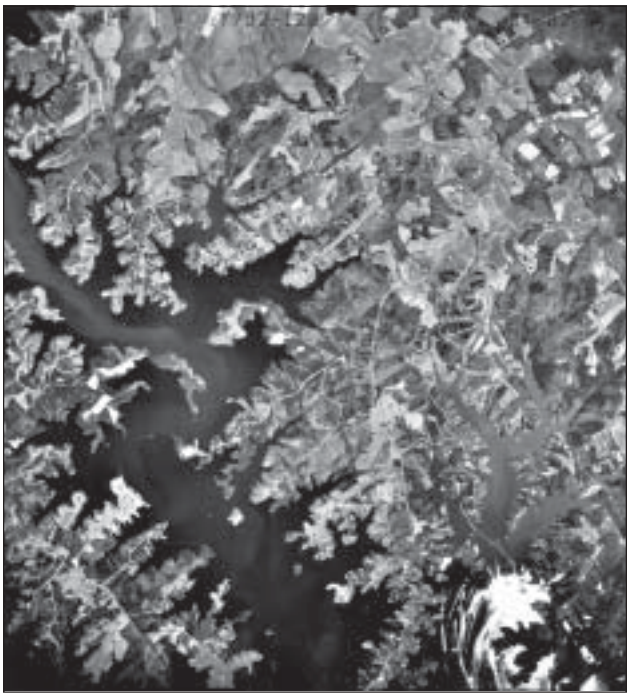

Figure 6.24. Smith Mountain Lake aerial photo. The dendritic shoreline creates five hundred miles of waterfront. 1994. Photo courtesy of Smith Mountain Lake State Park.

Contemporary Stewardship

Many changes occurred at the park throughout the 1960s and 1970s including shifts in interpretive policy, the acquisition and donation of new lands, and the completion of many infrastructure improvements. As a result, the park needed to revisit many of its research, maintenance, stewardship, and educational goals.

The park's 1963 Historic Base Map was updated in 1977 using contextual comparisons between the Burroughs property and better documented nineteenth-century farms (Figure 6.25). This map departed from earlier efforts most notably in the smaller percentage of cleared land and was a more careful depiction of the Robertson brothers recollections. Much of the southern region of the park that had been shown as cleared land in the 1963 Vegetative Treatment Plan was now depicted as forestland, excluding a long, narrow agricultural field behind the former school. The field adjacent to Route 122 in the northeast corner of the site was also changed from forest to open field.

In 1979, the park crafted a statement for management outlining current policies and future management goals. Preserving the grounds as a replica nineteenth-century farm that represented the tangible elements of Washington's early life remained the primary goal.[73] Other goals included involving the public in planning phases, and playing a larger role in the community to ensure appropriate uses of adjacent lands. However, system-wide austerity measures of the time limited physical improvements and interpretive programming. The report listed the legislative constraints affecting their ability to construct employee housing and more interpretive replicas. The uncertain future of the Booker T. Washington Environmental

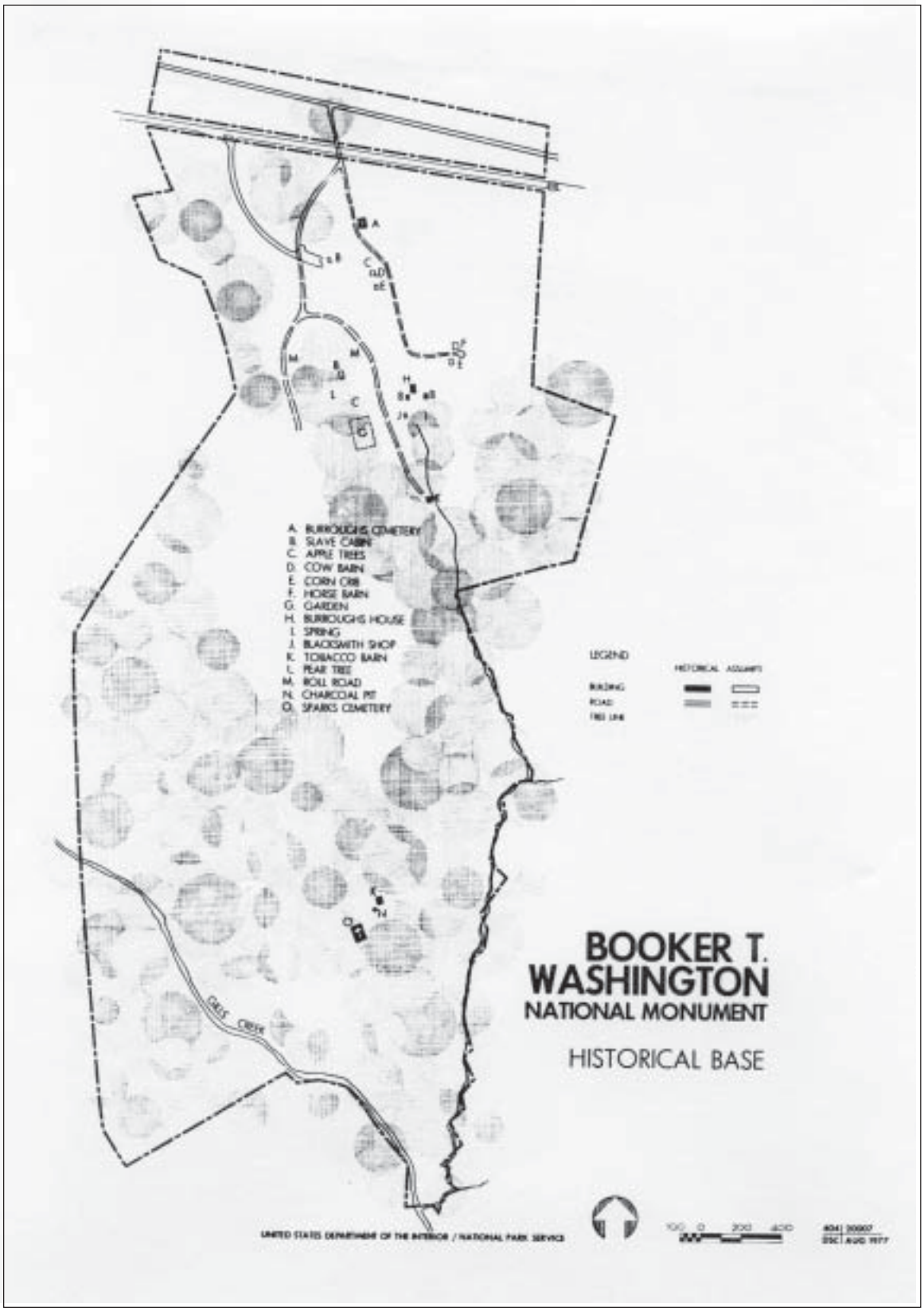

Figure 6.25. 1977 Historic Base Map. Map # 404-20007. BOWA files.

Education and Cultural Center was also noted.

The statement for management classified the park's landscape into three land use zones. These zones dictated the types of activities that could occur in the park. The historic zone, or zone A, contained the site's historic resources. This area was located in the northeast section of the property and included the replica buildings, Burroughs cemetery, and the living farm's agricultural fields. Most of the non-historic modern facilities were located in the development zone, or zone B, in the northwest area of the site. This zone included the visitor center, parking lots, picnic area, and the Environmental Education and Cultural Center. The remainder of the park including all of the land in the southern end of the site was contained in the special use zone, or zone C. The area was maintained for agricultural purposes, natural timber growth, and a natural environmental study area.[74]

The 1981 General Management Plan continued to develop the thinking behind the 1979 Statement for Management (Figure 6.26). The GMP restated the desire to reestablish the old farm entry road, as had many plans before it. The identified road trace traveled from the old Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike, across present day Route 122, past the Burroughs cemetery and to the historic core. As also stated earlier, the plan identified the park maintenance residence, located within the historic core, as an intrusion to be removed (Figure 6.27). The park desired to remove it from the historic scene and place a newer, more modern structure inside the development zone near the former elementary school driveway. To further strengthen the historic core, the report recommended planting a row of evergreen trees along the south and west sides of the visitor center to shield it from the historic zone.

Physical developments continued to reflect changing needs of visitors and park staff. A Youth Conservation Corp group constructed a campground in 1979 to meet increasing recreational needs. This group, which also constructed a section of trail along Gills Creek, created an eighty person, seasonal-use camping facility in a wooded area three-quarters of a mile from the Environmental Education and Cultural Center.[75] The facility consisted of four units with gravel tent pads, trash receptacles, and fire grills. There was also a picnic shelter, bulletin board and central campfire ring. No running water was provided and bathroom facilities were located in the Environmental Education and Cultural Center or at seasonally placed portable toilets. The campground was used between 1980 and 1983, hosting youth groups on a reservation, no-fee basis. However, despite the foreseen need for the camping facility, it never received heavy usage and closed after the 1983 season. The facility still remains behind the old school building but is not maintained or actively used.

Although the planned construction of park residences appeared repeatedly in earlier development plans, the former Virginia Cottage served as the park maintenance foreman's residence from the establishment of the park in the 1950s through the early 1980s. It became known as the Sidney Wright house, named after the park's long term maintenance foreman. The cottage that was home to the Robertson widow had been enlarged and upgraded by Phillips, eventually accommodating Sidney Wright and his family. The Wrights used the extant Phillips era driveway for access, parking their personal vehicles next to the house that was located a short distance from the historic core. Park staff and Mr. Wright permitted visitors with disabilities to park next to the Wright house. While in this way its location was beneficial, the proximity of the residence to the park's historic and interpretive resources proved to be an issue. Interpreters recall hearing noise from the Wright's television in the warm summer months during guided tours of the historic area.[76]

Mr. Wright retired after thirty-six years of service in 1985. Recognizing the house as an intrusion on the historic scene, the park asked the Burnt Chimney Fire Department to raze the structure. The department used this as a training and educational opportunity, inviting staff to participate in fire safety demonstrations.[77] After the demonstrations the fire department burned the building and took the remnants off-site. To rehabilitate the demolition site, park staff removed the parking area and graded and seeded the area, returning it to a flat, mowed lawn, blending in with the adjacent landscape.

As recognized in the 1980s, the park's interpretive agenda remained fairly static since the introduction of the living historical farm in the late 1960s. Although the need to increase the scope of the park's interpretive programming had been identified numerous times, no significant shifts occurred outside of the living historical farm program. In response, the park

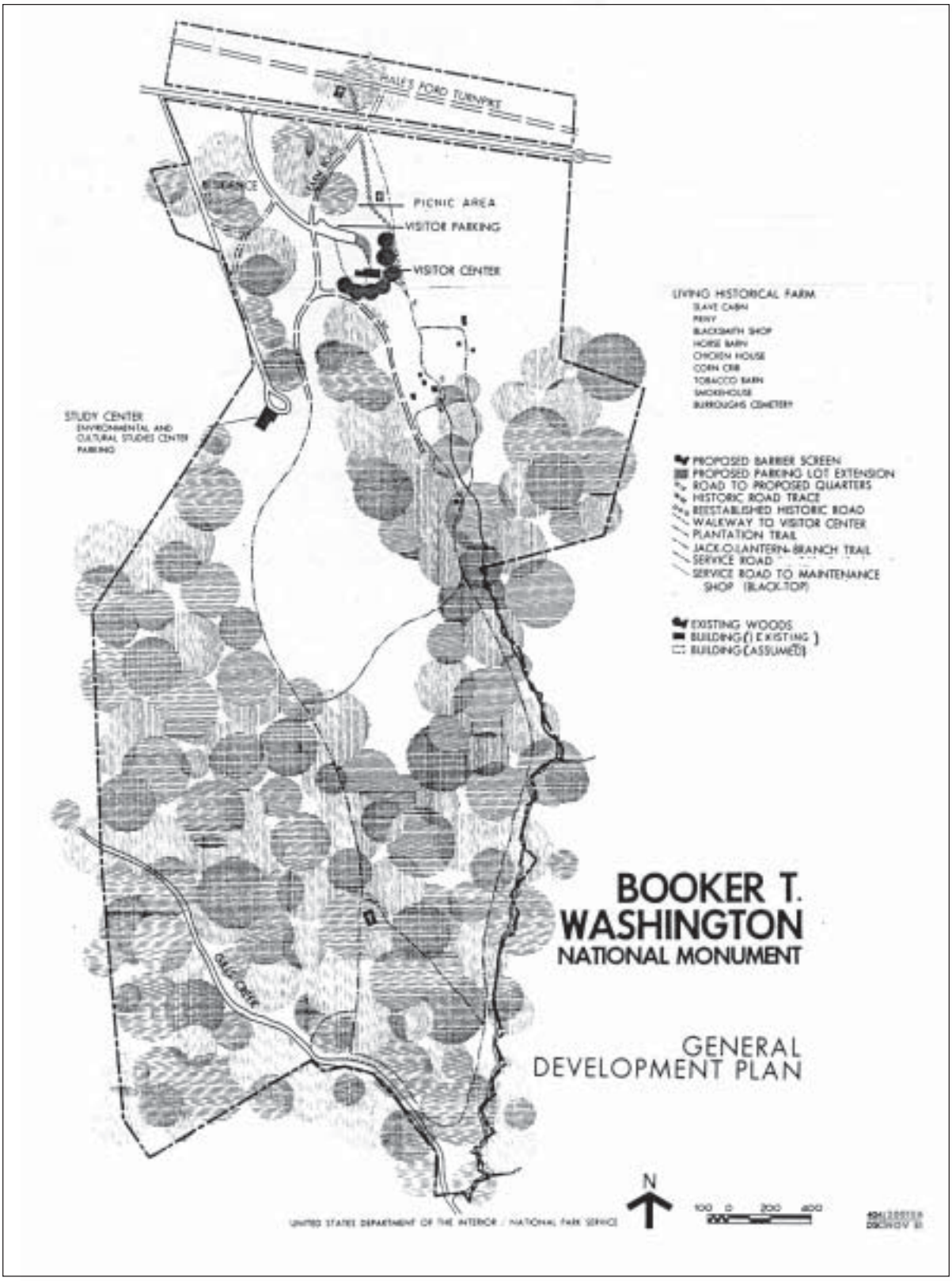

Figure 6.26. 1981 General Development Plan, part of the 1981 General Management Plan. Drawing # 401-20010 A. BOWA files.

Figure 6.27. The maintenance foreman's residence as seen from the visitor center. Note its prominence in the historic core and how the structure blocks views into the area. Circa 1980. BOWA files.

crafted an interpretive prospectus in 1988 that include an increased emphasis on Booker T. Washington's life.

Recommendations were also made to address the landscape of the historic core. To enhance visitor understanding of the farm, the report called for reshaping the kitchen garden, marking the locations of additional slave cabins, and restoring a portion of the apple orchard. A degree of selective landscape restoration, based on the Robertson brothers' recollections from the 1890s, was envisioned.

In contrast, there were to be no structural additions to the living farm. According to the interpretive prospectus, "The present scene should be preserved without any further expansion. In this connection, it is important to maintain the interpretation of the farm in a position subordinate to the focus interpretation should place upon Booker T. Washington."[78]

Nevertheless, popular activities associated with the living history farm continued despite the shift in interpretive policy. A festival day in the summer months has celebrated Washington's life on the Burroughs farm through costumed interpreters, demonstrations, food, and wagon rides. The festival day was established with living history's ascendancy in the early 1970s and continued through 1993, having changed in name and emphasis several times to include "Living History Day," "Tuskegee Day," and "Farm Festival."[79]

Currently, the park keeps forty acres in hay, worked by a local farmer under an agricultural lease permit, to contribute to the appearance of a nineteenth-century farm and to provide feed for the livestock.[80] Groups can apply for special use permits to hold gatherings and festivals on the grounds. Church groups, Boy Scouts, and day-care providers picnic at the park.

Several trees that were among the few authentic historical elements at the park received attention in the 1980s and 1990s. It was determined that a catalpa, two white oaks, and a Virginia red cedar in the historic core dated to the 1800s. Specialists at Virginia Western Community College propagated samples of the trees from seed and cuttings. Recognition of these historic trees continued in 1992 with their addition to the NPS's list of Interesting Trees.[81] Subsequently maintenance practices were undertaken to address the catalpa's advanced age. The tree failed to leaf out in several large areas causing staff to question its health.[82] Indeed, the catalpa's health continued to decline to the point where it became a potential hazard to visitors, and was removed in 2001. To date, the stump remains, as does a root sprout of the original tree. Two catalpas, grown from the historic tree, were planted in 1989. One is located near the original stump and the other is near the hog pen.[83]

The park removed remnants of the Phillips entry drive in the summer of 1997. Pavement was removed between the historic area and the visitor center and replaced with stabilized turf and grass seed. Portions of the asphalt road in the northern region of the park remain, and while pavement is not clearly visible due to overgrown grass, the grading of the former roadbed is discernible.

Current scholarship continues to challenge and supplement the park's collection of existing historical information. An ethnohistorical analysis of the park, prepared in 1998, proposed that the current Burroughs so-called "big house" representation may be incorrect. Central to the hypothesis is the idea that the traditional house footprint and location are not representative of the dwelling of a nineteenth-century middle-class family of eleven. Through contextual comparisons of Caribbean plantations, references from Washington's autobiography, and analysis of existing scholarship on the Burroughs farm, the report

constructed the argument that the Burroughs family was of higher socioeconomic status than the small house next to the slave dwellings and domestic yard would indicate. An 1847 deed was analyzed to further the argument, unearthing the possibility that a dwelling existed on an acre of land adjacent to the Hales Ford Road. Unfortunately, it is likely that construction of present day Route 122 would have erased remains of such a structure if this was the case.

Several questions arise from the ethnohistorical analysis's assertions, notably, debate about the extent of the Burroughs family's resources, relevance of comparisons of such remote sites as the Caribbean, and the lack of confirmation about such a building, or its remnants, from the Robertson brothers' oral histories. Nonetheless, the report raised valid questions that warrant further review. This modern-day challenge to the traditionally held views provokes an interesting discussion about ongoing research at the park.

In response to the "1996 Statement for Management" that lamented the insignificant percentage of the site that had been studied for archeological remains, an archeological overview and assessment of the park was prepared. This report, completed in the autumn of 1998, identified several sites that were known or thought to contain substantial nineteenth-century subsurface resources. The report studied two cabin sites, Cabin One and Cabin Two, the Burroughs house, the Burroughs-era entry drive, two tobacco barns, and the Sparks and Burroughs cemeteries. Notably, important evidence about Cabin One, or the birth cabin, and the Burroughs house were uncovered. Field crews clearly identified Cabin One and artifacts that linked the site to slave habitation.[84]

The 1998 report recommended further study of the former Burroughs house site, leading to an excavation in 1999. It was concluded from the 1999 excavation that the dwelling most likely housed middle-class people. The foundation was substantially constructed and the recovered artifacts like porcelain and window glass link the house to people of some economic means.[85]

The archeological overview and assessment was a preliminary effort that made recommendations for further study. While some of these early findings refute the hypothesis proposed in the ethnohistorical analysis about an alternative spatial and social organization on the Burroughs farm, further study is necessary before any conclusions can be drawn about the validity of the park's current interpretation.

Westlake Development

In 1987, Roanoke Land and Auction Company made 285 acres directly abutting the park available for sale. It was advertised as part of a large working farm, containing seventy-five to 100 acres of cropland and the remainder in pasture and woods. The land was promoted as having "Good potential for large tract development and private landing strip."[86]

By the late 1990s, the county undertook community planning initiatives to address issues relating to the rapid growth of the Smith Mountain Lake community developing adjacent to the park. Population projections claimed that the area would grow from 14,000 residents in 1995 to 22,000 by 2015.[87] This projected growth spurred action by local business and community leaders who recognized the need for housing, goods, and services. The community's vision targeted clean industry and locally run businesses, sought to promote tourism, and looked to protect existing attractions and historic features like the Booker T. Washington NM.[88]

The Willard Companies, a Virginia development firm, purchased 139 acres of the original 285 acres offered for sale next to the park and sought permission from the Franklin County Planning Board to build a ten-year mixed-use development based on the town center model. Upon completion, the development would include a golf course, condominiums, shopping center, assisted living center, retirement community, movie theatre, retail/office space and a building supply store (Figure 6.28). To gain approval for the new development, Willard went before the Franklin County Planning Commission in November 2000 seeking rezoning of eighty-two acres of agricultural land and fifty-seven acres of light manufacturing land to a planned commercial district.[89] To justify his company's interest, Ron Willard, Sr., President of the Willard Companies, wrote to the Planning Commission that the current agricultural land was "basically laying dormant, timbered land left with trash. . . . changes in the area include setting the pace for the direction the Westlake community is heading and should have headed years ago."[90]

In response to Willard's arguments, Rebecca Harriett, Superintendent of Booker T. Washington

Figure 6.28. Proposed zoning and development from the Franklin News-Post, *illustrating the project's potential impact on the park due to the proximity of retail and commercial development. Monday October 9, 2000.* Franklin News-Post. *Rocky Mount, VA*.

NM, offered three potential adverse affects of the new development on the park and the community at large. Her concerns addressed increased water temperature of Gills Creek due to overflow of lake storm water impoundment, adverse affects on the park's viewshed, and increased sprawl along Route 122.[91] In spite of the park's concerns, the rezoning passed and development has begun. To date, the first phase of the ten-year development is under construction.

The park's primary concern surrounding Westlake development is in securing property, as stated in the 2000 GMP, to serve as a visual buffer. The most important property determined by the GMP viewshed analysis is a fifteen acre parcel that sits on high ground to the northeast of current park boundaries. If acquired, this tract will serve as a key buffer between the park's historic resources and the large scale retail development that is currently underway on nearby land. Legislation was introduced in Congress in April 2001 to authorize the purchase of these fifteen acres. The Conservation Fund purchased the fifteen acres in February 2002 and will protect the land until the National Park Service is able to make the purchase.

The NPS's stewardship of the Booker T. Washington NM has been characterized by dynamic changes as well as maintenance of the status quo. In the early years, the NPS undertook substantial planning and development to bring the site up to service-wide standards for the treatment of historic resources and to prepare for visitors. Between 1956 and 1966 the park altered the landscape appreciably through the demolition of Hopkins Hall, Phillips' cabin replica, and the Burch Hall foundation, as well as through construction of the new cabin replica, Roll Road interpretive trail, park entry road, and visitor center.

Later changes to the landscape were often less visible. While the direct programmatic needs, interpretive goals, and landscape treatment have shifted through more than fifty years of NPS stewardship, the park strives today to present an accurate view of Booker T. Washington's childhood home and how the place influenced his contributions to contemporary society. The following Existing Conditions chapter is an inventory of the park's current landscape features.

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EXISTING CONDITIONS

General Description

Landscape Characteristics

Previous Page: View of the living historical farm at Booker T. Washington NM. Circa 1974. BOWA files.

Existing Conditions

Prior sections of this report have recounted the dynamic history of the Booker T. Washington NM landscape. The following existing conditions chapter describes the current status of the landscape characteristics that represent the interaction between human culture and natural systems. The following characteristics are essential components of the park's cultural landscape.

General Description

The Booker T. Washington National Monument in Franklin County, Virginia, is a 223.92-acre site located twenty-two miles south of Roanoke. Its landscape is dominated by typical features of the Virginia Piedmont, including rolling topography, rusty-red soils, and traditional agricultural patterns. A majority of the park's acreage is agricultural or forested and is managed to evoke an 1850s middle class farm, similar in appearance to when Washington lived there. Reconstructed farm buildings, period crops, and farm animals are used to educate visitors about Washington's enslaved childhood on the Burroughs farm. While most features from Washington's nine years on the property are long gone, historic features such as topography, vegetation, and hydrology, remain intact.

The park has traditionally been located in a remote area of southwestern Virginia but recent growth from nearby Rocky Mount and Smith Mountain Lake have placed development pressures on the region. While the local landscape used to be almost entirely agricultural, suburban, retail, and service-oriented growth is pressing in from several directions. The landscape directly abutting the park retains its rural character, keeping the integrity of setting fairly high. However, the park will need to work closely with the surrounding community to protect its rural context.

Landscape Characteristics

The following landscape characteristics represent the natural and cultural processes and features that define the significance of this unique cultural landscape. It is the collection of these characteristics that helps describe the significance of the property in American history. They may either individually or collectively aid in understanding the park's cultural value.

- **Topography/Hydrology**: Geologic and surface water features and patterns that influence the development and form of a landscape.
- **Spatial Organization**: Arrangement of elements creating the ground, vertical, and overhead planes that define and create spaces.
- **Land Use**: Organization, form, and shape of the landscape.
- **Vegetation**: Indigenous or introduced trees, shrubs, vines, ground covers, and herbaceous materials.
- **Circulation**: Spaces, features, and materials that constitute systems of movement.
- **Buildings and Structures**: Three-dimensional constructs such as houses, barns garages, stables, bridges, and memorials.
- **Views and Vistas**: Features that create or allow a range of vision which can be natural or designed and controlled.
- **Small Scale Features**: Elements that provide detail and diversity combined with function and aesthetics.
- **Archeological Sites**: Sites containing surface and subsurface remnants related to historic or prehistoric land use.

Among the most relevant landscape characteristics for the Booker T. Washington NM are spatial organization, land use, vegetation, and archeological sites. Resources associated with the Burroughs family coexist with resources associated with the former elementary school that was built one hundred years later. The two associative landscapes are defined largely by the above-mentioned natural and cultural processes.

Topography/Hydrology

Booker T. Washington National Monument contains rolling topography with an elevation change of approximately 180 feet. The park's highest point is along the northern boundary at Route 122 and along a ridge oriented north/south near the former elementary school. Land gently slopes away from the high areas, down to Gills Creek along the park's southern boundary. Topography historically dictated where human

habitation and agricultural cultivation occurred, and is an important feature to understand.

Several small creeks dissect the low regions of the park, emptying into Gills Creek. The creeks flood several times annually, creating erosion along their banks. Several fragmented wetlands were identified along Gills Creek and the Jack-O-Lantern Branch in 1998.[1] Six springs surface on the property, most notably one fed by a tributary of the Jack-O-Lantern Branch that surfaces south of the historic core. This spring was traditionally the primary water source for the site.[2]

Spatial Organization

The park's spatial organization is defined by landscape features and natural and cultural systems. Topography, vegetation, and watercourses create the boundaries of the park's primary outdoor spaces. These features reveal and conceal views and create enclosures to define space. The park can be divided into spatial zones, bisected by a north-south running ridge. On the east side of the ridge is the zone surrounding the historic core. This area is bounded on the west by the slope of the ridge and surrounded by forest on three sides. The topography and vegetation carve a niche into which the core area fits.

Another distinct zone is the large open field to the south of the former elementary school. This long, relatively flat area is surrounded by forest that creates a distinct edge between the high trees and low field grasses. The historic core and the large field just discussed are visually separated by their bounding features and retain discrete characteristics (Figure 7.1).

Most of the park's infrastructure and heavily used areas are located in the north-central region of the park. Park operations, visitor services, and demonstration fields are clustered around the visitor center, former elementary school, and historic core. Spatially, the manipulated landscape influences the feeling of this region of the park, whereas, the southern region is dominated by natural factors. While interpretive trails travel through the southern areas, forest and lightly managed fields predominate.

Land Use

Currently, the park is primarily an educational, recreational, and commemorative landscape. Numerous activities occur throughout the park to aid in the understanding and interpretation of Washington's life and accomplishments. The living historical farm is currently the most visible interpretive medium in the park. Agricultural patterns and activities are visible from Route 122 and predominate throughout the area experienced by visitors, namely around the visitor center and historic core. Hay and tobacco crops are cultivated in several fields in the park. The park also keeps horses, cows, pigs, sheep, chickens, and ducks within the historic core (Figure 7.2). Interpretive and educational activities take place throughout the historic core. This contrasts with the southern portion of the park, which is preserved for passive recreation only and not programmed for key interpretive activities.

Activities associated with the park maintenance are clustered around the visitor center and former elementary school where vehicles, equipment, and materials are stored. Sand and gravel piles and waste storage occur around the former elementary school (Figure 7.3). The maintenance area currently serves no interpretive purpose and is clearly visible from the school.

Several cemeteries are located throughout the park, including the Burroughs cemetery containing approximately nine gravestones, some of which are from the Burroughs family (Figure 7.4). The Burroughs cemetery is located northwest of the visitor center, just west of the former Phillips entry road trace. The Sparks cemetery is a poorly documented site in the forested southern region of the park, containing approximately one marked gravestone and sixteen unmarked or illegibly marked gravestones (Figure 7.5). The Hayes cemetery, located on the north side of Route 122, is unrelated to the period of significance and is actively used.

Vegetation

The vegetation of Booker T. Washington National Monument plays an integral part in portraying Washington's experience at the property. While almost no above ground resources remain dating to Washington's time on the property, the management of the current landscape to illustrate the general character of the 1850s farm is crucial to the park's interpretive mission. The park maintains vegetation in patterns similar to those presumed during the historic period, while making allowances for current interpretive and maintenance needs. This translates into one

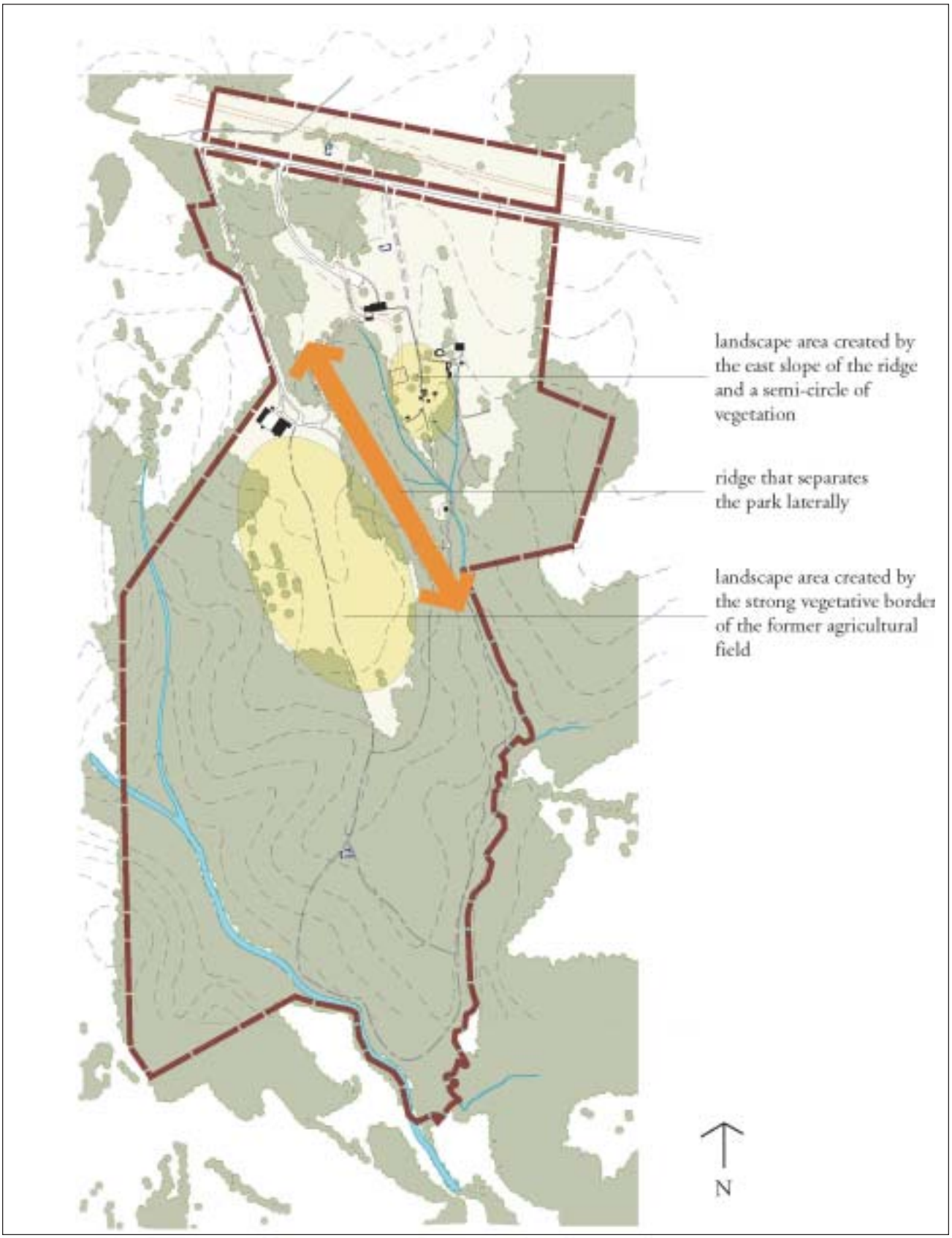


Figure 7.1. Diagram of spatial organization in the park. Topographic and vegetative features create boundaries and discrete visual separations within the park's 224 acres. Not to scale. 2001. Image manipulated by OCLP from GMP maps created by Philadelphia Support Office Stewardships and Partnerships.

Figure 7.2. Pigs, sheep, horses, cows, chickens, and ducks are kept as a part of the Burroughs farm. 2001. OCLP.

Figure 7.3. Currently, the materials storage yard is located in a field near the former school. OCLP. 2001.

Figure 7.4. The Burroughs cemetery dates to the primary period of significance. At least two members of the Burroughs family are buried there. 2001. OCLP.

Figure 7.5. The Sparks cemetery, located in the woods in the park's southern region, contains numerous headstones of unknown origins. 2001. OCLP.

hundred acres of forest land, sixty acres of pasture, forty acres of agricultural fields, and twenty-five acres of lawn.[3]

The park's overstory consists of forty-five percent tulip poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), twenty-five percent oak-hickory (*Quercus – Carya*), twenty percent Virginia pine (*Pinus virginiana*), and ten percent riparian mix including sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*) and American beech (*Fagus grandifolia*).[4] Within the understory is found pawpaw (*Asimina triloba*), red maple (*Acer rubrum*), dogwood (*Cornus florida*), and redbud (*Cercis canadensis*) among others.[5] There is a great variety of ages within the forest stands. Many patches of the southern wooded tract have discernible differences in age and composition from past agricultural land use and former vegetative treatment policies at the park.

To combat obtrusive off-site land uses that threaten the park's viewshed, two tree screens have been planted. One stand is located parallel to Route 122 and the other is located parallel to the park's eastern boundary.

Several fields are mowed for hay by a local farmer under an agricultural use permit. This is done to perpetuate the historic setting, both in the Burroughs landscape and in the former school zone. Other fields are maintained for animal grazing.

The park maintains the landscape around the historic core as agricultural fields or mowed lawn. Several specimen trees are located in the vicinity of the former Burroughs house and may date to the mid-1800s. Until 2001, a large catalpa tree stood north of the Burroughs house foundation. This was removed because of poor health though the stump and root sprouts remain. A Virginia red cedar of the same age as the former catalpa tree stands in the same area, possibly part of a former grove that shaded the domestic yard. Several other trees including a mature white oak located by the spring and five white oaks along the southeast property line have been identified as historic.[6] Seasonal bulbs and myrtle (*Vinca minor*) grow within the bounds of the Sparks cemetery indicating that former residents embellished these grounds with domestic plantings.

Demonstration plantings contribute to the living historical farm (Figure 7.6). A replica kitchen garden is located west of the cabin replica, where traditional plants such as flax, corn, gourds, squash, tomatoes, and sunflowers are grown (Figure 7.7).

The historic core is kept neat and orderly, allowing easy viewing of the interpretive features and for the comfort and safety for visitors and rangers. The grass in the area is mowed regularly and fence lines are trimmed several times annually. The region also contains some elements of modern landscaping practices. For example, several trees within the historic core and surrounding the visitor center have mulch circles and plastic edge treatments around their bases (Figure 7.8).

Non-historic plants are present at the visitor center and parking lot. Ornamental plants including a specimen redbud and oak, and annual flowers in mulch beds define the entry experience. This treatment reflects the contemporary design of the visitor center and does not include historic or vernacular plant materal.

Figure 7.6. Part of the park's agricultural scene is maintained through demonstration crops, including this tobacco field. 2001. OCLP.

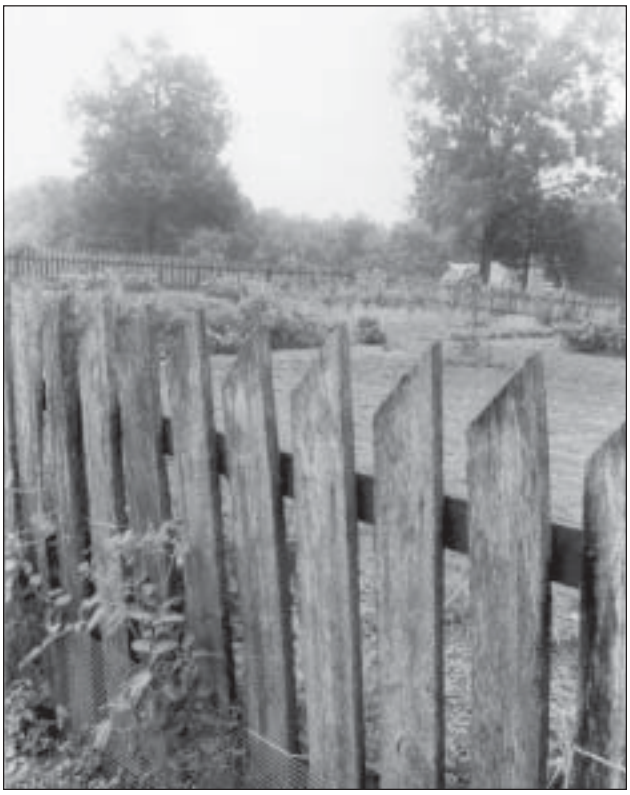


Figure 7.7. Traditional vegetables and flowers including tomatoes, corn, squash, and sunflowers are grown in the demonstration garden, located northwest of the cabin replica. 2001. OCLP.

Figure 7.8. Plastic edge treatment and mulch ring surrounding a tree in the historic core. 2001. OCLP.

Circulation

Booker T. Washington National Monument contains a hierarchy of circulation routes, from paved vehicular roads to mowed grass foot trails. Primary vehicular access is from Route 122 that runs along the park's northern boundary. An asphalt paved entry from Route 122 leads to the visitor center and main parking area that includes space for two busses and twenty-five visitor cars. A second, unmarked chip and seal road leads to the former elementary school. Staff parks in a gravel parking lot located off of the circular turn-around at the school building. Two service roads for park staff and maintenance activities connect the historic core, visitor center, and former elementary school. These non-visitor roads are surfaced with gravel.

Several historic road traces are discernible in the park. Modern day Route 122 was created on the approximate alignment of the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike. Directly adjacent to the park, the modern and historic roads diverged, leaving the intact roadbed just north of the new road. The original farm entry drive that connected with the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike is visible in a stand of trees to the north of the current park entrance. This historic driveway traveled south to approximately the location of the present visitor center before splitting into two paths; one leading to the house and barns and the other to agricultural fields on the ridge.

Many secondary roads were created throughout the years of agricultural, institutional, commemorative, and educational activities. Aerial photos from the 1940s indicate road traces that connect the high ground by the former elementary school to the historic core, cutting through the forest. Other paths are discernible at the southern end of the park, leading to Gills Creek and the agricultural fields formerly located on the floodplain. Remnants of the two-lane entrance boulevard created by Sidney Phillips in 1946 exists today (Figure 7.9). It is currently a one-lane, partially paved road trace that is more discernible for its deeply cut road bed than for the aged pavement surface. It is still used sporadically for overflow parking and service traffic.

The major pedestrian route on site is the path connecting the visitor center to the historic core, which

was paved and regraded to meet ADA accessibility standards in 1997. The historic core is encircled by the gravel and packed earth Plantation Trail. Beyond the historic core, the Jack-O-Lantern Branch Trail, a longer interpretive pedestrian trail, travels along the park's southeastern boundary and Gills Creek (Figure 7.10).

Buildings and Structures

No structures remain at the site from Booker T. Washington's day. The oldest structure in the park is a rough hewn log tobacco barn with chinked and daubed joints dating to 1894 (Figure 7.11). The barn is thought to contain logs from the Burroughs era, though it has been manipulated many times by former occupants and by the NPS. Documented archeological remains exist for what has traditionally been thought of as the Burroughs house and two slave cabins. Other remains of slave cabins and barns likely exist throughout the park, though they are undocumented to date.

Numerous reconstructed agricultural structures, created by the NPS for the living historical farm, exist in the historic core. The "kitchen cabin", or Cabin Two, was constructed in 1960 to replace the deteriorated cabin replica built by the privately operated Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial. It is a small log cabin with a stone hearth and chimney, small attic space, and a concrete floor made to look like packed earth (Figure 7.12). The smokehouse, constructed in 1974, is made of similar materials as the kitchen cabin. It is roughly a twelve by fourteen feet, one-story cabin. Other reconstructed buildings include the horse barn built in 1970, the blacksmith shed built in 1972, the corn crib built in 1972, and the privy built in 1973, and the chicken house built in 1973. Several of the structures are constructed of notched and saddled logs like the cabin replica. The park's hogpen is located to the west of the horse barn.

The former Booker T. Washington Elementary School is currently used for staff offices and maintenance activities. This is a one-story, rectangular brick structure.

The visitor center is a Mission-66-era building, constructed in 1965 and 1966.[7] It features design characteristics that connect it directly to the Mission-66 era, including a low roof line, an exterior that utilizes natural colors and materials, and large rear windows for viewing the historic core (Figure 7.13). The facility currently houses exhibit space, a small auditorium, restrooms, and interpretive staff offices. Visitors generally enter the structure prior to beginning tours of the site. Exiting from the rear door leads them directly to the heart of the park's interpretive resources.

A pavilion stands within the now abandoned campground in the forest of the southern portion of the park.

Views and Vistas

The park's rolling topography provides several important viewsheds. From the highest point in the park along the northern boundary, views are available of the agricultural landscape. Fields, fence lines, and grazing animals contribute to the park's rural setting. However, because of the rolling hills and because the Route 122 road bed is depressed into an excavated channel, views into the historic core are not readily available from the main road. This vantage point changes, however, from the visitor center, where better views of the lower terrain of the historic core are visible. The visitor center's rear porch looks out directly on the kitchen garden and slave cabin. Low hills and vegetation obscure other features. Conversely, when standing in the historic core, views are available to the agricultural fields to the north and northeast and to adjacent properties. These off-site viewsheds are of considerable concern to park staff and provisions are being made to protect adjacent lands and screen the historic resources.

Figure 7.9. Pavement remnants of Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial driveway. It is still used today on a limited basis for maintenance activities and overflow parking. 2001. OCLP.

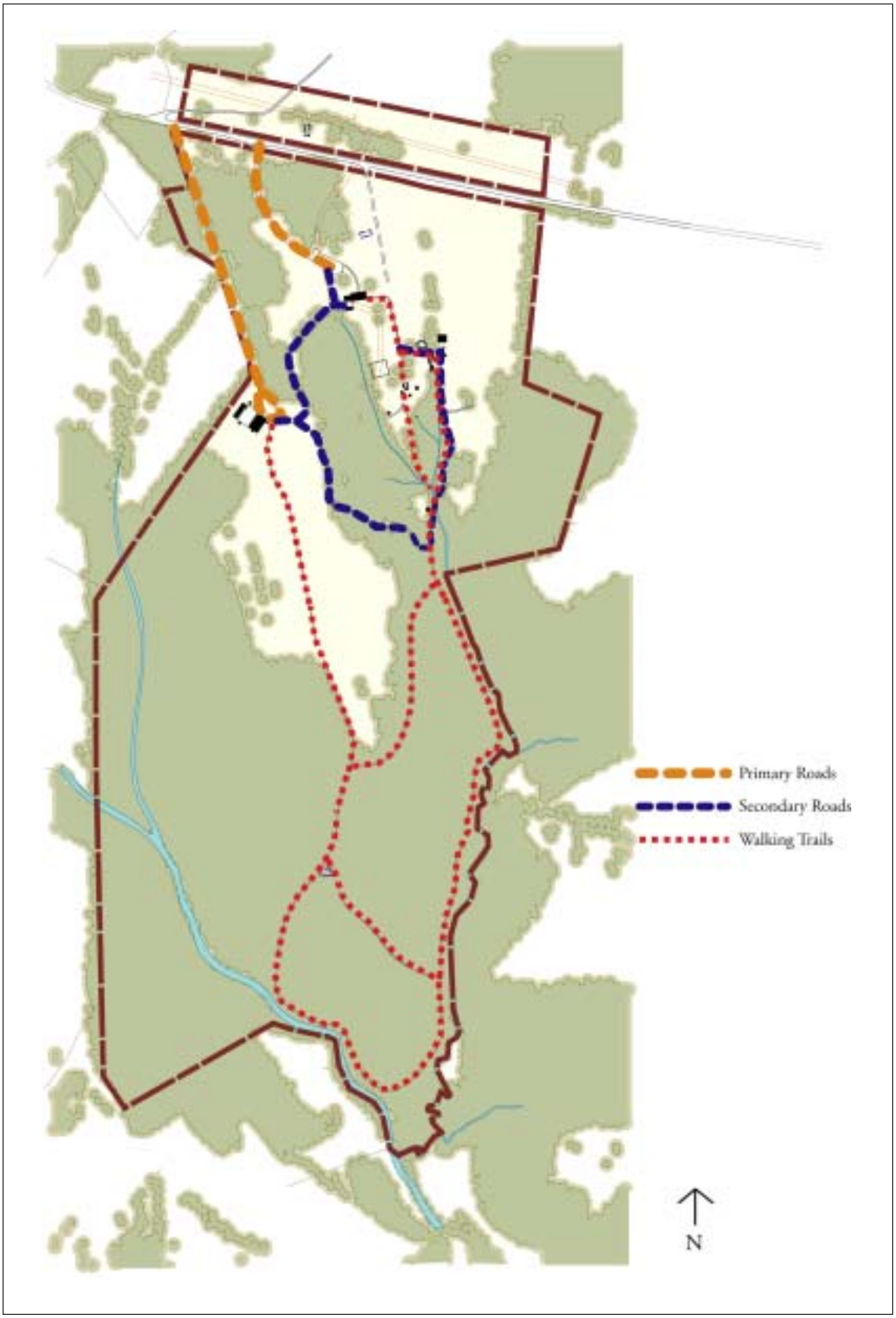


Figure 7.10. Circulation hierarchy in the park. Not to scale. 2001. Image manipulated by OCLP from GMP maps created by Philadelphia Support Office Stewardships and Partnerships.

Figure 7.11. Tobacco barn. This barn is the only structure on site that contains materials dating to the Burroughs period. 2001. OCLP.

Figure 7.12. Cabin replica. This reconstruction replaced a cabin built by the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial. 2001. OCLP.

Other viewsheds are less pronounced throughout the park. Though the former elementary school sits atop high ground, views to the visitor center and historic core are obstructed by vegetation. Views from the school are dominated by the adjacent farmland and large field south of the building.

Figure 7.13. Visitor center. 2001. Photo courtesy of NPS, Stephen Clark. Cultural Resources Center/Building Conservation Branch.

Small Scale Features

The park contains numerous small scale features including directional signage, wayside exhibits, picnic tables, garbage cans, and barbecue grills. They range from rustic period reconstructions to modern elements not intended to blend into the historical scene.

Most of the directional signage is located near the park entrance and visitor center. A state historical marker and a large wooden NPS sign point visitors to the entry drive. Once at the parking lot, several signs identify designated parking for handicapped persons, bus, and authorized park vehicles. Other features at the visitor center include an aluminum flag pole, two wooden benches, three interpretive waysides, and a bust of Booker T. Washington on a granite pedestal. These features are modern and are used for visitor safety and orientation.

The historic core hosts two interpretive waysides and several other small features that contribute to the historical farm or address visitor safety and comfort (Figure 7.14). A dinner bell, rustic log bench, and rain collection barrels add to the bucolic, agricultural atmosphere (Figure 7.15). The kitchen garden displays commonly grown vegetables and flowers of the 1800s. A wooden spring box and bridge are located south of the slave cabin to mark the spot where former inhabitants drew their drinking water (Figure 7.16). A grinding stone, donated to the park and moved there from off-site, is located near the corncrib. Storm drainage around the core is addressed using stone-faced culverts, one of which is near the tobacco barn and the other five are located along the

Figure 7.14. Interpretive wayside exhibit near the historic core. 2001. OCLP.

Figure 7.15. The dinner bell, located near the cabin replica. 2001. OCLP.

Figure 7.16. Spring box, located south of the Burroughs foundation. 2001. OCLP.

Plantation Trail. Because of the presence of the farm animals, two signs in the core warn visitors not to pet or feed the animals. The creek near the tobacco barn in spanned by a rustic wooden bridge. Split rail fencing surrounds the agricultural fields and park entry road (Figure 7.17). Most of the fenced fields are located in the north and northeastern regions of the park where animals graze.

A wooden sign south of the tobacco barn marks the beginning of the Jack-O-Lantern Branch Trail. This sign, along with two interpretive waysides, and ten trail markers encompass most of the park's resources in the southern region. Five wooden benches provide resting places for travelers. Nestled into the woods near the trail is the now abandoned youth group campground, constructed by the Youth Conservation Corps. This area was designed to accommodate up to eighty youth group campers with few amenities. Several fire rings and wood holders remain, along with a wooden kiosk. The park does not currently maintain the area for active recreation.

A picnic area is located in the forest north of the visitor center (Figure 7.18). Signage denotes that it is handicapped accessible and that picnickers should be aware of poison ivy. It contains twelve aluminum picnic tables, trash cans, metal barbecue grills, recycling bins, and a heavy mortared stone water fountain.

Few small scale features are located at the former elementary school, except directional signage. An NPS arrowhead and Booker T. Washington's name mark the outside of the building. The area is most notable for the parking lot and maintenance yard.

Figure 7.17. Worm fencing surrounds the entry road, agricultural fields, and animal enclosures. 2001. OCLP.

Figure 7.18. Picnic area, located at the edge of the woods north of the visitor center. 2001. OCLP.

Archeological Sites

Archeological studies begun in the 1950s and continuing today provide a limited and cursory understanding of the park's subsurface resources. In 1959, John Griffin discovered the remains of the kitchen cabin that had been disturbed by Sidney Phillips' cabin reconstruction. Other limited testing in the 1980s and 1990s also produced findings. Most recently, archeological testing completed by Dr. Amber Bennett of Sweet Briar College exposed remains of the traditionally interpreted Burroughs house. The foundation is currently marked with flat stones that are flush with the ground. Bennett's findings included a substantial stone foundation and evidence of china, glass, and other middle-class artifacts. Dr. Bennett recommended additional archeological work to determine whether a recent ethnographic overview and assessment by Dr. William Baber challenging the traditional interpretation of the Burroughs house was correct. While the historic core has been preliminarily studied, most other areas of the park remain inadequately understood. Other structures, whose presence is reported by oral tradition, have not been discovered. The Sparks cemetery is also a poorly understood resource.

Endnotes- Existing Conditions

[1] General Management Plan for Booker T. Washington National Monument, 2000, 126.

[2] "Cultural Landscapes Inventory for Booker T. Washington National Monument," National Park Service, Philadelphia Support Office, 1999.

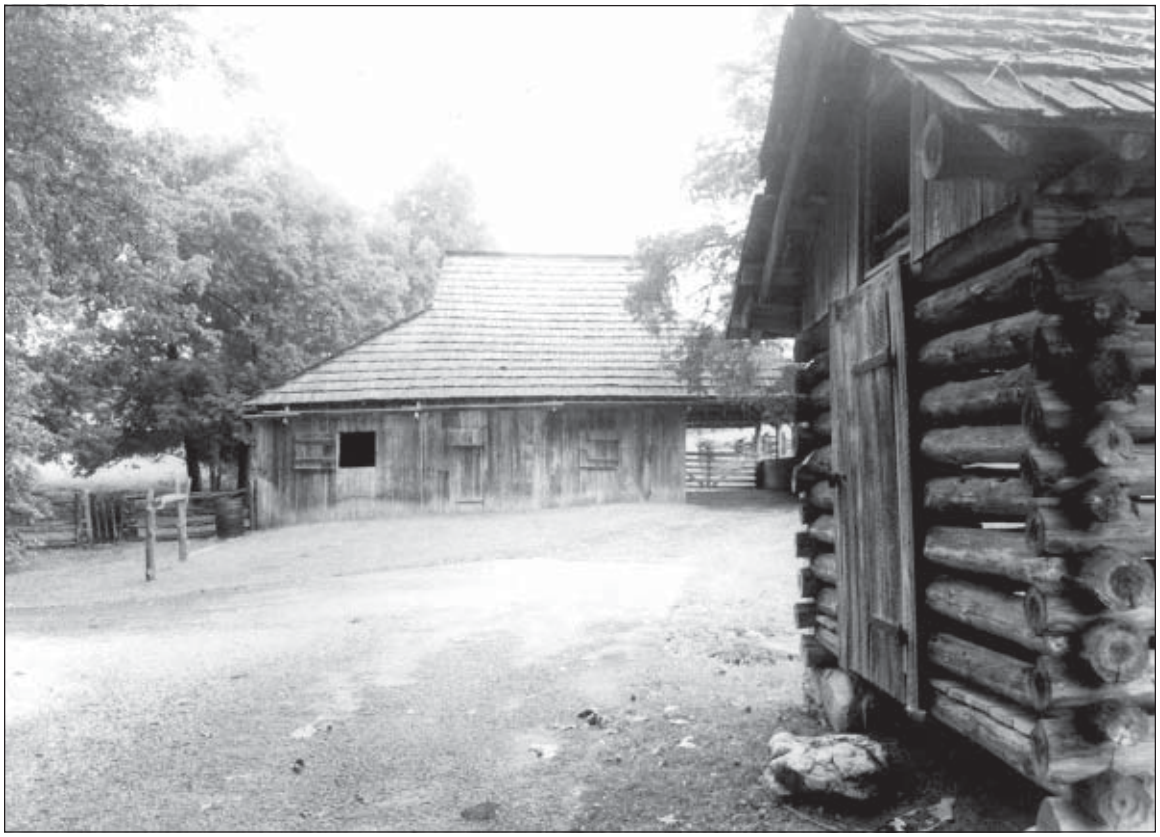
[3] Ibid., 5.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] "Visitor Center To Be Dedicated in Franklin," *The Roanoke Times*, Sunday, June 12, 1966. BOWA files.



Analysis

Evaluation of Significance and Integrity

Summary of Landscape Characteristics and Features

Evaluation of Landscape Integrity

Previous Page: Horse barn and corn crib at Booker T. Washington NM. 2001. OCLP.

Evaluation of Significance and Integrity

Evaluating Historical Significance

For the purposes of this cultural landscape report, significance in American history is determined through a process of identification and evaluation defined by the National Register of Historic Places program. According to the National Register, historic significance may be present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Properties must meet at least one of the following criteria:

A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history; or

B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

D. That have yielded or may be likely to yield information in prehistory or history.

If the resources in question are less than fifty years of age, special requirements must be met to ensure that they are significant enough to warrant National Register listing. In this instance, National Register Criteria Consideration G applies and must be adequately addressed to determine if the resource meets standards of exceptional importance.

Current National Register Status

As a National Monument within the national park system, Booker T. Washington NM was administratively added to the National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966, with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). Completion of the official documentation supporting that listing was not completed until December 1989. This documentation identifies the significance of the property for its association with Booker T. Washington under National Register Criterion B. The current statement of significance, prepared as part of the 1989 documentation project, focuses on Washington's biography, especially the importance of his career during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The current statement does not address the significance of this landscape and the role of its characteristics in shaping the values and thinking that, along with other influences, led to his successful career and public life.

The findings of this cultural landscape report fully support the conclusion that the Booker T. Washington NM is primarily significant in American history for its association with the early life and later career of Booker T. Washington, as expressed by National Register Criterion B. However, based on the findings of this report, a recasting of the statement of significance and supporting narrative is offered to speak directly to the significance of the landscape and its extant features, beyond the fundamental biographical connection with the historical figure. In addition, the revised statement of significance further proposes additional areas of historical significance related to subthemes in African American history reflected on site that extend beyond the site's primary association with Booker T. Washington. The significant archeological resources of the site, while potentially valuable to supplement existing knowledge, are not specifically dealt with in the context of this cultural landscape report.

The Booker T. Washington NM visitor center and much of the park infrastructure were built as a result of the NPS Mission-66 development program. The agency has recently recognized that the park architecture and site planning of this post-WWII period may hold historical significance and that an objective contextual study was needed to provide a basis for evaluating its significance. Between 1998 and 2000, the agency made progress toward this goal, marked by the completion of *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type*. This study concludes with National Register registration requirements with which to evaluate potential eligibility under this context. As a follow-up to this study of park visitor centers, the NPS has begun a similar examination of Mission-66 and "Parkscapes" landscape infrastructure between 1945 and 1972. Being of a much broader scope than a study of the visitor center building type, less progress has been made on this second part of the Mission-66

study, and a final product cannot be expected to guide decision-making in the near-term.

The NPS submitted a determination of eligibility for the visitor center complex at Booker T. Washington NM, including the building, entry road, parking lot, split rail fences, and surrounding landscape plantings, advocating for their eligibility for the National Register. Between November 2002 and September 2003, the NPS Northeast Region and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR) corresponded to clarify the argument and finally concurred that the Mission-66 resources at Booker T. Washington NM are indeed eligible. See appendix D for the correspondence. The DHR concluded that the features, that are typical examples of the Mission-66 design vocabulary and retain a high level of integrity, contributed significantly to the initial development of the park. Additionally, the DHR found that the complex is significant on a local and regional level for its association with social and political developments relating to race relations. While the resources have been determined eligible, official National Register documentation has not been completed.

Summary of Significance

Booker T. Washington NM is significant for the unusual breadth of African American history reflected in its varied and altered landscape, from slavery and emancipation through segregated education and the desegregation crisis. Booker T. Washington NM is nationally and locally significant under two of the four criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places.[1]

Primarily, Booker T. Washington NM is nationally significant under National Register Criteria B for its "association with the life of a significant person in our past," Booker T. Washington. The primary period of significance, 1856-1865, comprises Booker T. Washington's birth and childhood in slavery and the experience of emancipation on the 207-acre Burroughs plantation. Washington later founded Tuskegee Institute, the precursor to Tuskegee University in Alabama during 1881, and between 1895 and 1915 became the most prominent and controversial spokesperson on education and race relations in the United States. By his own account, Washington's birth and childhood in slavery at the Burroughs plantation significantly influenced his later thinking. He drew upon many of these formative experiences throughout his public speaking and writing career.

Second, Booker T. Washington NM is significant, possibly at the national level, under National Register Criterion A, for its association with "events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history." A proposed secondary period of significance, 1946-1956, comprises the site's role in the history of race relations and African American memorialization during World War II, the Cold War, and the Civil Rights Movement. The Booker T. Washington Memorial Association, founded by Tuskegee graduate Sidney J. Phillips, privately operated the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial between 1946 and 1956. In its stewardship of the property, this private group drew heavily on the rhetoric of interracial conservatism, anti-Communism, and acquiescence to segregation in order to secure funding for the site's promotion and development. In the midst of the often-divisive Civil Rights Movement, Phillips managed to assemble a bi-racial coalition of supporters lobbying for the inclusion of the site in the national park system. On April 2, 1956, the Booker T. Washington National Monument became the second African American site authorized by Congress.

Finally, Booker T. Washington NM possesses state and local significance under National Register Criterion A for its association with the politics of African American education under segregation and during the school desegregation crisis from the late 1940s through the 1960s. Phillips gained white conservative support to open a demonstration farm and trade school for black students at the site. Yet more enduring, the Birthplace Memorial donated nearly six acres of Burroughs plantation land to Franklin County to construct the Booker T. Washington Elementary School. This school served as a local "model" black segregated public school between 1954 and 1966 as white conservatives worked to forestall desegregation. In 1974, the elementary school property was reassembled into the NPS boundary.

In reference to National Register Criterion D, archeology, Booker T. Washington is significant for its archeological resources that have the potential to contain the most material integrity to period of Booker T. Washington's enslavement. However, a detailed discussion of the archeological resources is not included in the scope of this study.

Because of the connection of this particular school building to the legacy of Booker T. Washington, due both to the building's location within the

boundaries of the Burroughs farm where he was born a slave, and as a physical manifestation of his accomodationist principles as carried on by Sidney J. Phillips, the extant school building is of exceptional importance satisfying the requirements of National Register Criteria Consideration G, for properties less than fifty years old.

1. Period of Significance, 1856-1865: The Birthplace Landscape and its Impact on Booker T. Washington (National Register Criterion B).

Booker T. Washington, arguably the most prominent and controversial public spokesperson on race relations and education between 1895 and 1915, was born into slavery in 1856 in a one-room log cabin on the Burroughs plantation in Franklin County, Virginia. Since he remained there until 1865, his early thinking about race relations, labor, and education were influenced by the social landscape. This is clear in his autobiographical writings (1898-1911) in which he returned repeatedly to themes related directly to his birthplace and childhood home; the Burroughs plantation generally, and the slave cabin specifically. In an age of legal segregation and disfranchisement, he did so in order to explain and to justify his moderate philosophy of harmonious race relations and progress for African Americans through industrial, agricultural, and domestic training. Thus, Booker T. Washington NM is significant not only because Washington was born and reared there, but because as an adult he linked his philosophy of racial progress to his boyhood experience of this landscape. Quite simply, as his autobiography was titled, *Up From Slavery,* the Burroughs plantation was the place where he began his ascent.

Booker T. Washington's significant public career need only be sketched here.[2] In 1881, he founded Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, which became his public platform. Its curriculum emphasized practical skills such as farming, carpentry, bricklaying, and printing for male students, and cooking, sewing, and domestic work for females. These represented fields of work Washington believed would define the lives of the majority of African Americans and in which they could become economically independent. He de-emphasized academic learning for African Americans, though he believed it was necessary in the larger scheme of black progress. His philosophy stressed "self-help," racial pride, honesty, industriousness, and thrift. All this was aimed at creating an African American population that was middle-class in material condition, morals, and values - the "respectability" by which Washington hoped they would gain acceptance by whites.

Washington gained national notoriety at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 by lecturing that "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Many black leaders criticized this compromise and his relative silence on civil rights issues. W. E. B. Du Bois publicly broke with Washington in 1904 and in 1905 founded the Niagara Movement, the civil rights organization that lay the groundwork for the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which Washington did not join. Washington, through his "progressive," moderate ideology, gained the ear of powerful white men including Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. He leveraged these relationships into influence for his own "Tuskegee Machine," directing political appointments and the philanthropic donations of the Jeans and Rosenwald foundations for southern schools. He used these political connections ruthlessly to quash black rivals, but he also used it behind the scenes to bring court challenges against legal discriminations such as peonage contracts, the exclusion of black jurors, "grandfather" clauses for voting, and passenger rail accommodations that were separate and unequal. Only late in life did he publicly denounce segregation and persistent racism.

Booker T. Washington's early life took place in the circumscribed world of a small tobacco farm in the Virginia Piedmont. The relatively close physical proximity to his own kin, his master's family, and to white and African American neighbors all meant a close-knit community that fostered intimate interactions potentially both comforting and oppressive.

Washington was born to an enslaved woman, Jane, who cooked for the family of her legal owner, James Burroughs. Washington claimed in his autobiography not to have known his father, but knew him to be a white man. More recent scholarship suggests that his father may have been Thomas Benjamin Ferguson, the second son of Josiah Ferguson, whose family owned the plantation across (northeast of) Hales Ford Road (Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike) from the Burroughs family. Ben, as Thomas Benjamin

was commonly known, moved about three miles away when Booker was about four years old (circa 1860) and according to family members, ran an "unimpressive" tobacco factory "near the post office of Taylor's Store." Josiah Ferguson, Ben's father, himself is said to have fathered enslaved children by two different mistresses. A Burroughs in-law informed Washington of his alleged paternity when Washington visited the site in 1908.[3] Thus, not only were the Ferguson family members close neighbors, but they may also have been linked by blood to young Booker, a relationship of which adults in the community would have been well aware. However, other sources suggest that Washington's father may have been a member of the Burroughs family or a neighbor, Ben Hatcher, who was a business partner of one of Josiah Ferguson's sons.[4] The possibility that these other men may have been Washington's father also would have added to the complicated web of relationships that existed within the Burroughs farm and in the larger Hales Ford community.

The Burroughs plantation was a fairly typical plantation for the county, but Burroughs was wealthier than most other local slaveholders. At 207 acres, the Burroughs family's plantation was below the average size for the county (276 acres), but was worth two-thirds more per acre ($15 versus the county average of $9.04). It was more than twice the size of the statewide average farm (91 acres) and just under the state's average in value per acre. His livestock was worth $535, versus the county average of $334.08, and his farm equipment valued at about the county average. At the time of his death in 1861, he held 10 slaves, putting him in the top quarter of local slaveholders. Franklin County's 1860 average slaveholding was 6.4, and the state's average was 9.4. [See Appendix A: "James Burroughs plantation, compared to Franklin County and Virginia averages."]

While the plantation was above the state average in slave ownership, its occupants lived in close proximity. Most of the members of Washington's immediate and present family - his mother Jane, his half-brother John, his half-sister Amanda, his mother's brother (or half-brother) Munroe, his mother's half-sister Sophie, and three other slaves who were perhaps Sophie's children (if so, they were Washington's cousins) - lived likely within sight of one another, close to the site traditionally held to be the Burroughs house, in Booker T. Washington NM's historic core.[5] Two slave cabin sites have been documented just behind (south of) the traditional Burroughs house site: Cabin One, now identified as the Booker T. Washington birth cabin, off the southeast corner of the main house; and Cabin Two off the southwest corner.[6] When Washington visited the site in 1908, he was reported to have identified the location of the "weave house, near where 'Aunt Sophie' . . . lived." According to the reporter, he also recalled "that the Ferguson plantation, which had seemed to him, as a boy, so far away, was actually located within a stone's throw of the Burroughs house."[7] The eighteen slaves of that plantation, including Josiah Ferguson's nine mixed-race children, lived right across the road.[8] The brick chimneys of the Ferguson house were once visible from Booker T. Washington NM's historic core until they were reduced to rubble in 1999. The brick rubble is visible from Route 122 and lies roughly eighty feet back from the road, about 180 feet east of Booker T. Washington NM's eastern boundary.[9]

Small did not mean better, as far as plantation life went for slaves. Closeness provided not only for genuine human interactions but also for genuinely human violence. In an age when patriarchal domestic violence was not uncommon, slaves were the most vulnerable to this violence in a slaveholding household.[10] As indicated by the number of half-siblings, life in these small slave communities did not imply that families remained intact or were able to form freely. Jane is said to have born three children by three different fathers, two of them white. Family oral histories identify James Benjamin Burroughs, James & Elizabeth Burroughses's son who lived in Bedford County, as the father of Booker's brother John Henry (born 1852) and either Thomas Benjamin Ferguson, a member of the Burroughs family, or neighbor Ben Hatcher as the father of Booker (born ca. 1856).[11] Not only was Jane's sexual life subject to white men with legal power over her, but Josiah Ferguson forced her chosen mate, an enslaved man named Washington Ferguson, to be far away from her most of the year. Washington Ferguson was also the father of Jane's third child, Amanda (born c. 1860). While Josiah Ferguson kept Washington Ferguson hired out in the salt mines of the Kanawha valley in western (now West) Virginia at the time of emancipation, before the war, he was hired out to a tobacco factory some distance away in Lynchburg.[12] Booker T. Washington remembered that his black step-father "did not belong to the same owners as did my mother. In fact, he seldom came to our plantation. I remember seeing

him there perhaps once a year, that being about Christmas time."[13] Washington also remembered that his mother was frequently absent from him during the day, "since she was obliged to leave her children very early in the morning to begin her day's work."[14]

Booker spent much of his time in and around the Burroughs house, where James and Elizabeth W. Burroughs lived with up to ten of their fourteen children (ten in 1850; seven in 1860).[15] Booker remembered that he was "required to go to the big house at meal times to fan the flies from the table." He did this by "moving back and forth a huge fan which hung on hinges over the dining table" and which was "operated by a pulley."[16] James Burroughs's daughter Laura A. (Burroughs) Holland wrote Washington in 1904 that she remembered that "You children went through our parlor almost daily carrying things to & fro into my sisters room."[17] Indeed, Washington appears as a child to have perceived what he wrote later and more generally, that for "the slave on the plantation the Big House, where the master lived, was the centre of the only world he knew."[18]

While the Burroughs house may have been the center of young Booker's world, he understood connections to the larger landscape around him. Washington remembered "hearing snatches of conversation from the people at the Big House," by which he learned not only about the war but also the little of white people's history he knew.[19] Although he noted that before emancipation he did "not think any of us ever had been very far from the plantation," he also described the "'grapevine' telegraph" by which his family and other slaves maintained connections to the larger world, "able to keep themselves . . . accurately and completely informed about the great National questions" of the Civil War. He also described how slave couriers and mail carriers would transmit news they had overheard at the local post office, some three miles from the Burroughs plantation.[20] His brother John often ran errands for the Burroughses, and in 1913 he maintained that he "could until a few years ago call the name of almost every family that lived on the Rocky Mount and Lynchburg turnpike, from Bord's store in Bedford County up to the Booth store in Franklin County."[21]

The slave community clearly went beyond the combined twenty-eight slaves on the neighboring Burroughs and Ferguson plantations. In one description of emancipation there, Washington wrote, "I recall vividly my appearance with that of forty or fifty slaves before the veranda of the big house to hear read the documents that made us men instead of property."[22] Twenty-five slaves lived on Asa Holland's plantation, just to the east.[23] And in 1907, Washington described the yearly corn-shuckings, which "were held upon one of the larger and wealthier plantations in the neighborhood." Masters invited the neighboring slaves, with their masters' permission, and "as many as one or two hundred men, women and children would come together" to perform the work and to enjoy each other's company.[24]

Washington associated his earliest joys and disappointments with elements of the larger agricultural landscape surrounding the Burroughs plantation. He remembered that "on several occasions I went as far as the schoolhouse door with one of my young mistresses to carry her books," but, as a slave, he was not allowed in. He imagined that going to school must "be about the same as getting into paradise."[25] Many of his early memories had to do with food and were notable for their specific siting on the social landscape of the plantation. In describing his cabin home, he gave special note to the "large deep opening in the floor covered with boards, which was used as a place in which to store sweet potatoes during the winter. An impression of this potato-hole is very distinctly engraved upon my memory, because I recall that during the process of putting the potatoes in or taking them out I would often come into possession of one or two, which I roasted and thoroughly enjoyed." By contrast to this surreptitious pleasure, Washington was stung by the gustatory privileges enjoyed freely and out in the open by the white Burroughs children and their friends. "I remember that at one time I saw two of my young mistresses and some lady visitors eating ginger-cakes in the yard. At that time those cakes seemed to me to be absolutely the most tempting and desirable things that I had ever seen; and I then and there resolved that, if I ever got free, the height of my ambition would be reached if I could get to the point where I could secure and eat ginger-cakes in the way that I saw those ladies doing." Washington clearly read these contrasting uses of the landscape as they were intended: while his mother enjoyed some sense of private property with her root cellar, Booker as a slave could only enjoy its pleasures of the sweet potatoes on the sly, while white "ladies" could enjoy ginger cakes out in the open yard.[26]

His other private food source carried its own stigma, marking another aspect of the social landscape he experienced on the plantation. Left by his working mother to find his own breakfast, he often ate the boiled corn intended for the livestock, fetching it either in "the places where the cows and pigs were fed" or "the place where it was the custom to boil the corn." If he missed feeding time, he would pick up what the animals had left "scattered around the fence or the trough." Despite the stigma, however, he insisted that it was "delicious." Washington continued this close relationship with animals in his adulthood, even at his Victorian house at Tuskegee. There he tended his own garden, raised poultry, gathered the hens' eggs, and looked after his cows and pigs. "The pig, I think, is my favourite animal," he averred.[27]

Washington's earliest labors and earliest fears were also associated with the landscape of the plantation and the surrounding area. He wrote in his autobiography that "there was no period of my life that was devoted to play. . . . I was occupied most of the time in cleaning the yards, carrying water to the men in the fields, or going to the mill, to which I used to take the corn, once a week, to be ground. The mill was about three miles from the plantation. This work I always dreaded." The bag of corn was unwieldy and he could not reload without help. When it fell off the horse, which was often, "The hours while waiting for some one were usually spent in crying. . . . [B]y the time I got my corn ground and reached home it would be far into the night. The road was a lonely one, and often led through dense forests. I was always frightened." While readers might remark at this relative freedom of movement—a slave boy taking a six-mile trip unsupervised all day in the midst of the Civil War—Washington remembered not freedom but fear in those woods along that road. He explained two good reasons why: "The woods were said to be full of [Confederate] soldiers who had deserted from the army, and I had been told that the first thing a deserter did to a Negro boy when he found him alone was to cut off his ears. Besides," Washington concluded, "when I was late in getting home I knew I would always get a severe scolding or a flogging."[28]

He was indeed whipped as a child, and remembering it, he once again associated the event with a specific landscape feature. When he visited the birthplace site in 1908, he was reported to have identified the "willow tree, from which . . . was cut the switch with which he received his first thrashing."[29] Another landscape feature, extant still, is associated somewhat circuitously with Booker's experience of violence against his family. Billie Burroughs, a son of James and Elizabeth Burroughs, was killed during the Civil War. Washington remembered the slaves' reaction to the news of his death: "it was no sham sorrow, but real." Besides the enslaved playmates and nursemaids who knew him well, "'Mars' Billy' had begged for mercy in the case of others when the overseer or master was thrashing them."[30] Billie Burroughs is buried in the Burroughs family graveyard at Booker T. Washington NM, his marker and his father's the only two clearly inscribed.

In *Up From Slavery*, Washington used the story of Billie's 1863 death to initiate a discussion of larger race relations issues he felt needed addressing in 1900, and this is the key to understanding much of Washington's narrative about his birthplace and childhood home. While he was very clear about slaves desiring, celebrating, and never regretting their freedom, he also portrayed his enslaved community's "tenderness and sympathy" for the white Burroughs family in that time of crisis. More generally, he asserted that "there are few instances, either in slavery or freedom, in which a member of my race has been known to betray a specific trust."[31] He was speaking to a new generation of blacks and whites in an age when powerful white people in the South were imposing racial segregation, disfranchising African American voters, and giving approbation to lynching. In this milieu, Washington strove for a racial truce and used the myth of harmonious race relations under slavery as a foil. Mistrust between blacks and whites, he asserted, was not slavery's chief evil. Instead, he held that slavery's evil was the inefficiency, ignorance, and lack of respectability that slavery imposed on black and white alike.

Here, most clearly, Washington's memories of his birthplace served his public rhetoric of racial progress through vocational training. His lengthiest description of the cabin, in *Up From Slavery*, is now ubiquitous:

> The cabin was without glass windows; it had only openings in the side which let in the light, and also the cold, chilly air of winter. There was a door to the cabin—that is, something that was called a door—but the uncertain hinges by which it was hung, and the large cracks in it, to say nothing of the fact that it was too small, made the room a very uncomfortable one. In addition to these openings there was . . . the 'cat-hole,' . . . . provided for the

> purpose of letting the cat pass in and out of the house at will during the night. In the case of our particular cabin I could never understand the necessity for this convenience, since there were at least a half-dozen other places in the cabin that would have accommodated the cats. There was no wooden floor in our cabin, the naked earth being used as a floor. . . . Three children—John, my older brother, Amanda, my sister, and myself—had a pallet on the dirt floor, or, to be more correct, we slept in and on a bundle of filthy rags laid upon the dirt floor.[32]

Laura (Burroughs) Holland later contested this characterization of the cabin in a letter to Washington.[33] But his point in describing it this way—aside from any question about what it was actually like or how he actually remembered it—was not to condemn the Burroughs family or to impugn his own mother's housekeeping habits. Instead it was to make two more general points. One point centered upon what he saw as the inefficiencies of slavery and the necessity of proper vocational, agricultural, and domestic training. Another focussed on his own progress through life by way of practical and moral training, and he extended this progress by analogy to the entire race as its proclaimed representative.

Under slavery, Washington wrote, labor was denigrated, inefficiency prevailed, and everyone suffered the consequences. None of the master's children "so far as I know, ever mastered a single trade or special line of productive industry. The girls were not taught to cook, sew, or to take care of the house."[34] In the big house, "on the dining room table, there was wanting that delicacy and refinement of touch and finish which can make a home the most convenient, comfortable, and attractive place in the world. Withal there was a waste of food and other materials which was sad." This lack of practical education contributed to the poor maintenance and unthrifty appearance of the larger plantation landscape. According to Washington:

> The slaves, of course, had little personal interest in the life of the plantation, and their ignorance prevented them from learning how to do things in the most improved and thorough manner. As a result of the system, fences were out of repair, gates were hanging half off the hinges, doors creaked, window-panes were out, plastering had fallen but was not replaced, weeds grew in the yard.[35]

For Washington, the slave cabin stood as a metaphor for the entire system of plantation agriculture - unkempt, wasteful, inefficient, and unhealthy, and all due to lack of education. Not only that, but the slave cabin at his birthplace stood as a metaphor for the entire race, a benchmark of their progress. In a 1908 article entitled "Negro Homes," Washington used a description of his birthplace and childhood cabin to introduce a narrative of material progress:

> Probably there is no single object that so accurately represents and typifies the mental and moral condition of the larger proportion of the members of my race fifty years ago as this same little slave cabin. For the same reason it may be said that the best evidence of the progress which the race has made since emancipation is the character and quality of the homes which they are building for themselves to-day.[36]

This article went on to describe and to illustrate both the multi-story Victorian houses and the more modest middle-class homes of African Americans, which Washington saw as markers both of their own domestic propriety and also of the goodwill of the white people in their communities in condoning this material progress.

Washington linked this material progress with the dignity of labor and with practical education, the program he had experienced at Hampton and had instituted at Tuskegee.[37] Again, he called on his own birthplace and childhood home in justifying his position. Far from being ashamed of having been born a slave, Washington thanked his humble upbringing for providing him "the opportunity of getting into direct contact and of communing with and taking lessons from the old class of coloured people who have been slaves." He was thankful for the rural setting of his upbringing, writing that "if I had not been a slave and lived on a slave plantation, I never would have had the opportunity to learn nature, to love the soil, to love cows and pigs and trees and flowers and birds and worms and creeping things." In sum, he wrote, "I think that I owe a great deal of my present strength and ability to work to my love of outdoor life." Washington extended his own experiences to his educational philosophy:

> I have gotten a large part of my education from actual contact with things, rather than through the medium of books. I like to touch things and handle

> them; I like to watch plants grow and observe the behavior of animals. For the same reason, I like to deal with things, as far as possible, at first hand, in the way that the carpenter deals with wood, the blacksmith with iron, and the farmer with the earth. I believe that there is something gained by getting acquainted, in the way which I have described, with the physical world about you that is almost indispensable.[38]

Washington shared this aspect of his philosophy with other educational reformers, but he also harbored a disdain for intellectual life. Literacy was crucial and he had sought it with enthusiasm as a child, but on several occasions, he used an emblematic anecdote about another ill-kept one-room cabin in order to ridicule higher education in the absence of what he saw as practical learning. He recounted that "one of the saddest things I saw" when traveling around Alabama in June 1881, "was a young man, who had attended some high school, sitting down in a one-room cabin, with grease on his clothing, filth all around him, and weeds in the yard and garden, engaged in studying a French grammar."[39] He believed practical, vocational education and rural employment provided the best path to African American economic independence, and he used his own memories of a rural, enslaved childhood on the Burroughs plantation to justify and illustrate his program.

Washington's interest in his birthplace cabin carried implications both for authenticity and for his larger moral or polemical purposes. It held the imagination of his publishers, who strove to portray it accurately in photographs. A photographer was sent to the Burroughs plantation to take a picture of the birthplace cabin but it had already fallen into ruin and the photographer took a picture of another cabin instead. (The cabin is this photograph is now known as "Cabin Two," whereas the birthplace cabin is called "Cabin One.") This photograph appeared first in *The Story of My Life and Work* with the caption "The House in Virginia where Booker T. Washington was born. (Still Standing)." Washington had apparently changed his mind later that year, however, and in the first installment of *Up From Slavery* in *Outlook* magazine, this same photo (Cabin Two) was included with the caption "The Cabin in Virginia in which Mr. Washington, until Recently, Thought He Was Born" (See Figure 4.4). On the next page appeared a photograph of a second cabin with the caption, "The Log Cabin in Which Mr. Washington Now Thinks He Was Born" (See Figure 4.5). This second cabin photograph has not been identified, and in any case, in 1904 Laura (Burroughs) Holland wrote Washington "I saw the owner of the place last year & he told me the house [i.e., the birthplace cabin] was down long before the artist went there to take a picture of it."[40]

While he was apparently unable to obtain a photograph of his birthplace cabin, the attention directed towards it was important to him. As he wrote in 1908, the cabin was worth larger discussion "because the little slaves' cabin in which I lived as a child, and which is associated with all my earliest memories, is typical of the places in which the great mass of the Negro people lived a little more than forty years ago."[41] It therefore stood for all slave cabins and symbolized where African Americans had come from - indeed, "up from slavery."

On September 26, 1908, Washington visited his birthplace site for his first and only time since leaving in 1865. Washington walked around the site, noting the remnants of the Burroughs-era landscape still visible. A report of the visit made reference to landscape features both on and off the birthplace property:

> [1] "The old dining room, built of squared logs, where young Washington began his first work as a slave, still stands." Washington said that it "is not near as large now as it used to be, or at least as it seemed to be, once."
>
> [2] "Mr. Washington, in company with a number of old settlers, was able to locate the kitchen, where Mr. Washington was born." "One of the old settlers, who is something of a wag, remarked that he had read in the newspaper that Mr. Washington was born in a house with a dirt floor, He said he didn't know as they could show him the house, but the floor was still there."[42]
>
> [3] "the old weave house" near Sophie's;
>
> [4] the place "where 'Aunt Sophie' . . . lived" near the weave house;
>
> [5] "The old spring," which "is still there";
>
> [6] The "willow tree, from which Mr. Washington recalled was cut the switch with which he received his first thrashing."

[7] "Mr. Washington inquired about Morgan's Mill to which he used to carry corn."

[8] Washington "was surprised to find that the Ferguson plantation , which had seemed to him, as a boy, so far away, was actually located within a stone's throw of the Burroughs house." Washington remarked that "It seems incredible to me that the Ferguson place, where I used to go, as a boy, is now only just across the road."

[9] the (traditionally held) Burroughs house, from the porch of which Washington delivered his address.

[10] "the road," being the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike, also known as Hales Ford Road.

The reporter also mentioned "an old bell, which hangs on a pole at the back of the house, just such a one as was formerly used to summon the slaves from their quarters." He did not state whether this was a Burroughs-era bell or whether there even was such a bell on the Burroughs plantation; he may simply have been speaking more generally.[43]

Standing on the front porch of the house traditionally held to be that of the Burroughs family, Washington delivered his standard autobiographical speech to an audience of local citizens, black and white. As in his autobiographical writings, he stressed his thankfulness for his humble beginnings for teaching him about hard work and perseverance. According to the reporter, he "emphasized . . . that he had never been sorry that he was born there, and born as he had been, a slave. He said he had learned a great many things about life, coming up as he had, from that lowly condition in life which he could not have learned if he had been born in any other or higher station."

Then, at the emotional climax of the speech, he used the site rhetorically to commemorate and romanticize a past set of race relations that he asserted provided a model necessary to present and future progress. According to the reporter, Washington "noticed in front of him an ancient rose bush, and he made that the theme of a very pretty and touching peroration." Washington recounted a parable, "the story of an old Negro who had lived for many years upon an old Virginia plantation." This man, implicitly a former slave on the plantation, worked there as a gardener for several generations of the plantation's owners, until a new owner came and "conceived of the idea of . . . re-arranging the old garden." This white woman asked the old black man to dig up "an ancient rose bush," but he could not bring himself to do it. As he explained to her, with "tears coming to his eyes, . . . 'My old Missus planted that rose bush there with her own hands when I was a boy. And Missus, these old hands jest can't dig it up, nohow. I hope you will excuse me.'"

The moral of the story, the reporter noted, was that "there was something precious, and something real in the kindly, and often tender relations which bound master and slave together." Blacks and whites of the younger generations should, therefore, not lose sight of the "good will" of the past. Washington concluded by urging his audience that "we must not dig up the old rose bush, we must preserve the old kindly relations, because, if they are lost, they can never be replaced."[44]

Washington reportedly added an injunction bringing his metaphor literally back home again: "Let the beautiful shrubbery that surrounds this home stand as a memento of the love the white folks had for me and likewise the love and affection I bore for them."[45] He then used the rose bush not only as a metaphor but also in the more literal sense of memorial act, placing a rose on James Burroughs's grave before leaving the property.[46] The reporter took only the most obvious meaning from Washington's parable and act of commemoration: the "kindly" human relations between Washington and the Burroughs family as a model for contemporary race relations in the twentieth century. The careful observer, however, might have understood Washington's parable more deeply, noticing that roses have thorns as well as blossoms. *Up from Slavery,* after all, had quite carefully reflected both.

Whatever Washington's attitude towards the Burroughs family, he maintained an active interest in them, in his birthplace, and more generally in the "Southside" Piedmont and southwestern regions of Virginia. In addition to his 1908 visit to the Burroughs plantation, he made a scheduled lecture tour of the region by train in 1909 and made efforts to stop on other occasions. Between 1883 and 1913, he and his brother John maintained a correspondence with members of the Burroughs family and the neighboring Asa Holland family.[47] In 1905, citing Billie Burroughs' death in the Civil War, Washington even considered donating money for the Confederate

monument planned for the Franklin County courthouse lawn.[48] Finally, from 1895 until his death in 1915, Washington served as the Supervisor for Christiansburg Industrial Institute, a private African American school located in Montgomery County, some sixty miles southwest of his birthplace. He selected the principals and teachers from Tuskegee alumni, who in turn maintained contact with the Institute and followed a modified version of the Tuskegee program. Washington himself made inspection visits on occasion.[49]

In the 1960s, oral interviews with brothers Peter and Grover Robertson, whose father purchased the Burroughs plantation in 1893, yielded information about many Burroughs-era landscape features - including the garden, the orchard, barns, pens, wooded areas, and fencing - as well as changes that took place thereafter. These interviews and other research informed the NPS's implementation of the Living Historical Farm interpretive programming currently available at Booker T. Washington NM, on the eastern edge of the historical core.[50] The Living Historical Farm features do not hold historical significance in themselves. They do, however, evoke the visual, aural, and olfactory atmosphere of the agricultural landscape Washington described in accounts of his boyhood on the Burroughs plantation.

2. Period of Significance, 1945-1956: Race Relations and African American Memorialization during World War II, the Cold War, and the Civil Rights Movement (National Register Criteria A).

The privately run Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial played a significant role in the national history of "interracial memory work," the politics of race relations and African American memorialization as played out against the backdrop of World War II, the Cold War, and the Civil Rights Movement.[51] Tuskegee graduate Sidney J. Phillips, head of the Birthplace Memorial, played to the interests of white conservatives, invoking the rhetoric of interracial harmony, anti-Communism, and acquiescence to segregation. He did so in his effort to establish and garner financial support for the privately run Birthplace Memorial, and then to ultimately have the historic property brought into the portfolio of national park sites.

Booker T. Washington himself first commemorated his birthplace in his autobiographical writings as early as 1898, and he initiated interracial commemorative activities at the Burroughs plantation in September 1908. Memorialization through the development of the landscape itself, however, did not commence until after 1945, under the private stewardship of Sidney J. Phillips and the Booker T. Washington Memorial Association. During a time when African American civil rights activists were increasingly effective in fighting racial segregation, Phillips and the Birthplace Memorial Association identified themselves with politically moderate or even conservative ideas and gained the support of conservative white politicians. By doing so, they succeeded in 1956 in gaining Congressional authorization for Booker T. Washington National Monument, only the second African American site established as a unit of the National Park Service, preceded only by George Washington Carver National Monument (established 1943, dedicated 1953). The third African American site established was the Frederick Douglass Home (later National Historic Site) during the 1960s.[52]

Commemoration of Washington's birthplace site began even before Washington's 1908 visit. After his rise to national fame in 1895, Washington began publishing various autobiographical essays, each beginning with his birth and childhood in the slave cabin on the Burroughs plantation.[53] In these essays, as in his two book-length autobiographies, *The Story of My Life and Work* (1900) and *Up From Slavery* (1901), his humble slave cabin stood as a benchmark for his rise in fame. The African American poet Paul Laurence Dunbar recognized and echoed this theme in his poem "Booker T. Washington," which was published in 1900 in *Outlook* magazine at the end of the first installment of Washington's initial, serialized version of *Up From Slavery*. The poem read in part,

> A poor Virginia cabin gave the seed,
>
> And from its dark and lowly door there came
>
> A peer of princes in the world's acclaim,
>
> A master spirit for the nation's need.[54]

The imagery of the log cabin as the symbol of common roots versus subsequent fame had been a recurrent theme in American political iconography since at least 1840, with the Whig Party's successful "log cabin" Presidential campaign for William Henry Harrison. It became an especially important theme in

civic memorialization between in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when patriotic promoters displayed Abraham Lincoln's supposed birthplace cabin in venues across the country and then organized to preserve his birthplace farm.[55]

After Washington's 1908 visit and public address at his own birthplace, the next public commemoration activity there did not take place until September 1937 with the visit of Arthur W. Mitchell, an African American Congressman from Chicago. Mitchell spoke in Rocky Mount on establishing a memorial at the birthplace site. He then led a procession to the Burroughs plantation, where, according to a WPA writer, the site of "the old cabin" (likely Cabin Two in fact) "was definitely located and an iron spike was driven in the spot where the chimney stood." Some talked of establishing on the site "an Industrial School for the colored race, to be named in honor of Booker T. Washington." This idea languished until 1945, when the Robertson family, then owners, sold the property.[56]

From that point forward, the site became entangled in the complicated web of African American memorial politics strung against the shifting backdrop of World War II, the Cold War, and the Civil Rights Movement, particularly the Virginia legislature's "massive resistance" to school desegregation. The Negro Organization Society, closely associated with Hampton Institute, Washington's alma mater, revived the idea of an industrial institute at the birthplace site. With the endorsement of Tuskegee Institute, the organization sought to purchase the site in order to establish a "shrine" to Washington. They were outbid, however, by Sidney J. Phillips, a Tuskegee graduate who had the support of Washington's daughter, Portia Washington Pittman. Phillips also had the financial backing of Nehi Corporation, where he worked in marketing, funding the mortgage making the purchase possible.[57] Phillips's rivalry with Tuskegee continued as the Institute's leaders succeeded in 1950 in having him ousted from the management of the George Washington Carver National Monument (George Washington Carver NM) and in 1953 in bypassing him for the presidency of Tuskegee Institute.[58]

Phillips subsequently directed all his energy into the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial, the charter of which expressed the following goals:

> To establish a perpetual memorial in commemoration of the life and character of Booker T. Washington . . ., to erect and maintain shrines, monuments, and other similar markings at places connected with the life of Booker T. Washington, . . . and in particular to purchase, preserve and maintain the property . . . known as 'The Burroughs Farm' . . . and to hold, manage, or dispose of such property . . . to the end that the said property may be forever set apart as a National Shrine, dedicated to the aims, ideals, and purposes for which Booker T. Washington lived and labored, that the Industrial Education and Interracial Good Will which Booker T. Washington envisioned and proclaimed with matchless eloquence may be preserved in the hearts of men everywhere and that this memorial may be an inspiration to encourage and refresh those who strive for its ultimate attainment.[59]

At the peak of its operations as a private memorial site in the mid-1950s, the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial featured a "replica" birthplace slave cabin and several renovated or newly constructed buildings used for the Birthplace Memorial's trade school, demonstration farm, administration, and promotional activities.

If politics makes strange bedfellows, then Phillips was a true politician, for he put together a coalition of supporters that included both Booker T. Washington's associates and family members and conservative white southern political leaders. This interracial group helped first to fund the privately operated Birthplace Memorial and finally to lobby for its establishment as a National Monument. The mostly African American board included Tuskegee secretary Emmett J. Scott, Washington's daughter Portia Washington Pittman, and his grandson Booker T. Washington III. Phillips's white allies included William Tuck, a loyal Byrd Organization member who endorsed the Birthplace Memorial as one of his first acts as governor in February 1946. The Governor's support no doubt helped secure a $15,000 appropriation from Virginia's all-white House of Delegates in a bill sponsored by Democrats Walter L. Hopkins and Virgil Goode of Rocky Mount. The money was designated "for the erection of permanent buildings" for Phillips's planned industrial school at the site and "for promotion of the general purposes of the Birthplace Memorial." In April 1946, Virginia Congressman Thomas G. Burch and Senator Carter Glass sponsored federal legislation for the minting of

memorial coins in Washington's honor, to be sold at a premium over face value with profits going to the Birthplace Memorial. The bill's vocal supporters in the House included Rep. Thomas Jenkins of Ohio, who cited honoring his black constituents as a reason, and Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia, a confirmed segregationist who used the bill to encourage the "cooperation" of all races and to denounce the Nazis' "nefarious practice" of persecuting "the Jewish race."[60]

The rhetoric of interracialism permeated the Birthplace Memorial's promotional activities, taking place as they did on the larger political stage of World War II. White conservatives were reacting to criticism from the outside and from inside American society. Nazi propaganda had responded to the exposure of genocidal anti-Semitism by challenging the hypocrisy of the United States' own legacy of racial segregation and discrimination. African Americans, meanwhile, launched a "Double V" campaign for victory against racism abroad and at home. In 1943, Congress sought to blunt those criticisms by authorizing the George Washington Carver National Monument in Diamond, Missouri, as a "national shrine" to Carver and, its white promoter argued, "a war measure designed to furnish a worldwide symbol of racial goodwill."[61]

Virginia's conservative political leaders were particularly drawn to interracial memory-making and used it in their support for the Birthplace Memorial. In 1943, a biracial commission created by the General Assembly recommended a "dignified" monument "to commemorate fittingly the arrival of the first Negroes on these shores and to symbolize the great progress they have made on American soil." In 1946, Virginia Governor Tuck dedicated a monument in Philadelphia to James A. Bland, the black composer of the song "Carry Me Back to Old Virginia." For Tuck, the Bland monument's unveiling represented a "relationship of interracial harmony" that could only be undone by "seeds of discontent" carried by "persons alien to our Virginia and southern way of life."[62] For Tuck, these "alien" outsiders likely included not only Communists but also the NAACP, which had begun its legal attack on separate and unequal education, targeting Virginia especially. Visiting the property during the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial's dedication ceremony in 1949, Governor Tuck called the site a "national shrine" and denounced ongoing legal attempts "to compel equalization of educational facilities."[63]

Phillips used this same conservative interracialist rhetoric into the era of the Cold War, deploying it in his bid to fund the Birthplace Memorial. In 1951, in the broad and lingering wake of McCarthyism, Phillips announced that half the profits from that year's sales of the commemorative coins were earmarked to "fight Communism." An "intensive educational campaign," he explained, would "inform the Negro public of the vicious principals [sic] of Communism. . . . Particularly will Negroes be warned against glib-tongued, mild-mannered agents of Communism who seek to sell their un-American idea to underprivileged groups."[64]

As the turbulence of the Civil Rights Movement unfolded, Phillips used the Birthplace Monument as leaven, a symbol of interracial harmony and moderation in racial progress. In doing so, he relied on tactics pioneered by Booker T. Washington himself. In a bid to strengthen his alliance with the conservative and moderate white leaders who had supported the Birthplace Memorial, Phillips catered to them even to the point of publicly endorsing segregation. By 1950, the NAACP had won scores of cases against unequal schooling across the South and elsewhere, and now announced a shift in policy, a new fight for desegregation rather than equalization. In 1951, black high school students in Prince Edward County Virginia went on strike and their case went to the United States Supreme Court as one of five heard together as *Brown v. Board of Topeka Kansas*. In 1954, the court ruled segregated public education unconstitutional. While the case was pending, on July 4, 1953, Phillips delivered a speech at the Birthplace Memorial declaring that "the segregation system has been of overall benefit to the Negro" by establishing a "field of his own to develop . . . . without the competition with which he could not have coped." To endorse this position, Phillips invoked Booker T. Washington's 1895 Atlanta Exposition "proverb": "In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers; yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."[65] Whether Washington would have stood by these words in 1954 is a moot point, but Phillips clearly used them to help ensure his immediate goal, preserving the fledgling Birthplace Memorial. During the fall 1953 gubernatorial election season, Phillips had campaigned among African Americans for the Byrd Organization's candidate, Thomas B. Stanley.

Phillips matched his words with actions and, in terms of his goal, succeeded. In 1956, Governor Stanley and the General Assembly initiated Virginia's

"massive resistance" laws, which withdrew state funds from schools that desegregated voluntarily and allowed the governor to close any school under court order to do so. That same year, however, the General Assembly appropriated $17,000 to purchase the bankrupt Birthplace Memorial's land and donate it to the National Park Service. Meanwhile, Phillips succeeded in having Congress establish the Booker T. Washington National Monument at the site.[66]

Phillips repaid his white supporters in part by honoring them in the naming of buildings at the Birthplace Memorial. In 1949, Phillips had a Robertson-era frame barn between the Burroughs house and Route 122 renovated into an industrial building he named Tuck Hall, honoring Governor William M. Tuck. Also in 1949, a two-story brick building forty by sixty feet was constructed just east of the Burroughs house. It was named Hopkins Hall after Virginia Delegate Walter L. Hopkins, who had helped obtain the state's initial 1946 appropriation of $15,000. The building housed "opportunity students" for the trade school in 1950 and 1951 and served as the Birthplace Memorial's administrative office and post office after 1950. In 1951, a second brick building, intended to be two-stories, thirty by sixty feet, was begun just to the south of Hopkins Hall. It was to be named Burch Memorial Building, in honor of Rep. Thomas G. Burch, congressional sponsor of the legislation enabling the federal coinage of the commemorative half-dollars. Then-Congressman Thomas B. Stanley presided at the unveiling of the nameplate for the building. Only the foundation was ever completed, and unbeknownst to Phillips and the Birthplace Memorial Association, the project disturbed the site of Cabin One, the historic location of the actual birthplace cabin.[67]

At the birthplace, perhaps in the Robertson barn before its conversion to Tuck Hall, the Birthplace Memorial set up a mop factory in 1948, producing over 6,000 "Booker T." mops. These memorial mops "served as a symbol of Booker T. Washington's ideals of cleanliness and of glorifying and dignifying labor and putting brains and skill into the common occupations of life," according to a Birthplace Memorial publication.[68]

The Birthplace Memorial landscape appeared quite different from the landscape during Washington's childhood there. By 1937, the WPA account noted that the grove surrounding the house was greatly diminished, with only "a few old box bushes and evergreen trees" to "testify the antiquity of the place." Also, an "unpainted frame building stands at the left front of the house," and the "stables and most of the outbuildings which have survived are in front of the house."[69] In 1946, Phillips had a two-lane memorial driveway constructed connecting Route 122 to the Burroughs house. Stone pillars flanked the entrance at Route 122, and a circular turn-around was at the other end, in front of the Burroughs house. The Robertsons had added siding to the Burroughs house, and Phillips had a wing added on the east side with a new front porch running its entire width. Inside, the former "big house" was renovated for administrative offices and for the post office Phillips obtained for the site in 1948. Just to the west of the Burroughs house, the Robertsons had built a two-room house in 1932. Phillips named it the Virginia Cottage, had it expanded to twelve rooms with central heat, and used it as his residence.[70] The Burroughs house burned to the ground in 1950.

Other buildings on the site during the Birthplace Memorial era included four poultry houses and a concession stand, both located north of the Burroughs house site on the east side of the memorial driveway. Finally, Phillips had installed "The Life of Booker T. Washington in Electrical Illumination," consisting of a string of ninety-three lights strung on posts encircling the five-acre central grounds of the Birthplace Memorial. Each light represented one year from 1857 (then thought to be his birth year) to 1949 (the year of the "replica" cabin's dedication) and was color-coded white, blue, red, or amber to represent certain events in the life of Washington or in the history of his memorialization. Phillips proclaimed that the illumination "gives a historical background to the Birthplace for the study of visitors and to the passerby it is more than an attraction—it is a beautiful and solemn reminder of the life and leadership of a great man."[71]

Tuck Hall, unlike the other buildings, maintained a barn-like appearance. Although it postdated the Burroughs era, Phillips preserved the exterior appearance of the building "for historical reasons," and the Rev. Stanford J. Harris, in commencement exercises for the Booker T. Washington Memorial Trade School in 1951, declared his sense of "honor to stand here within these hallowed walls, which had taken on a degree of sanctity from the vibration of the echoes of precious memories of our great national and internationally known educator, Booker T. Washington."[72]

The central attraction was a log cabin built as a "replica" of the birthplace cabin on what was thought to have been its original site. It was in fact built on the site of Cabin Two and although its designer, Richard B. Collins of Tuskegee Institute, worked from the photograph of Cabin Two, the final "replica" did not match the photograph. As NPS historian Barry Mackintosh points out, it was also "at considerable variance" with Booker T. Washington's own description in *Up From Slavery* (quoted above in section 1). The Memorial cabin, as Mackintosh described it:

> [W]as built of round, bark-covered logs and mud-covered cement, with a neat plank door hanging evenly on its hinges, a tight interior, and glass windows. The cabin did have an earthen floor, but no attempt was made to furnish the interior with historical accuracy: the walls were lined with framed quotations of Booker T. Washington, a picture of Washington, and a Virginia state flag.

In improving on Washington's birthplace cabin, Phillips may have been influenced by Tuskegee Institute's "Negro home improvement" programs, which instructed black families in sanitation, "beautification," and if possible, the elimination of the one-room cabin. As historian Patricia West argues, "the association of moral vice with 'shacks,'" meant that Phillips could not adhere to Washington's description and still "portray Washington's childhood in purely heroic terms."[73] Indeed, Washington himself had given expression to the "improvement" ideals in his 1908 article, "Negro Homes," and his point in describing his own cabin in such negative terms may have been in part a counterpoint to what he would characterize as moral as well as material progress (as discussed previously).

On the north side of the cabin replica stood an ornamental wishing-well bearing Washington's words, "Cast down your bucket where you are," an admonition for southern rural blacks and whites to work together. The wishing-well served as a collection plate and according to Phillips, the Birthplace Memorial garnered about $1,000 per year from donations visitors made there. South of the cabin replica, and west of the spring, the Birthplace Memorial installed a rose garden on a slightly raised, flat piece of land still visible.[74]

The Birthplace Memorial property holdings extended well beyond the Burroughs family's original 207 acres, encompassing some 500 acres at its greatest extent. Most significant in this larger landscape was a 246.5-acre tract that included a portion of the former Josiah Ferguson plantation and his house. This was the house in which Washington's likely father, Ben Ferguson, lived for a time, and the plantation on which his stepfather, Washington (a.k.a. Washington Ferguson), lived when not hired out by Josiah Ferguson. The Birthplace Memorial acquired the Ferguson place in 1949 and operated a demonstration farm there with the aid of local black farmers, growing wheat, corn, tobacco, cotton, and vegetables. They sold the property in 1955, unable to make the payments. The Ferguson house burned between 1949 and 1955, but the chimneys stood until Spring 1999 (see previous discussion).[75]

Phillips successfully lobbied local governments and the Virginia Department of Highways for the commemorative renaming of the fifty-five mile long Route 122 as the "Booker T. Washington Memorial Highway." Some local white people objected, fearing their property values would go down. Many of the highway markers were vandalized as soon as they were put up, and few of the original ones remained by the 1960s.[76]

Given that after 1950 the Birthplace Memorial could boast of no original buildings from Washington's period of residency, Phillips met opposition from the NPS in arguing for the authenticity of his site and in lobbying for National Monument status. He insisted that his replica cabin stood on the known site of the birthplace cabin, and indeed, based on the best information available at the time, he was justified in doing so. The cabin itself did not adhere strictly to accepted standards of authentic restoration, but it was clear by the 1950s that neither Abraham Lincoln's nor George Washington's birthplace memorial homes - both National Park Service sites - were themselves authentic in either construction or location.[77] NPS officials considering Booker T. Washington's birthplace site for National Monument status in 1953 decried the replica cabin's inauthenticity, the intrusiveness of Tuck Hall and Virginia Cottage as modern buildings, and the lack of Burroughs era buildings. Its recreational potential seemed lacking, as it was described by one park planner as "not scenically outstanding" and "lacking in the picturesque mellowness which the general public usually associates with old plantation homes." In the end, it was the lack of any Washington-era buildings that most clearly compelled the NPS

to reject the site in 1953. While recognizing that the site was "a spot which was dear to Booker T. Washington," it found the site "largely devoid of original structures or object remains associated with him" and "lacking in outstanding potentialities for recreational development."[78]

In 1956, as Phillips lobbied again for inclusion within the national park system, the NPS countered that Tuskegee Institute was the proper place for a National Monument to Washington, instead of at the Burroughs plantation. However, the park agency admitted that it had no plans to establish such a memorial in Alabama either. Phillips responded by justifying the site on grounds more spiritual than material. He argued before Congress that Washington's birthplace, unlike Tuskegee, was holy ground:

> I believe that the people seem to have a kind of sacred feeling for his birthplace, any number of people who have been there, and they say, 'We feel that we are standing on sacred ground to be where Booker T. Washington was born.' . . . I have never heard them make such a statement on the campus of Tuskegee Institute.[79]

A decade earlier, in 1946, Phillips had envisioned the entire birthplace a "Living-Breathing Memorial," a nursery where trees and shrubs would be cultivated and then transplanted across the nation as "Booker T. Washington Memorial Plants." He imagined laying out part of the birthplace property in memorial plots for each state, so that "governments and individuals may place in this plot any appropriate tribute to Booker T. Washington that they desire."[80]

Phillips and the Birthplace Memorial's supporters also succeeded in 1946 in gaining Congressional authorization for commemorative half-dollar coins. Proceeds from their one-dollar sale price were earmarked to fund the Birthplace Memorial. White segregationists like Virginia Congressman Howard W. Smith supported the measure, seeing Washington as a non-threatening "example" that African Americans should emulate. African American sculptor Isaac Scott Hathaway designed the coins, which played on the log cabin theme. As first minted in December 1946, they bore the inscription, "From Slave Cabin to Hall of Fame," with an image of each symbolic building.[81] The Burroughs house, rehabilitated in part as an office, served as Phillips headquarters for the ongoing promotion of coin sales, and Phillips continued his anti-Communist propaganda in their promotion. Soon after their first minting, and with development proceeding at the George Washington Carver National Monument, the commemorative coin design was revised to include and emphasize Carver. Its new inscription curiously combined the rhetoric of civil rights and anti-communism: "Freedom and Opportunity for all - Americanism." The coin was authorized in 1946, sold on subscription, and minted in 1951.[82]

Phillips's many other activities at and on behalf of the Birthplace Memorial included a radio show, "The Booker T. Washington Goodwill Hour," which ran from about 1948 to about 1955; the organization of Community Service Clubs and Better Worker Institutes, with short inspirational courses; promotional publications including "The History and Achievements of the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial"; "extension leaflets" comprising anti-Communist propaganda aimed at African Americans; and at the serials *The Southern Letter* (1948-1949), *The Booker T. Washington Memorial Trade School News* (which ran for two years), and *The Better Worker* (at least 1953 and 1955). He also led Booker T. Washington Memorial Night programs at the annual National Baptist Convention.[83]

It is itself historically significant that Congress should have established Booker T. Washington National Monument when it finally did, in 1956, especially in light of the other African American sites contending for inclusion within the national park system at the time: George Washington Carver's birthplace in Missouri and "Cedar Hill," Frederick Douglass's 1890s home in the District of Columbia. Carver's birthplace site, like Washington's, retained little material integrity - only the Carver graveyard and a home that possibly postdated Carver's boyhood there. Yet because of Carver's apolitical association, he could stand as the symbol of "interracial peace" white Congressional leaders sought after during World War II. Carver's birthplace was authorized as a National Monument in 1943. Douglass's home, by contrast, retained a high degree of material integrity, and its supporters lobbied for its inclusion in the national park system using language of black American patriotism just as did the supporters of the Carver site. With no material reason to reject the site, the NPS acting director declared in 1949, that Douglass's "accomplishments are not of such outstanding national significance as to warrant commemoration

through a national historic site or a monument." In 1961, the NPS again dismissed Douglass, asserting that he "does not emerge as the foremost figure in any of the various movements in which he took part." "In view of the fact that Frederick Douglass's importance in American History is secondary to that of his contemporaries, it is not recommended that the Federal government establish a national memorial to him." Not until 1962 did Congress adopt Cedar Hill into the NPS.[84]

In the era of Jim Crow and the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, an NPS site dedicated to a black activist like Douglass was politically untenable to white administrators until 1962, despite his significance and the superior material integrity of the site. Meanwhile, Booker T. Washington's birthplace was authorized as a National Monument in 1956, in the midst of Virginia's "massive resistance" crisis. It is no coincidence that Phillips was closely associated with both George Washington Carver NM and Booker T. Washington NM. His explicit embrace of a conservative interracialist strategy, along with his unflagging energy in the cause of memorializing Washington, secured Congressional authorization of Booker T. Washington NM despite NPS objections.

Through his interracialist rhetoric, forged in World War II and redeployed during the Civil Rights era, Phillips garnered the support of broad coalition. Sponsors of Booker T. Washington NM in the United States House of Representatives included Republican Arthur L. Miller of Nebraska, and Democrats Harrison A. Williams of New Jersey, Brady Gentry of Texas, and Californians Clair Engle, James Roosevelt and Clyde Doyle. Engle was the chair of the Committee on the Interior while Miller was the committee's ranking Republican. Testifying before Congress in support of establishing Booker T. Washington NM were African Americans, including Dr. T. J. Jemison, Secretary for the National Baptist Convention; George S. Schuyler, editor of the *Pittsburg Courier;* Dr. G. Lake Imes, retired Secretary for Tuskegee Institute; Perry W. Howard, General Council for the Negro Elks; Washington's daughter, Portia Washington Pittman; and, by telegram, his grandson, Booker T. Washington III. The language of the final bill authorizing Booker T. Washington NM was spare of detail, simply describing Washington as the "noted Negro educator and apostle of good will."[85] While Booker T. Washington NM was established as a National Monument in 1956, its visitor center was not opened until 1966. Phillips had died during that interval, but as a faint reminder of his efforts to establish the Monument, his longtime supporter Portia Washington Pittman was present to cut the obligatory ribbon.[86]

As a footnote to the era of the private Birthplace Memorial, it is worth noting that Booker T. Washington NM employed one of the first African American seasonal park rangers in the National Park Service. Beginning in the summer of 1958, James Holmes worked as a seasonal ranger at Booker T. Washington NM. During the school year, he served as Principal of the Booker T. Washington Elementary just up the hill from Booker T. Washington NM; he and his family lived in Tuck Hall, which was then otherwise vacant.[87] (See section 3 on the Elementary School and its relation to the Birthplace Memorial before NPS stewardship.)

3. Period of Significance, 1952-1966: Racially Segregated Education and Civil Rights - the Booker T. Washington Elementary School during Virginia's "massive resistance" to school desegregation. (National Register Criterion A)

Booker T. Washington NM's local, state, and regional significance lies in the ironic legacy of Washington's educational philosophy as applied in the era and context of the Civil Rights Movement. The significant presence of the formerly segregated elementary school on the site corresponds to National Register Criteria A for association with racially segregated education and Civil Rights Movement. Sidney Phillips worked to found an industrial institute and model farm for African Americans at the birthplace site, acquiescing to widespread policies providing for segregated education. More enduring to the present conditions of the property was the Booker T. Washington Elementary School, built on former Burroughs land donated by the Birthplace Memorial to Franklin County and operated as a "model" segregated public school from 1954 to 1966. This was the period of Virginia's "massive resistance" to desegregation, a time when conservative white political leaders - including supporters of the private Birthplace Memorial - resisted the United States Supreme Court's desegregation order in *Brown v. Board of Education*. The elementary school building remains intact, possessing a high degree of integrity.

Phillips originally envisioned the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial as an industrial school modeled on Washington's Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. The Virginia legislature's $15,000 appropriation during 1946 was explicitly "for the erection of permanent buildings . . . to be used for educational, health, agricultural, and home-making programs designed to develop Negro youths and adults in work efficiency, pride of race, good citizenship and interracial good will, to emphasize the need of cleanliness, thrift, honesty, loyalty, health standards, good living conditions and community cooperation."[88]

Tuck Hall was created out of the renovated Robertson barn with this explicit purpose. The Booker T. Washington Memorial Trade School was founded in Roanoke in 1948 and ran for five years, training black World War II veterans in various practical skills. The trade school was never firmly established at the Birthplace Memorial site, but convocation ceremonies were held in Tuck Hall at least in 1951.[89]

According to James Holmes, principal of the school for its entire tenure, the public elementary schools for African Americans in Franklin County prior to the construction of new facilities at Hales Ford and Truevine were in poor condition, such as prevailed throughout the state and much of the South. "Separate but equal" public facilities for whites and for blacks was sanctioned under the United States Supreme Court's 1896 decision in *Plessey v. Ferguson*, yet the "equal" part of the law was generally ignored by state and local school boards. In 1938, the NAACP began challenging and winning judgements ordering enforcement of the "equal" side of the equation, beginning with graduate school cases. In Virginia, led in part by council Oliver Hill of Roanoke, the NAACP began pursuing local cases across the state. Forced to sue each school district separately, at one point in the 1940s the NAACP had over seventy-five cases pending in the Virginia courts alone. In 1948, the United States District Court awarded their plaintiffs a number of equalization decisions and in 1949, NAACP legal director Thurgood Marshall announced an onslaught of 124 total cases to be brought in Virginia. By 1950, the NAACP plaintiffs were winning most of these.[90]

In response, in 1950 Virginia Governor John S. Battle and the General Assembly established the forty-five million dollar "Battle Fund" in large part to help local school districts take the first steps towards equalization and thus fight off the lawsuits. The same year, Marshall announced a shift in tactics. Rather than try to break the system by enforcing costly equalization, the NAACP would now attack segregation *per se*. One of their first test cases came in Prince Edward County, Virginia - approximately 120 miles east of Franklin County - when black students went on strike at Robert Russa Moton High School and agreed to fight for desegregation rather than equalization.[91]

As the Prince Edward case made its way through the courts, Phillips was taking another tack, working under segregation to establish a "model" elementary school for African Americans on the land donated by the Phillips-led private Birthplace Memorial. On May 9, 1952, the Birthplace Memorial board of trustees decided to donate land from the Burroughs plantation property to the county for the construction of a segregated black elementary school. The land, six acres on the hill west of the historic core, was deeded on October 29 with a right of way through Memorial land to access the public highway (Route 122). On April 10, 1953 the Franklin County School Board authorized its architect to draw plans for a three-room school building, "to be known as Hales Ford Consolidated School for negroes [sic]."[92]

Meanwhile, the Prince Edward case was heard by the United States Supreme Court as one of five cases heard together to become know as *Brown v. Board of Education*. On July 4, 1953, as the *Brown v. Board* cases were pending, Phillips delivered an Independence Day address at the Birthplace Memorial declaring that "the segregation system has been of overall benefit to the Negro" by establishing a "field of his own to develop… without the competition with which he could not have coped." To endorse this position, Phillips invoked Booker T. Washington's 1895 Atlanta Exposition proverb: "In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers; yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Phillips matched his word with action. In the fall 1953 governor's election, he campaigned among African Americans for the Byrd organization's candidate, Thomas B. Stanley.[93] In the spring of 1954, the Supreme Court ruled racially segregated public education as unconstitutional.

Four months later, on September 7, the segregated black-only elementary school, renamed in honor of Booker T. Washington, held its first day of classes.

James A. Holmes was appointed principal. He and his family lived in Tuck Hall at the private Birthplace Memorial, which was then otherwise vacant. Phillips asked Governor Stanley for help in appropriating money to pave the school entrance road, but it remained gravel. Outside the brick school building, the school's Parent Teacher Association planted juniper, Norway spruce, and barberry shrubs in an effort to beautify its setting. They also installed homemade basketball goals to the west side of the school until better ones were donated; the court remained hardpacked clay.[94]

In 1955, the Supreme Court ordered school desegregation to take place "with all deliberate speed." In 1956, however, Governor Stanley and the General Assembly initiated Virginia's "massive resistance" to desegregation through evasive legislation. State funds were to be withdrawn from any schools that desegregated voluntarily, and the Governor was authorized to step in and close any school under court order to desegregate.[95]

In applying Booker T. Washington's accommodationist approach in the midst of the Civil Rights Movement, Phillips clearly was out of step with the NAACP leadership in Virginia. He asserted that he was in step with what Washington would have done under those circumstances, but it is not clear that he was correct in that assertion. Washington had in fact worked behind the scenes against certain legal discriminations, and late in life he did become more publicly vocal about such discriminations (see previous discussion).

Whether or not Washington would have supported the NAACP's post-1950 attack on segregation, he certainly would have supported their pre-1950 tactic of pressing for equalization. In this, Phillips was somewhat consistent with both Washington and the NAACP before 1950. As the *Washington Post* reported, the NAACP's equalization suits had brought some $50 million in improvements to black teachers' salaries and school conditions. In Virginia, the $45 million Battle Fund, though seeking to blunt the NAACP's blows, nonetheless promised that much more in improvements to black schools.[96] No doubt Booker T. Washington Elementary School was a vast improvement over what Franklin County had provided its African American citizens before, and the actions of Phillips and the Birthplace Memorial board helped bring about this concrete change for the better.

Only as the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 began to see enforcement did Virginia schools begin to desegregate. Virginia's legislature and local school boards finally ended their resistance to the *Brown v. Board* court order. Booker T. Washington Elementary School remained open as a segregated black school until 1966, although the desegregation process continued until 1969 in Franklin County. Yet rather than integrate Booker T. Washington Elementary School, the local school board chose to close it, transferring its students to other schools. The board's decision to abandon a relatively new building was typical of desegregation practices throughout the south, as whites refused to go formerly all-black schools. It may have been influenced by Ku Klux Klan rallies held in the area that year, protesting integration of white and black students. Similar Ku Klux Klan rallies were threatened in June 1966 as Booker T. Washington NM's new visitor center was dedicated.[97] The next year, the Franklin County School Board decided to offer the school building and its six-acre parcel to the federal government, who declined the offer. However in 1974, the school and land were donated to the NPS. This transfer reunited the parcel with the Burroughs plantation now held by Booker T. Washington NM.[98]

Additional research about the significance of the Booker T. Washington Elementary School is currently ongoing in a historic resource study. The study is being completed by the Carter G. Woodson Institute for Afro-American and African Studies at the University of Virginia. The historic resource study will expand on the above discussion and provide a more detailed analysis of the context of the Booker T. Washington Elementary School and its role in the Civil Rights Movement.

4. Period of Significance, 1956-1966: Mission-66 Program of Visitor Center design and development (National Register Criteria A, C, and Criterion Consideration G).

The National Park Service has recently begun to explore the significance of the decade long Mission-66 program that infused the parks with the necessary funding to modernize and develop infrastructure, interpretation, and park management policies following WWII. Conceived of in 1956, as park resources deteriorated to a precarious state, Mission-66 was planned to raise the standard of the national park experience by 1966 for the fifty-year anniversary of the NPS.

A key component of the program was the construction of "visitor centers," or structures that would house many visitor and administrative functions under one roof. This new concept in park planning departed from earlier precedents that favored clustering essential services in several buildings around a "park village" organization. Visitor center designs embraced the modernist architectural movement and featured clean lines, minimal ornamentation, concrete, metal, and glass building materials, flat roofs, and low profiles. Due to the large number that were built throughout the country, inexpensive materials and construction techniques were incorporated into the designs.

Typical Mission-66 visitor centers were organized for the efficient movement of visitors and were often oriented toward a view of an important resource. Characteristic features included open floor plans, central orientation stations, and easy access to museum displays, rest rooms, and auditoriums.

The citing of visitor centers was also integral to their design. Increased automobile traffic brought to the parks by the growing interstate highway system influenced park planners to accommodate cars through well designed circulation systems. Other site amenities typically surrounded visitor centers to provide visitors with a convenient, inclusive experience after leaving their cars at the parking lot, including interpretive trails, picnic areas, and seating areas.[99]

The NPS Northeast Region, Historic Architecture program prepared a determination of eligibility (DOE) for the Mission-66 visitor center complex at Booker T. Washington NM in 2003. The DOE advocated for eligibility under criteria A and C, and applied criteria consideration G because the resources are less than fifty years of age. To meet criteria consideration G, the Mission-66 resources had to be found to exhibit exceptional importance relating to their design, integrity, contribution to the development of the park, and/or for their association with events and activities significant to the local community.[100]

Booker T. Washington NM, authorized in 1956, was shaped by the funding, centralized planning, and design standards provided by the Mission-66 program. Initially, the park utilized existing infrastructure that remained from previous ownership of the land, which proved inadequate to meet park goals. In response, planning for a new visitor center took place throughout the late-1950s and early 1960s and construction occurred in 1965-1966. As the determination of eligibility states, ". . .the Mission-66 Visitor Center and designed landscape were critical in accomplishing and implementing the interpretive program to celebrate and explain Booker T. Washington's humble beginnings to his self-education and finally to renowned educator. . . . Without Mission 66, the park would not have been able to execute its legislative mandate or follow through on the interpretive mission."[101] The report claims the complex is consistent with established Mission-66 design concepts through the building's interior layout, exterior styling, placement on the landscape, and vehicular circulation system.

The Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR) concurred with this assessment. They supplemented the determination with discussion of the importance of the Mission-66 program on overall park establishment and development and how it influenced local and regional race relations during the height of the Civil Rights Movement (See appendix D for DHR/NPS correspondence).

Summary of Landscape Characteristics and Features for Booker T. Washington National Monument

Characteristic/Feature	*Status*	*Comments*
Typography/Hydrology	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865 and Memorial Period, 1945-1956	Current landforms and hydrological systems retain high integrity to the periods of significance. Both were essential to the Burroughs in constructing their environment. Agricultural fields were dependent on flat or gently rolling land as well as proximity to water. The location of springs was important in siting the house and domestic yard. Both elements closely reflect 1850s conditions.
Spatial Organization	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	Modern spatial organization retains patterns from the period of significance. While contemporary park uses have been added, most activity on the site continues in the northern region of the park. Separation exists between the historic core and the former school, just as it did when the Burroughs family inhabited the historic core and farmed on the ridge.
Vegetation		
Forest	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865 and Memorial Period, 1945-1956	The park's forest stands are essential to the rural/agricultural setting.
Agricultural fields	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	Including demonstration fields and hay fields. These areas add to the bucolic appearance of the 1850s farm.
Catalpa sprout	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	The parent tree dated to the primary period of significance. A whip survives though the parent tree was removed in 2001.
Five White oaks along property line	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	While probably not dating to the Burroughs period, the trees are historic and add to the historic setting.
Virginia red cedar near Cabin One site	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	Dates to the Burroughs period. It is one of the only above ground resources remaining from the period.

Characteristic/Feature	*Status*	*Comments*
Vegetation Continued		
White oak near spring	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	Presumably not dating to Burroughs period, yet is an aged tree that adds to the historic scene.
Plantings in former elementary school turn-around and near structure	Contributing, Racially Segregated Education and Civil Rights Period, 1952-1966	Shrubs and trees in the turn-around were planted by the PTA during the school's years of operation (1954-1966).
Flower and vegetable garden	Noncontributing	NPS-era reconstruction, c. 1989. Moved from former location. Original established c. 1972.
Herb garden	Noncontributing	NPS-era reconstruction c. 1982.
Ornamental flower and shrub beds at the entrance of the visitor center	Noncontributing	Contemporary plantings. Originally planted c. 1965. Adapted in later years.
Screening plantings	Noncontributing	Contemporary plantings. Screening program began in late 1980s.
Circulation		
Former road to Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial headquarters	Contributing, Memorial Period, 1945-1956	Road trace contributes as the primary access road of the Birthplace Memorial that was constructed with funds solicited from the Commonwealth of Virginia.
Service road leading from visitor center to school	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	Road is currently surfaced with gravel and used for park activities. Though it has been altered, it dates to the primary period of significance.
Road trace leading south from former school	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	The road was used for Burroughs family agricultural activities and contributes to the primary period of significance.
Road connecting former school and Route 122	Contributing, Racially Segregated Education and Civil Rights Period, 1952-1966	The chip-seal surfaced road contributes to the significance of the racially segregated elementary school as the unmarked, unpaved, primary entry and egress to the school from Route 122. Constructed in 1953.
Former farm entry drive	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	While not currently restored, the road trace served as the main circulation route during the Burroughs period.

Characteristic/Feature	Status	Comments
Circulation Continued		
Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	Located on the north side of Route 122, it is not restored nor interpreted, yet holds significance as the region's primary road during the Burroughs period
Jack-O-Lantern Branch Trail	Noncontributing	This trail is a modern element, created in the mid-1970s, to meet park interpretive needs
Plantation Trail (includes segments of the former Roll Road Trail)	Noncontributing	The Plantation Trail is a contemporary recreational trail, not a historic feature, partially adapted from the c. 1961 Roll Road Trail
Reconstructed bridges	Noncontributing	These rustic style bridges all postdate the 1960s and are NPS-era reconstructions
Park entry drive and visitor center parking lot	Contributing, Mission-66 Period, 1956-1966	As part of the visitor center complex built under the Mission-66 program, these are contributing features
Buildings and Structures		
Booker T. Washington Elementary School	Contributing, Racially Segregated Education and Civil Rights Period, 1952-1966	This 1954 school embodies the era of southern segregated education and contributes to the tertiary period of significance
Tobacco barn	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	While compromised since its creation during the Burroughs era, the barn contains historic materials and contributes to the primary period of significance
Visitor center	Contributing, Mission-66 Period, 1956-1966	As determined by the Virginia State Historic Preservation Officer, November 2002
Reconstructed farm buildings	Noncontributing	These NPS-era replicas are conjectural in nature and as such, do not contribute. Includes the cabin replica (1960), horse barn (1970), Blacksmith shed (1972), corn crib (1972), privy (1973), chicken house (1973), smokehouse (1974)

Characteristic/Feature	*Status*	*Comments*
Buildings and Structures Continued		
Wood pavilion and platform at campground	Noncontributing	These modern features, constructed in 1979, do not contribute to the historical scene
Views and Vistas	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865, Memorial Period, 1945-1956, and Racially Segregated Education and Civil Rights 1952-1966	Views and vistas, on-site and off-site, contribute to the property's long and varied history. It has traditionally existed within an agricultural setting and views to surrounding fields and forest contribute to all periods of significance
Small Scale Features		
Hayes cemetery markers	Noncontributing	This non historic cemetery does not add to the period of significance and is still actively used
Sparks cemetery markers	Contributing, under National Register Criterion D- archeological	While little is known about this resource, it may yield information with future archeological study
Burroughs cemetery markers	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	The cemetery dates to the Burroughs period and is a significant extant resource
Cast iron state historic sign	Noncontributing	As the extant sign is neither the original sign nor is it in the original location, it does not contribute
Split-Rail Fencing along entry road and visitor center complex	Contributing, Mission-66 Period, 1956-1966	These fences were built as components of the visitor center complex during the Mission-66 program of park development
Split-Rail Fencing in historic core	Noncontributing	These fences are conjectural elements added during the living farm period of interpretation and as such, do not contribute
Grinding Stone	Noncontributing	The stone is not native to the site
Signage, benches wood forms to stack fire wood, and fire rings along Jack-O-Lantern Branch Trail	Noncontributing	These are modern, functional elements that do not contribute
Signage, flagpole, bench, wagon, picnic tables, grills, trash and recycling cans at entrance and visitor center	Noncontributing	These modern fixtures meet visitor needs outside the historic core and do not contribute

Characteristic/Feature	*Status*	*Comments*
Small Scale Features Continued		
Signage, well, dinner bell, wooden barrels, benches, and in historic core	Noncontributing	These reproductions add to the historic scene but do not date to the period of significance. Placed c. 1970
Booker T. Washington bust and granite pedestal in front of the visitor center	Noncontributing	This statue is a recent memorial feature that does not contribute
Archeological Features		
Cabin One site	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	Site of Washington's birth cabin, documented and currently interpreted through a wayside
Burroughs house site	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865 and Memorial Period, 1945-1956	Contributes to both BTW Enslavement Period and Memorial Period because of its central role in the activities of both periods
Cabin Two site	Contributing, BTW Enslavement Period, 1856-1865	The cabin site was documented by an archeological survey in 1959. The current cabin replica stands on the remains

Evaluation of Landscape Integrity

Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its historic identity and significance. Evaluation of integrity relies on comparisons between what is known of a property's characteristics and features during a historic period with existing conditions. Any evaluation must be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance.

The National Register identifies seven aspects of integrity. These include: Location, Design, Setting, Materials, Workmanship, Feeling and Association. Retention of these qualities is essential for a property to convey significance, through all of the seven qualities of integrity need not be present to convey a sense of past time and place.

Booker T. Washington Enslavement Period: 1856-1865

As was recognized during the agency's early evaluations of the property during the 1950s, the Booker T. Washington NM does not retain integrity to the period of Booker T. Washington's enslavement between 1856 and 1865. During his own visit in 1908, Booker T. Washington himself commented on the degree of change that had taken place during a period of over forty years.

As a park commemorating Washington, its association with him remains secure. However the isolated character of the historic rural setting is becoming increasingly threatened by adjacent recreational and retail land use. More tangibly, none of the buildings and structures making up the vernacular ensemble serving the Burroughs farm survive, the buildings on-site being conjectural replicas installed during the 1960s and 1970s. Topography of the important road frontage with Route 122 was drastically altered in the late 1940s when the state road was re-engineered. The historic circulation route into the property exists only as a faint, barely discernible, trace in a second-growth woodland. The current spatial organization of field and forest only reflects the layout of the Burroughs farm in the most diagrammatic way - as the historic layout of the fields and forest remain fundamentally unknown. The current well-groomed institutional level of landscape maintenance at the property is also at variance with what is known of a typical middle class farm of the Virginia Piedmont, resulting in diminished integrity related to qualities of workmanship and feeling.

While the landscape retains little integrity from the primary period of significance during Washington's enslavement, it is nevertheless managed as a cultural resource. Management practices, including the planting of tobacco, leasing hay fields and meadows to local farmers, as well as keeping domestic livestock like pigs, chickens, and ducks help to mitigate the diminution of integrity of the agricultural character of the property, as relating to improved qualities of materials and feeling.

Racially Segregated Education and Civil Rights: 1952-1966

This period in the history of the property relates to a relatively small portion of the site associated with the former Booker T. Washington Elementary School. This six-acre site found on the northwest boundary of the park retains a high degree of integrity from the 1952-1966 period. As this relatively small site is focussed on the elementary school building at its center, aspects of design, and materials are very important to an evaluation of integrity. Although there have been fundamental changes to the interior of the building, these do not interfere with an evaluation of landscape integrity. Regarding the exterior, the building retains is four primary facades, three of which remain in the same landscape context as present during the historic period. On the west facade, the former packed-earth basketball court has been removed and replaced with a maintenance yard, bounded on its west side by an open shed building for sheltering equipment and materials. Location and setting remain as they were, within an isolated upland meadow, set well back from the state road. Access to the school site remains as its was as well, by way of a straight access road over a deeded right-of-way, with secondary circulation by way of previously existing interior farm roads. Qualities of workmanship, feeling and association however are somewhat diminished by current use as an administrative/maintenance facility for the park. Materials and equipment are stored randomly around the site inconsistent with how the property was used historically. The park's current interpretive program does not draw heavily on the school as a resource - weakening its association with the life and legacy of Booker T. Washington.

Memorial Period: 1945-1956

As the second National Park Service site authorized by Congress to memorialize the life of an individual African American, the stewardship of the property by Sidney Phillips during the time it was a privately run memorial is an important period in the site's history.

Largely due to the efforts of the NPS following its acquisition of the site, many of the landscape characteristics and features attributed to this memorial period have been removed. These include later buildings that the private memorial adapted and expanded that had been originally constructed by the Robertson family.

Similar to the primary period of significance related to Washington's enslavement, the landscape integrity of the memorial period is greatly diminished. The complete ensemble of buildings related to the operation of the private memorial, has been removed with the exception of a pre-existing c. 1895 tobacco barn the private memorial driveway, and many of the small-scale features commemorating Washington or supporting the Phillips farming and educational operation. It was in 1950, during the private memorial period, that the Burroughs house caught fire and was destroyed. Ironically, the relatively untidy conditions reported on site during the memorial period were more consistent with the character of a middle-class antebellum farm in Virginia's southern Piedmont than the institutional landscape character present today.

Mission-66 Period: 1956-1966

Many of Booker T. Washington NM's prominent features were developed during the Mission-66 program, dating from the park's establishment in 1956, through the late 1960s. The park benefited from the planning and design expertise as well as the funding of the national ten-year program Most of the park's visitor-oriented resources date to this period, including the visitor center, entry road, parking lot, picnic area, and the landscape plantings and split-rail fences that surround the complex.

The visitor center reflects the characteristic Mission-66 design elements of a low roofline, large glass windows in the rear that provide views of the historic core, and the clean, unadorned styling of its facade that all date to their building's initial construction.

The parking lot has been altered slightly to add capacity for more cars and busses but retains its defining design elements of a sinuous, curving alignment, narrow profile on the landscape, and its ability to reveal and conceal views of the park through the adjacent vegetation.

Alterations have been made to the visitor center environs but the entry experience and circulation patterns between the parking lot, picnic area, and visitor center remain largely the same as intended at the time of their construction. Consequently, the collection of Mission-66 resources at Booker T. Washington NM retain a high level of integrity to their original design intent.

Endnotes- Analysis of Significance and Integrity

[1] National Register of Historic Places, "Bulletin 16: Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms" (National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior, 1991), Part A, 37.

[2] The following two paragraphs draw from Diann Jacox, "Documentation of a Previously Listed Property," 29 Dec. 1989, an addendum to BOWA's National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Oct. 1966; and from Louis Harlan, "Introduction" to Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery* (reprint New York: Penguin Books, 1986), vii-xliii. See also Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader,* 1856-1901 (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1972), and *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee,* 1901-1915 (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1983). Still relevant is August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1963). For more recent assessments, see *Booker T. Washington: Interpretive Essays,* edited by Tunde Adeleke (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1998), and *African American Political Thought, 1890-1930: Washington, Du Bois, Garvey, and Randolph,* edited by Cary D. Wintz (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 1996).

[3] Jacqueline James, "Uncle Tom? Not Booker T.," *American Heritage,* 19:5 (August 1968): 50-63, 95-100. Columbia [S.C.] State, 26 Sept. 1908, newspaper clipping; and Jaqueline James, letter to Barry Mackintosh, 28 Oct. 1963, BOWA files; both quoted in Barry Mackintosh, "General Background Studies: The Burroughs Plantation, 1856-1865, Booker T. Washington National Monument" (Washington, DC: National Park Service; Distributed by National Technical Information Service, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Springfield, Va., 31 Dec. 1968), Part A, 13 n. 33.

Copy at BOWA.

[4] Louis R. Harlan. Booker T. Washington, The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972,) 4-5.

[5] Even if the Burroughs family had lived in a bigger house nearer the Hales Ford Road (Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike), as ethnologist William Baber hypothesizes, it would still have been visible from the slave quarters. William L. Baber, "An Ethnohistorical Analysis of Booker T. Washington National Monument" [December 1999]. Copy at BOWA.

[6] Mackintosh lays out the evidence about the identities of Cabin One and Two. Cabin One appears to have been the birth and childhood cabin, not Cabin Two. Cabin One was in ruins by the 1890s, while Cabin Two stood until 1922. When Washington visited in 1908, he did not point to the standing Cabin Two as his birth or childhood home but instead hunted for the ruins of Cabin One. Those indicating Cabin Two as the birth and/or childhood cabin—Thomas Burroughs in the 1890s (as remembered secondhand by the Robertsons) and Henry Swain in 1937—may have been eager to attach the now-famous Washington to cabin remains more visible than those of Cabin One. Mackintosh may be in error, however, in suggesting that Cabin Two was the "dining room" used by the white Burroughs family. Washington mentioned a dining room during his 1908 visit but he may have meant the ell addition at the rear of the house. Washington indicated it was of logs, and it may have been a less substantial construction than the main house. Washington described the Burroughses' dining room as having "a huge fan which hung on hinges over the dining table." This is an unlikely device for a cabin that possibly doubled as a kitchen and slave residence. Mackintosh, "Booker T. Washington National Monument: An Administrative History" (n.p.: National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior, Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, 18 June 1969), Appx. B, 153-158. For the rear ell, see Amber Bennett, "Booker T. Washington National Monument Archaeological Overview and Assessment, Revised Final Report," 1 October 2000, 30. Bennett found the rear ell to be "of an impermanent nature" with no foundation or hearth, but a 1950 photograph on file at BOWA indicates it had a fireplace and chimney. For a 1900 photograph of the cabin thought to be Cabin Two, and from which the NPS reconstruction was in part based, see Booker T. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work* (Atlanta: J. L. Nichols & Co., 1901), photograph facing, 13; see also 23 for another cabin in ruins, yet unidentified. Cabin Two is also depicted in Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery: An Autobiography*, in *The Outlook* 66:10 (3 Nov. 1900), 556; see also 557 for yet another unidentified cabin. In 1904, James Burroughs's daughter Laura Holland also sought to correct Washington's initial identification of Cabin Two as the birthplace cabin; "I saw the owner of the place last year & he told me the house was down long before the artist went there to take a picture of it . . . ." Laura A. [Burroughs] Holland to Booker T. Washington, 4 Jan. 1904, Booker T. Washington Papers, Library of Congress [hereinafter cited as BTW Papers, LOC], transcr. in Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part A, 33.

[7] Cabin identifications in Bennett, "Archaeological Overview"; she uses the cabin numbers assigned by Mackintosh, in "Administrative History," appx. B. "Tuskegee's Principal at His Old Home," *Tuskegee Student*, 3 Oct. 1908, repr. in *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 14 vols., edited by Louis Harlan (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1972-1989; repr. online, http://www.historycooperative.org/btw/index.html), v. 9, 637. Hereinafter cited as *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., as distinguished from those cited as BTW Papers, LOC, which are not published in the Harlan edition. Bennett, "Archaeological Overview," did not confirm the location of the "weave house" or of Sophie's cabin in the low area below the current NPS garden, but they could have been further up the hill west of the low area.

[8] Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part B, 48, 50.

[9] Phillip Troutman site visit and interviews with Tina Orcutt, Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management; Timothy Sims, Park Ranger; and Rebecca Harriett, Park Superintendent, 7 April 2001. Distances estimated visually and by counting paces on adjacent BOWA land and on the Route 122 right of way.

[10] Wilma Dunaway, *Slavery in the American Mountain South* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), *The African-American Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), and "Diaspora, Death, and Sexual Exploitation: Slave Families at Risk in the Mountain South," *Appalachian Journal* 26 (Winter 1999): 128-149. Nell Painter, *Soul Murder and Slavery* (Waco, Tx.: Baylor University, Markum Press Fund, 1995).

[11] Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part A, 10, 12-13 and Louis R. Harlan, Booker T. Washington, The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901, 4-5.

[12] Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part A, 19; Part B, 50. John H. Washington to Asa L. Duncan, 20 Aug. 1913, BTW Papers, LOC, transcr. in Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part B, 68.

[13] Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 24.

[14] Washington, "My Larger Education" (1911), extracted in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 1, 420.

[15] Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part A, 19-20. The traditional location (and relatively small size) of the Burroughs house, immediately in front (north) of the

sites of Cabin One and 2, has recently been challenged. Ethnohistorian William Baber hypothesizes that the traditional Burroughs house was perhaps an earlier planter house converted into slave housing. He hypothesizes a larger Burroughs house site further north, up the hill, in front (north) of the Burroughs cemetery and closer to the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike trace. Unfortunately, much of that area was disturbed or destroyed by the realignment of Route 122, c. 1945, south of the turnpike trace. In 2000, remote sensing and shovel tests in the area south of Route 122 and west of the plantation entrance road trace revealed only the remains of a small building, perhaps a tobacco barn said to have stood in the area (a cut stone rests on the site now, perhaps a foundation stone), but certainly not large enough for a house. Neither remote sensing nor shovel tests were done, apparently, east of the trace plantation entrance road. Nor were they performed north of Route 122 in the vicinity of the turnpike trace. Artifacts excavated from the traditional Burroughs house cellar, along with its substantial foundation, suggest middle-class occupation during the Burroughs period, though Bennett's report concedes that the artifacts are not exclusively middle class. Another possible site for a Burroughs big house is the site of the old house on the hill near the Booker T. Washington Elementary School. It was on the old farm trace road, but its date of construction is unknown and it was removed by the NPS, along with a substantial log cabin nearby, date of construction unknown. William L. Baber, "An Ethnohistorical Analysis of Booker T. Washington National Monument," December 1999. Amber Bennett, "Archaeological Overview," 1 October 2000. Phillip Troutman, Site visit and interviews with Tina Orcutt and Amber Bennett, 7 April 2001.

[16] Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 9. "Tuskegee's Principal at His Old Home," *Tuskegee Student*, 3 October 1908, reprinted from the New York *Evening Post*, 637. The similarity of these descriptions seems to indicate the same dining room, though in *Up From Slavery*, it is described as being in the "big house" and in the 1908 visit it may refer to Cabin Two.

[17] Laura A. [Burroughs] Holland to Booker T. Washington, 4 Jan. 1904, BTW Papers, LOC, transcr. in Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part A, 33.

[18] Washington, "The Story of the Negro" (1909), extracted in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 1, 402.

[19] Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 9-10. Washington, "The Story of the Negro" (1909), extracted in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 1, 400.

[20] Washington, *Up From Slavery* Penguin ed.; 7-9, 25.

[21] John H. Washington to Asa L. Duncan, 20 Aug. 1913, BTW Papers, LOC, transcr. in Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part B, 67.

[22] Washington, "Early Life and Struggle for an Education," *Howard's American Magazine* 4 (Nov. 1899): 3-6, repr. in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 1, 392.

[23] Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part B, 48.

[24] Washington, "Christmas Day in Old Virginia," *Suburban Life* 5 (Dec. 1907): 336-337, repr. in *Tuskegee Student*, 21 Dec. 1907. Repr. and quoted in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 1, p. 395. In this article, Washington, also described the hog-killing and the cutting of the yule log, both of which were communal activities on a smaller scale.

[25] Washington, *Up From Slavery*, p. 7. Laura Burroughs (later Holland) was a school teacher for a time, and Booker accompanied her to school. Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part B, 56; see also Part A, 21-22, dismissing later assertions that the Burroughs children taught Booker to read.

[26] Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 3-4, 10.

[27] Washington, *My Larger Education* (1911), extracted in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 1, 420-421.

[28] Washington, *Up From Slavery* Penguin ed., 6. BTW identified this as Morgan's Mill in 1908 (*Tuskegee. Student*, 637), but this was eight miles away; Mackintosh points to Teel's Mill, three miles away and on the Roanoke (or Staunton) River, as the likely site. Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part C, 52-53.

[29] "Tuskegee's Principal at His Old Home," *Tuskegee Student*, 3 Oct. 1908, repr. in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v.9, 637.

[30] Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 12-13. In *The Story of My Life and Work* (36-37), Washington explicitly remembered witnessing his uncle [Munroe] being flogged, but James Burroughs's daughter Laura Holland wrote Washington in 1904 wishing to dissuade him of this memory: "As to your uncle being corrected with a cowhide. My father corrected his children with a switch, & the colored ones also I am much older than you & I never knew him to use a cowhide, even on his stock. But old Mr. Silas Ferguson used one on his colored people & when he got mad his children often had to stop him from whipping them. Pa never abused any of his stock or colored ones." Laura A. [Burroughs] Holland to Booker T. Washington, 4 Jan. 1904, BTW Papers, LOC, transcr. in Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part A, 33. While Washington excluded this story from *Up From Slavery*, Holland's language echoed Washington's in *Up From Slavery* as he described Billie intervening for the slaves against his own father.

[31] Scot French, "Interracial Memory Work in a Segregated Society: The Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial in Franklin County, Virginia, 1945-1956," paper delivered at the Washington & Du Bois at the Turn of Two

Centuries conference, sponsored by the National Park Service and the Organization of American Historians, Roanoke, Virginia, March 1998 (draft copy in author's possession), 10-11.

[32] Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 3, 5.

[33] Laura wrote Washington, "I have read your book and congratulate you on your rapid progress, but there are some mistakes in it. For instance, the house you were born in was a log house with a good stone chimney with two doors and one window but partly a dirt floor. & your Mother had a bed stead to sleep on & she kept a nice bed." To her husband's brother, she wrote that Jane "was neat, and brisk." Laura A. [Burroughs] Holland to Booker T. Washington, 4 Jan. 1904, BTW Papers, LOC, transcr. in Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part A, p. 33. Laura A. [Burroughs] Holland to J. C. Holland, 1909, in Holland family possession, extracted in Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part A, 34.

[34] Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 17-18.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Washington, "Negro Homes," *Century Illustrated* Magazine, May 1908, 71. The title page of the article was illustrated with a photograph of a one-room cabin, which contrasted with photographs of several multi-story Victorian homes and a few more modest ones on 75-76, 78.

[37] Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 73, 148.

[38] Washington, *My Larger Education* (1911), extracted in *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, edited by Louis Harlan, v. 1, 420, 421.

[39] Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 122. In 1899, he had told this same story but started it "When a mere boy." See *The Future of the American Negro* (1899), repr. in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 5, 314. His critics attacked his disdain for this young man's desire for knowledge despite his poor cabin home. W. E. B. Du Bois, wondered "how Socrates or St. Francis of Assisi would receive this!" See Du Bois, "The Evolution of Negro Leadership," 16 July 1901, in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 6, 177. Another critic pointed out that "Abraham Lincoln studied in a log cabin by the light of a pine knot," reported Cyrus F. Adams to Washington, [c. 18] Jan. 1904, in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 7, 398.

[40] Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work* (Atlanta: J. L. Nichols & Co., 1901), facing, 13. Washington, "Up From Slavery: An Autobiography," in *The Outlook* 66:10 (3 Nov. 1900), 556, 557. Laura A. [Burroughs] Holland to Booker T. Washington, 4 Jan. 1904, BTW Papers, LOC, transcr. in Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part A, 33. Another photograph, of yet a third cabin, appeared in *My Life and Work*, facing, 23. This third cabin photo has not been identified, and the caption may in fact refer to the part of "old" Virginia that became West Virginia during the Civil War. This would place this third cabin in Malden, where Washington's family moved after the war, but it is not the frame house in Malden, which is also depicted. Archaeological work confirms that Cabin One, the birthplace cabin, was rather insubstantial, corroborating Holland's assertion that it was not standing by 1900. Bennett interview.

[41] Washington, "Negro Homes," *Century Illustrated* magazine (May 1908), 71.

[42] This "wag" was joking: of course the floor was still there, because it was dirt. He was likely not referring to an actual floor site.

[43] "Tuskegee's Principal at His Old Home," *Tuskegee Student* (3 Oct. 1908), repr. in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 9, 637.

[44] "Tuskegee's Principal at His Old Home," *Tuskegee Student* (3 Oct. 1908), repr. in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 9, 638-640.

[45] Quoted by A. L. Edmundson in a 1935 WPA report, cited in French, "Interracial Memory Work," 12.

[46] "Washington Visits Old Home," *Roanoke Times*, 27 Sept. 1908, cited in Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 13.

[47] See correspondence transcr. in Mackintosh, "General Background Studies," Part A, 30-39, and Part B, 62-70

[48] BTW to Essie Smith, 15 Sept. 1905, and Essie Smith to Washington, 18 Sept. 1905, *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 8, 359-360, 362-363.

[49] William Taylor Burwell Williams, "With Dr. Washington, Through Virginia," *Southern Workman* 38 (Aug. 1909): 452-457, repr. in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 10, 147. Elliston P. Morris to Washington, 6 Feb. 1896, *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 4, 109; BTW to Elliston P. Morris, 30 Mar. 1896, *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 4, 150-151; BTW to Charles L. Marshall, 16 April 1896, *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 4, 161. Charles L. Marshall, "The Evolution of a Shoemaker," in *Tuskegee and Its People: Their Ideals and Achievements*, edited by Booker T. Washington (1905. Repr. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 338-354.

[50] Edwin C. Bearss, "The Burroughs Plantation as a Living Historical Farm; Booker T. Washington National Monument" (n.p.: National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior, Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, 31 May 1969). On the Robertson interviews and the landscape features they discussed, see 8-9, 11, 91, 120, 126, 128, 131, 132-136, 139-142.

[51] French, "Interracial Memory Work," 2-5.

[52] On GWCA, see Patricia West, *Domesticating History*, *The Political Origins of America's House Museums*. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 136-143, and Anna

Coxe Toogood, "Historic Resource Study and Administrative History: George Washington, Carver National Monument, Diamond, Missouri." Denver, Colo.: National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior, July 1973. On FRDO, see Sharon Harley, "A Study of the Preservation and Administration of 'Cedar Hill': The Home of Frederick Douglass," report for the NPS, n.d. [c. 1987]. Copy at National Capital Parks-East Archives, Washington, DC.

[53] Washington's first published autobiographical essays were letters to the editors of the *Southern Workman* 24 (Nov. 1895): 182, and "Early Life and Struggle for an Education," *Howard's American Magazine* 4 (1899): 3-6, repr. in *BTW Papers*, Harlan, ed., v. 1, 389-390, 392-ff.

[54] Repr. in *Outlook* 66:10 (3 Nov. 1900), 566, at end of the first installment of Washington's "Up From Slavery: An Autobiography." See also in *The Collected Poetry of Paul Laurence Dunbar*, edited by Joanne M. Braxton (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1993), 209; the poem was included in the original 1913 edition of this collection (which was expanded for 1993).

[55] Gloria Peterson, "An Administrative History of Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site, Hodgenville, Kentucky" (National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior, 20 September 1968). See also Edward Pessen, *The Log Cabin Myth: The Social Backgrounds of the Presidents* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1984).

[56] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 13-14. French, "Interracial Memory Work," 12-13.

[57] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 15-17. French, "Interracial Memory Work," 13-14. West, *Domesticating History,* 143-145.

[58] West, *Domesticating History*, 140, 142-143, 150-151. French, "Interracial Memory Work," 23-31.

[59] Quoted in Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 18.

[60] French, "Interracial Memory Work," pp. 2, 16-23. Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 18-19, 48-49. On Tuck's conservatism, see J. Harvie Wilkinson III*, Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics, 1945-1966* (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1968), 50-61, and J. Douglas Smith, " 'When Reason Collides with Prejudice': Armistead Lloyd Boothe and the Politics of Moderation," in *The Moderates' Dilemma: Massive Resistance to School Desegregation in Virginia*, edited by Matthew Lassiter and Andrew Lewis (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1998), 24.

[61] French, "Interracial Memory Work," 22-23. Richard Pliant quoted in Toogood, "Historic Resource Study and Administrative History," 56-57. West, *Domesticating History,* 136-141.

[62] French, "Interracial Memory Work," 8-9.

[63] Tuck quoted in West, *Domesticating History*, 147. Mackintosh, "Administrative. History," 21. On the NAACP's legal strategy in Virginia in the 1940s, see Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), 215-216, 471-474.

[64] Quoted in Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 51; see also 31, 52-56. West*, Domesticating History*, 147. French, "Interracial Memory Work," 28-29.

[65] Phillips quoted in Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 61; see also 62-63.

[66] Matthew Lassiter, "A 'Fighting Moderate': Benjamin Muse's Search for the Submerged South," in *Moderates' Dilemma*, Lassiter and Lewis, eds. 178-179. Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 465, 468-470, 474-476, and passim. Mackintosh summarizes the 1956 Congressional hearing on BOWA in "Administrative History," 76-84.

[67] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 22-24. Troutman interview with Bennett, 7 April 2001.

[68] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 29.

[69] Quoted in Bennett, "Archaeological Overview," 24. The WPA report accounted for the outbuildings' location in front of the house by claiming it was "the queer custom of many pioneers." William Baber's hypothesized larger house located closer to the road would put all these structures, along with the entire historic core, behind the big house.

[70] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 19, 22, 24. Park Ranger Alice Hanawalt thought the Robertsons had constructed a one-lane entrance road where Phillips in 1946 had the two-lane memorial driveway constructed; cited in Brown, "Cultural Landscape Inventory," 8.

[71] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 24-25; plate VII shows the concession stand and one chicken house north of the Burroughs house site; plate VIII shows an unidentified frame building south of the Burroughs house site.

[72] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 23-24.

[73] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 20-21; for photo of the Memorial cabin, see plates IV, VIII. West, *Domesticating History*, 146-147; photo of Memorial cabin on 146.

[74] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 22. Bennett, "Archaeological Overview," 30. Troutman interview with Bennett and Orcutt, 7 April 2001. Bennett cites "period photographs" located at BOWA for the identification of the rose garden.

[75] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 26-27, 32-33, 73.

[76] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 37-39.

[77] Gloria Peterson, "An Administrative History of Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site, Hodgenville, Kentucky" (National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior, 20 September 1968), 89-97. Charles B. Hosmer Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949* (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1981), v. 1, 490-492. National Park Service Northeast Region, "George Washington, Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland County, Virginia, Cultural Landscape Report," July 1999, v. 1, pt. 2, 60-62.

[78] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 65-68.

[79] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 77, 79.

[80] Quote in Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 48. Note that at George Washington's birthplace, in 1968, the Wakefield National Memorial Association operated a "hothouse and cutting garden for developing sales items and to aid in management of the colonial garden" (GEWA CLR, v. 1, s. 2, p. 89).

[81] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 49.

[82] French, "Interracial Memory Work," quoting Smith, 22. Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 46-59.

[83] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 31-32, 36, 39-41.

[84] Toogood, "Historic Resource Study and Administrative History." West, *Domesticating History*, 136-143. Holly Darling, "The Frederick Douglass Home: The Making of a Black Hero in a Racist Society," unpublished report for Frederick Douglass NHS, n.d. [c. Fall 2000], copy in Archive at National Capital Parks-East, quoting A. E. Demaray, Acting NPS Director, Memorandum to the Undersecretary, 20 Sep. 1949; and Memorandum from the Superintendent to the Director, National Capital Parks, 30 Aug. 1961, 6, 8.

[85] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 74-75, 76, 79-83. HR 6963 (84th Cong., 1st sess.), 22 June 1955, reproduced in Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 151-152.

[86] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 128.

[87] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 37. H. Eliot Foulds interview with James Holmes, June 2000.

[88] Quoted in Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 18-19.

[89] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 30-32, 23.

[90] Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 212-213, 215-216, 471-473.

[91] Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 465, 474-476.

[92] Franklin County School Board, Minutes, 10 April 1953, 424.

[93] Phillips quoted in Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 61; see also 62-63.

[94] Although a clear attempt was made to equate the architecture of segregated black school to that of whites, it appears that the landscape and recreational equipment serving the school remained an area where facilities remained unequal. On September 14, 1953, the Franklin County School Board considered proposals to re-surface the basketball courts at its Henry and Ferrum schools, where the basketball courts at the Booker T. Washington Elementary were never surfaced. The courts remained hard-packed clay throughout the school's twelve years of operation. Franklin County School Board, Minutes, 458.

[95] For a recent overview of Virginia's "massive resistance," see Matthew D. Lassiter and Andrew B. Lewis. "Massive Resistance Revisited: Virginia's White Moderates and the Byrd Organization," in *Moderates' Dilemma*, Lassiter and Lewis, eds., 1-21. Lassiter, "A 'Fighting Moderate'" in ibid., 178-179. Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 465, 468-470, 474-476, and passim.

[96] *Washington Post* figure quoted in Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 474.

[97] "Klan Schedules Rally in Franklin County." *Roanoke World-News*. Thursday 16 June 1966. The Klan announced plans to stage a rally one-half mile from the Booker T. Washington National Monument on Friday, June 17, 1966, the day before the dedication of BOWA's visitor center. Klan sources predicted a "tremendous crowd" including the Virginia Grand Dragon. The rally was open to "white public only."

[98] Mackintosh, "Administrative History," 117, 128, 147. Christiansburg Institute, in Montgomery County, Virginia, was also closed by its local school board's desegregation plan; CI graduated its last class of seniors in 1966. See Edgar A. Long Building (Christiansburg Industrial Institute) National Register Nomination Form, 2000. In 1967 in Stokes County, North Carolina (some 70 miles south of BOWA), black high school students protested to save their school from closure. See Henry Wiencek, *The Hairstons: An American Family in Black and White* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 226-247. Other school officials resisted desegregation altogether. For Virginia examples, see Robert A. Pratt, *The Color of Their Skin: Education and Race in Richmond, Virginia, 1954-1989* (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1992); Robert C. Smith, *They Closed Their Schools: Prince Edward County, Virginia* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1965); and Amy E. Murrell, "The 'Impossible' Prince Edward County Case: The Endurance of Resistance in a Southside County, 1959-1964," in *Moderates' Dilemma*, Lassiter and Lewis, eds., 134-167. For the larger context, see Gary Orfield, *The Reconstruction of Southern Education: The Schools and the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1969), and David S. Cecelski, *Along Freedom Road: Hyde County, North Carolina and*

the Fate of Black Schools in the South (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1994).

[99] The section on the history of Mission-66 was drawn largely from Sarah Allaback's *Mission 66 Visitor Center, The History of a Building Type,* US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships, Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes Program, Washington, D.C., 2000.

[100] This determination was based on the National Register registration requirements outlined in Appendix III of Sarah Allaback's *Mission 66 Visitor Centers, The History of a Building Type*.

[101] Determination of Eligibility, Booker T. Washington National Monument, 3 February 2003, 4. See appendix C for complete DOE documentation.

LANDSCAPE TREATMENT

Landscape Treatment Principles
Role of the GMP in Landscape Treatment Recommendations
Landscape Treatment Issues
Landscape Treatment Case Studies
Landscape Treatment Recommendations

Previous page: The Birthplace Memorial driveway turn-around decorated for autumn. Tuck hall is in the distance 1946. BOWA files.

Landscape Treatment

The following discussion of cultural landscape treatment is intended to be helpful at two levels. At a basic and immediate level, this discussion will serve as a preface and rationale in support of a course of physical treatment actions recommended for the landscape at Booker T. Washington NM. Beyond this, the following discussion will help to inform future preservation maintenance and landscape treatment decisions that this report cannot foresee.

The following chapter is organized into five sections. The first section, entitled, "Landscape Treatment Principles" covers the philosophical foundations behind National Park Service policy regarding the treatment of cultural resources. This is followed by a second section entitled, "Landscape Treatment Issues," which explores the issues at Booker T. Washington NM that complicate the application of ideal principles. The third section, entitled, "Landscape Treatment Case Studies" reveals that landscape treatment issues at Booker T. Washington NM are fairly common, and surveys peer sites to offer a degree of understanding into how different parks have worked to reconcile treatment principles with site issues. The fourth section in this chapter, entitled "Landscape Treatment Approaches," reviews the four sanctioned historic preservation treatments as they might apply to the landscape conditions, preservation issues, and management objectives at Booker T. Washington NM. Finally, this chapter concludes with "Landscape Treatment Recommendations," organized to address conditions and issues site-wide and by discrete landscape zone.

Landscape Treatment Principles

The cultural landscape report is the primary document to guide the treatment of cultural landscapes, as described in "Director's Order 28: Cultural Resource Management." This and other NPS policy guidelines, including the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, are intended to shape treatment actions and ensure compliance with national historic preservation standards. As examined in the previous chapter, the *Secretary's Standards* outline four basic approaches to treatment. The four alternatives - preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction - describe different levels of intervention.

- **Preservation**: the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and material of a historic property. Preservation includes initial stabilization work, where necessary, as well as ongoing preservation maintenance and repair of historic materials and features.

- **Rehabilitation**: the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural, or architectural values.

- **Restoration**: the act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by removing features from other periods in its history and reconstructing missing features from the restoration period.

- **Reconstruction**: the act or process of depicting by means of new construction, the form, features, and detailing of a non-surviving site, landscape, building, structure, or object for the purpose of replicating its appearance at a specific period of time and in its historic location.[1]

The treatment segment of the CLR draws on the information presented in the site history and an understanding of historic preservation standards to develop recommendations for future action. It is intended that the treatment recommendations support the park's interpretive and public education programs, be consistent with visitor use, maintenance needs, and overall direction established by planning efforts, most notably, the park's 2000 GMP.

Role of the General Management Plan in Landscape Recommendations

The GMP outlines a course of action that best illustrates the life and accomplishments of Booker T. Washington within the context of his lifetime as well as after his death. The park wishes to emphasize the

repercussions of Washington's work and teachings, especially as they related to mid-1900s segregated education. Two examples of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century race relations are tangibly represented in the park. The site was home to Washington prior to emancipation as well to a racially segregated elementary school, built during the turbulent years of the 1950s, during Virginia's struggle for integration. Having both of these periods of history represented gives the park a great opportunity to interpret each in the broad context of the evolving spectrum of American race relations.

The GMP does not recommend restoring the entire park to one time period, recognizing the significance of both resources. However, the GMP treats the park as one cultural landscape management zone, making allowances for contemporary improvements to occur in a designated facility development overlay zone. Within the single cultural landscape management zone, the former elementary school will be partially restored as an interpretive facility and the traditional Burroughs landscape will remain largely as it does today, barring any new discoveries in documentary and archeological research. Existing historic and reconstructed features can be maintained and replaced in kind if necessary. If new information is found, the GMP allows for the possible reconstruction of features relating to the Burroughs farm.[2]

The careful delineation of park management zones is especially important to subsequent proposals for the treatment of a cultural landscape. The following modest recommendations depend on a subtle refinement to the existing GMP management zoning. Recommendations include the addition of an important new overlay zone to more closely tie landscape treatment to the historical significance of park resources.

Working within the NPS's obligation to preserve and protect cultural resources, the GMP recognizes the need for supplemental cultural resource research and planning projects. It calls for engaging in the appropriate historical and archeological studies to inform and shape a cultural landscape treatment plan. Several recent studies of the park's archeological, ethnographic, and cultural landscape resources have been completed to date. Using the general framework of the GMP, this report outlines more focused actions relating to cultural landscape management to meet the park's mission.

Landscape Treatment Issues

It is essential to understand the unique challenges facing the park before defining a site-specific approach to landscape treatment. Currently, numerous issues challenge the park's interpretation and management of the cultural landscape. Booker T. Washington NM faces perennial questions regarding the accuracy of its setting, the suitability of its interpretive programming, and how best to address development and planning needs.

1. Significant Gaps in Information

Many birthplaces preserved as historic sites lack documentation to support accurate landscape restoration. The Burroughs family's nineteenth-century farm went largely undocumented, which makes site and feature specific interpretation of life under slavery difficult. Few archeological remains have been discovered, leaving the site subject to continuing speculation. In the absence of documentation, the park embraced the remembrances of the Robertson family, subsequent owners of the land, to recreate historic features throughout the park, including agricultural buildings, animal pastures, and fence lines. The living historical farm features created in the 1970s are conjectural and serve as props to evoke a farm setting. Despite recent studies, the lack of information about the Burroughs period continues to impede accurate interpretation of material culture related to the primary period of significance. New discoveries documenting the features and character of the Burroughs farm are likely to result from an ongoing program of archeological research, rather than additional research into historic documents. Nevertheless, while it is recognized that future discoveries may incrementally inform the landscape and other cultural resources, it must be understood that many details of the Burroughs farm will continue to elude the best of research efforts.

2. Diminished Integrity to the Primary Period of Significance

The integrity of the Booker T. Washington NM landscape to the primary period of significance is diminished. Typical of the construction techniques and agricultural patterns of their time and region, little of the Burroughses' physical improvements to the

farm remain. Buildings and fences deteriorated and field patterns were altered through years of agricultural and institutional activity. A single tobacco barn to the south of the farm spring contains materials from that period. Even this lone building has been significantly altered. A Virginia red cedar near the site of the Burroughs house may date to the period but all other vegetation in the domestic yard is more recent. In the absence of tangible elements from Washington's time on the property, interpretation is challenging and requires some creativity to explain the setting and circumstances of life on the Burroughs farm. The temptation to recreate replica features arises if only to present physical elements on the landscape for visitors to observe.

3. Contemporary Off-Site Development Pressure

Most recently, the development of the nearby Westlake community threatens to change the park's stable rural setting. Spurred by the popularity of Smith Mountain Lake and its attractive recreational opportunities, resort and residential development is spreading into the landscape surrounding the park. Suburban, commercial, and retail growth is altering Booker T. Washington NM's long-term rural agricultural character. In response, the park is pursuing policies and actions that address the pressing off-site development, from small actions like planting tree screens to the acquisition of additional lands.

4. Proposed Conversion of the Former Elementary School from an Administrative/Maintenance Facility to Public Use/Interpretive.

The park's GMP explores the value of interpreting historical themes beyond the site's primary period of significance. To address the era of Jim Crow politics and public school segregation, the former school, now serving as administrative and maintenance space, will be converted to public use, partially as an interpretive facility. To do so, a new maintenance facility must be constructed in the park. Options for restoring the school landscape, as well as the building, must be considered. The outdoor resources of the school once included a baseball diamond, packed earth basketball court, playground equipment, flag pole, entry road, and its associated turn-around, and landscape plants in front of the school. Restoration of these features that might help describe the inequality of racially segregated schools is important in recreating the school's authentic 1966 character, and are potentially valuable interpretive elements.

5. Public Consultation and Legal Compliance Requirements

As the Booker T. Washington National Monument is comprised of both natural and cultural resources protected by federal law, the landscape recommendations appearing within this report are subject to formal processes established for compliance prior to implementation. Both the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) apply to the implementation of recommendations found within this report. Upon its completion, the park superintendent should submit this report, accompanied by an "*Assessment of Effect*" form and covering memorandum to Booker T. Washington NM's Section 106 technical advisors for comment. Following internal consultation, the park should likewise solicit comments and concurrence from the Virginia State Historic Preservation Officer. At the park superintendent's initiative, Section 106 consultation under the NHPA can be paired with an Environmental Screening Form or Environmental Assessment, as appropriate, to serve as the basis for this report's compliance with the NEPA process.

Landscape Treatment Case Studies

The Booker T. Washington NM landscape poses difficult but not unprecedented challenges for effective preservation and meaningful memorialization. The site is historically significant as the southwestern Virginia birthplace of Booker T. Washington but has diminished integrity to the primary period of significance (1856-1865). As the contents of this essay will show, this is not an uncommon circumstance.

The Booker T. Washington NM site is isolated geographically from other NPS units in the northeastern United States, yet is clearly in their company, dealing with many of the same issues centered on

authenticity and the difficulty of reconciling appropriate preservation treatments with management objectives. The purpose of this review of landscape preservation practice is to compare the challenges faced at Booker T. Washington NM to those of its peer sites, both within and outside of the NPS, and to learn from the experience and experiments of others. Such a review of preservation practice is not a typical element of a cultural landscape report, yet it is hoped that the digression will serve an instructive and valuable prelude to site-specific treatment recommendations.

Treatment recommendations commonly found in cultural landscape reports attempt to satisfy current management objectives by proposing actions, or recasting various landscape restoration or development proposals under consideration to conform to national preservation standards and guidelines. These standards and guidelines are intended to preserve historic materials and features, as well as intangible characteristics, that have survived to the present. Unfortunately, since the Booker T. Washington NM site was first proposed for authorization by Congress, the National Park Service has bemoaned the property's lack of material integrity to the period of Washington's enslavement. Because of this, the agency actively discouraged the inclusion of the site in the national system of parks until it was compelled to do so by legislation.

Many site managers at Booker T. Washington NM have felt the need to apologize for their park's lack of integrity. It has been difficult for the site to move intellectually beyond this obstacle. Previous conceptions of landscape integrity are perhaps tied too tightly to structures, as many of the historic sites discussed in the following pages have struggled with preservation and interpretive issues focussed on the void left by missing significant buildings.

Further, Booker T. Washington NM was initially founded as a privately run memorial, yet the NPS has removed virtually all structures and most features dating to that period (1946-1956) as well. Booker T. Washington NM is disadvantaged in this, but shares with many other public and private historic sites the tension between a desire to preserve and restore and an obligation to memorialize. The following comparative essay surveys that tension, offering a review and critique of landscape treatment at various historical sites sharing common issues with the Booker T. Washington NM. The following thematic case studies draw upon the collective experience of sites in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina. These sites were chosen to resonate with the interpretive content and historic preservation issues common to the Booker T. Washington NM. As an exception to this regional orientation of sites selected, the issues shared with the George Washington Carver National Monument (George Washington Carver NM) in Missouri are included because of the direct thematic link between it and the Booker T. Washington NM site in Virginia.

In American preservation, a dynamic tension between memorialization and historical authenticity runs deep. In 1837, a Philadelphia citizen voiced his fear that Independence Hall might be demolished, to which the local newspaper editor proclaimed, "let it come down, and be replaced by a marble building that shall be an ornament to the country." In the editor's eyes, a monument would convey the significance of Independence Hall more powerfully than the historical structure itself. Over the next century, however, "authentic" historical preservation and reconstruction had, according to Michael Kammen, author of *Mystic Chords of Memory*, "achieved a perverse yet powerful resonance in American cultural discourse."[3]

The notion of authenticity is powerful because of its claim to truth. It is perverse because insight into truth changes over time. Perception of truth might rely on tradition, myth, or the so-called lessons of history, or it might rely on observing surviving elements of the past as literal fact. The aspiration for historical truth may lead to emphasis on historically accurate details, disregarding larger historical contexts and intangible relationships or vice versa. As a case in point, Kammen cites the exhibition of Lincoln's alleged birthplace cabin at the 1897 Tennessee Centennial exposition. A reporter querying the cabin's authenticity was told its by promoter, "Lincoln was born in a log cabin, weren't he? Well, one cabin is as good as another."[4] Authenticity for the promoter lay not in the contested origin of the specific logs, but rather in the larger story conveyed by the cabin's common, generic quality—its message that Lincoln was born a common man. Still, viewers wanted the logs to be the "authentic" ones.

The landscape issues addressed in the following section affect most historic sites to varying degrees.

Primary case study sites for this essay were drawn from those employing interesting approaches to the issues present at the Booker T. Washington NM site. Secondary sites are mentioned only briefly for comparison or contrast. Site visits, photography, and interviews, with email and phone follow-up, were conducted for each primary site except George Washington Carver National Monument, where interviews were conducted via email and telephone. The following sites were chosen for inclusion in the final essay (with abbreviation in parentheses).

The landscape preservation issues discovered at the historic sites listed below have been organized thematically to relate broadly to the preservation issues present at the Booker T. Washington NM. These are issues related to: birthplace structures, slave structures, segregated structures, agricultural landscapes, and memorial landscapes.

- Christiansburg Institute, Inc. (Edgar A. Long Building), Christiansburg, Virginia (Christiansburg Institute)
- Frederick Douglass National Historic Site, Washington, DC (Frederick Douglass NHS)
- George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland Co., Virginia (George Washington Birthplace NM)
- George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, Missouri (George Washington Carver NM)
- Hampton National Historic Site, Towson, Maryland (Hampton NHS)
- Historic Stagville (Horton Grove), Durham Co., North Carolina (Historic Stagville)
- James K. Polk Memorial State Historic Site, Mecklenburg Co., North Carolina (James K. Polk Memorial SHS)
- Robert Russa Moton Museum, Farmville, Virginia (Moton Museum)
- Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest, Bedford Co., Virginia (Poplar Forest)

Birthplace Structures

The birthplace structures of famous individuals are seldom extant by the time of their memorialization. Exact location and the authenticity of reconstruction are frequently challenged, and reconstructions and other representations can confuse visitors who expect to see an actual birthplace home. The site of George Washington's birth in 1732 was memorialized at its 1930s bicentennial with the construction of a house variously described as a replica or as a typical eighteenth-century Tidewater gentry house. This replica, which was essentially an undocumented reconstruction, was built on what was thought to be the original house's actual foundation. However, soon after construction of the replica began, the foundation of the actual birthplace house was discovered approximately 120 feet away. This discovery proved the replica to be at considerable variance with the size and shape of the original birthplace structure.

In similar fashion, neither the precise location nor the exact appearance is known for the log houses that were the birthplaces of James K. Polk in 1795, or George Washington Carver, circa 1864. Nevertheless, the James K. Polk Memorial State Historic Site (James K. Polk Memorial SHS) and the George Washington Carver NM both attempt to represent a birthplace cabin in context with the larger landscape.[5] The memorialization of these three sites all draw heavily on oral tradition and inescapably make use of conjecture to mark the site and memorialize a life. Each has also been subject to hard choices in representing these structures according to accepted standards of authenticity, even when more accurate information has become available.

George Washington Birthplace National Monument (George Washington Birthplace NM) is a 550-acre memorial landscape comprising the point of land between Bridges Creek and Popes Creek on the Potomac River within Virginia's Northern Neck. The site includes part of the 1,000-acre plantation where

George Washington was born in 1732. Originally consisting of only one room, the birthplace house was enlarged to two rooms and a hall (with possibly two rooms in a half-story above) between 1722 and 1726. Two wings were added between 1743 and 1762, and a small addition was built after 1762. The building burned in 1779.

The birth site was first memorialized in 1815. At that time, Washington's descendant George Washington Parke Custis placed a stone on what he thought to be the site of Washington's actual birth chamber, judging the location from a cellar hole, chimney ruin, and fig trees. In 1896, the U.S. Department of War erected a 51-foot granite obelisk on what was believed to be the site of the birthplace cabin. In 1931, under the direction of the Wakefield National Memorial Association (Wakefield NMA), a conjectural replica birthplace house was built on that pre-identified location. During construction excavations, the foundation of the actual birthplace house was discovered approximately 120 feet away.[6]

The replica was completed over foundations reevaluated as belonging to a former outbuilding. Since no documentary evidence existed for the appearance of the house or its details, Wakefield NMA continued to allege its representation as that of a generic house belonging to an average member of the Tidewater gentry. Built in two stories of brick, and featuring a gable roof, dormer windows, and a pair of brick chimneys at each end, it was considered fairly authentic in its period detailing, yet remained controversial as to what was meant by its so-called representativeness. Critics questioned both its representation as Washington's birthplace house and as a representative eighteenth century house generally. Moreover, while it was meant to represent a typical house rather than the actual home, it was often referred to as a "replica." Further complicating the authenticity of the house, the Wakefield NMA insisted on building it on what they believed to be the original foundation, against the better judgement of Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and other experts.[7]

The Wakefield NMA's adherence to what was believed to be the birthplace site, based on the former obelisk's location, and long-held tradition, led them to unwittingly preserve the foundation of the actual birthplace house. After excavation of the newly discovered foundation, architectural historian Fiske Kimball declared there to be "no escape" from the conclusion that the newly discovered site was the location of the birthplace dwelling. Nevertheless, as late as 1968, the birthplace site was referred to as the location of "Building X."[8] The reconstructed building is now called the Memorial House. The foundation site has since become openly recognized as the birthplace house foundation. At one point, its outline was represented by a low boxwood hedge. Currently, its location and ultimate 1779 size are outlined on the ground with a one foot-wide band of crushed oyster shells, edged with wood strips.[9]

While current George Washington Birthplace NM park staff are insistent on reminding visitors that the Memorial House is not the birthplace house and on pointing out the oyster shell outline of the birthplace house foundation, some visitors remain confused. One woman, who said she had been visiting the site for twenty years, only recently learned that the Memorial House is not the birthplace house, although the NPS has never claimed it to be so.[10] Her mistake is understandable as the Memorial House dominates the landscape from afar, overshadowing the subtle ground-level outline of the birth site which is invisible until one is standing nearby. Even the George Washington Birthplace NM Cultural Landscape Report, otherwise detailed and observant, tends to miss the outline of the birthplace house, even when describing the historical core. The report lists it as an archaeological site but never describes when or how the decision was made to represent it in outline, and often omits it in narrative descriptions of the site.[11] One factor contributing to the outline's vague appreciation by visitors is the ubiquity of its material, being the same crushed shell used on trails elsewhere in the park, including the trail leading from the park visitor center into the historic core.[12]

Apart from the choice of materials, the geometry of the outline itself can be misleading. It depicts the foundation's outer walls at their greatest circa 1779 extent, including two wings that were not added until well after Washington's 1732 birth. These wings, built between 1743 and 1762, roughly doubled the size of the original building. The outline might be modified in the future to show each interior wall, thus indicating the house's size at different times; or it could be modified to show only the outer wall as it stood in 1732. Waysides interpret both these landscape issues in the historic core.

Booker T. Washington NM shares similar history and associated issues related both to Washington's cabin and to the missing Burroughs house. Though the home of his white owners was not Washington's birth site, the house location is integral to understanding the landscape. In addition, the current "big house" outline has been questioned for the accuracy of its size and location. In addition, the effectiveness of ground-level markings is open to question. Outlines on the ground plane do not adequately support an understanding of scale and spatial relationships. This problem is compounded by the fact that, like at George Washington Birthplace NM, Booker T. Washington NM's cabin reproduction dominates the scene while the birthplace site is marked at ground level nearby.

At George Washington Carver NM, the birthplace log cabin is no longer extant and its exact construction methods and materials are unknown. It was built c. 1838 and Carver was born there c. 1864-1865. Archaeology revealed a "concentration of occupational debris" that "seems to substantiate the testimony of those older residents who place the cabin at this site."[13] Before 1988, George Washington Carver NM marked the site with an outline in single logs on the ground, one log representing each side and stones marking corners. Since then, there has stood an open pen of oak logs four courses high. As recently rebuilt, it is dovetailed with a narrow gap between logs (with no chinking) and pinned invisibly at the corners and entrance. The packed dirt floor was created with local sterile clay placed over a plastic mesh. An entrance allows visitors to stand in the interior space. The surrounding area is mowed turf (Figure 8.1).

This suggestive representation, well short of a full cabin reconstruction, is in keeping with George Washington Carver NM's expressed goal to create a memorial rather than historical landscape. However, the accompanying interpretive wayside emphasizes historical precision rather than memorial gestures, and even uses the word "replica" to describe the open log pen. All waysides are planned for revision and replacement in 2001, and the birthplace wayside will likely continue to emphasize the historical accuracy of the site by depicting George Washington Carver's sketch from memory of the cabin's basic appearance. Unlike the situation at the George Washington Birthplace NM, visitors to George Washington Carver NM have apparently not confused these interpretive features for original historical fabric.[14] In comparison, Booker T. Washington NM park staff report that visitors do at times mistake the cabin replica for the original birth cabin that is located several yards away and is less visibly represented through an outline of flush stones.

At the James K. Polk Memorial State Historic Site (James K. Polk Memorial SHS) near Charlotte, North Carolina, neither the appearance nor exact location is known for the log cabin as it stood at the time of Polk's birth in 1795. The site's interpretative target date is 1806, the year when the Polk family left for Tennessee. While it may have been a single-pen cabin during the Polk's time there, a double-pen log house was reconstructed in 1967 based on sketches and descriptions made by visitors to the property from the 1840s forward. The reconstruction was also informed by a 1960s survey of roughly thirty extant log houses in the area. The raw materials for the reconstruction were salvaged from at least five different log cabins and ruins in the area, ranging in date of original construction from 1804 to at least c. 1850, possibly later. According to a 1981 report completed for James K. Polk Memorial SHS, "a need to move ahead with the reconstruction precluded the possibility of substantial historical research on any of these [salvaged] buildings regarding such issues as their dates of construction and any alterations or the socioeconomic standing of their original owners." The report critiques the reconstruction in fourteen areas, from landscape siting to interior finishes. Tellingly, about 1980, the historic site's name was changed from James K. Polk "Birthplace" to James K. Polk "Memorial," apparently reflecting the uncertainty of the reconstruction, which today is referred to as a typical and somewhat conjectural structure rather than the actual birthplace house or its replica.[15]

The authenticity of the birth cabin at the Booker T. Washington NM is alternately questioned or disparaged with some regularity. What was once thought to be the birth site is now generally accepted as the boyhood home, and there are no plans to reconstruct a cabin over what is now considered the birth site. This brief review of the treatment of birthplace structures, coupled with the site-specific experience of Booker T. Washington NM, validates the NPS's reluctance to engage in restoration and reconstruction projects unsupported by adequate

documentation. Familiarity with the difficulties that other sites have had representing the birthplaces of famous Americans should help Booker T. Washington NM staff put their own efforts into context.

Slave Structures

Living and working quarters for slaves were usually temporary structures, built quickly and cheaply and meant to last a decade or two, then demolished or salvaged and replaced. Few survived into the twentieth century, and those that did often suffered severe deterioration. Even the relatively more permanent service structures associated with the main house of affluent slaveholders underwent renovations and destruction. Historic sites have chosen several ways to represent slave structures that did not survive fully intact. These strategies include construction of "ghost" framing to schematically depict footprint and volume, the preservation and exposure of archaeological evidence, and the more traditional methods of restoration and reconstruction where those options are possible. All these techniques are found at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest (Poplar Forest), located in Virginia's western Piedmont, approximately thirty-five miles from Booker T. Washington NM in adjacent Bedford County. Poplar Forest's well-considered treatment decisions were made on a case-by-case basis, as is the case with many historic sites. Treatment choices at Poplar Forest have reflected the availability and depth of the documentary and archeological record, the proposed dates of historical significance, and the educational and interpretive mission of the site. Considerations related to public relations and zoning codes were also part of the decision-making process.

Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest is a corporate entity operating the Poplar Forest historical site since 1984, beginning with the initial purchase of forty-nine acres surrounding the main house. The corporation has since expanded its land holdings to approximately 500 acres, yet the historic site is still only a small fragment of the 4,812 acre working plantation inherited by Thomas Jefferson in 1773.[16] As his retreat plantation, it once housed a slave population that grew from twelve individuals at the time of his acquisition to ninety-four in 1819. Archaeological

Figure 8.1. The birth cabin at George Washington Carver National Monument. Instead of recreating the poorly documented resource, the park constructed an outline and part of the base to show the cabin's location and to suggest massing. 2001. Photo courtesy of George Washington Carver NM.

remains of three slave cabins clustered within an associated yard date from circa 1790s and were occupied until circa 1812. A fourth cabin at nearby "North Hill" was occupied circa 1770s-1780s. Later quarter sites are yet to be discovered.

Construction of Jefferson's distinctive main house and surrounding landscape began in 1806. The "curtilage," a term Jefferson applied to his formal yard and garden, was enclosed in 1812, and the four-room slave service wing attached to the main house was begun in 1814. The slave quarter site lies approximately 200 yards from the main house. It was associated with the "Old Plantation" and was occupied by slaves during the construction of Jefferson's unique retreat. It was apparently abandoned circa 1812 as Jefferson implemented his plans for the formal yard on the sixty-one acres surrounding the new house. The Poplar Forest corporation has recognized the need to interpret the site's enslaved African American workforce, despite the fact that these particular buildings had been abandoned by the time of Jefferson's death in 1826, which is the Poplar Forest target date of restoration for the main house.

While three cabins and a yard, with associated fencing, have been excavated at the site (and a fourth cabin nearby on North Hill), only one cabin is currently represented to the public. This representation takes the form of a "ghost" frame, outlining schematically the known footprint and implied massing and volume of the missing building. What is identified as Cabin One at the slave quarter site has been chosen for representation because archeological investigations gave the best indication of the structure's historical size. It is known to have consisted of two rooms, each twelve and a half by fifteen feet, probably of logs, with two gable-end chimneys of wood and mud daub. Root cellars were dug in the ground beneath an elevated wooden floor.[17]

When considering options for the representation of Cabin One, Poplar Forest completed a survey of building materials and methods at extant slave quarters in Bedford and its neighboring counties.[18] Ghost frame construction was chosen instead of reconstruction for several reasons. First, archaeology did not conclusively indicate the composition and layout of wall and roof materials, locations of windows and doors, and other building features. Unlike the documentation informing the restoration of the main house and wing, manuscript records for this outlying slave structure are not available. Second, the slave quarter site lies close to neighboring property lines where local zoning codes discourage full and accurate reconstruction. Finally, Poplar Forest wanted to sustain a supportive relationship with the local community. Poplar Forest considered neighboring residents' potentially negative reactions to noise from visitors and the visual impact of a reconstructed slave cabin within sight of their homes. The choice of a simple ghost frame representation rather than a fully reconstructed building accommodates these concerns. An added benefit was the efficiency of cost and time, as the ghost frame could be built quickly for about $1,000, allowing public interpretation to begin almost immediately.

The ghost frame was constructed of commercially available materials, making use of treated lumber, metal bracing, and manufactured nails and carriage bolts. It was not meant to represent historical building methods or materials, with two exceptions in the initial construction that have since been removed. First, three corners and the two long sides of the ghost frame were supported by post-hole construction, while the fourth corner and one gable end were supported by stone piers, as the archaeology had indicated. Second, the corner over the stone pier was represented with notched and interlaced timbers, showing a small vignette of historical construction methods. Some visitors confused this demonstration technique with original fabric, despite a wayside explaining it. These exceptions were replaced in 2001 by ghost framing in modern construction methods to match the rest of the structure.

Archaeological excavations at the slave quarter site revealed the locations of picket fencing enclosing a common yard containing the three cabins. Neither the yard, the historical fencing materials, nor the second or third cabins understood to have made up the slave quarter are currently represented in any manner. The entire site around and under the ghost frame is maintained in short mown turf. A modern fence that divides Poplar Forest from an adjacent 1970s subdivision follows the trajectory of a Jefferson-era fenceline.[19] Thus, the ghost frame of Cabin One is presented to the public apart from its landscape and archaeological contexts and the larger slave quarter site of which it was once a part (Figure 8.2 and 8.3).

The treatment approach pursued at the Poplar Forest slave quarter site is not a full restoration of the larger landscape but an attempt to mark and identify

one missing, yet interpretively important feature. In this, the ghost frame at the slave quarter site serves more as an outdoor exhibit rather than a restoration. This contrasts with Booker T. Washington NM's landscape treatment of the area surrounding the traditional location of the Burroughs house and the birth cabin (Cabin One) where the goals have been more ambitious.

At Poplar Forest, the treatment of slaves' residence and work areas within the mansion's service wing takes a different approach from that used at the outlying slave quarter site. This wing extending from the mansion was begun in 1814 and was modeled after the South Terrace and South Dependency at Jefferson's Monticello. The Poplar Forest service wing consisted of four rooms aligned end to end and covered by a roof terrace connecting to the main house. Contrasting with the dearth of information available for the outlying slave quarter, the treatment of the service wing was informed by complete archaeological excavations and Jefferson's correspondence and drawings for Monticello's similar structure. Moving out from the main block of the house, Room One was of yet unidentified use, possibly storage, Room Two was a kitchen, Room Three was a cook's residence or laundry, and Room Four was a smokehouse (Figure 8.4). Rooms One and Two were completely demolished soon after 1840, but Rooms Three and Four were only partially razed, and their remnants later incorporated into two separate outbuildings extant at the time the Corporation purchased of the property.

Based on this more detailed knowledge, reconstruction of the service wing is underway as of this writing (2003). On the exterior, a combination of removal, conservation, restoration, and reconstruction are planned to bring the exterior of the service wing into consistency with the 1826 target date for the representation of the main house. In order to restore the 1826 exterior appearance of the wing, Poplar Forest made the difficult decision to dismantle the two renovated post-1840 slave structures, preserving their Jefferson-era foundations and the original portions of their lower walls.

For the wing's interior, two different historic preservation treatment approaches are being used. The interior of rooms eleven and twelve, which had been fully demolished above ground, will be reconstructed as accurately as possible. The interiors of Rooms Three and Four will preserve an exposed archaeological site showing the original (circa 1814) stone floor, hearth, foundation, and lower walls, as well as some of the post 1840 elements.

Both the interpretive and historic preservation strategies pursued at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest will evolve as new research leads to greater under-

Figure 8.2. A rail fence separates the Poplar Forest ghost frame slave cabin from an adjacent subdivision. 2001. Photo courtesy of Phillip Troutman

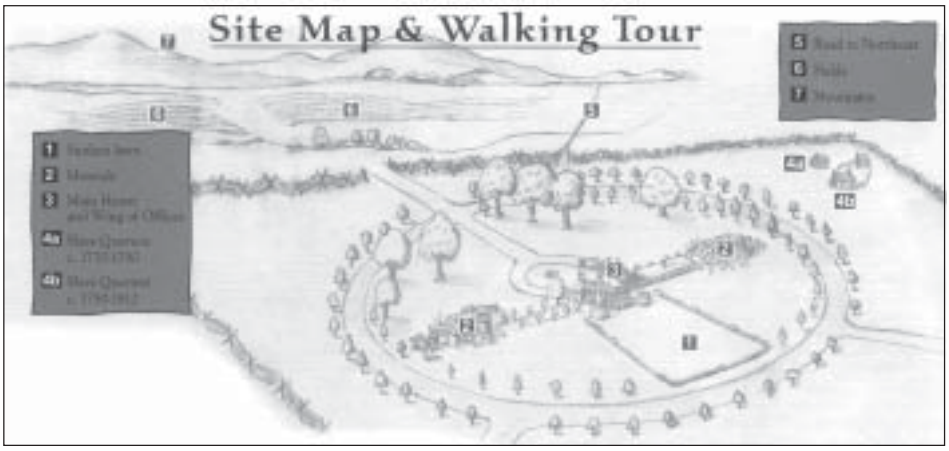


Figure 8.3. Site Map and Walking Tour map of Poplar Forest. Note the location of the slave quarters in the upper right of the plan. Image courtesy of the Corporation for Jefferson's Poplar Forest.

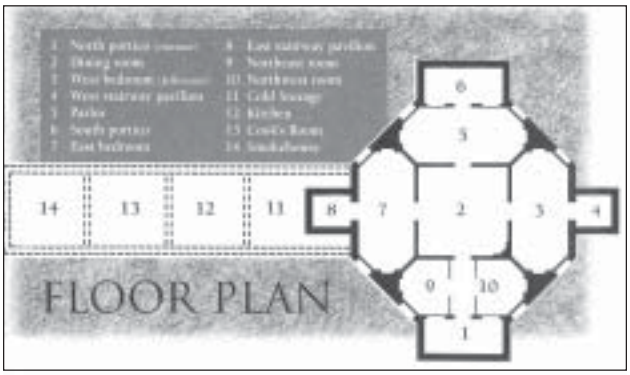


Figure 8.4. Floor Plan of the main house at Poplar Forest. Note the service wing to the left of the original house. Image courtesy of the Corporation for Jefferson's Poplar Forest.

standing of the site. The installation of the ghost frame at the outlying slave quarter site was undertaken out of a desire to promptly share new knowledge of the site beyond the context of Jefferson's architecture. The treatment of the historic east wing takes into account the best information available, but itself is subject to be revisited as new information inevitably comes to light.

Poplar Forest has employed a variety of methods to evoke the past, the choice of each based largely on the documentary and archeological resources available. In representing a slave quarter predating the main house's 1826 restoration date, Poplar Forest is recognizing and interpreting different periods in the landscape's historical continuum. In exposing to view archaeological resources - including some of those post-dating their 1826 target date - Poplar Forest is attempting to educate visitors on the details of slavery during and after the Jefferson era, but also about the evolving fields of archaeology, architectural history, and historic preservation.

As is the case at Poplar Forest, Booker T. Washington NM has used a variety of interpretive methods to represent slave structures. The kitchen cabin replica was constructed in 1960 when conjectural reconstructions were not entirely out of favor. While its foundation was identified, today's preservation standards would not justify a full reconstruction based on the cabin's documentation. The more recent representation, Cabin One, is outlined using flat rocks. Remnants of its outline were also discovered but nothing else is definitively known about its construction, materials, or placement of doors and windows.

It is interesting to notice that, while Poplar Forest's treatment decisions were not aimed at addressing a particular plan for literal versus representational treatment, a concentric pattern can be discerned, with the main house at Poplar Forest serving as the focal point. It is apparently coincidental that the closer the visitor is to the main block of Jefferson's dwelling, the more literal the reconstruction effort. Both the exterior of the wing and the interior of the two wing rooms closest to the main building (Rooms One and Two) will be reconstructed to represent 1826 conditions, while the interior of the two rooms further away (Three and Four) will be preserved in part as an exposed archaeological exhibit. Even further outside the bounds of the formal yard, at the edge of Poplar Forest's "curtilage," one slave cabin is represented as a simple ghost frame while three others are not represented at all.

Although representing a single historic site, reviewing the range of options employed at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest in nearby Bedford County toward its slave structures is helpful in considering the range of options possible to Booker T. Washington NM site managers. Especially interesting at Poplar Forest is the apparently unintentional pattern of providing for concentric degrees of literal adherence to a restoration date. A similar organization might be used more intentionally to prioritize a long-term plan of research and replacement of missing landscape features on the Booker T. Washington NM landscape, with the present reconstruction of the boyhood cabin (Cabin Two) serving as the center of the effort.

Segregated Educational Structures

"Separate but equal" educational facilities were never the latter. Segregation imposed the stigma of inequality on African American public schools, which were poorly funded and poorly maintained compared to the increasingly modern facilities provided for white students. Racial segregation and the struggle for its end remains a painful part of our more recent past. Historical sites focusing on that past must deal with the implications of restoring and reconstructing structures that, for some visitors, retain that negative stigma and provoke painful personal memories.

At the Robert Russa Moton High School (Moton School), in Farmville, Virginia, temporary outbuildings known derisively as the "tar-paper shacks" lay at the heart of the site's historical signifi-

cance. Yet reconstructing any of these might have a negative impact on the community and is currently too sensitive a matter to consider seriously in the near future. The history of segregation and desegregation at the Moton School and similar sites is ultimately one of triumph over adversity. It is hoped that in time the historic preservation treatment of buildings and landscapes associated with this subject matter will ultimately reflect the adversity fundamental to the history lesson available there.

The Moton School, the segregated public black high school in Farmville, Virginia, was overcrowded almost as soon as it opened in 1939. Named for the local man who had succeeded Booker T. Washington as Principal at Tuskegee Institute, it was built to serve 180 students. Two-hundred and nineteen students were enrolled by its second year. As the student population grew, reaching 477 in 1950, Prince Edward County school officials refused to fund a new school, instead erecting three temporary frame buildings covered in tar paper. Two of these buildings stood at the rear of the main building and one on the front (south) lawn. In 1951, these "tar-paper shacks," emblematic of the Moton School's inadequate facilities, became the target of a successful student protest that led to one of the five cases considered under the United States Supreme Court's desegregation decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka Kansas* (*Brown*) in 1954. That same year, the county belatedly opened a newly built Moton School and converted the 1939 structure into a black elementary school. From 1959 to 1964, however, Prince Edward County closed the public schools rather than desegregate them, while white parents sending their children to private schools received state vouchers. At some point the tar paper buildings were removed. During the 1990s, in the wake of the 50th anniversary of the student strike and the *Brown* case, preservationists organized to purchase the school building for restoration as the Robert Russa Moton Museum: A Center for the Study of Civil Rights in Education (Moton Museum). Today, the Moton Museum stands prominently on South Main Street at the southern entrance to Farmville. Its front lawn is well-maintained turf and its grounds to the rear are covered in asphalt, serving as a parking lot.[20]

The three "tar paper shacks" that stood at Moton School in the late 1940s and early 1950s represented both visually and experientially the stamp of inferiority Prince Edward County imposed on its black public schools. Built of light framing and covered in tar paper, they were poorly sealed and insulated and were heated with old-fashioned wood stoves. Student protesters in 1951 listed several discrepancies between their school and the white high school, including the lack of fixed seating in the auditorium, the absence of a cafeteria and gymnasium, and the hand-me-down books and school buses cast off from the white schools. But the "tar-paper shacks" especially drew their ire. One stood at the rear (north) center of the school, the most heavily used entrance, where the school buses stopped. A second stood at the rear northeast corner, facing South Main Street. The third occupied the center of the front (south) lawn, obscuring Moton school's south elevation, facing onto South Main.[21]

Since these three structures played a key role in the student strike and thus in the historical significance of the site, a preliminary NPS Development Plan for the Robert Russa Moton Museum (Moton Museum) has recommended the eventual reconstruction of at least one of those structures, preferably the one on the front lawn.[22] Documentation of the "shacks'" original fabric is excellent, based on photographs, oral histories, and other documents. But the Moton Museum will likely not reconstruct any of these in the near future. Having only recently opened during 2001, the site is still in the early stages of planning and development. It has garnered both black and white supporters in the community and relies on that support to move its objectives forward. Its restoration and reconstruction plans will have to accommodate that concern. The Moton Museum will not only serve as a historical site, but also as a museum and active community center. Consequently, there are no plans for reconstruction of any of the issue-laden shacks. Instead, the Moton Museum will follow a gradual path towards reconstruction, with no timetable in place. The initial phase in this process has already been completed, consisting of a scale site model on display inside the museum. The second step will likely consist of a ground-level outline of one or more of the structures, showing their footprint and location. Ghost framing might also be considered as an interim step. The final step will likely be a reconstruction of one of the two structures historically found at the rear of the brick school building. Reconstructing the one on the front (south) lawn would obscure the Moton School's most public façade, encroaching upon the little outdoor open space left available to the museum,

and likely be perceived as replicating the original insult. The reconstruction would clearly make the point that tar paper buildings were substandard classroom facilities, decidedly separate and unequal, even if the maintenance level of the reconstruction is higher than the original.

For similar reasons, the preservation and restoration of the main brick Moton building will likely involve higher levels of maintenance than was likely during its historical period, though knowledge of its historical level of maintenance is incomplete. African American parents and students, like their white counterparts, frequently considered their schools to be community centers. They often took pride in the facilities and personally contributed to their maintenance. Since the Moton Museum will serve as a museum and center for ongoing community activities, known historical maintenance deficiencies will be eliminated (examples might include a leaky roof, rusty gutters, cracks in the plaster, or crumbling mortar, all of which have recently been present). Some interior rehabilitation will also be accomplished. Fundamentally, the building will be treated as a preservation project, with most of its original fabric intact and very little restoration anticipated.

Christiansburg Institute, Inc. (Christiansburg Institute), in restoring and rehabilitating the Edgar A. Long Building, faces concerns similar to those for the main brick building of Moton School. The Christiansburg Institute has a history of both triumph and discrimination. Founded in 1866 as a freedmen's school, in 1895 it came under the supervision of Booker T. Washington and was staffed with an African American principal and faculty. In the 1930s and 1940s, it was turned over to the local public school system to serve as a segregated regional black high school. Like the Booker T. Washington Elementary School at the Booker T. Washington NM site, its county school board closed the school in 1966 rather than use it as part of the newly desegregated system. The Edgar A. Long building is the last surviving academic building once belonging to the farm campus of the Christiansburg Institute.

The exterior of the Long building is currently being restored to its 1927 appearance, the project aspiring to meet the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*. Bricked-in and boarded-up upper and lower floor windows will be reopened. Its interior, which includes a large meeting room and several classrooms, is planned as a mixture of restoration and rehabilitation, as it will serve as a museum, archive, and community learning center. Plans for the grounds, rather than attempting to restore known historical conditions such as the turf and bare dirt yard, will instead include a memorial garden and statue. Like the brick Moton School building at the Moton Museum, its treatment will reflect its new role as a living community center whose purposes are to represent the past but not necessarily to physically reproduce it.[24]

The restoration of the Christiansburg Institute's Long Building ends outside of its exterior walls, choosing to introduce memorial elements rather than restoring missing landscape features. However, some of the landscape treatment issues facing the Booker T. Washington NM resonate with those of the Moton School. The Booker T. Washington Elementary School is the site's focal point for these shared issues. From a landscape perspective, there is a minor equivalence in the stigmatization of Moton's tar paper shacks and the homemade packed earth surface of the basketball court at the former Booker T. Washington Elementary School. Plans to eventually restore the Moton School's shacks and the Booker T. Washington NM site's humble basketball court would both serve as an alternative to the unfocused nostalgia that often drives historic preservation efforts. Accurate landscape restoration often reveals uncomfortable truths about the past that many would rather forget. Just as the restoration of the Moton School's tar paper shacks remain too issue laden a project to accomplish in the near term, proposals to restore the unthrifty conditions of the antebellum Burroughs plantation are likely to meet with similar resistance.

Agricultural Landscapes

Historical sites struggling to preserve an agricultural setting are especially challenged by vegetation management issues. The dynamic processes of growth and decay have only recently begun to be widely recognized in the historic preservation field - a field sometimes criticized for conceptualizing the environment as if it were an object in a museum. In historical agricultural landscapes, new forests often grow over formerly open fields, yards, and subsistence gardens. Trees present during the historic period inconveniently die, leaving landscapes markedly changed. Preservation of historic land patterns and

relationships remain one of the most significant problems, as historic agricultural landscapes rarely pass into preservation stewardship intact.

Three sites are considered here. At Horton Grove, part of Historic Stagville in North Carolina, mowing, tree removal, and the obscuring of historic site lines have been among the most significant vegetation management issues, especially as Historic Stagville does not own or control a significant portion of the land affected. At both the George Washington Birthplace NM and Hampton National Historic Site (Hampton NHS), decisions about where to mow grass short and where to maintain tall-grass meadows turn on questions of efficient maintenance, historical accuracy, and varying degree of memorial or formal appearance desired.

Historic Stagville, owned and administered by the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, is comprised of seventy-one acres on three non-contiguous parcels off Old Oxford Highway northeast of Durham. At its economic peak during the 1850s, the plantation complex centered at Stagville was the largest in the state, encompassing over 20,000 acres and more than 900 slaves.[24] The largest state-owned tract includes the eighteenth-century Bennehan House and associated structures and sites. About half a mile from there, on Jock Road, 3.2 acres surround the 1850s Horton Grove slave quarters, consisting of five frame structures later used as tenant houses.

During the historical period, work yards, subsistence plots, and possibly orchards surrounded the Horton Grove slave houses. While Historic Stagville would like to reestablish some of these outdoor areas and replant at least some of the plantation-era vegetation, the State of North Carolina owns only about 100 feet of land between the rear of the slave houses and adjacent land owned by a land development company. Efforts are ongoing on the part of Historic Stagville to acquire at least a 500-foot buffer there, which would encompass more of the yard and garden areas historically associated with the slave houses. This buffer would help protect Horton Grove's historic setting from the effects of a proposed housing development. Barring acquisition of that buffer, Historic Stagville will contemplate plantings for visual and noise screening should the development materialize.

Historic Stagville currently maintains closely mowed grass around the slave houses. This is done to both keep ahead of the rapidly growing young trees visible behind and in front of the historic dwellings, and also to convey something of the character of the historically open landscape. The landholder has granted Historic Stagville permission to mow about half the field in front of the slave/tenant houses, facing Jock Road, but only one is clearly visible until the visitor reaches the packed earth driveway (Figure 8.5). The mowed section contrasts greatly with the adjacent unmowed sections, where new pine growth obscures both the view of the slave houses from Jock Road, and the historic view between the slave houses and the Great Barn (Figure 8.6).

Historic Stagville is also dealing with the preservation, removal, and replanting of historic trees at Horton Grove. Historical landscape features once included a row of oak and walnut trees constituting the "grove" of Horton Grove, lining the farm road running directly in front of the houses. This farm road historically connected to another outlying slave quarter, now on private property, which was oriented on the same axis and featuring a similar row of trees, thus signaling Horton Grove's connection to a larger, integrated plantation landscape not visible today. Ironically, there is no grove of trees surviving at Horton Grove. One dead trunk remains standing, and at least one living walnut (dating to circa 1900) remains in the rear of the houses. The trees' removal has had a negative impact on visitors' visual experience at the site, but visitors have responded positively to guides' explanation of a changing landscape and to the

Figure 8.5. At Historic Stagville's Horton Grove, recent pine growth (left) obscures the view from Jock Road towards the five slave/tenant houses until one approaches the driveway (out of frame, right). Only one (painted white) is clearly visible here. 2001. Photo courtesy of Phillip Troutman.

Figure 8.6. Historic Stagville maintains clipped lawn in some historically open yards and subsistence plots around Horton Grove. New pine growth, however, obscures the historic view between Horton Grove (left) and the Great Barn (far right). 2001. Photo courtesy of Phillip Troutman.

idea of the grove's eventual replanting. Historic Stagville plans to replant the grove sometime in the future, after letting the soil recover from heavy equipment usage during the ongoing building reconstruction projects.

At Booker T. Washington NM, a grove of trees once shaded the Burroughs domestic yard helping to make the outdoor space surrounding the buildings comfortable and habitable. As is the case at Historic Stagville, known historic trees are no longer extant and significant documentation exists to justify replanting Booker T. Washington NM's missing grove of trees. Just as the grove is obviously essential to understanding the Horton Grove landscape, by virtue of its very name, the grove at Booker T. Washington NM was also a typical and important feature of the 1850s Piedmont farm. It provided shade for the houses as well as for outdoor workspaces.

George Washington Birthplace NM and Hampton NHS give different site areas variable levels of maintenance, particularly through the differentiation of closely mown turf and tall meadow grass. Informing visitors that these different levels of maintenance are intentional and not the result of neglect, both sites maintain clear borders between tall grass and manicured turf. The seventeenth-century Washington family burial ground at George Washington Birthplace NM, near the Popes Creek Landing on Bridges Creek, was renovated in 1931-1932, enclosed in a newly built brick wall with an allée of cedars leading to it. As a historical funerary site layered with memorial features, the area around the burial ground wall is kept in short grass, to an approximate distance of twenty to thirty

Figure 8.7. George Washington Birthplace National Monument maintains several lengths of grass throughout the park. 2001. Photo courtesy of Phillip Troutman.

feet from the outer face of the brick walls. Grass is also mowed short over the core of the nearby John Washington's homestead site. The outlying historical fields are kept in higher meadow grass, being mowed far less frequently. A shallow trench marks the boundary between this manicured short grass and the meadows beyond (Figure 8.7).[25]

Hampton National Historic Site in Towson, Maryland preserves a portion of the formerly vast estate belonging to the Ridgely family during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The sixty-one acre property's centerpiece is a Georgian mansion set amid formal gardens and mature shade trees. Maryland's prominent Ridgely family once owned as many as 338 slaves here, and because of this, Hampton NHS also preserves the setting of the story of the broad economic and moral changes that ultimately led to the demise of the plantation system of agriculture.

Park staff at Hampton NHS have taken cues from George Washington Birthplace NM's historic core and living farm area, where tall grass meadow is separated from closely mown turf by wooden snake-rail fencing, indicating the intentional nature of these turf maintenance choices. Hampton NHS has also drawn from a field management plan for Valley Forge National Historical Park as an important model for more efficient management of open fields.[26]

Prior to 1994, Hampton NHS staff maintained closely mown turf on the mansion's large north lawn, facing Hampton Estate Road, the park entrance road. This practice drew heavily on maintenance resources and was also at variance with what is known of the management of the turf during the historic period. Since 1995, Hampton NHS has modified its maintenance program to allow the growth of tall grass on three of the historic fields.[27] As an initial experiment, these meadows were mowed less frequently, but still were cut about once per month during the growing season. One visitor is said to have commented that waiting only one month between mowings continued the ahistorical aspects of management and that furthermore, it discouraged butterfly populations. More typically, other visitors perceived the infrequently mowed grass as neglect. The interval between mowings was subsequently increased, and the meadows at the north lawn and the farm house complex are now mowed twice per year. This has created longer grass in the field and a more purposeful and distinctive meadow appearance. Also under consideration is the acquisition of hay harvesting equipment so the fields could be used as they were historically, for hay production, rather than simply mowing and leaving the cut hay in the field.

The ongoing vegetation management experiment at Hampton NHS will inform the ultimate recommendations of a landscape treatment plan. Grass is mowed short around the main house, along neighboring properties, and along the access road. An aisle is mowed down the center of the north lawn, providing visitor access to the meadow and to the farm complex across the road and marking a possibly historic driveway entrance to the house. The upper portion of the north lawn, closer to the main house, is kept as clipped lawn (Figure 8.8). In addition to rendering the meadow as a purposeful creation rather than as child of neglect, this higher level of maintenance at the margins provides a neater appearance around the main house and the neighboring suburban houses. Doing so also provides greater safety near the roads (Figure 8.9).

Short grass is also mowed weekly around the Hampton farm house complex in areas that would have served as work yards. These areas would have historically been closely mown or cropped turf or compacted bare soil. North of the farm house complex, behind the slave quarters, brush and trees have recently been selectively removed (leaving some screening between the site and neighboring suburban homes). Areas experiencing high visitor traffic are to be kept mowed.

Figure 8.8. View from road; main house in background. Hampton National Historic Site maintains meadow grass in the lower portion of the north lawn, away from central interpretive areas. Clipped lawn is maintained in the upper portion of the north lawn (foreground), closer to the main house. 2001. Photo courtesy of Phillip Troutman.

Figure 8.9. View from road; main house in background. Hampton National Historic Site keeps long meadow grass set back from roadways for safety. 2001. Photo courtesy of Phillip Troutman.

Benefits of allowing longer grass to grow in areas that were meadows historically include reduced maintenance, sympathy with historical practices, and promotion of natural and historical habitats for flora and fauna. Concerns include the sometimes vague documentation of the meadow's historic locations, and the timing of mowing and its impact on nesting wildlife. Meriting additional attention is the need for infrequent yet intensive agricultural practices sometimes required to maintain vigorous growth of meadow grasses. These include burning or plowing, and removing exotic invasive such as maiden grass and honeysuckle. Finally, the traditional supporters of historic preservation at the site have generally expected a high level of maintenance. Happily, these stakeholders have not been critical of Hampton NHS's experiments in meadow management. This may be because their attention is focused on the formal gardens south of the mansion, but it may also owe to the site management team's careful approach and handling of the matter.

Booker T. Washington NM staff have also experimented with reduced mowing schedules, however with less success than Hampton NHS. To evoke a more historically accurate depiction of the Burroughs domestic yard the grass was allowed to grow long. The site has since abandoned this experiment. Allowing the grass to reach a taller height before mowing conflicted with the ingrained practice of many years, which shaped the park staff's definition of good landscape maintenance. Currently, mowed lawn is maintained throughout the historic core, around the visitor center, and along the park entry road.

At both Hampton NHS and at North Carolina's Historic Stagville, it is obvious that landscape characteristics as fundamental as the length of the grass, or a simple row of trees, have been considered in terms of resource preservation, visitor services, and historical interpretation. At Booker T. Washington NM, the staff may take notice of such deliberate and diversified (albeit evolving) landscape management plans in considering its own areas of landscape use, as well as visitors' expectations of both a historical and memorial landscape experience. Historical sites that were once working agricultural landscapes need to pay particular attention to appearance of vegetation if such sites are to avoid presenting an overly groomed, institutional appearance.

Memorial Landscapes

Many sites associated with famous individuals were established as memorial sites, often without considering the lack of physical integrity reflecting historical conditions. Politics often motivates memorial creation, well beyond a scholarly evaluation of historic significance. In time, memorial features or sites can take on a significance in their own right for association with political events, as a work of art, or representative of a movement or period in design. In the absence of detailed documentation for the historical landscape, and in the spirit of the site's enabling legislation, a site might embrace a memorial status less tied to historic material culture, rejecting proposals to restore or reconstruct historical features and conditions.

George Washington Carver NM, George Washington Birthplace NM, and Frederick Douglass National Historic Site (Frederick Douglass NHS) have each embraced the mission to honor the life, actions, and ideals of a significant historical figure, beyond representing that person's life literally by means of a historic building or landscape. Yet the tension remaining between historical and memorial landscape features persists. None of the three sites discussed below has completely abandoned the concept that material authenticity can link a visitor's experience of the site with the life of the historic individual.

George Washington Carver NM was authorized in July 1943, during WWII, approximately six months following Carver's death. The site was formally dedicated in 1953, a decade later. This was the first National Park Service site established to honor the life and achievements of an individual African American. The site encompasses 210 acres of the original 240-acre farm where Carver was born in slavery circa 1864-65 and reared by his former owners and adoptive parents, Moses and Susan Carver.

Similar to the Booker T. Washington NM site, few of the historical landscape features and structures are extant from the years Carver lived there. Rather than preserving intact historical structures or landscapes, the goal of the park's promoters and founders was to soothe racial tensions by creating a national memorial to Carver. Richard Pliant, a blind white social science professor, was the chief advocate of the project. As he stated in 1944, "this

Memorial was pushed ahead [as] a war measure designed to furnish a worldwide symbol of racial goodwill" and "a partial refutation of the most damaging accusations the Axis has been able to level against us in this war—charges relating to our treatment of the Negro." He noted that "the Carver Memorial" was "the one measure that could please the Negro and our colored allies abroad without at the same time weakening the morale of any other group in this country." As an African American scientist who was widely seen as apolitical, Carver was acceptable to white Americans as the subject of memorialization. Promoters hoped such a memorial would help rally nationalistic and patriotic feelings among African Americans, who continued to criticize racist employment policies commonplace within the domestic war effort. By the time of George Washington Carver NM's dedication in 1953, struggles for Civil Rights had left promoters all the more interested in emphasizing the park as a memorial to racial harmony.[28]

The findings of a 1999 Integrated Management Plan (IMP) precipitated a dramatic change in the philosophy behind cultural landscape development at George Washington Carver NM. The IMP's findings demonstrated a paucity of historical resources extant on site, but its recommendations nevertheless included a program of reconstruction and rehabilitation. While the plan's analysis of greatly diminished integrity was accepted, the recommendations for reconstruction were not approved.

The IMP findings of limited site integrity helped lead the staff to begin managing the Carver site primarily as a memorial landscape rather than a historical one. This philosophical change has been accompanied by a predictable interpretative shift, expanding to focus on Carver's entire life beyond his boyhood there. This move has further diminished the imperative to accurately recreate landscape elements present during Carver's residence.[30] While the IMP's findings were disappointing, the document was helpful in providing encouragement to focus on the spirit of Carver's life and work, allowing interpretation to move past problems associated with the diminished integrity of the site.

Many changes reflecting the shift to the memorial landscape are currently underway. These include the relocation of the Carver bust, a new memorial garden featuring a new Carver statue, a new contemplative trail, and new waysides site-wide. The Carver bust, by Audrey Corwin, is currently located near the rest room entrance outside the park visitor center.[30] This is a prominent location, but visitor traffic and noise interfere with the accompanying audio feature, a recording of Carver reciting his poem, "Equipment," as part of his commencement address at Selma University in 1942. The bust and audio feature will be relocated to the end of the Carver Trail loop, just on the other side of the visitor center. It will thus still serve those not leaving the visitor center area, but now will also stand as the conclusion to the loop trail.

A proposed memorial garden, still in planning, will be located nearby. It is intended to be a quiet, contemplative space, perhaps with flowers, running water and (pending funding), a new bronze statue of an adult Carver digging in the earth. Quotations from Carver will appear on stones placed throughout the garden. The new contemplative trail will comprise an optional loop off the main Carver Trail loop. It will encircle Williams Pond, which post-dates Carver's time at the site, and will be marked every 200 feet by boulders bearing plaques inscribed with quotations reflecting Carver's spiritual life.

The park's centerpiece, Robert Amendola's bronze "Boy Carver" statue, has been in place since 1961 and will remain the focal point. It depicts a young Carver, shirtless and shoeless in short trousers, gently cupping a seedling and gazing off into the distance or into the sky.[31] A very large, natural looking stone forms its base. It is located on the Carver Trail loop, just beyond the birthplace site in a wooded area (Figure 8.10).[32]

The shift to a memorial landscape also influences the basis for treatment decisions for some of the historical resources. While George Washington Carver NM will preserve and maintain all extant historical vegetation and structures, it will not necessarily work to restore them to their historical condition or location. For example, the Moses Carver house, which perhaps dates to Carver's residence, will not be moved back to its original location near the birthplace cabin site. The Carver family graveyard, with its reconstructed fieldstone wall, will continue to be maintained in mowed turf rather than scraped and mounded dirt, as was common for that place in Carver's time. The graveyard entrance, however, might be moved from its current place on the north wall back to its original location on the east wall (the

Figure 8.10. This sculpture of Carver as a boy is the focal point of the George Washington Carver National Monument site. 2001. Photo courtesy of George Washington Carver NM.

historical entrance location may have spiritual meaning, as all the burials are oriented with feet facing east for eschatological reasons).[33]

Elements of the memorial landscape also include a restored native prairie, a project begun in 1981. The 1999 IMP qualified the effort stating that, "From a strictly historical perspective, there was probably very little high quality prairie or woodland left on the farm during George Washington Carver's lifetime," but it also defended it by arguing that, "Enhancing and interpreting part of the monument's woodland and prairie communities could offer significant insight into the development and achievements" of Carver.[34] While the exact extent and location of native prairie is unknown, decision makers at the George Washington Carver NM site justify the prairie restoration in part on historical grounds, noting that "in a very general way, the pattern or massing of woods vs. open areas is likely equivalent to that during Carver's boyhood." At the same time, however, the shift away from historical restoration and rigor of the accompanying professional standards for restoration, means that "management efforts for the prairie can move from painstakingly recreating a very precise ecosystem towards focussing on the elimination of exotics and maintaining only a generalized appearance of the agrarian landscape that Carver would have experienced."[35]

The park's new perception of itself as a memorial landscape does present the risk of obscuring, neglecting, or even damaging the few surviving historical resources and relationships that survive. A row of historic walnut trees, for example, might not be maintained or replaced as they inevitably die out. The integrity of archaeological sites, if not managed carefully, might be diminished by construction of memorial features (including trails). This is especially true nearby the birthplace cabin, where the extent of archaeological resources is not yet evaluated.[36]

The focus on the landscape as a memorial may risk overlooking or discounting the potential role of historical features in such a memorial, and might serve as a rationalization for sidestepping agency standards for the preservation of historic properties. Unlike the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, professional standards for treatment of a "memorial property" are not defined. For example, a persimmon tree on the Carver site recently died. Known to be too young to date to the historical period, it nonetheless marked the general location of a historical grove. A wayside soon to be eliminated focused on the tree to relate a story Carver himself told about his childhood. In this tale, Carver would "steal out to the persimmon tree" at night, escape a whipping on his return, and enjoy the persimmons with glee. Since the park's interpretative focus is now on Carver's entire life and not just his boyhood, there is no compelling reason to retain the wayside. And since there is no imperative to recreate the historical scene, there is no particular reason to restore the missing grove that the single tree once marked, unless it could be reconceived as a memorial feature.[37]

The new memorial emphasis also presents a risk of overburdening the site with new or ill-considered memorial features. Part of George Washington Carver NM's interpretive mission continues the objective of offering visitors a sense of the landscape Carver experienced during his childhood. As the broad generalized patterns of this landscape are said to be largely intact, development of the site as a memorial landscape will need to be respectful of these patterns to avoid obscuring the characteristics of the agricultural landscape that served as Carver's inspiration. If the park is to speak to Carver's adult contributions to "interracial understanding," this might be accomplished in part by preserving what little evidence is left of his early life and the lives of his former owners and adoptive parents.

Rather than apologizing for the site's greatly diminished physical integrity, by embracing a new direction and identity as a landscape memorial, the George Washington Carver NM site is moving decisively in a new direction. It is moving ahead with a landscape plan that is primarily memorial in nature but also sensitive to the historical and natural resources.

George Washington Birthplace NM, like George Washington Carver NM, is primarily a memorial landscape. Unlike George Washington Carver NM, however, George Washington Birthplace NM is preserving a landscape created in the 1930s (on the bicentennial of Washington's birth) rather than creating a new memorial landscape. George Washington Birthplace NM's recently approved CLR determined that the existing landscape essentially represents the site's secondary period of significance, the memorial or "commemorative" era from 1896 to 1941. The CLR recommended that these memorial-era landscape features be preserved, rehabilitated, reestablished, and replaced in kind as necessary. This recommendation is apparently being followed throughout the park, with two exceptions being the colonial herb garden, and the area in front of the Memorial House. The benches at these two locations are teakwood garden benches similar to those found at Colonial Williamsburg which are widely available in commerce, rather than the rustic style benches introduced during the 1930s. These earlier rustic benches are present elsewhere on the property and recommended in the site cultural landscape report as replacement benches.

It should be noted that while the memorial-era features dominating the landscape are now deemed historically significant, the George Washington Birthplace NM staff does not focus attention on them. Interpretive staff members follow the instructions found in the park's new Interpretative Prospectus, directing them to focus interpretation on the birth, boyhood, and adult life of George Washington. Interpretive staff members use the 1930s history of memorialization as a springboard for discussion of Washington's life, taking the memorialization period as an indication of the recognition of Washington's greatness that continues to draw visitors to the site.[38] The 1930s Memorial House will continue to dominate the site while the text and graphics available on interpretive wayside exhibits will explain the implementation of the memorial landscape in the 1930s.

A memorial feature currently not emphasized at the George Washington Birthplace site has some resonance with a similar memorial feature found at Booker T. Washington NM. George Washington Birthplace NM features an unused memorial driveway, a former entrance to the park established in the 1890s and now abandoned. Under the site's stewardship by the U. S. Dept. of War in 1896, a 51-foot granite obelisk was erected on what was believed to be the site of the birthplace house. A wharf was built at Bridges Creek (at the site of Popes Creek Landing), and a new entrance driveway was constructed to lead from Bridges Creek Road to the birthplace obelisk. In 1930, the obelisk was deemed inappropriate for a birthplace memorial because of its funerary associations, and was moved to make possible the construction of the Memorial House. The obelisk was relocated to the opposite end of the driveway on a new roundabout at the intersection with Bridges Creek Road, forming a grand entrance to the park. The driveway itself was resurfaced and lined with worm fencing and a cedar allée to create a more dramatic entrance onto the Memorial House area.

After construction of a new visitor center in 1976, traffic was redirected to a new entrance road and the former memorial driveway and allée were closed. The obelisk is currently isolated within horse pastures, with worm fencing lining one side and a wooden gate at each end. The historical view down the allée still connects the historical core to the obelisk, but it is now peripheral to the main visitor trail and is marked on the brochure map only as a "Fenceline" and given no further explanation. The recent CLR recommends reestablishing the worm fencing, rehabilitating the cedar allée, and reopening the road as an interpretative trail.[39]

Frederick Douglass NHS experienced a long history of private stewardship, from Douglass's death in 1895 until the site was designated as part of the national park system in 1962. Frederick Douglass originally purchased this property in Washington, D.C.'s Anacostia neighborhood in 1877, naming it "Cedar Hill." During his ownership, he expanded the house from fourteen to twenty-one rooms and added acreage. The current historic site preserves his former home and eight and one half acres of its landscape setting.

The future of remnant historical and memorial features within the landscape surrounding the Douglass house remains unresolved. A restoration project directed at the house has been completed, evoking conditions present during 1895, the year of Douglass's death. Yet outside the walls of the principal dwelling, a twentieth-century caretaker's cottage remains in place dating to the period of private stewardship. Although a carriage house, stables and a barn (some in ruins) are known to have existed among the property's inventory of outbuildings, only what Douglass once called his "growlery" has been reconstructed.

Beginning in 1932, local schoolchildren and other memorial groups began planting memorial trees at Cedar Hill. Frederick Douglass NHS staff is now hopeful to reestablish a more historical placement of trees, but no decisions have been made about restoring the known historical gardens, cornfields, or orchard. The strawberries and honeysuckle that historically covered the slopes have largely been replaced by closely mown turf and English ivy.

Two remnant memorial-era features remain. A circa 1930s arched decorative brick memorial wall stands crumbling near the driveway. A niche in the wall formerly held a bust of Douglass, now in storage. There is as yet no plan to either demolish or restore the memorial wall. Similarly, the "Frederick Douglass Memorial Fountain" was installed in 1939 near the west corner of the front porch, flanked by two cedars, and dedicated in honor of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the District of Columbia's public schools for black students. The memorial fountain remained in place until at least until 1968, yet little trace of it currently survives. The park historian is keenly interested in the tensions between memorial and historical landscape restoration, but full consideration of these issues awaits completion of the cultural landscape report.[40]

Historic and cultural landscapes are preserved in order to perpetuate memory. These examples from other historic sites illustrate that historic landscape preservation is only one form of memorialization. Figurative sculpture, inscribed stone tablets, and other types of commemorative site markings, are also recast as historic resources with the passage of time, and are commonly subjected to preservation efforts. Inevitably, as each generation seeks to understand the past and define the present in its context, new memorial expressions appear within historic landscapes. Within the NPS, an absence of historic buildings, combined with an informal reassessment of a property as a memorial landscape does not relieve site managers from complying with the spirit of the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*. Multiple layers of memorial expressions survive at Booker T. Washington NM. The appropriateness of contemporary memorial expressions remains a difficult design problem to be thoughtfully approached.

Case Study Lessons

This review of these preservation case studies reveals many issues in common with that of Booker T. Washington NM. While geographically remote from many of its comparable NPS sites, Booker T. Washington NM shares many of the practical and philosophical challenges common to many historic sites regionally and nationwide. These many issues share historical documentation as a common theme.

The first among these issues centers on the inherent imperfection of historical documentation that supports accurate landscape restoration. In application, this issue is apparent when dealing with the absence of historic buildings dating to a significant historic period. The problem presented by missing, yet centrally important, architectural elements are further compounded where there are broad gaps in the documentation of the site and period features. This has been shown to be more common a scenario than generally appreciated. At George Washington Birthplace, incomplete investigation and documentation led to plans for the construction of a conjectural replica. Discovery of the historical footprint of the actual birth site did not alter details or halt the construction of the replica. Ironically, with the passage of time, the conjecture is now itself considered historic. The review of preservation practice at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest provides an interesting range of strategies offering a range of literal versus gestural restoration treatments based on available documentation and coincidentally reflective of physical proximity to the organization's central mission. The marking and ghosting of missing architectural features has been used at many historic sites, including the George Washington Carver National Monument, a site with interpretive content and preservation issues very similar to those at Booker T. Washington NM.

The second major issue illustrated in these case studies ironically turns upon instances where well documented historic conditions do not accomplish the nostalgic or practical aims of politics and management. Examples of this include the reluctance to replace the tar paper shacks at the Moton Museum, features central to the site's historical significance, out of a desire not to offend the wide range of supporters that the fledgling site depends upon. This may also be the case at Booker T. Washington NM, where the unthrifty landscape conditions of the Burroughs farm described by Booker T. Washington himself have not been reproduced. The patch of packed earth that once served as the basketball court for the former Booker T. Washington Elementary School at Booker T. Washington NM well illustrates how separate-but-equal education never quite achieved the latter.

The third major issue reflected in these case studies concerns vegetation management, where conversion of a site to public stewardship often changes the informal character of a farm or domestic home place to the well-groomed landscape typical of a public institution. Historic Stagville plans to replant the historic grove at Horton Grove, whose original planting dates to the construction of the slave houses. Other sites, such as the Hampton National Historic Site in Maryland, have reduced the amount of mowing scheduled during the growing season in a purposeful effort to evoke the landscape character of a period prior to the availability of mechanized lawn care equipment.

The review of these case studies and the issues represented in them is helpful before the treatment discussion that follows directed specifically at Booker T. Washington NM. Standards, guidelines and policies all require case-by-case application. Applying general treatment principles often calls for creative thinking, and it is hoped that appreciation of the experience and experiments of other sites sharing similar issues will help bring about a positive outcome for the treatment of the Booker T. Washington NM landscape.

Landscape Treatment Recommendations

Selecting an Approach to Landscape Treatment

The Booker T. Washington NM GMP recommends a rehabilitation approach for the entire park as a single cultural landscape management zone. Since two unique landscapes representing different time periods exist within one zone, the rehabilitation approach was chosen for its inclusive scope. Several programs are needed in different regions of the park, from new facilities for storage and maintenance, to a preserved historic core at the Burroughs landscape, to the alteration of the school building to serve as an interpretive feature. The rehabilitation approach permits all of these actions.

The following section reexamines the four treatment approaches and how they relate specifically to the cultural landscape resources in the park under a single management zone.

Preservation Approach

Under the *preservation* treatment, the park would maintain the current configuration of the landscape and its associated features. The preservation approach is usually used in a landscape requiring little new intervention, modernization, or interpretive improvements, or as the default treatment prior to comprehensive planning. Often overlooked as a treatment option in a rush to accomplish well-intended site improvements, the philosophical principles behind the preservation treatment should serve as the core values behind every landscape recommendation. Under the preservation treatment approach, the park's existing features, spaces, integrity, and materials would be maintained. Current patterns of field and forest, fence lines, and structures would remain. Existing features would be maintained, repaired, and could be replaced in kind, but new development for changing needs or new interpretation objectives would not be allowed unless they were limited and code-required.

This limited approach would not accommodate the new developments and strategies outlined in the GMP. As preservation almost exclusively addresses basic maintenance, the visitor center could not be expanded, nor would the former school building be restored for interpretive purposes. Should future research and scholarship uncover new information about the missing features of the historic core,

changes would be generally discouraged, whether they be changes in vegetation patterns or structures. As the park's planning documents suggest - the expansion of the visitor center, creation of a new maintenance facility, restoration of a portion of the former school as an interpretive facility, and finally, the addition of interpretive waysides to the historic core - a preservation treatment approach appears ill-matched to address landscape issues and management needs.

Rehabilitation Approach

A rehabilitation treatment approach would preserve significant park characteristics and features while allowing for the improvement of the function and use of the park as a whole. This treatment approach acknowledges the importance of the evolution of a site through time, as suggested by the park's GMP. It accommodates the idea of landscape continuum, or the forever-changing nature of a property through human intervention, cultural shifts, and natural succession. This allowance of adaptive reuse would permit the park to modernize facilities for further growth and changing priorities, leave room to update interpretive features within the historic core, and change vegetation patterns to reflect new findings. In addition, missing historic features that were essential to the understanding and feeling of place could be replaced when supported by sufficient documentary evidence. This aspect of rehabilitation accommodates the GMP goal of continuing a program of archeological investigation.

Although rehabilitation appears to best address the varied resources and planning goals for the park as a whole, it does not appear to serve as the most appropriate treatment for the subset comprised by the former school landscape. The school retains high integrity to its later period of significance and documentary evidence is sufficient to accomplish an accurate landscape restoration. The GMP calls for a gradual shift of the school and its surrounding landscape from an administrative and maintenance facility to an interpretive/public use facility. Consequently, a refinement to the single cultural landscape zone might better address the varied landscape resources of the park based on their historic significance.

Restoration Approach

The restoration treatment approach strives toward the accurate physical representation of the landscape at a fixed and significant period of time. Because of the emphasis on a specific historic period, significant documentation must exist to avoid conjecture in the restoration. Using documentation, a landscape is typically restored by maintaining, repairing, and possibly recreating features from the period of significance and removing those that are not from the period. While restoration still employs the principles of preservation and otherwise sound maintenance practices, as a historic preservation treatment, restoration goes beyond that to represent a snapshot of history. While non-intrusive improvements are allowed within a restoration treatment, only those that are needed for code requirements, ADA compliance, and simple upgrading are recommended. At Booker T. Washington NM, the two major landscape character areas, the Burroughs landscape and the former elementary school landscape, are documented to much different degrees. Evidence about the Burroughses' activities and landscape improvements do not exist in sufficient levels to justify an intellectually rigorous restoration treatment. Outside of Washington's memories from his autobiographical writings, few records remain to document the property in the 1850s and 1860s. A restoration treatment would suggest the removal of all conjectural building replicas, modern park roads and trails, and the former school.

In contrast, the former elementary school landscape is well-documented. Plans, photos, and oral histories describe in detail the structure and its surrounding grounds during its period of operation, 1954-1966. The well-defined, finite limits of the school landscape, combined with a stated interpretive goal to address the legacy of "Jim Crow" era on this site, suggest a restoration for the school landscape. Restoring the landscape surrounding the elementary school would be feasible and is suggested by the GMP. Yet, under the single cultural landscape zone described in the GMP, restoration would not be appropriate for the entire park due to the scarcity of documentation regarding details of the Burroughs landscape, and the secondary significance of the entire site to this later period. Two landscape resources with periods of significance one hundred years apart are difficult to treat consistently under the restoration treatment.

Reconstruction Approach

Reconstruction is the fourth treatment approach. It is similar to restoration in that a fixed historical period is depicted, but reconstruction differs in that it is chosen when most, if not all, of the resource no longer remains. To adopt this treatment, exemplary documentary evidence must describe the features and compelling justification must be made to support the recreation. As such an intensive intervention that has implications on archeological resources must always be interpreted as a contemporary interpretation of the past, a reconstruction approach will not be considered a viable alternative unless:

- There is no alternative that would accomplish the park's interpretive mission
- Sufficient data exists to enable is accurate reconstruction, based on the duplication of historic features substantiated by documentary or physical evidence, rather than on conjectural designs or features from other land scapes
- Reconstruction will occur in the original location
- The disturbance or loss of significant archeo logical resources is minimized and mitigated by data recovery
- Reconstruction is approved by the Director of the National Park Service.

This alternative is rarely justified and is the least utilized of the four treatment approaches. For reasons described in the restoration discussion, documentary evidence is not sufficient to reconstruct the Burroughs farm accurately. No documentation exists about the precise location and size of agricultural fields, orchards, gardens, fencing, and architecture. Also, road traces are difficult to see on the landscape and archeological remains are few. Again, the one zone approach and lack of documentation removes reconstruction from the viable treatment alternatives.

Proposed Landscape Treatment Zones

None of the treatment alternatives outlined previously for this property fully address the issues related to both the treatment of the Burroughs farm resources and the former Booker T. Washington elementary school and landscape. Both sites are important in understanding the evolution of the property as well as illustrating the more contemporary ramifications of Washington's views and teachings. Because of the different eras and circumstances that they each represent, managing both resources under one treatment would not provide the specific direction needed to address their unique circumstances. Consequently, the following recommendations are predicated upon a modest refinement to the GMP park zoning to better address the extant resources and allow for the most appropriate preservation treatment given park objectives.

The duality of the park's important resources, divided both spatially and temporally, would best be addressed by the specification of two different landscape treatments that address the period of significance for resources within different areas of the park.

As the GMP has specified a facility development overlay zone inside the single cultural landscape management zone, the delineation of a proposed new elementary school overlay zone, would resolve many of the difficulties listed above related to the conception and treatment of the property as a single management zone. Recognizing that standards for preservation comprise the core philosophical values of the remaining three historic preservation treatments, the proposed zones of the park are matched with their appropriate landscape treatment below:

GMP Cultural Landscape Zone = Rehabilitation

Elementary School Overlay Zone (Proposed) = Restoration

The cultural landscape zone, which represents the park's primary period of significance, includes the traditional historic core, surrounding hay and tobacco fields, the woodlot/hay fields in the southern region of the park, and the GMP's facility development overlay zone. The historic core of the Burroughs farm is the central interpretive region of the park. This is the primary area of Burroughs domestic occupation. While the family farmed and stored tobacco elsewhere on the property, most of their activities were clustered in this small area. Today, the historic core includes the Burroughs house foundation, Washington's boyhood cabin replica, several replicas of agricultural structures, animal pens, the Burroughs

spring, and demonstration fields and gardens. The historic core retains integrity to the period of significance in only the most general terms such as topography, field and forest patterns, and a broad feeling of an agricultural setting. This historic core and the surrounding cultural landscape zone is recommended to be managed using a rehabilitation approach.

Within the GMP cultural landscape zone, a facility development overlay zone is specified to direct contemporary development needs toward appropriate areas of the park. Potential actions identified within the park's GMP include: the enlargement of the park visitor center, the development of park offices, and relocated maintenance facilities, the improvement of the park entry road and visitor parking. Nevertheless, within this development zone, philosophical principles behind *the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* would continue to apply.

The recommended elementary school overlay zone contains the former elementary school, its entry drive, parking lot, and few surrounding acres that were once the locations of the playground, basketball courts, and baseball diamond. This zone is on high ground to the west of the park's historic core and is separated from current interpretive activities by a steep wooded hill. The school and its associated landscape retain high integrity to their period of significance through the views of the surrounding agricultural landscape, original circulation patterns, and because the structure survives in excellent condition, having sustained only a few reversible alterations. Landscape restoration is an achievable goal within this smaller well-defined sub-area within the GMP's cultural landscape zone (Figure 8.11).

Site-Wide Landscape Preservation Recommendations

Although these zoning recommendations provide for two different historic preservation treatments, there are several recommendations that apply to the entire park landscape. The recommendations deal with broad principles for good stewardship of the cultural landscape. These recommendations address vegetation management, interpretative landscape elements, preserving overall character, and off-site development.

Manage the current percentage of field and forest cover

As previously discussed, documentation about the historical Burroughs landscape is scant, leading park managers to make educated assumptions about how to best portray the area. The park has maintained the current pattern of field and forest for many years, despite the "Vegetative Treatment Plan" of 1963 that recommended clearing a substantial amount of forest land in the southern end of the property. Changing the percentage or general vegetation pattern has never been well justified based on existing documentation. Many aspects of the Burroughs landscape are loosely interpreted, since many specific details remain unresolved. The Burroughses farmed land around the traditional family home, near the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike, on the flat lands behind the former elementary school, and on the floodplain of Gills Creek. Of these areas, only the floodplain is totally forested because of its low interpretive value and difficult access. Because the park does not intend to expand its interpretive programming into the southern region and because the current pattern of field and forest seems to evoke the general feeling of the Burroughs farm, the current percentage of vegetative cover should be preserved.

Screen new off-site development

Recent suburban and commercial growth, spurred in part by the appeal of Smith Mountain Lake, has begun to encroach into the park's adjacent lands. Based on the park's primary period of significance, the rural character of the surrounding landscape, both on-site and off, is essential to the park's interpretive mission. Consequently, the park has been actively pursuing various methods to retain its landscape setting. In the spring of 2001, legislation was introduced to purchase a fifteen-acre parcel on the park's northeast boundary. The acquisition of this land will help create a buffer between the park's historic and interpretive resources and the large-scale development that is currently being constructed nearby. Further measures can be taken by planting perimeter and localized screening. The park has already planted a mixed-species vegetative screen on the northeast boundary. Perimeter screening should be expanded if the need arises, notably in the northwest region near the former elementary school. Planting trees within the park, near specific resources, will also help in blocking undesirable views. Trees

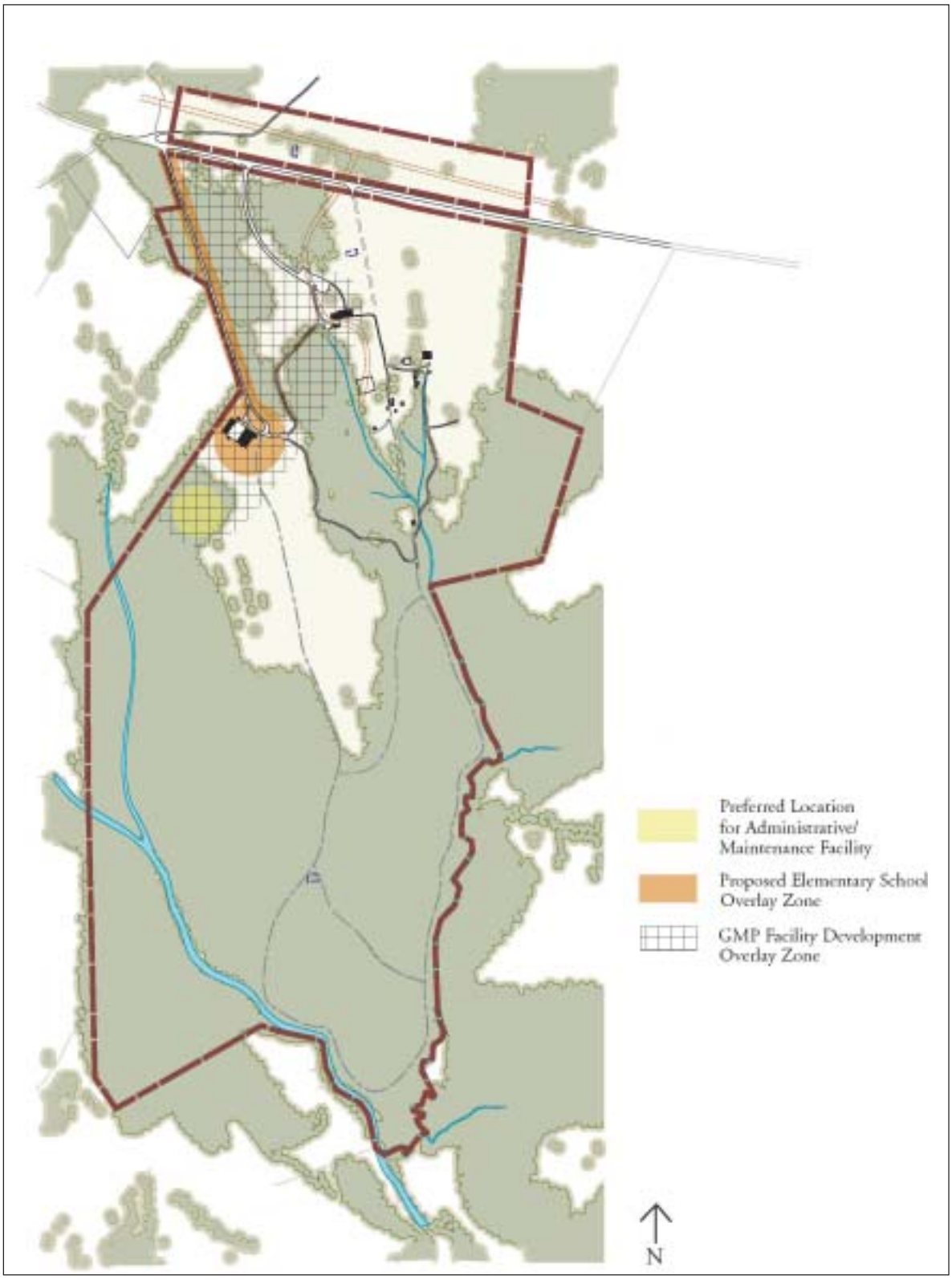


Figure 8.11. Proposed Elementary School Overlay Zone. The proposed new overlay zone within the larger GMP Cultural Landscape Zone will accommodate a restoration approach to landscape treatment, whereas rehabilitation is recommended for the entire site. Not to scale. 2001. Image manipulated by OCLP from GMP maps created by Philadelphia Support Office Stewardships and Partnerships.

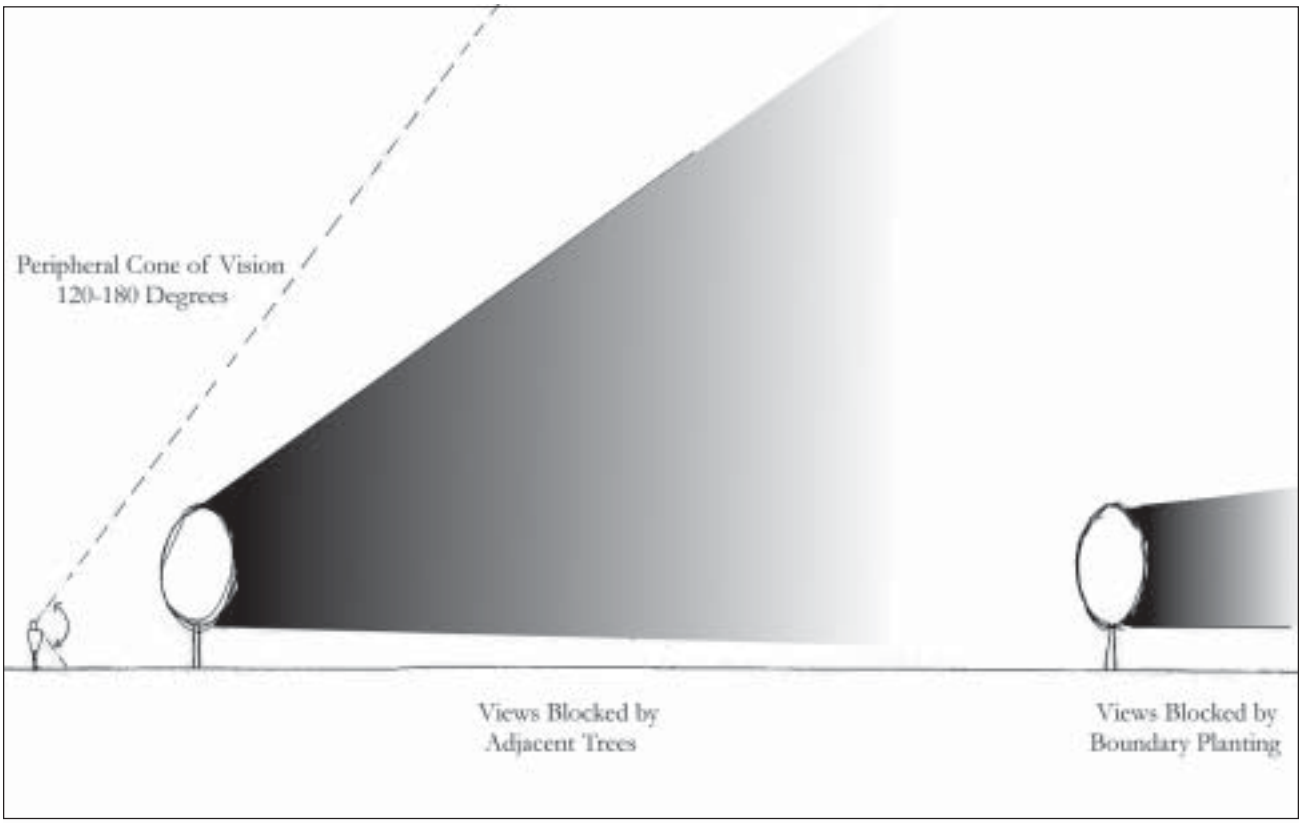


Figure 8.12. Plant material that is closer to the eye screens more surrounding views than those that are located in the distance. Tree screens located near BOWA's historic resources would significantly help block unwanted off-site views. 2001. OCLP.

planted directly in the foreground to block views are often more effective than trees planted several hundred yards away (Figure 8.12). The park should consider these methods of screening in future efforts as suburban development inevitably presses closer to its boundaries.

Avoid paving existing gravel roads

Existing gravel roads help convey the rural character of the property in both the traditional Burroughs landscape and the former elementary school zone. Though few of the roads used by the Burroughses are still in use or are interpreted, retaining an unpaved surface on the park's secondary roads contributes to the rural setting. In interpreting the school, it is important to retain the features that helped characterize it as an example of the segregated south. This rural segregated school did not have all of the attributes that more wealthy urban schools enjoyed, including paved roads and parking lots and well constructed playing fields. Because of this, it is recommended that the gravel roads be retained and preserved as they exist today.

Avoid introducing recreational elements that do not date to the periods of significance

The park's primary mission is to provide a commemorative and educational experience to visitors. However, there is often pressure to include recreational services within the park's scope. While Booker T. Washington NM maintains two interpretive walking trails for passive recreation, it does not promote the park as an area for active recreation. Efforts should be taken to discourage further recreational activities that will detract from the historical and interpretive value of the cultural landscape. While allowing visiting children to play on a restored primitive bare-earth basketball court and an oddly sloped baseball diamond would certainly be a valuable interpretive experience, organized teams and leagues should be discouraged from using the park for active sports and recreation.

Expand trail system and wayside exhibits to strengthen interpretive goals

Currently, few waysides exist to highlight specific resources throughout the landscape. Visitors to the traditional Burroughs landscape without an interpreter or park brochure may leave without fully understanding the site, Booker T. Washington, or his later accomplishments. The existing trail system and interpretive waysides should be expanded to more self-sufficiently describe the Burroughs farm and Washington's enslaved childhood. As the former elementary school becomes an interpretive facility, that zone will require interpretive resources as well. However, it is important to develop design standards for waysides that describe both the resources and the themes important to the history of the site without cluttering the site with bulky and inappropriate elements.

Additional waysides and interpretive trails should present a low profile in the landscape, be appropriately placed out of key sight lines, and made from materials that compliment the rustic appearance of the existing resources. Audio tours with transmitters located discreetly around the site could be utilized to expand interpretation while minimizing the number of fixtures placed in the landscape.

Treatment Recommendations for the Cultural Landscape Zone

Rehabilitation is the recommended primary treatment for the cultural landscape zone. In the absence of definitive documentation about the farm that the restoration and reconstruction treatments require, rehabilitation will accommodate the presence of elements that do not date specifically to the primary period of significance. Under rehabilitation, the historic character of the property is retained and preserved. Removal of features that characterize the site is to be avoided. Given that a majority of the interpretive features of the Burroughs landscape are conjectural replicas that now help define the character of the Burroughs farm, rehabilitation is an appropriate treatment approach for this landscape.

Within the cultural landscape zone, a hierarchy of treatment priorities can be identified. The most visited region of the park surrounds the traditional Burroughs house site and its associated features. While the surrounding landscape, including grazing land, demonstration crops, fence lines, and woodlots, is essential in depicting the historic scene, the immediate area encircling the former Burroughs domestic yard is the most important interpretive area and as such should be managed as the highest priority.

The following treatment recommendations relate to the rehabilitation of the Cultural Landscape Zone comprising the historic Burroughs farm.

Preserve current replica buildings in the historic core, unless they become deteriorated or unsafe in the future.

Although current preservation standards would not support conjectural restoration if it were proposed today, the current replica buildings help create the appearance of a period farm in the absence of features from the period of significance. These structures should be preserved. However, they should not be replaced or added to in the future. New elements added to the Burroughs domestic yard/ historic core should be based on substantial documentation.

Refrain from adding highly visible or permanent representations of the Burroughs house footprint.

Recent archeological and ethnographic studies have attempted to shed additional light on the location, siting, and size of the traditional Burroughs house to aid interpretation of the Burroughs domestic landscape. However, recent study has raised questions concerning the house. Based on the recent archeological and ethnographic research, which were conducted largely as disconnected efforts, the precise location of the Burroughs house remains an open question. The 1999 archeological study uncovered artifacts within the traditionally held Burroughs house site indicating occupation by a middle-class family during the antebellum period. Yet, the ethnographic assessment of the Burroughs farm has introduced an element of doubt as to the location of the Burroughs house, proposing an alternative hypothesis, unsupported by current archeological evidence, that the dwelling was 200 yards to the north on a knoll overlooking the plantation.

Using these recent studies as an example of the controversy surrounding the identification of any poorly documented resource, permanent or large-scale representations of the house are not recommended. Currently the foundation is outlined with flat rocks that are flush with the ground. Even though

rehabilitation allows for the replacement, marking, or ghosting of missing historic features, to date, the documentary evidence is too inconclusive to justify such action. The house should not be represented to mislead visitors into believing its presence, location, and size are definitively documented. Consequently, partial or total reconstruction, ghosting, or exposing the foundation is not recommended. Also, the footprint should not be referenced as the exact location of the Burroughs home in wayside exhibits.

Manage vegetation surrounding the Burroughs house to more accurately represent a nineteenth-century middle class farm.

Evidence suggests that the vegetation surrounding the Burroughs domestic yard was at variance with what is portrayed today. While the area was most likely largely cleared of trees, a loose and informal grove of trees is known to have shaded the yard. Several forms of documentation exist to support this. The Robertson brothers described a shady grove, complete with a tree swing, surrounding the house. The 1937 Works Projects Association historical inventory of Franklin County described the former Burroughs house standing "in a grove of trees, many of which have disappeared."[41] Historical photos picture aged trees that may date to the Burroughs period (Figure 8.13). While from almost one hundred years after the Burroughs period, a 1945 aerial photo shows the presence of several large trees around the former Burroughs house (Figure 8.14). Although we do not know the exact spacing, organization, or species of the grove, its replacement is justified using a rehabilitation approach to landscape treatment. While documentation of other features such as structures, driveways, and animal pens is insufficient to warrant replacement, the grove will play a key role in depicting the patterns, feeling, and association of the largely missing Burroughs domestic yard.

In addition to contributing to the historical scene, Booker T. Washington NM's grove will serve a practical need. Given time to mature, a few additional trees will create welcomed shade for visitors and interpreters during guided sessions in the hot summer months.

Four or five additional trees should be planted around the site of the Burroughs house footprint. Historical photos show that two trees flanked the house in the front yard and that several more were located on the side yard and to the rear of the house. The replaced trees would not be planted in a formal design, rather, loosely grouped around the house (Figure 8.15). Several species would be appropriate. As noted on a plan of the area c. 1980, locust, cedar, catalpa, and walnut trees used to exist there. A combination of the above species would well serve the reestablished grove.

Figure 8.13. This photo illustrates the many trees that once surrounded the former Burroughs house. Circa 1950. BOWA files.

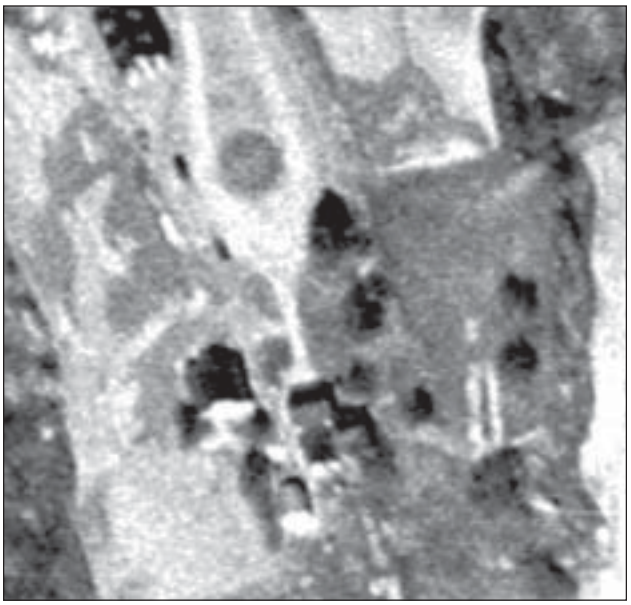


Figure 8.14. This enlargement of the former Burroughs domestic yard from a 1949 aerial photo shows the location of several trees throughout the area. While many may be recent plantings, several may date to the Burroughs era. 1949. BOWA files.

Some trees within the cultural landscape zone are managed with an institutional approach. While this is appropriate for vegetation surrounding the visitor center because of the current traditional, institutional planting design and plant materials, this approach is inappropriate surrounding the interpretive resources of the Burroughs domestic yard. Examples of inappropriate landscape maintenance include mulch rings around the base of trees, metal or plastic edge treatments around tree rings, and exposed filter fabric under mulch rings. Although these methods and materials are used to facilitate maintenance, they undermine the historical setting of the domestic yard. It is recommended that such treatments cease and that grass be allowed to grow around the base of the trees. High grass should be trimmed in the fall to reduce dry grass that may become a fire hazard.

Reduce mowing to more accurately reflect a nineteenth-century farm

The current mowing schedule does not represent the character of the landscape during the period of significance. Much of the area surrounding the visitor center, Burroughs domestic yard, entry drive, and animal pens is maintained as closely cropped lawn (Figure 8.16). It is kept as such to provide visitors with an easy walking surface, to appear tidy and orderly, and to control fire, ticks, and snakes. Although the Burroughs farm was almost certainly not a manicured landscape, keeping grass in meadow near interpretive resources is problematic. However, it is recommended that a compromise be reached between clipped lawn and unruly meadow so visitors do not receive a totally erroneous view of a nineteenth-century middle-class tobacco farm.

While the park unsuccessfully experimented with a reduced mowing schedule in the past, it is recommended that a limited regime be implemented, incorporating the lessons learned from past experiences. A graduated mowing schedule is recommended. In areas of high visitor use, grass should be regularly mowed to reduce tick and snake habitat. As the distance from interpretive resources increases, higher, more rustic vegetation should be allowed, terminating in an infrequently mowed meadow (Figures 8.17, 8.18, 8.19). A variety of methods can be used to achieve the more rustic appearance. Mowing equipment, such as flail mowers or sickle bar mowers, can be used to cut the grass more roughly. These machines shred, rip, and tear grass rather than sheer it like a traditional mower. Hard fescue grasses, such as red top, could be introduced to achieve a less manicured appearance. Red top's wide blades are less turf-like and regular than other species.

Screen Burroughs domestic yard from off-site views

Because potentially insensitive off-site land use threatens the park's viewshed and setting, especially on the northeastern boundary, localized plant screens are recommended in sensitive areas of the park. The informal grove of trees that is recommended to be replanted around the Burroughs house would serve this function. These trees would serve as a visual buffer in the foreground, blocking view in the distance. The grove coupled with perimeter screening would adequately screen development on adjacent land (See Figure 8.11).

Install the statue of Booker T. Washington as a child in the Burroughs domestic landscape.

While at first glance, the childhood statue of Washington as a child can be perceived as disrespectful because Washington is shoeless and wears rough slave clothes, the statue also resonates a sense of quiet power and hope. Washington is depicted as a nine or ten year old boy, standing upright with a placid, and slightly uncertain look on his face. If placed out of context, the statue could be seen as perpetuating a discriminatory representation of the Washington during his lowest stage in life, as a slave. However, as a nine or ten year old boy, Washington was freed by the emancipation proclamation that he heard read on the porch of the Burroughs house. If the statue was placed near the Burroughs house, facing north as a sign of hope for his future off of the farm, it could symbolize the triumphant moment when Washington and his fellow enslaved African Americans became free.

Phillip Troutman, Research Fellow with the Carter Woodson Institute for Afro-American and African Studies at the University of Virginia, and author of portions of this report, has suggested that the statue be placed at ground level near the outline of the Burroughs porch. The statue should not be placed on a base of any sort that could be misunderstood as an auction block. The statue should face away from the slave cabin replica, north toward the public highway - the logical route Washington would have taken as he and his family left the property.

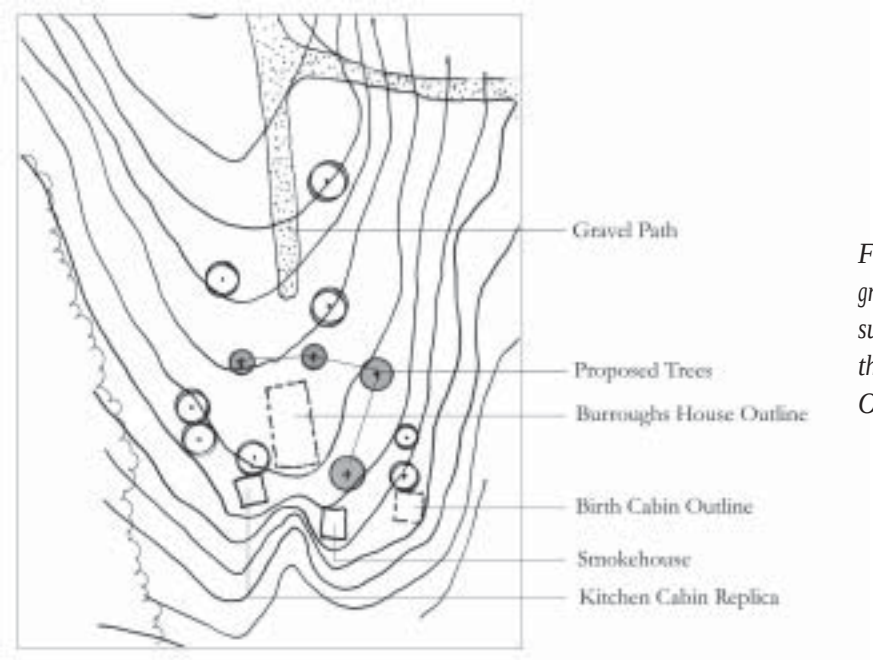


Figure 8.15. Proposed planting plan for the grove. Four additional trees would adequately supplement the area's existing trees to recreate the historic grove. Not to scale. 2001. OCLP.

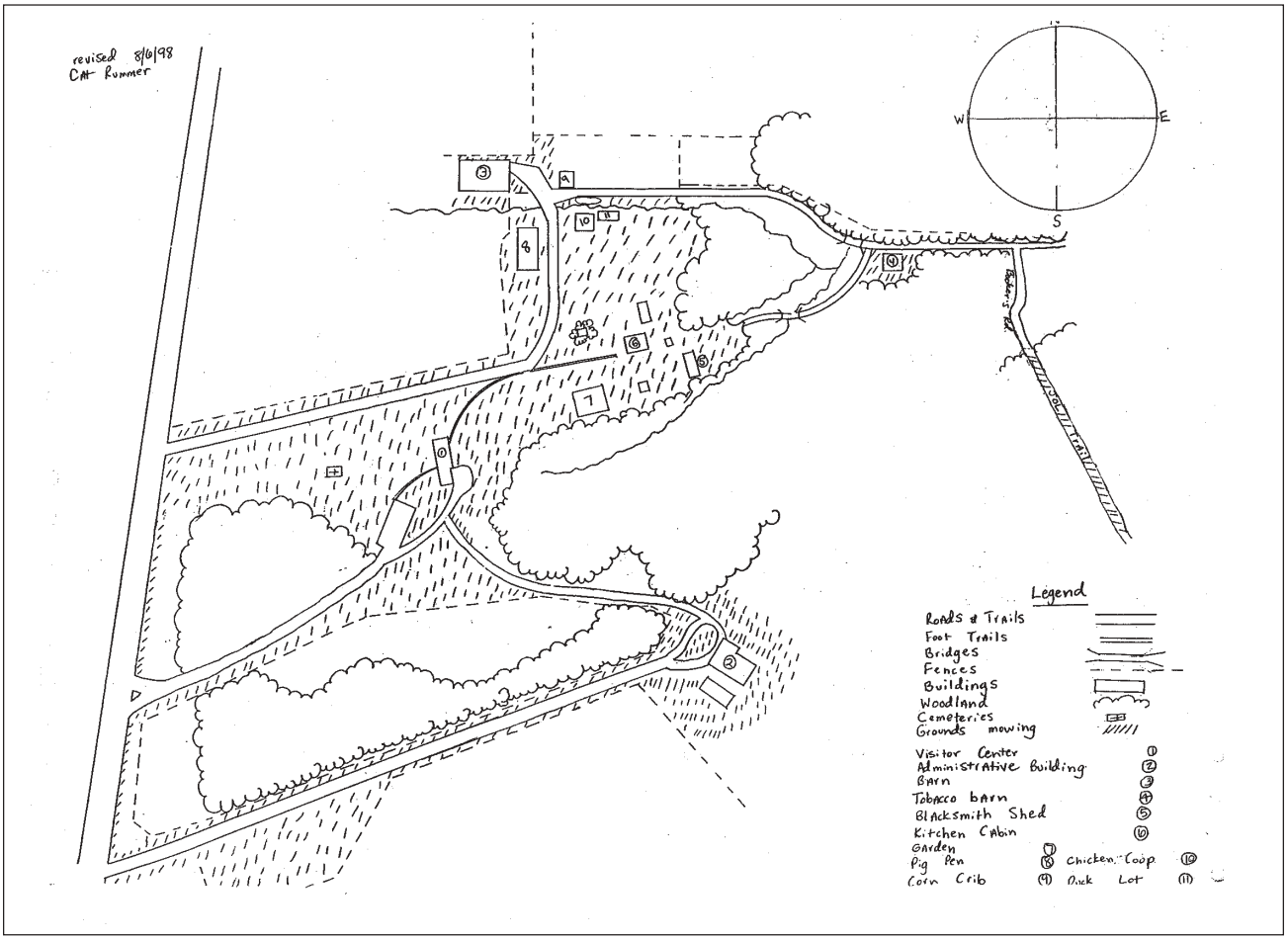


Figure 8.16. Booker T. Washington NM's current mowing schedule. Hatched areas indicate regions that are mowed regularly. Not to scale. BOWA files.

If concern for the original piece of art is an issue, a duplicate could be made to alleviate fears that visitors would damage it as they observe, contemplate, and touch the statue. A similar strategy of creating a duplicate casting has recently been accomplished at the Saint-Gaudens NHS, in Cornish, New Hampshire to replace the outdoor display of the artist's original plaster model. The original plaster of the Shaw Memorial has since been taken off site and is on long-term loan to the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

Treatment Recommendations for Proposed Elementary School Overlay Zone

The GMP recommends the administrative and maintenance functions be phased out of the former school building, in favor of restoring it to a 1966 appearance to serve interpretive and public use purposes. To accommodate the numerous changes that will accompany such a change in use, a restoration approach is recommended. In contrast to the limited documentation about the Burroughs landscape, the former elementary school is thoroughly documented. Because the structure and its associated landscape functioned less than fifty years ago, information about the building, student body, and the landscape evolution is readily available. Both the easily identifiable period of significance and the abundant documentation lead to the recommended restoration approach. Restoring individual elements of the former school will be straightforward because of the photo, mapping, and oral history documentation.

The following treatment recommendations relate to the restoration of the former school landscape.

Restore the school landscape to its 1966 appearance

Several elements of the school landscape, including the athletic facilities and foundation plantings, should be restored to accurately represent it as an example of a rural, racially segregated elementary school (Figure 8.20). A packed earth basketball court was located at the site of the existing maintenance yard. It is recommended that all maintenance activities be removed from the area, the asphalt removed and returned to packed earth, and that the homemade basketball hoops be replaced. The baseball diamond was located to the south of the school, on slightly sloping land between the building and the tree line. Currently the area is mowed periodically for hay, but is otherwise empty. It is recommended to recreate this feature. Metal playground equipment was located on the southeast side of the building. According to former principal James Holmes, the equipment is still located in Burnt Chimney where it was relocated after the school closed. Using the original equipment as a model, similar pieces could be located or fabricated for the site. The landscape trees and shrubs located in front of the school date to the period of significance and should be retained, and where individual plants are missing, should be replaced. The school's viewshed continues to portray the agricultural setting that it did in the 1960s. This should be preserved to represent the rural setting that existed during the period of significance. Should inappropriate land use occur on adjacent and visible properties in the future, screening alternatives should be considered. It is recommended that the gravel entry road's design, circulation patterns, and materials be preserved. Visitor parking should be located in the current gravel and grass parking area, without making improvements to its design, size, or surface.

Replacement of these features at Booker T. Washington NM resembles the challenge of reconstructing the tar paper shacks at the Moton School. They both address the replacement of features that describe a regrettable part of America's past. However, as such, they become tangible reminders of unequal treatment under the law, and are potentially valuable educational tools.

Remove materials storage from school landscape

The GMP has planned for the removal of maintenance activities from the former school and the construction of a new facility. Currently an informal materials storage area is located within site of the former school where maintenance staff stores gravel, mulch, and tree waste. All storage piles should be removed from the school landscape and included into the new maintenance facility. Environmental testing of the soil in this area should precede the removal and relocation of these materials elsewhere.

Treatment Recommendations for the Facility Development Overlay Zone

This cultural landscape report fully supports the direction of the park's official planning documents,

Figure 8.17. Proposed mowing schedule. Areas that are regularly mowed have been reduced to more closely evoke the atmosphere of the Burroughs farm. Not to scale. 2001. Image manipulated by OCLP from GMP maps created by Philadelphia Support Office Stewardships and Partnerships.

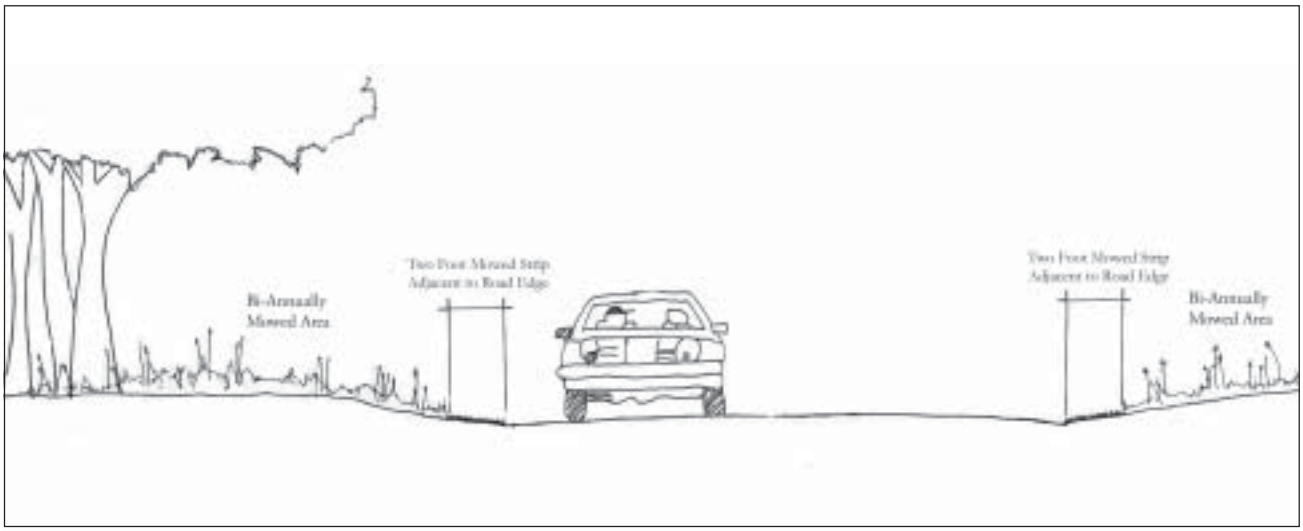


Figure 8.18. Detail 1. Section of proposed mowing schedule along entry drive. Not to scale. 2001. OCLP.

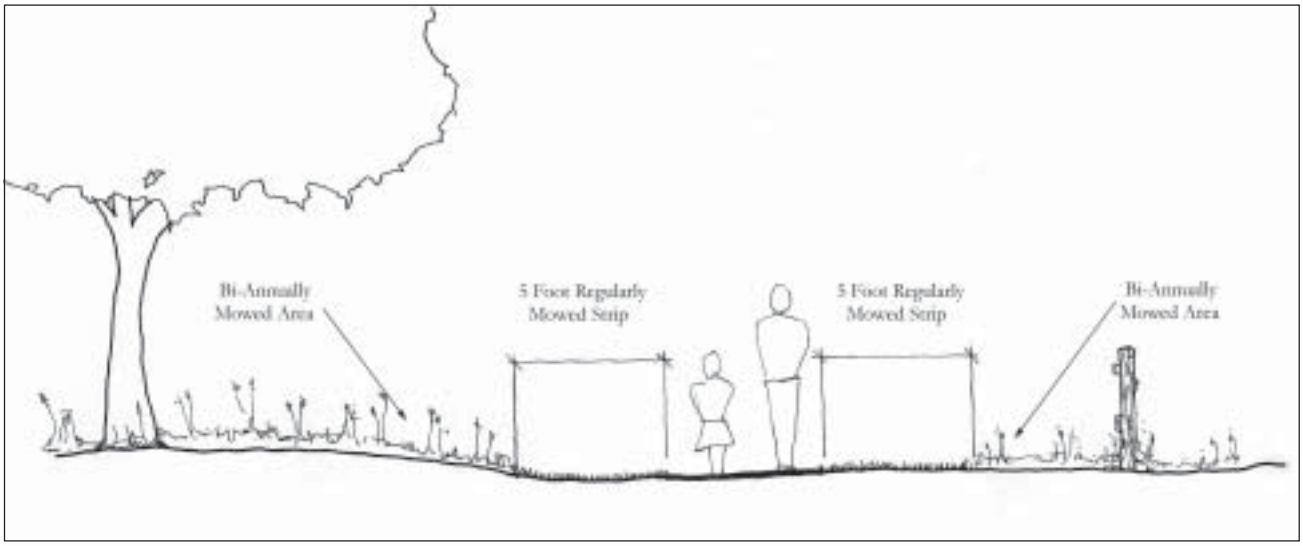


Figure 8.19. Detail 2. Section of proposed mowing schedule along interpretive trails. Not to scale. 2001. OCLP.

which include proposals to modify National Park Service Mission-66 facilities and infrastructure. However, as with any alteration to a historic landscape, care must be taken when implementing change so that modifications do not impair resources and features that contribute to the historic significance of the property. New or expanded development, such as what is proposed in the facility development overlay zone, must also be sensitive to the park's natural resources.

Preserve features that convey historical significance when planning future improvements

As stated in the GMP, several improvements are planned in the park, notably, the expansion of the visitor center, parking lot, and the construction of a new maintenance facility. To accommodate these new uses, the facility development overlay zone is applied to specific regions of the park to ensure that historic and interpretive resources are not subject to potentially inappropriate treatments that modern uses and facilities might suggest. The development overlay zone remains a sub-zone of the GMP cultural landscape zone. While it is understood that construction of new facilities will change characteristics and features in a localized area, proper measures need to be taken to ensure the smallest impact on the historic scene. Archeological testing must be undertaken prior to construction and new facilities must be located outside of sensitive areas and viewsheds. For example, currently the outdoor maintenance yard is located near the former elementary school. An alternate location for the proposed maintenance yard should be chosen to not compromise the important resources of either the former school or the Burroughs landscape. Likewise, the proposed expansion of the park visitor center, and modifications to its associated parking lot must take care to avoid destroying archeological deposits. Modifications to the visitor center grounds should not destroy aspects of this more recent landscape that may be found significant as a result of a formal determination of National Register eligibility.

Locate proposed new administrative and maintenance facility at park perimeters

It should be well understood by future decision-makers that the programmatic needs for the proposed maintenance facility will require an area well beyond the footprint of the proposed building. Access, parking, and materials storage, combined with the building will occupy an area perhaps as large as one-half to three-quarters of an acre. A facility of this size could be located south of the former elementary school, placed within a clearing created in the woods to accommodate it. The new facility should not be visible from the elementary school, and new access roads should be directed around the historic school landscape rather than through it. Consistent with the site-wide recommendations presented in this report, any access road to the new facility should have a gravel surface in keeping with the park's agricultural setting.

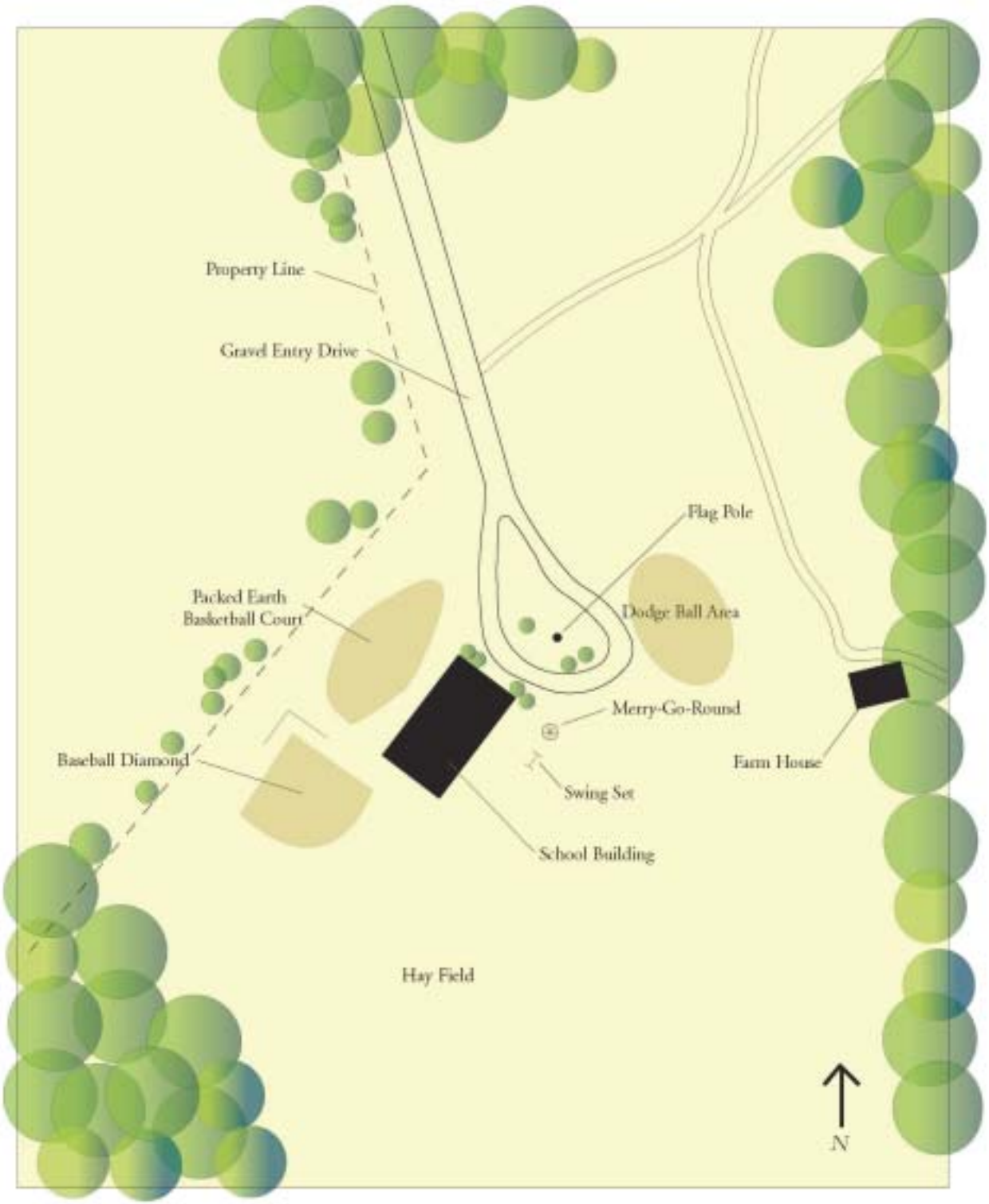


Figure 8.20. Diagram of the former elementary school landscape. Drawn from a discussion on June 14, 2000 with former principal of the Booker T. Washington Elementary School, James Holmes. Not to scale. 2002. OCLP.

Endnotes- Landscape Treatment

[1] Robert R. Page, Cathy A. Gilbert, and Susan A. Dolan, *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques*, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships. Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes Program. Washington, DC, 1998, 82.

[2] "General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement for Booker T. Washington National Monument," Abbreviated Final, January 2000, 3.

[3] Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (1991; New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 53, 28.

[4] Kammen, *Mystic Chords*, 29; for definitions of "myth" and "tradition," 25. James W. Loewen, *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (New York: New Press, 1999), 166, 168, 169n.

[5] Other examples abound. The W. E. B. Du Bois Boyhood Homesite in is in ruins, but it is registered as a National Historic Landmark (online listing, "We Shall Overcome: Historic Places of the Civil Rights Movement," http://www.cr.nps.gov/NR/travel/civilrights/sitelist1.htm.) The Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace National Historic Site (THRB) comprises a 1919-1923 reconstruction of Roosevelt's 1858 birthplace, a 4-story brownstone in New York City that had been demolished. The reconstruction was modeled on Roosevelt's uncle's home next-door (the two were purchased by the grandfather in 1854 as wedding presents) but with modern structural materials and museum space inside. (THRB National Register Nomination Form, 1976. Phone conversation with Charles Markis, former THRB site manager, 6 Feb. 2001). Most famously, at the Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site, a twentieth-century Greek revival shrine stands on part of the original Lincoln birthplace farm enclosing a log cabin of dubious origin. NPS Director Newton B. Drury wrote in 1950 that "Our main concern administratively and from an interpretative standpoint was not to air the doubt about the Lincoln cabin in such a way as to vitiate the message Americans can get from the birthplace farm, which is unquestionably authentic." For a history of the logs and the cabin, see Gloria Peterson, *An Administrative History of Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site, Hodgenville, Kentucky* (National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior, 20 September 1968), 7, 10-17, 20, 24-34, 89-97; Drury quoted on 97. NPS historian Dwight Pitcaithley declared the cabin a "splendid hoax" in 1991, yet James Loewen claims that the NPS now "pretends the cabin is real." Loewen, *Lies Across America*, 168, 169n.

[6] National Park Service Northeast Region, "George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Westmoreland County, Virginia, Cultural Landscape Report," 2 vols. n.p.: [National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior], July 1999, [hereinafter George Washington Birthplace NM CLR] v. 1, ch. 1, pp. 1-8; ch. 2, pp. 43, 59-62. [Note, since pagination restarts with each chapter, chapter numbers are cited as well.] See also Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, v. 1, pp. 478-493. Dates for phases of the house are clearly shown on GEWA visitors' brochure, document # 454-767/60438, GPO 1999.

[7] George Washington Birthplace NM CLR, v. 1, ch. 2, 54-55; ch. 3, pp. 36-37. Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, v. 1, 478-493.

[8] George Washington Birthplace NM CLR, v. 1, ch. 2, 75-76, 88 and n., 91 map.

[9] George Washington Birthplace NM CLR, v. 1, ch. 2, 67-72, and photos 13, 14; ch. 3, photos 35, 37. Site visit, 15 March 2001.

[10] George Washington Birthplace NM "Long Range Interpretative Plan" [1999], 15-16. Phillip Troutman site visit and interviews, 15 March 2001, with John J. Frye, Supervisory Park Ranger; Andrew Packett, Park Ranger; Vickie Stanley, Museum Technician; Krista Karasinki, Park Guide, and David Kinnamont, Seasonal Park Ranger; follow-up email correspondence with Frye, 23 June 2001.

[11] For example, "The focus of the historic core is the brick Memorial House, which was constructed in the 1930s to commemorate George Washington's birthplace. The other features of the area include wood-frame outbuildings, a replica Colonial Garden, demonstration agricultural plots, worm- and split-rail fencing, pasture lands, paths, and a trail system." No mention is made here of the outline of the actual birthplace house. George Washington Birthplace NM CLR, v. 1, ch. 3, 4.

[12] For references to crushed oyster shell and crushed stone trails in various areas, see George Washington Birthplace NM CLR, v. 1, ch. 3, pp. 12, 14, 26, 27, 34, 35, 36, and photos 30, 35, 36, 83; for the oyster-shell outline, see photo 93.

[13] On Carver's birthdate, see Anna Coxe Toogood, "Historic Resource Study and Administrative History: George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, Missouri" (Denver, Colorado: National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior, July 1973), 8-21. On the cabin, see Paul L. Beaubien and Merrill J. Mattes, "The Archaeological Search for George Washington Carver's Birthplace," *The Negro History Bulletin*, 18:2 (Nov. 1954) 33-38, as quoted in Toogood, "Historic Resource Study," 34.

[14] See "Photos of the Park," Photo 3, on GWCA's website, http://www.nps.gov/gwca/expanded/park_photos_01.htm. A 1999 Integrated Management Plan recommended that the log outline be removed but gave no reason; all the IMP's recommendations were rejected and George Washington Carver NM has recently replaced the weathered log pen with a new one. Email correspondence with Lana Henry, Chief Ranger of Interpretation, George Washington Carver NM, 11 & 25 April 2001, with follow-up

phone interview, 28 June 2001. Phone interview with Harry Hansen, Chief of Maintenance, George Washington Carver NM, 3 July 2001. John Harrington, et al., "Springs of Genius: An Integrated Management Plan for George Washington Carver National Monument, Diamond, Missouri" (Madison: Dept. of Landscape Architecture, Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison, for the NPS Midwest Region, Omaha, Nebraska, Feb. 1999), 140; note: the analysis of integrity was accepted, but the recommendations were not approved (email correspondence with Sherda K. Williams, Cultural Landscape Program Leader, NPS Midwest Region, 2 March 2001). "Text on Waysides," George Washington Carver NM, c. early 1970s, transcription supplied by Lana Henry, Chief Ranger of Interpretation, George Washington Carver NM, June 2001.

[15] Richard F. Knapp, "James K. Polk Memorial State Historic Site: A Second Look," NC Dept. of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, Historic Sites Section, Jan. 1981 (copy at James K. Polk Memorial SHS), 1, 17-18, 25-28, quotation 27. While Knapp's report considered the source material for the reconstruction as too diverse, too hodge-podge, and of far too late construction, a 1979 architectural report contradicted this, characterizing the source material as more intact and less anachronistic, constituting two cabins dating to 1805 and 1810. See Caroline Mesrobian, "Architectural Description [of James K. Polk Memorial SHS reconstructed buildings]," September 1, 1979, appended to site report by Dan L. Morrill, Charlotte-Mecklenburg Historic Properties Commission, March 5, 1980, online, http://www.landmarkscommission.org/S&RR/polk.html. Additional information from email correspondence with Jeff Bockert, James K. Polk Memorial SHS, 25 June 2001. See also "Polk Memorial" website, http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/sections/hs/polk/polk.htm.

[16] Unless otherwise noted, information on Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest is from a Troutman site visit and interviews with Octavia Starbuck, Director of Interpretation and Education; Barbara J. Heath, Director of Archaeology and Landscapes; Travis McDonald, Director of Architectural Restoration; and Dianne Kinney, Tour Services Coordinator and Volunteer Coordinator; 23 Feb. 2001; follow-up email correspondence with Heath and McDonald, June 2001. Information on the quarter site is also drawn from Barbara J. Heath, *Hidden Lives: The Archaeology of Slave Life at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest* (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1999). See also Barbara J. Heath, "Archaeology and Interpretation at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello and Poplar Forest," in *Presenting Archaeology to the Public: Digging for Truths*, edited by John Jamison (Walnut Creek, Cal.: Alta Mira Press, 1997). On the ongoing restoration of the main house, which is open to visitors, see Travis C. McDonald Jr., "Poplar Forest: A Masterpiece Rediscovered," *Virginia Cavalcade* (Winter 1993): 112-121; and Vernon Mays, "A Villa Through Time: Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest," *Inform* 2 (1997): 22-25.

[17] This example may hold significance for one controversy over the slave cabin in which Booker T. Washington was born and/or spent his childhood: a raised wooden floor would not preclude a root cellar dug in the ground below. For discussion of slaves' root cellars at Poplar Forest and more generally, see Heath, *Hidden Lives*, 35-38; 31, fig. 16; 34, fig. 18; 36, fig. 20; 70, n. 5 and 7.

[18] Renee Andrews, "Survey of Quarters: Amherst, Bedford, and Campbell Counties, Virginia," Summer 1994, unpublished report for the Corporation for Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest. Copy at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest, along with photographs and measured drawings of the ten slave cabins in the survey (these dated from the late antebellum period, unlike those at Thomas Jeffreson's Poplar Forest's excavated quarter site). In addition to the Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest survey, reports on log cabins from two other historic sites may be of interest to Booker T. Washington NM. The "Stabilization Report for 'Slave Quarters Number One': Hampton National Historic Site, Towsend, Maryland," thoroughly documents the extant fabric of a log building that had various plantation uses, c. 1830-1860 and the later added layers of plaster inside and board and batten outside. This detailed study includes photographs and measured drawings documenting conditions before restoration, which required "stripping the building of later accretions and the subsequent extensive replacement-in-kind of the original fabric." Reed L. Engle, "Stabilization Report for 'Slave Quarters Number One': Hampton National Historic Site, Towsend, Maryland," Dept. of the Interior, NPS Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, October 1986; copy at Hampton NHS; quotation, p. ii. For another local study in North Carolina, see Jennifer Garlid, "Stagville Field School in Historical Archaeology: A Nineteenth-Century Slave Cabin," site report, Historic Stagville, Historic Sites Section, NC Dept. of Archives and History, 1979. On 1850s reforms in slave housing construction, see John Michael Vlach, " 'Snug Li'l Houses with Flue and Oven': Nineteenth-Century Reforms in Plantation Slave Housing," in *Gender, Class, and Shelter, Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 5, eds. Elizabeth C. Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1995), 118-129. Larry McKee, "The Ideals and Realities Behind the Design and Use of nineteenth Century Virginia Slave Cabins," *in The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz*, eds. Anne Elizabeth Yentsch and Mary C. Beaudry (Ann Arbor: CRC Press, 1992), 195-213; Amy L. Young & J. Blaine Hudson, "Slave Life at Oxmoor" [Jefferson Co., Kentucky], *The Filson Club History Quarterly* 74 (Summer 2000): 199-204. See also Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988) 357-369; and John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1993), chs. 2, 10, 11. For other studies

of slave housing, see citations in Theresa A. Singleton, "The Archaeology of Slave Life," *in Before Freedom Came: African American Life in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Edward D. C. Campbell Jr. and Kym Rice (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia,1991), 155-175, 189, note 35.

[19] In her scholarship, Barbara Heath, Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest's Director of Archaeology and Landscapes, does emphasize the importance of excavating yards associated with slave cabin sites, an important and relatively recent development in archaeology. Heath, *Hidden Lives*, 38, 43-46; 34, fig. 18; 35, fig. 19. Barbara J. Heath and Amber Bennett, "'The Little Spots Allow'd Them': The Archaeological Study of African American Yards," *Historical Archaeology* 34:2 (2000): 38-55.

[20] Information on plans for the site comes from "The Robert Russa Moton Museum, A Center for the Study of Civil Rights in Education, Farmville, Virginia: Development Plan" (NPS Northeast Region, 24 Feb. 2000), hereinafter referred to as "Moton Museum Development Plan," and a Troutman site visit and interview with George Bagby, Longwood College Dept. of English, Moton Museum Volunteer, 22 Feb. 2001. On the role of Moton School and Prince Edward County in the desegregation crisis, see "Moton Museum Development Plan," 3-12, 17-18; Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), chs. 19-20, pp. 575-577; Robert C. Smith, *They Closed Their Schools: Prince Edward County, Virginia* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1965); and Amy E. Murrell, "The 'Impossible' Prince Edward County Case: The Endurance of Resistance in a Southside County, 1959-1964," in *The Moderates' Dilemma: Massive Resistance to School Desegregation in Virginia*, edited by Matthew D. Lassiter and Andrew B. Lewis (Charlottesville, VA: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1998), 134-167. For a recent assessment of the legacy of the desegregation crisis there, see Robert C. Smith, "Prince Edward County: Revisited and Revitalized," *Virginia Quarterly Review* 73 (1997): 1-27.

[21] For locations, see map of "Existing Conditions, Circa 1955," in "Moton Museum Development Plan," 24.

[22] "Moton Museum Development Plan," 134.

[23] Edgar A. Long Building [Christiansburg Industrial Institute], National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. Additional information garnered by Troutman as Project Director and Historian for Virtual Christiansburg Institute, 2000-2001, verified by Elaine Carter, Executive Director, Christiansburg Institute, Inc., by email correspondence, 28 June 2001.

[24] Unless otherwise noted, all information on Historic Stagville is from Troutman site visits and interviews with Juliana Hoekstra, Site Manager, 12 Feb. 2001 and 21 April 2001. For a historical overview of the plantation, see Jean Bradley Anderson, *Piedmont Plantation: The Bennehan-Cameron Family and Lands in North Carolina* (Durham, N.C.: Historic Preservation Society of Durham, 1985). A brief history of the site is given on the website of the Historic Stagville Foundation, which supports the state historic site, http://historicstagvillefoundation.org/.

[25] Site visit, 15 Feb. 2001.

[26] Brian Lambert, "Field Management Plan for Valley Forge National Historical Park," In-house park document approved 1992.

[27] All information on Hampton NHS from a Troutman interview with Paul Bitzel, Horticulturist, Hampton NHS, 29 June 2001; and from a Troutman site visit and interview with Debra Strum, Chief Ranger of Interpretation, 13 March 2001. Shaun Eyring, Landscape Architect, NPS Philadelphia Support Office, worked on the CLR for Hampton NHS and is now working with Hampton NHS on a landscape treatment plan. For locations of areas discussed here, including indications of mown lawn and tall-grass meadow, see "Hampton National Historic Site Cultural Landscape Report," Existing Conditions Map 2 (North Lawn), Existing Conditions Map 6 (Farm House Cluster and Farm Landscape), and Existing Conditions Map 1 (Overall Landscape and Views).

[28] Pliant quoted in Toogood, "Historic Resource Study and Administrative History," 56. George Washington Carver NM actually opened in 1951 with Sidney J. Phillips (of the Booker T. Washington Memorial Association) controversially leading its operation. See Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 136-148.

[29] John Harrington, et al. Troutman email correspondence with Sherda K. Williams, Cultural Landscape Program Leader, NPS Midwest Region, 2 March 2001; email and phone followup 2 June 2001.

[30] The bust measures 32" x 30" x 14" on a base approx. 48 1/4" 34 1/2" x 24". It is listed in the Smithsonian Institution Research Information System (http://www.siris.si.edu/), Art Inventories, Inventory of American Sculpture (IAS) record IAS MO000346, with the following description and comments: "The bust of an older George Washington Carver, with wrinkled forehead, wearing a shirt, jacket and tie. The bust is concrete, coated with bronze, and mounted on a rectangular brick base with a limestone cap. . . . The bust was one of perhaps twenty created on behalf of the George Washington Carver Memorial Institute for the Advancement of Art, Science and Education. The bust was designed to be placed indoors and was originally painted battleship grey, but because of paint seepage into the concrete, it was stripped and coated with bronze. IAS files contain a copy of a letter from Robert D. Hobday of the George Washington Carver Memorial Institute to Hillory A. Tolson, Assistant Director of the U.S. Department of the Interior, dated Nov. 15, 1952."

[31] The Boy Carver statue is approx. 51" x 24" x 21" on a base approx. 76 1/2" x 40" x 85." It is listed in the Smithsonian Institution Research Information System (http://www.siris.si.edu/), Art Inventories, Inventory of American Sculpture (IAS) record MO000345, with the following comments: "The sculpture is a duplicate of an original [1955] commissioned by the New York City Housing Authority (IAS record 87870256) [which record states that it is located at "Carver Houses, 101st Street, between Park & Madison Avenues, Playground"]. The casting was made from the same mold. . . . IAS files contain a photocopy of a document, hand-written by the artist, explaining his thoughts and inspiration for the sculpture, as well as a preliminary sketch made by the artist. IAS files also contain copies of correspondence from the artist to Arthur Jacobson, Superintendent of the George Washington Carver National Monument, dated January 22, 1954; and a reply from Howard W. Baker, Regional Director, dated February 5, 1954. . . . The sculpture was cleaned in 1981, with a mild water-detergent solution, retouched with a pigmented paste wax and coated with Incralac and polyethylene dispersion." According to Harry Hansen, George Washington Carver NM Chief of Maintenance, the base is grey limestone; phone interview with Hansen, 3 July 2001.

[32] For the statue's siting in its immediate surroundings, see "Photos of the Park," Photos 6, 7, and 8, on George Washington Carver NM's website, http://www.nps.gov/gwca/expanded/park_photos_01.htm.

[33] Harrington, et al., *Springs of Genius (IMP)*, on the house, see 23-26; on the graveyard, see 26-37, including illustrations. Phone interview with Henry.

[34] For historical land use development and the retreat of the prairie, see Harrington, et al., *Springs of Genius (IMP)*, 55-66; and quotation 70.

[35] Quotations from Troutman email correspondence with Williams. Additional information from email correspondence and interview with Henry.

[36] Troutman email and phone follow-up with Williams.

[37] Troutman interview with Lana Henry. Harrington, et al., *Springs of Genius (IMP),* notes that location of the persimmon grove is not known for sure, 130. Note the similarities to Booker T. Washington's story about the sweet potatoes: Carver ended his story with, "And those persimmons did taste awful good." "Text on Waysides."

[38] George Washington Birthplace NM CLR, for "commemorative" era as a period of significance, v. 2, ch. 4, p. 10; for the Treatment Plan for the park's "commemorative landscape," see v. 2, ch. 5, pp. 22-43; for benches, ch. 4, pp. 52-54, figs. 57-58; ch. 5, pp. 29, 74. Troutman site visit and interviews with Frye and Packett, 15 March 2001.

[39] George Washington Birthplace NM CLR, v. 1, ch. 2, pp. 45-46, 55, 59; Map G., Historical Base Map, 1846-1923; Map G1., Historical Base Map Inset: Historical Core, 1846-1923; v. 2, Map P4, Historic Core Treatment Plan.

[40] Site visit to Frederick Douglass NHS and Troutman interview with Frank Faragasso, Historian, National Capital Parks-East, 14 March 2001. For historical- and memorial-era grounds descriptions, see Anna Coxe Toogood, "Frederick Douglass Home, Cedar Hill: Historic Grounds Report and Historical Data Section" (NPS Division of History, May 1968), 23-53; Map 2, Frederick Douglass Home, 1895; Map 3, Frederick Douglass Home, 1968. Research reports completed for Frederick Douglass NHS will likely prove helpful as staff consider the meanings of the landscape's historical and memorial layers. See Sharon Harley, *A Study of the Preservation and Administration of "Cedar Hill": The Home of Frederick Douglass*, [n.d., 1987]; and Faith Davis Ruffins, "The Historic House Museum as History Text: The Frederick Douglass Home at Cedar Hill," in "The Final Report for Frederick Douglass Home Feasibility Study in Response to the National Capital Region RFP 3-4-153," Wilma K. Hunter, Project Director [n.d.], pp. 66-86; copy of each at National Capital Parks-East Archive.

[41] WPA of Virginia Historical Inventory of Franklin County. Research done by Essie Smith. December 8, 1937.

Recommendations for Subsequent Work

Previous Page: Costumed interpreter walking by the historic tobacco barn. Circa 1974. BOWA files.

Recommendations for Subsequent Work

Undertake Long-Term Program of Archeological Study

Much remains unknown about the Burroughs farm, the place of Booker T. Washington's birth. As has been stated several times throughout this report, documentation about the Burroughs farm is scant. Further information about spatial organization, circulation, land use, and site details of the former Burroughs farm will most probably result from archeological investigation rather than documentary research. Such studies may lead to knowledge about the Burroughs house and domestic yard, slave cabins, field patterns, and agricultural outbuildings. Knowledge about the poorly understood Sparks cemetery could also be gained through archeological investigation.

Coordinate with SHPO

It is recommended that a copy of this cultural landscape report be submitted to the Virginia State Historic Preservation Officer for concurrence with its findings and recommendations, specifically for compliance with NHPA and NEPA. Once specific treatment actions are developed, consultation with the SHPO is again recommended.

Revise National Register Documentation

Previous drafts of National Register documentation focused almost exclusively on the primary period of significance, or Washington's enslaved boyhood. This cultural landscape report recommends increasing the scope of the National Register significance to include additional periods of history; the Private Memorial Period and Racially Segregated Education.

Complete a Historic Resource Study for the Former Elementary School

National Register status has not been determined for the former elementary school. The current nomination form, completed in 1989, focuses on the property's significance to Washington's enslaved boyhood and later educational and political life, not on the significance of the racially segregated school building. As stated in the 2000 GMP, the park intends to interpret the school and its landscape. Consequently, the park needs adequate documentation before interpretive planning and action can take place.

Complete Ethnographic Assessment

Dr. William Baber proposed an alternate hypothesis for the spatial organization for the Burroughs farm in his draft Ethnographic Assessment in 1998. It is recommended that this report be subjected to a peer review. By soliciting comments on Dr. Baber's hypothesis, a more complete understanding of the farm can be achieved, aiding Booker T. Washington NM's interpretive program.

Complete Historic Aerial Photography Analysis

In order to learn more about the agricultural patterns and spatial organization of the Robertson and possibly Burroughs periods, it is recommended that an ethnobotanist or forester conduct an analysis of historic aerial photography of Booker T. Washington NM. By comparing the earliest known aerial photo, 1949, to later photo imagery, patterns of forest succession may be recognized, which in turn may allow for extrapolation about on-site activities prior to 1949. The Virginia Tech School of Forestry or other university may be able to provide the expertise for such a study.

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Previous Page: Former Booker T. Washington Elementary School as viewed from the field behind the school. 2001. OCLP.

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APPENDICES

A. The James Burroughs Plantation, compared to Franklin County and Virginia, 1860

B. Abridged Chronology

C. Determination of Eligibility for the Booker T. Washington NM Visitor Center

D. Correspondence relating to Visitor Center Determination of Eligibility

Previous Page: Sidney Phillips and Portia Washington Pittman inspect the cabbage fields north of Tuck Hall. Circa 1947. BOWA files.

Appendices

Appendix A: The James Burroughs plantation, compared to Franklin County and Virginia averages, 1860

1860	James Burroughs	Franklin County Average per Farm	Virginia Average per Farm
Number of Slaves	10*	6.4*	9.4*
Farm Value [in Land]	$3,105	$2,496.36	$1,516.37
Land Value Per Acre	$15	$9.04	$16.61
Livestock Value	$535	$334.08	$552.84
Farm Acres Improved	107	103.80	43.32
Farm Acres Unimproved	100	172.37	47.96
Total Farm Acres	207	276.17	91.29
Farm Implements & Machinery Value	$75	$73.50	$108.62
Value of Animals Slaughtered that year	$120	$111.47	$132.89

* The 1860 census taker counted seven slaves on the Burroughs plantation, but Burroughs' 1861 will listed ten. Slaves were generally listed where they resided, so those hired out elsewhere would not necessarily appear with their legal owners. Since most slaves were hired out relatively locally, the county and state averages should reflect total legal ownership, including those slaves hired out. Note also that county and state averages reflect slaves per slaveholder, not necessarily per farm or plantation (for example, slaves living and working on one plantation may be legally owned by two or more different slaveholders). Note also that in this table, "farm" refers to all agricultural establishments regardless of size.

Sources: Burroughs information from 1860 manuscript census schedules, abstracted in Barry Mackintosh, General Background Studies: The Burroughs Plantation, 1856-1865, Booker T. Washington National Monument (Washington, DC: National Park Service; Distributed by National Technical Information Service, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Springfield, Va., 31 Dec. 1968), Part B, p. 24, and Part C, p. 77. County and state figures calculated from federal census data made available via the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) on the "United States Historical Census Data Browser," http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/ (23 April 2001).

Appendix B: Abridged Chronology

1607 European settlement at Jamestown.

1600s Staunton River is initially called the "Saponi" for the Native American tribe of the region. "The Saponi and the Tutelo predominated the area and competed for game in some of the same Piedmont territory, particularly in what is now Franklin County."

1622 Native American uprising and massacre of European settlers retards westward settlement.

1644 Another Native American uprising further discourages westward settlement.

1671 The first white men are said to have passed through the area of present-day Franklin County. By 1671, " the Native Americans were either so dispersed or so well hidden that the English did not encounter or report them."

1701 Saponi and Tutelo Indians had generally moved out of Franklin County by this time.

1745 First documented white settler in present day Franklin County. Israel Pickens claimed four hundred acres on both sides of Chestnut Creek.

1747-49 First major wave of settlement in Franklin County. Among them a Thomas Gill (for whom Gills Creek is named).

1750s One important east-west road was known as the "Warwick Road" from Richmond to Roanoke. It left the main road at New London, in Bedford County, and followed generally present-day Route 122 to the vicinity of Burnt Chimney, where it swung westward toward Callaway, crossed the Blue Ridge, and led eventually to the New River."

1780 The British lose at the Battle of King's Mountain.

1781 March 15: Battle of Guilford Court House.

1781 Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown.

1782 Virginia's manumission act frees 10,000 slaves - reflecting on a program and policy of gradual emancipation.

1786 January 1: Franklin County, Virginia was created by the Legislature in 1786, from parts of Bedford and Henry Counties.

1786 John Jones sells to Asa Dillon "a tract of 250 acres on both sides of Gills Creek."

1787 Virginia ratifies United States Constitution.

1806 Virginia law is passed requiring that freed slaves leave the state within twelve months.

1808 Asa Dillon dies and leaves Gills Creek property to his son Jesse.

1813 British burn the Virginia city of Hampton.

1818 April 6: Jesse Dillon sold his son Asa 150 acres of the Gills Creek property for one dollar.

1820 Missouri Compromise ratified.

1826 Asa Dillon sells 200 acres on Gills Creek with improvements (house) to Jesse Dillon for $1,300.

1830 Slave population in Virginia is 48% of the total population.

1831 Nat Turner slave uprising involved the grisly axe murders of fifty-seven whites in Southhampton County

in southeastern Virginia. The event further stifles liberal leanings toward the "gradual emancipation" of slaves in Virginia.

1833 January 1: Jesse Dillon and his wife, Elizabeth, sell a 170 acre tract of land on Gills Creek to Thomas Burroughs of Franklin County for $900 and one grey horse.

1836 "Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia." Published by Joseph Martin, Charlottesville, VA. courtesy Virginia State Library. "FRANKLIN: Franklin was created by the Legislature in 1784, from parts of Bedford and Henry Counties. "…The staples are principally tobacco, wheat, Indian corn and iron. The Washington Iron Works, on Pig river, within half a mile of Rocky Mount, yield annually about 150 tons of iron of a very superior quality. Iron ore is found in various parts of the county…..Population 1820, 12,017 - in 1830, 14,911…"

1838 Frederick Douglass escapes from slavery in Baltimore, Maryland to New York.

1847 Thomas Burroughs apparently left the Gills Creek property for Bedford County by this time as he purchases an eight acre tract of land there on both sides of the Hales Ford Road from Aquilla Divers, for $56.

1847 Virginia General Assembly incorporates a joint stock venture, the Rocky Mount-Lynchburg Turnpike Company, the first president of the company being Major Samuel Hale of Franklin County. The route for the road began in Lynchburg, ran southwesterly to the Staunton River and followed the present-day Route 122 to Rocky Mount.

1849 December 1: Contract let to Nowlin and Mosely to construct the eighteen-mile-long stretch of road between Staunton River and Rocky Mount, and also for a bridge over Gills Creek where there was no convenient ford.

1850 Fugitive Slave Law is enacted.

1850 Franklin County continues to offer bounties for wolves and foxes - indicative of the frontier conditions prevailing into mid-century.

1850 James Burroughs bought 177 acres from his brother Thomas in the Piedmont of Franklin County Virginia. The Burroughses had fourteen children, lived in a modest house and performed manual labor along side their several slaves.

1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe publishes "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

1852 November 6: James Burroughs makes his last will and testament. *"…Third, So long as my dear wife Elizabeth remains a widow I wish her to hold all the property I leave, land, negroes, stock and all, in order to raise & educate my younger children, but should she marry, then she should only hold one third part of the estate…" "…Lastly, I desire that my dear wife Elizabeth and my son Joseph N. Burroughs be my Executrix and Executor to carry this my Will and Testament into effect…"*

1854 November: James Burroughs purchases an additional 30 acres of Gills Creek land from brother Thomas, expanding his farm to 207 acres.

1856 John Brown's raid in Kansas.

1856 Booker T. Washington is born into slavery on April 5. His mother, Jane was the plantation cook and his father was thought to be a local white farmer.

1858 Abraham Lincoln delivers his "house divided" speech and is widely perceived as an abolitionist.

1859 John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry.

1860 Abraham Lincoln is elected President of the United States.

1860 South Carolina is the first state in the American south to secede from the Union.

1860 James Burroughs' tobacco crop is 2000 pounds - grown on three to five acres of land. Average production for Franklin County farmers for that year is 3,558 pounds.

1861 Shots fired at Fort Sumter. Beginning of the American Civil War in which all of the Burroughses' sons fought. Two died.

1861 April 17: Virginia General Assembly votes to secede from the Union.

1861 July 24: James Burroughs dies of "lung disease." Elizabeth and daughters remain on the farm.

1861-65 Ben Burroughs was wounded at Pickett's Charge and Newt Burroughs at the battle at Nance's Shop. Christopher Frank Burroughs died in captivity, and James W. Burroughs died in the battle of Kelly's Ford. Thomas R. and Joseph N. Burroughs survive the war unmarked.

1861 November 23: James Burroughs's estate was inventoried. His various tools, farm equipment, and furnishings amounted to $1,533. Seventy-eight percent of his estate, or $5,550, was in the form of his ten slaves.

1862 John Wise, son of former Gov. Henry Wise makes note of the settlement patterns along road from Big Lick (Roanoke) to Rocky Mount. *"Twenty eight miles of travel over such a route seems much more than the measured distance, and carried us indeed into a new class of population, as distinct from that which we left behind as if an ocean instead of mountain range had separated to two communities. Soon the broad pastures and fields of grain had disappeared. In their place were rough, hillside lots, with patches of buckwheat or tobacco. Instead of the stately brick houses standing in groves on handsome knolls, all that we saw of human habitations were log-houses far apart upon the mountain sides, or in the hollows far below us…*

1863 Emancipation Proclamation.

1865 April 10: Battalion of Pennsylvania cavalry led by Major William Wagner rides from Hales Ford to Rocky Mount by way of the present-day Route 122. Accounts of the Union soldiers harassing and provisioning themselves from the property of the Asa Holland house, which also served as the local post office.

1865 April 12: Lee surrenders to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse. End of the Civil War. Jane moves her family to Malden, West Virginia to join her husband.

1865 "Franklin County suffered little, at least physically, as a result of the Civil War. It not only escaped combat except for some minor raids at the end of the way by the Union cavalry of Major Gen. George Stoneman, it also did not fall victim to the scorched-earth policy applied by Sheridan to the Shenandoah Valley or by Sherman to Georgia on his famed March to the Sea. The county's wounds instead were psychological and emotional."

1866 Virginia land that sold for $150 an acre prior to the war - sells for two dollars an acre after the war.

1868 Ku Klux Klan operates within Virginia under Reconstruction.

1868 Hampton Institute is founded.

1870 The Burroughses abandoned the plantation. Elizabeth Burroughs leaves farm to live with a married daughter. Between 1870-1878, the widow Burroughs rented the Gills Creek land out to tenants and it greatly decreased in value.

1876 May 12: Context - "The Virginia Monitor." published in Rocky Mount. VSL Microfilm, Advertisement for the sale of a farm. "Valuable Blackwater Land for Sale." Advertisement refers to a farm of 365 acres - one third cleared, the balance in "original forest." Improvements listed include a "New Dwelling House, with five rooms and a well of pure freestone water at the door" as well as six tobacco barns and "three tenement houses with all necessary out houses." Fencing is listed as in good repair, "nearly all made with locust posts and caps."

1878 In this year Elizabeth Burroughs filed suit in Bedford County Court naming her children as defendants. She expressed in court records the desire to sell her interest in the estate of James Burroughs deceased in 1861. J.N. Burroughs testified in court in 1891 that Elizabeth Burroughs (his mother) was deceased,

clearing the sale of the Burroughs estate to J. D. Robertson in 1894. Elizabeth Burroughs did not die until 1895.

1878-90 The Burroughses' tried to sell the land, at first unsuccessfully to Robert T. Crook in 1885, who defaults on the payments. The land comes back to the Burroughs family who tried to rent it out, but they eventually sold the parcel to Thomas R. Robertson in 1890. After many years of laying vacant, the property was devalued. John D. Robertson claimed the land was "gone greatly to ruin". The Robertson's bought the land for 900 dollars. One hundred dollars less than what Robert T. Crook had supposedly paid for it five years before. After acquiring the property, the Robertsons had to remove several deteriorated buildings and construct new ones to begin their tenure on the property.

1887 December 9: Crook is summoned to Bedford County court for default on his purchase of the Burroughses Franklin County land.

1893 John D. Robertson and family move onto the former Burroughs property on Gills Creek and obtain a deed for the property a year later.

1895 Booker T. Washington addresses the Atlanta Exposition of the "proper role of the negro." His address is seen as an appeasement of the white race by northern black intellectuals and is later blamed by them for the policy of "separate-but-equal" treatment of African Americans in the southern states.

1896 Supreme Court rules the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" as constitutional.

1900 Robertson brothers remember the nature of the farm landscape at the turn of the twentieth century. The brothers state that at the time of their father's purchase, the farm was served by worm fencing. The garden was enclosed by a paling fence, and was located to the west of the house and yard. Its westerly boundary extended to within ten feet of the branch and contained about one acre.

1900 The Robertson brothers also remembered that they were told by their father that Thomas Burroughs, son of Washington's former master, said that Booker was born in the cabin to the left of the house, but that it was in such poor condition that the mother and her family were subsequently moved into the cabin to the right of the so-called big house. The only part of the birthplace cabin that the Robertsons could recall was the chimney and the potato hole. The logs from which it had been built had rotted and had been removed.

1901 Booker T. Washington secretly backs a black lawyer to fight against the enactment of Jim Crow laws on Virginia railroads.

1908 September 26. Booker T. Washington made his only visit to the plantation. He was shown around the property by the grandson of his former master, James Burroughs. A large crowd of local people gathered and Washington made a speech for them. After walking around the site on which few physical remnants of his day remained, Washington said, "Everything is changed. After all, the most remarkable changes that I notice is in the size of things. It seems incredible to me that the Ferguson place where I used to go as a boy is now only just across the road. The old dining room, too, is not nearly as large now as it used to be, or at least as it seemed to be once."

1915 Booker T. Washington dies.

1922 Cabin on the site of the present reconstruction is torn down. At one time this building had been used to house John Robertson's mother-in-law.

1927 John Robertson dies.

1932 What would later be called the "Virginia Cottage" was constructed for the widowed Martha Robertson by her son Peter. In 1932 this building consisted of two rooms.

1937 African American congressman from Chicago, Arthur Mitchell visited the plantation. An iron stake was placed in the ground where the birthplace cabin was thought to have been located. This task was undertaken by "Uncle" Henry Swain, a playmate of Washington's. Mr. Swain identified the remains of a cabin that could not have been the actual cabin.

1937 WPA of Virginia embarked on a historical inventory and surveyed the Robertson farm (former Burroughs property).

1940 March: The Booker T. Washington ten cent stamp released.

1943 George Washington Carver National Monument in Diamond, Missouri is authorized by Congress.

1945 Autumn: Sidney Phillips purchases the Robertson property at public auction.

1945 August 31: "Commonwealth of Virginia Department of Highways - Plan and Profile of Proposed State Highway. Franklin County (from 0.865 miles south of Staunton River to Burnt Chimney.)" Drawing shows layout of new state road in front of the J.D. Robertson Est. Shows location of frame tobacco barn and driveway near the road which is confirmed by aerial photo.

1946 Phillips established the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial on January 31, 1946 and began a campaign of physical improvements that would house his anticipated educational and community building programs. Phillips constructed cabin replicas, Hopkins Hall, Tuck Industrial Hall, and the Virginia Cottage and Burroughs house were renovated.

1946 Through Phillips advocacy, the Virginia Department of Highways constructs a "two-lane driveway with circular turnaround at the end, leading from State Route 122 to the front of the Burroughs house, at the cost of $5,172.25. Two stone pillars framed the highway entrance.

1946 May 4: S. J. Phillips and Virginia H. Phillips convey the property purchased at auction to the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial by deed.

1946 Phillips was successful in establishing the Booker T. Washington Post Office.

1949 May 23: Birthplace cabin reconstruction officially dedicated. Virginia Governor William Tuck is guest of honor. Phillips completes the reconstruction of the "birthplace cabin" at a cost of $1500.00. Just to the north of the reconstruction was a decorative/fund-raising "wishing well" with the BTW quote: "Cast down your bucket where you are."

1949 October 21: Albert Saunders donated 246.5 acres of adjacent farmland to the memorial to be used as a demonstration farm.

1949 November 25: Posey L. Plybon sells 101 acres to the west to the memorial for $15,000. Purchase results in the birthplace memorials real estate holdings adding to approximately 550 acres.

1949 Hopkins Hall - a 40'x 60' two-story brick building east of the Burroughs house was completed. The building was named in honor of Walter L. Hopkins, a member of the Virginia General Assembly and one of the first whites to accept membership on the private memorial's board of trustees.

1949 Tuck Industrial Hall: Created through renovation of the former barn that the Robertsons built north of the Burroughs house for a cost of $8,000.

1949 Interpretive device: "The Life of Booker T. Washington in Electrical Illumination," is installed on fence posts around the historic core.

1950 Dec. 23: Former Burroughs residence burned. Damages amounted to $133,800. Most of the losses were in the form of 1,000,000 names and addresses of coin purchasers. The Memorial was given $100,000 for the loss. Other office supplies and equipment were lost.

1950 A program was implemented on the demonstration farm in which young students from the Trade School in Roanoke, VA would operate the farm three days a week.

1951 Booker T. Washington Memorial Trade School commencement exercises held in Tuck Hall - the Robertson's renovated barn.

1951 Debates are held in Congress about the designation of a national park at Washington's birthplace. Representative Armstrong of Missouri was an outspoken proponent of the proposal, lauding the accomplishments of the Memorial in Congress. He spoke to push for recognition and to dismiss reports of mismanagement under Phillips tenure.

1951 Work is begun on the proposed Burch Memorial Building, intended to assume the functions of the former Burroughs house. At the dedication ceremony on April 1, only the foundation was completed.

1952 Trustees of BTW Birthplace Memorial vote to donate six acres of the Memorial's land to Franklin County for the purpose of creating a new Negro Elementary School. This land was subdivided off of the original Burroughs plantation at the north-west of the property. The parcel is also given a right-of-way over the private memorial's property for access.

1953 NPS officially dedicates the George Washington Carver site in Diamond, MO.

1953 Phillips writes article to discourage school desegregation.

1953 March 3: Phillips writes Director Wirth asking that the NPS study the feasibility of establishing a park unit on the site. A study is done - recommending against it.

1953 March: Portia Washington Pittman and Robert L. Ephraim filed suit against Phillips and the Birthplace Memorial for a breech of contract. They sued for payment for services not provided by the Booker T. Washington fund raising campaign. Poor sales of the commemorative coins prompted the breech.

1953 June: State Route 122 renamed Booker T. Washington Memorial Highway. Locals protest.

1954 March 22: "The advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments having considered the proposal that the Booker T. Washington birthplace be included in the national park system, resolves that while Booker T. Washington, the man, is an impressive national figure, the birth site is not equally impressive, since it is largely devoid of original structures or object remains associated with him. "

1954 Brown vs. Board of Education Supreme Court decision. "Separate but Equal" is declared unconstitutional.

1954 September: Classes begin at BTW elementary school.

1955 Sidney Phillips' "Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial" is bankrupt. Phillips cites as reason: "…Our experience indicates that the white people were more interested in seeing the ideals and teachings of Booker T. Washington perpetuated than Negroes."

1955 April 7: Phillips obtains a mortgage to repurchase the birthplace tract from the Banker's Trust Co. of Rocky Mount for $9,500 and a second mortgage for $6K from Nehi. Ownership through newly incorporated "Booker T. Washington Memorial Foundation." Group is chartered in part to promote legislation which will provide for the establishment of a National Monument.

1955 Report from NPS District Ranger Hadley concerning the lands necessary to establish Booker T. Washington NM. The parcels the NPS was interested in were; Phillips 207 acre tract, the "West tract" or 101 acres owned by John William Booth and Nellie Plybon Booth, and 297 acres owned by Ruth Jane Saunders and Thomas Saunders.

1955 September 7-9: Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments reaffirmed decision not to recommend the establishment of Booker T. Washington NM. They recommended honoring him at Tuskegee instead.

1956 September 24: Historian Appleman visited the site to assess boundaries for the future national monument. The "center tract" or core of the Memorial's activities were contained in 165 acres, but over 500 were held in total. He stated that most of the necessary property was included in the memorial's 500 acres, minus a few acres along Route 122 that were privately owned.

1956 April: Booker T. Washington National Monument established.

1956 James Kirkwood, first historian at the park, researched and gathered materials relating to Washington. He sought out people, letters, journals, and photos related to Washington. He collected images of Virginia farm buildings and studied the design of the boyhood cabin.

1957 June 18: NPS accepts the site as a unit of the NPS.

1957 September 27: National Park Service takes control of Booker T. Washington NM site. Supt. Chester Brooks describes the site: "The area looked like a city dump." Brooks later wrote in his report for that month, "…The buildings at the Monument constitute one of the worst imaginable fire hazards. The attics are filled with papers; the fire extinguishers have not been recharged since 1950; the wiring is unsatisfactory and there are a host of other conditions existing there that defy fire prevention Standards."

1957 December 6: Phillips and his staff vacate the premises.

1957 December 31: Following the assignment of a maintenance person, eighteen pickup loads of trash had been removed from various points on the grounds and the Phillips wishing well had been removed.

1958 Tuck Hall, the renovated Robertson barn, and the unfinished foundations of the Burch Hall are demolished. Also removed are the abandoned house near the elementary school and a number of Robertson-built tobacco barns and shacks. The former Virginia Cottage was repainted and improved to serve as on-site quarters for maintenance man Wright and his family. Hopkins Hall became the park visitor center, while administrative offices remained in Roanoke.

1958 An additional twenty acres of land along Route 122 was sought. Justification included widening the property to eliminate crossing onto neighboring properties to access the proposed utility building and entry drive, and to increase the park's visual buffer.

1958 Supt. Brooks develops first draft of "Mission 66 Prospectus."

1958 Booker T. Washington NM staff made inquires about common medicinal herbs of the 1850s for their demonstration farm. Scholars from the University of Minnesota provided a list of typical herbs, including bayberry, common beet, caraway, catnip, crowfoot, dill, fennel, foxglove, garlic, mustard, peony, rhubarb, white snake root, and wintergreen.

1958 The new National Monument engaged in "…cleaning up the old plantation, tearing down some buildings that are of no historical importance and cleaning up the land. We are renting 43 acres to a farmer who will cultivate it and sow most of it in pasture, so that it will look more like it did in Booker T. Washington's day."

1959 September: NPS razes the Phillips-era birthplace cabin reconstruction and builds and new, "more accurate" version on the same footprint.

1959 Robertson tobacco barn is restored in July using timbers from other barns nearby. A small patch of tobacco is planted on the property.

1959 June 10: Booker T. Washington NM was inventoried- of the 199.73 acres of gently rolling land 40%, had been cultivated- the rest in second growth hardwood, valued at $17,000. One brick, two-story building in poor condition. One two-story frame quarters in poor condition. One one and a half-story cabin in very poor condition. Two 18X18 log tobacco barns in poor condition. Entry road- 24' feet

wide, .2 miles, primary base sealed. 3,200 feet of "snake rail" fence along Route 122 in eastern portion of park and into headquarters area. 52 acres cleared and disked. 1.03 miles of graded fire trails.

1959 Annotations for the Artist- Roll Road Trail. Planning for the park's first interpretive literature- a self guided trail around the site. The Roll Road Trail had fifteen numbered interpretive sites with illustrations and text to describe each.

1959 August 11: *Boundary Status Report*. NPS owned 199 acres. Adjacent landowners including Plybon, Booth, Harris, Robertson, and Saunders owned an additional 21 acres that the park considered acquiring.

1960 Construction for the Smith Mountain Lake dam began.

1960 October 23. Lizillia Hayes refuses the park's offer of $1,190 for her 4.75 acres. Her attorney claims the property is worth $6,350.

1960 November 13. The Saunders reject the park's offer of $2,480, for their 9.92 acres. The park recommended legal action to secure the land. "Acquisition of the property is necessary for protection and development of the area. Therefore, we recommend that action be started to acquire the property by condemnation proceedings, with Declaration of Taking, and suggest that the sum of $2,480 be deposited in the Court as fair and just compensation."

1963 President Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas.

1963 *Planning Report on Burroughs Plantation* created to address interpretive agenda.

1964 April 21: The three properties were taken by condemnation proceedings by the US Department of the Interior. Hayes received $1,525, Robertson $2,029, and Saunders $4,000.

1964 November: Work begins on the new park visitor center - starting with the entrance road and utilities for the new building.

1964 BOWA's tobacco barn was inventoried for the Historic American Buildings Survey.

1965 Sidney Phillips dies.

1965 Deceleration lane along Route 122, 726' of 20' wide entrance road, visitor center parking lot, and 7' wide concrete walkway to within 20' of visitor center constructed for $19, 871.

1966 Virginia schools are integrated and the Booker T. Washington Elementary School is closed.

1966 March 9: New park visitor center is open to the public.

1966 June 18: New park visitor center is officially dedicated.

1966-67 Series of improvements made to visitor center and surrounding area. Entry road resurfaced, sidewalk constructed from parking lot to visitor center, updated sewage and electrical, benches added, 50 trees, 112 shrubs, 160 ground cover plants planted, flag pole added, and 31,000 feet of seeding and fertilizing done.

1967 Franklin County School Board resolved that the Booker T. Washington Elementary School property be offered for sale to the federal government.

1968 Martin Luther King is assassinated in Memphis.

1968 Establishment of a "Living Historical Farm," (living history) at the BOWA site becomes one of the goals for the property.

1974 January 22: Chester L. Brooks accepts "with great pleasure" the donation of the former BTW Elementary School and surrounding six acres from the Franklin County School Board. The school building was slated to serve as a "study building."

1974 Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site is authorized by Congress.

1974 The smokehouse replica is completed.

1976 BTW Environmental Education and Cultural Center was dedicated by the National Park Service in the former elementary school.

1981 *General Management Plan* completed.

1981 Plantation Trail and Jack-O-Lantern Branch Trail designated part of the National Recreation Trail System.

1985 Four species of trees are propagated from historic trees at BOWA. Cuttings were taken from *Catalpa speciosa, Quercus alba, Quercus stellata, and Juniperus virginiana*. Attempts to propagate them sexually, through seed collection, were made.

1987 June: Roanoke Land and Auction Co., Inc. put up for sale 285 acres surrounding Booker T. Washington NM for $250,000.

1988 Frederick Douglass National Historic Site is authorized by Congress.

1991 The kitchen cabin was stabilized.

1992 The catalpa (*Catalpa speciosa*) and Virginia red cedar (*Juniperous virginiana*) were added to the Washington Support Office's list of "Interesting Trees." Both date to the time when BTW lived on the property.

1996 The historic catalpa tree was trimmed to remove dead branches. Its health was questionable, and had not leafed out in several major areas.

1996 A $1,405,000 renovation for the visitor center was proposed. The renovations would include a 75 person auditorium, ADA-accessible features including bathrooms and trail to historic core, increased interpretive space, improved energy efficiency, and conversion of the current garage into office/ library/conference space.

2000 New "town center" development approved at Smith Mountain Lake, adjacent to Booker T. Washington NM property. The proposed development of 139 acres is located on the south side of Route 122, on the eastern side of the intersection of Rts. 616 and 122. At its completion in ten years, it will include a golf course, condominiums, shopping center, assisted living and retirement center, movie theatre, retail/ office space, and a building supply store.

2001 Historic catalpa tree removed. The stump remains, as does a root sprout of the original tree.

Appendix C: Determination of Eligibility for Mission-66 Visitor Center Complex at Booker T. Washington National Monument

DETERMINATION OF SIGNIFICANCE

PARK NAME, STATE: Booker T. Washington National Monument, Hardy, Virginia

STRUCTURE NAME(s): Booker T. Washington Visitor Center (Current)
Booker T. Washington Visitor Center -Utility Building (formerly)

PROPERTY/DISTRICT NAME:

LOCATION Street Address: 12130 Booker T. Washington Hwy, VA State Route 122 Town/City: Hardy

Municipality: County: Franklin

DATE BUILT: 1965-1966 IDLCS: N/A PARK #: Building #B-06

SIGNIFICANCE: Not Significant: __ National: ___ State & Regional: _X_ Local: ___

NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA: A _X_ B ___ C _X_ D ___ G _X_

SEE CONTINUATION SHEET

Continuation Sheet? Y

DESCRIPTION

SEE CONTINUATION SHEET

Continuation Sheet? Y

National Park Service, NER		State Historic Preservation Office	Comments
Individually Eligible	___		
Contributes to:			
Property	___	Concur ___	
District	X		
Potential District	___		
Not Eligible & Does Not Contribute to Property/District	___	Do Not Concur ___	
Insufficiently Documented, Treat as Eligible	___		

Signature Signature

Regional Director, NER / / State Historic Preservation Officer / /

Form Prepared By: Stephen M. Clark, Historical Architect NPS, NER 2/3/03

Appendix C: Continued

DETERMINATION OF SIGNIFICANCE

CONTINUATION SHEET:

SIGNIFICANCE (Cont'd)

The Mission 66 movement was begun in the post World War II years, when the NPS saw that its overall infrastructure was sorely neglected. Basic maintenance needs and visitor services were neglected in the parks, but the problem actually had begun in the1930s with the onset of the Great Depression, a problem compounded by WWII. The war effort necessitated the transference of funds from all government agencies not specifically involved in or aiding the war. The wartime era of neglect continued for another decade, until the Eisenhower Administration instituted the Mission 66 program. The parks' infrastructure was in distress by the early 1950s. John D. Rockfeller, Jr., wrote President Dwight Eisenhower after seeing social critic Bernard DeVoto's article on the deplorable conditions within the NPS. Eisenhower in turn called upon the Secretary of the Interior to get answers. In the summer of 1954, Undersecretary Ralph Tudor reorganized the department. This "allowed [National Park Service Director] Conrad Wirth to focus attention on the crisis in the park service [and thus] had a captive audience for his improvement program" for the national parks. With its inception in February of 1955, Wirth conceived a "comprehensive program to launch the Park Service into the modern age," giving rise to the Mission 66 program; asking for funds for an entire decade instead of the usual yearly increases. The program would improve conditions at parks within this decade, finishing in time for the golden anniversary of the National Park Service (1916-1966). It was officially authorized in February of 1956 with public announcement occurring on February 8, 1956. From its inception, Mission 66 was touted "as a program to elevate the parks to modern standards of comfort and efficiency. [T]he new initiative resulted in revitalizing the parks' systems in all areas: maintenance, visitor services, staffing, staff housing, and interpretation." Most parks saw some or all aspects of this development, primarily the growth and modernization of visitor and staff services. What was different in this movement was that the Park Service elected to place the new structures within or close to the primary park resources.[1]

The movement elected to design structures in the modern style, abandoning the rustic movement prevalent in the western parks. Nor did it try to mimic the historic elements of the eastern parks (Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania, Colonial[2]). Instead the Park Service went specifically to the modern movement with underlying influences to the International Style, incorporating native elements or materials in the overall design or sited the buildings to view the resource. The "Mission 66 buildings were intended to blend into the landscape, but through their plainness rather than by identification with natural features." The August 1956 issue of Architectural Record had an article on the movement and stated that Mission 66 "would produce modern structures that perform their assigned functions and respect their environment with liberal use of steel and glass."[3] Spatially the designs were geared to visitor and visitor services, and then to headquarters staffing and services. While these services were always integrally related, they were also always separated. This separation could be via a floor layer, connectors, breezeways or separate buildings, but always within a close walk between the two. The other feature about the new facilities which would become known as Visitor Centers, was that they were within a short walking distance from the visitors' parking area and from there to the main feature of the park, be it a natural or cultural resource. Beyond designing and constructing these new Visitor Centers and combined complexes, the Park Service also designed the entrance roads and parking areas, sidewalks, and visitor amenities, and landscaped the entire campus around the new appurtenances.

BOWA was authorized through legislation on April 2, 1956 under PL 84-464. The newly created park utilized portions of an existing site conceived by Sidney J. Phillips. Phillips was an early graduate of Tuskegee Institute (a university for the education of AfricanAmericans), and a proponent of Booker T. Washington's educational goals. Phillips desired to create a "Birthplace Memorial" to Washington and acquired the Burroughs' plantation (Washington's birthplace). However, Phillips' idea of a suitable memorial was to construct institutional buildings to honor Washington's legacy, in order to educate AfricanAmericans. His vision of Washington's legacy was to turn the birthplace into another Tuskegee Institute. This involved conversion of an existing barn into a dormitory and cafeteria. Phillips also built "Hopkins Hall," a two-story brick building which housed the memorial foundation's offices and instructional spaces, a birthplace cabin replica and a wishing well. Also, he altered several agricultural outbuildings. These structures were interconnected via stone-lined walking paths. He persuaded the Commonwealth of Virginia to construct a new divided two-lane entrance road off of VA Route 122. The landscape and physical cultural resources were altered prior to 1957.

The Master Plan documents written by the NPS described a severely impacted landscape as shown in the following excerpts:

> There exists a somewhat special interpretive problem at the Monument…this is a historical area [but] there are no historical remains upon which to base an interpretive program…It is necessary…to create the means for a program…The property was in a neglected and rundown condition…[T]here has been much cleaning…, land restored and rail fences built all as

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[1] Sarah Allaback, Ph.D., Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type. (USDOI, NPS, Cultural Resources Stewardships and Partnerships, Washington, DC, 2000) p. 2-5.

[2] Fredericksburg's Superintendent's house and garage was designed and executed in the Colonial Revival style. Colonial's was also designed and built in the Colonial Revival style, but no longer is park property. Fredericksburg's VC is a Public Works Administration building from the 1930s in the Colonial Revival Style.

[3] Allaback, op. cit., p. 11.

Appendix C: Continued

> part of the effort to re-establish plantation like conditions.[4]

The Draft Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) for BOWA also refers to this:

> [T]he NPS…and Phillips' Birthplace Memorial differed greatly in their missions and goals, which translated into vastly different interpretations of the merit and potential…Phillips and his organization significantly altered the landscape surrounding the former Burroughs house and domestic yard…The former domestic yard, that had not changed appreciably in one hundred years, now hosted institutional buildings and landscape elements.[5]

The Park Service, upon taking possession of the birthplace, used Hopkins Hall spaces for initial visitor orientation, exhibit display and park operations and administrative offices, but the 1949 building was unsuited for modern park visitor services. According to the Master Plan it was also located in the "area of greatest historic significance," i.e., the plantation area.[6] Maintenance operated from the basement of Hopkins Hall, which was distracting to park staff and visitors. Farmer Foreman Albert Sidney Wright resided in Virginia Cottage, built in 1932, which was not a building suited for park operations. It also was in the to-be interpreted plantation area.

The Booker T. Washington National Monument (BOWA) Visitor Center (VC) was designed in late 1964 and built in 1965-1966 with final completion (under warranties) in 1967. The total project consisted of: (1) building the Visitor Center, (2) excavating the entrance road and service road grade, (3) subsurface preparation and final paving, (4) installing storm drainage, (5) installing septic tanks and drainage fields, (6) constructing sidewalks and adding flagpole and benches, and (7) final landscaping of the entire complex from the entrance drive to the new VC. Currently, the VC complex (building, entrance drive, landscaping and landscaping elements) meets Criterion A and Criterion C as follows:

1. it was originally planned and built as part of the Mission 66 program (1956-1966),
2. the resource retains and possesses physical integrity to the time period of significance, and
3. the resource is a successful reflection of Park Service Modern, being an adaptation of contemporary architecture in a residential idiom.

The BOWA VC also embodies the distinctiveness of the Park Modern Movement as follows:

1. it is sited in relation to an overall "visitor flow,"
2. the design emphasizes plan organization (segregation of public areas and administrative areas) and the central lobby accessed other park destinations (theater area, information desk, restrooms, or plantation farm area),
3. integration of interior and exterior spaces by use of window walls,
4. the elevations create a low profile, horizontal effect
5. it harmonizes with the setting through its horizontality of massing, its color and texture of materials,
6. the outdoor spaces and site work, including the parking lot, paths, terrace and entrance road are incorporated into the overall complex.

However, since the building and grounds were designed and constructed in 1964-66 at the peak of the Mission 66 Movement (1956-1966), Criterion G must be applied for buildings less than 50 years of age.

The building was designed in-house (preliminary design drawings) by Ben Biderman, a National Park Service (NPS) architect. Smithey-Boynton, a known, well established, regionally renowned, architectural firm executed the construction drawings.

The complex achieves exceptional importance by being an essential part of an overall Mission 66 Park development plan and integral to the history and development of BOWA. The design meets exceptional importance through the following:

> The NPS [used] Mission 66 funding and planning resources to create "… an attractive and appropriate monument to the man and ideal it commemorates." The limitations of achieving this goal with so few remaining historical resources was recognized and remedied by planning for improved museum exhibits, interpretive signs, and the self-guided trail. … [t]he planning report placed emphasis on clarifying the monument's identity, image and visitor services. … visitors would identify the property as a historic site through the visual motif of the replica worm fencing… [then progressing through] improved visitor services [with] construction of a new entry road, … located west of the historic farm road, … to the proposed visitor center and parking lot. These developments, consistent with standard Mission 66 goals, became central to the park's future.[7]

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[4] Booker T. Washington Master Plan, drawings and written synopsis, February 1964, also part of Park Operations Outline. pp. 2-4

[5] Eliot Foulds, 75% Draft Cultural Landscape Report for Booker T. Washington National Monument: Site History, Existing Conditions, Analysis, Treatment Recommendations, and Landscape Treatment Case Studies., (USDOI, NPS, Olmstead Center for Landscape Preservation, Boston, MA, March, 2000.) pp.61-62

[6] Master Plan, op. cit. p. 4.

[7] Foulds, op. cit. pp. 79, 82-83.

Appendix C: Continued

Thus, the Mission 66 Visitor Center and designed landscape were critical in accomplishing and implementing the interpretive program to celebrate and explain Booker T. Washington's humble beginnings to his self-education and finally to renowned educator. Mission 66 allowed the planning, design and interpretation for the park, removal of later alterations/intrusions, construction of new visitor services and trails, and restoration of the few remaining elements from the former historic plantation area. Without Mission 66, the park would not have been able to execute its legislative mandate or follow through on the interpretive mission. The Park Service Mission 66 planners and designers started with an overlay of roads and trails, coupled with a lack of historical cultural resources, and set up an orientation program that began with the visitor entering the Monument west of and obscured from the main park area. The visitor then progressed down the entrance road into a minor hollow, proceeded by foot to the residential scale VC to view exhibits/audio-visual presentation and/or progressed through the VC to the platform (covered patio) and oversaw the vista of the plantation area. The visitor then walked to the historic core from the platform to understand Washington's humble beginnings and his development as a renowned educator. The site was further enhanced by the programmed landscaping elements, i.e., the split rail worm fencing at the entrance, along the roadways, around the Burroughs' cemetery and within the historical core - - all designed to reflect a spirit of a plantation at the park.

While the overall purpose of Mission 66 was to revitalize the "deplorable conditions" found within the existing parks, the movement also was used for new parks that were created during the Mission 66 period. Original visitor orientation and headquarters services were operated out of a mid-twentieth century brick building known as Hopkins Hall (1949). The building was designed for the Booker T. Washington National Monument Foundation, the entity that existed prior to the Park Service's ownership.[8] The park used the Mission 66 program to develop the infrastructure within the newly acquired property, submitting a prospectus for park improvements in 1958. However, infrastructure improvements in a design-phase did not occur until the early 1960s.

The Eastern Office, Design and Construction (EODC) began design work on the complex which consisted of the VC/HQ/Maintenance building, entrance drive, parking area, walkways/pathways, visitor amenities, and landscaping. NPS Architect Ben Biderman produced the preliminary design schematic for the VC.[9] The first scheme was dated August 6, 1964, with the second and accepted scheme dated September15, 1964. The overall form and shape of the building did not change from the first to the second scheme, but differed in spatial arrangements and entry modes on the first floor and spatial arrangements and overall size in the maintenance level. The BOWA VC is prototypical of the established Mission 66 design philosophy. It was typical through separation of visitor functions and headquarters (VC/HQ) functions. It is also atypical, in that the VC had the maintenance functions physically attached to the building but separated through a floor layer and offset to the VC/HQ areas. It follows the design philosophy of modern architecture oriented close to parking and the main drive circulation, which housed visitor orientation service, exhibit spaces, and headquarters/administration services. It also broke away from the design philosophy with the maintenance functions within the headquarters complex.[10] Part of this overall design was residential quarters, which can be seen on the road grade plan. However, the quarters were dropped from the overall project due a shortfall in funding.

The BOWA VC also differed administratively from other projects performed by EODC. The staff architects employed by EODC normally proceeded from design scheme to contract documents.[11] NPS Staff Architect Ben Biderman prepared the preliminary design. After approval and acceptance by the park, EODC, and regional officials, EODC solicited a local firm to prepare and finalize the contract documents. The NPS, when contracting projects outside of the EODC, selected local firms, familiar with the area, contractors, and codes and regulations. For BOWA, the NPS/EODC procured the services of Smithey & Boynton. The firm remained in business until Ken Motley, FAIA Retired, bought the rights and client list. They were noted for their work on educational facilities, but worked on a variety of projects. Although some of their work was traditional in design they were very versatile. Their projects reflected Tudor Revival, High Gothic Revival, Art Deco and the modern movement. (See Tabs 5a-5c on Smithey & Boynton).[12]

Smithey & Boynton became the architect of record, completing all aspects of the original preliminary design. The firm took the preliminary design and completed the design package to contract drawings for construction. They designed all components, connections, structural engineering, HVAC, and plumbing. They then followed through to construction overview, and contract/contractor. The NPS reviewed the design drawings and inputted where necessary, but, overall, the majority of design work and contract review was left to the architectural

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[8] Foulds, op. cit. pp. 55, 79.

[9] Pronounced bee-der-men. Mr. Biderman was a Graduate of the University of Pennsylvania. He and other graduates were employed right from School to NPS. The work of these employees was exemplary; the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania examination board waived internship time periods and allowed an accelerated registration examination.

[10] Telephone conversation with Mr. Biderman revealed that when he was employed in 1963, the Park Service was behind schedule in completing the Mission 66 designs. He was placed into the design section and projects were then let to local A&E firms to complete construction drawings.

[11] Contract Documents include the working drawings consisting of floor plans, elevations, sections, HVAC, electrical, plumbing and specifications. They also include bid documents, contractual terms and conditions, bid due dates, lump sum or fixed fee.

[12] Telephone Conversation, Mr. Ken Motley, former principal Smithey & Boynton, May 2002. Although the firm did grasp the modern movement no examples were discovered to exhibit stylization beyond the late Art Deco style Shenandoah Life Insurance Building. All work of the firm reposes at Newman Library at Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA. Web page information from Newman Library Holdings, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA. Mr. Smithey became a fellow in 1954. Awards for Mr. Boynton accessed via VA Society AIA web page. The firm was founded in 1920 by Louis Philippe Smithey, FAIA (1890-1966), in a partnership with a gentleman named "Tardy" from 1922 until 1927. Smithey practiced singly from 1927-1935. Henry B. Boynton (1899-1991), joined the firm in 1927, and became a partner in 1935. Mr. Boynton received two awards from the Virginia Society AIA: the William C. Noland Award (1989) and the Distinguished Achievement (formerly Service) Award (1980).

Appendix C: Continued

Total requested amount for the new facilities was $383,000.00. Work commenced on the entrance drive, and parking and sidewalk facilities on December 17, 1964, after awarding a contract to S.R. Draper Paving Company of Roanoke, VA; total sum $27,472.60. Upon near completion of these items, work commenced on the VC/HQ/Maintenance building. The Invitations for Bids awarded the contract to Paul E. Overstreet Construction Company for a negotiated bid of $106,300.00. Overstreet's bid of $109,150.00 was negotiated down through the removal of two items that the government would be purchasing and installing, the Audiovisual Room Carpeting and Seating for a total of $2,850.00. Overstreet's original bid was for $144,000.00, just for the VC, which meant that the planned-for residences had to be eliminated from the construction.[13] Work commenced on May 28, 1965, with the building opening on March 9, 1966. Landscaping for BOWA was awarded to Waynesboro Nurseries in April of 1966 for the sum of $7,321.50. The firm had 40 calendar days to complete the landscaping. The plantings were completed on May 27, 1966, with commencement/dedication ceremonies for the VC on June 18, 1966. It was necessary to complete the road and service drive to facilitate the construction of the VC and final landscaping, thereby minimizing disruption of on-going park visitation and operations. The Philips era entrance road and Hopkins Hall remained in use while the new facilities were constructed. Construction vehicles accessed the site through the new entrance road.

DESCRIPTION (Cont'd.)

The VC complex consists of a curving entrance road (w/ deceleration lane), parking lot & service drive, sidewalk, terrace patio (w/flagpole & benches), visitor center, worm style-split rail fencing, and landscape plantings. The complex remains visually and aesthetically intact. Minimal alterations have occurred to the building and surroundings over its thirty-six (36) year history. The building is sited as the NPS Mission 66 planners envisioned: the building is sited southeasterly, above and near the main parking area, but, *more so*, situated to feature the important view to the plantation area.[14] Visitors walk up the adjoining and adjacent sidewalk to the north facing entrance. After a brief visitor orientation, visitors then progress out the south facing entry (slightly recessed) to a balcony/walkway area (platform/covered patio). This south entrance and walkway give the visitor an overall view and vista of the park resources located to the southeast. Visitors progress from the covered patio to a paved walk, leading to the farm/plantation area. (See Tab 7, The Master Plan).

SITING/LANDSCAPING

The entrance drive and parking lot were built as designed. The Mission 66 planning team envisioned a curving, flowing drive that entered off of VA Rte 122 (Booker T. Washington Highway) that was away from and below the main focus of the park, i.e., the plantation/farm area. As stated, the drive progressed to the parking area where the visitor disembarked and proceeded to the VC. Originally, the parking lot encompassed parking for ten (10) cars and one bus parking space. In 1979, the Regional Office's Maintenance and Engineering Division redesigned the access road to the entrance road and the parking area. They added concrete curbing to the west side of the curved yield lane. In the parking area, they designed and constructed an additional bus parking area, and re-paved a parking area for six (6) cars at the end of the service road (adjacent to former maintenance shop area). The entire road and parking area were re-paved and marked for spaces with an addition of one accessible parking demarcation. In the 1980s the parking area was further modified to accommodate parking for ten (10) additional spaces and a turn-a-round. The accessible space was demarcated closer to the VC for easier access by impaired visitors. No changes to the grading or alignment have occurred to the entrance road. Changes to the parking lot have resulted in modifications to the existing grades and extension of paved areas at the main parking lot and at the former Maintenance Shop area. Two drainage pipes are in the entrance drive and service road. The pipe under the entrance road was an 18"x 29" elliptical corrugated metal pipe (CMP) with brick veneered headwall and endwall to hold the pipe in-place, allowing positive flow. The service road pipe was an 11" x 18" CMP with a drainage grate and basin on the upstream side and brick-faced endwall to the outlet side.

The General Master Plan Drawing (See Tab 7, Drawing NM-BTW-3003 B, 3/13/1964) shows placement of worm style, split-rail fencing along VA Rte 122 (Booker T. Washington Hwy), along the entrance road entry, around the Burroughs' Cemetery, and along a portion of the Phillips "Memorial" entrance road (originally to be obliterated). It also shows a luncheon area below the VC area. This plan was altered with fencing totally surrounding the cemetery (built in 1967), a fence running the entire length of the memorial road, and fencing along the west side of the new entrance road down to the service road at the VC. The fence was also placed along the entrance drive at the entry point to the existing wood stands (See tab 4c, Planting plan). The luncheon area remained in-place until relocated above the VC Parking lot in June of 1970. The fencing was to help evoke the rural nature of a Virginia farmstead/small plantation.

Plantings and Grounds improvements were built as designed. The grounds improvements consisted of a concrete terrace abutting and adjacent to the existing sidewalk, an aluminum flagpole that is anchored in a pentagonal-shaped, brick-encased, concrete footer, two redwood benches, and a triangular trash container (See Tab 4c, Drawing No. NM-BTW-3016, Sht 2 of 2). In front and integral to the VC entrance were two, flanking brick-faced planters. The terrace has been minimally altered with the removal of the triangular trash container. The landscape plan as designed by the Park Service and implemented by Waynesboro Nurseries, is substantially intact (See Tab 4c colored plan NM-BTW-3016, Sht 1 of 2, dated 11-29-65). All species planted are native to Virginia and the surrounding southern states, excluding the following (all in Common Name as notated on the aforementioned plan): English Ivy, Glossy Abelia, Flowering Quince, Burford Holly,

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[13] Barry Mackintosh, Booker T. Washington National Monument: An Administrative History. (USDOI, NPS, Division of History, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, June 18, 1969, Washington, DC.) pp.127-128. All three residences as originally planned-for were eventually scrapped.

[14] Allaback, op. cit., pp. 270-72.

Appendix C: Continued

Glossy Privit, Japanese Pieris, Scarlet Firethorn, Persian Lilac, and Spurge.[15] All of these were introduced ornamentals. Over time alterations have occurred to the plantings. Some have died; others have been removed due to nature or changes in design by the park. The most notable changes are around the VC and within the terrace, from around the building, and within the planters at the north entrance. The park removed all plants except for a few at the front and rear elevations. Many had become quite large and overgrown, but also tastes in vegetative type had changed. Most plantings along the entrance road again were native species selected to enhance the visitor's experience as she/he progressed to the VC. However, most of these species flower in the early spring months so there is only a short period of variegated color along the entrance drive. In June 2002, the park had to remove the Scarlet Oak in front of the VC because it was dying. In all, many of the plantings as designed are still visible from the Mission 66 project.

BUILDING

The VC is an example of Park Service Modern.[16] Park Service Modern incorporated styles and techniques of the modern movement and used materials and construction methods to quickly build the new centers for the public. The employment of modern style motifs can be seen in the expansive use of glass in the lobby area of the entry and exit doors (north and south elevations), set into metal mullions. The BOWA VC remains visually intact on the exterior and interior. Minimal alteration has occurred to the building interior, but no major floor plan alterations have occurred. The VC is a one-story gable roofed structure with a partial lower level. The main, or north entrance, was flush with the outer walls while the south exit doors were offset to the interior side (leads to the balcony platform). The lobby area is interspersed with brick and wood at the opposite ends of the entry areas, all topped by the exposed extended ridge-crest roof (See Tab 3a). The use of glass allowed the visitor to enjoy the vistas from inside the lobby/exhibit area as well as letting in large amounts of natural light, while coupling it with the large cathedral style feeling of the exposed wood truss beams. The beams were in-filled with flush-laid boards perpendicular to the beams. On the theater end (east end) the wall was composed of brick with built-in exhibits on the wall, one free-standing exhibit and a bench parallel to the sales display; all on a vinyl floor tile. (See first exhibit plan, Sept 1964, Tab 4d.) At the office end (west end) the wall is composed of exposed brick and plaster. Originally the lobby area was wide open with a visitors' desk (information center) situated to the west of the main entry doors. Eastern National sales area was a rack built into a build-out area to the south of the visitors' desk area. South of the sales area is the access to the public restrooms. Over time the lobby has undergone numerous modifications, but it still retains its original design feel. The original wall exhibits were replaced in 1978 with new exhibit display "barrels," but retained the information desk and sales display niche. The original chairs were replaced with two new chairs and the entire area was re-carpeted. (The bench was replaced earlier than 1978, probably around 1973, when the Emancipation sculpture was installed). In 1986 the lobby/exhibit area went through another modification with new carpeting and replacement of the flush visitors desk with a curving visitors desk/sales area.[17] The sales display area was moved to the western side of the south exit doors. The lighting has also changed in the lobby. Originally the space had white shaded can lighting and recessed can lighting over the information desk. Today the lighting is moveable tracks light over the main spaces with directional lighting over the dioramas, sales area and display areas. A ceiling fan has been installed to aid in air circulation. In 1996, a new flowing diorama exhibit was installed.

The theater area, when constructed, also showed the influence of the "Park Modern." The space originally had *Herman Miller Eames*™ multiple seating consisting of 6 rows of 8 seats for a total capacity of 48 with the entire floor carpeted.[18] The ceiling has the exposed beams again but instead of exposed roof decking, as in the main lobby; between the beams were placed acoustical ceiling tiles for sound absorption. The projection room has not been altered except for addition and removal of a film tree, replaced with dual control slide projectors (an upgrade from the original film to a slide show). Today, a wide screen TV sits at the front of the theater and an orientation video (slide show converted to video) is now used to present the program. The sound system (excluding wiring) is the same. The viewing area now has beyond the display screen and curtain, a speaker's dais. The drapes were replaced in 2000. The remainder of the room remains unchanged with retention of plywood paneling on the screen wall and projection room wall. The carpeting, seating and acoustical tiles have all been replaced. The seating is now moveable and stackable 5 rows of 9 chairs per row, with one row of 8 in the back for a total capacity of 53. Lighting has also been improved with adjustable level track lighting and directional track lighting aimed toward the dais.

Office and restroom areas have also gone through modifications and alterations since the building was placed into service. Part of the office space included the visitor's information desk. This desk (complete with gate) was placed within an "office" (room 106 on floor plan, See Tab 4b). A folding partition separated the visitors and rangers. This partition was innovative for its time, but did not serve the needs of separating public areas from park staff services. Every time the partition was drawn back this area was open to the public's view. Behind Room 106 was the Historian's Office, which had better privacy separation. To the south of Room 106, was a small hallway that led to: a stair to the lower level, a rear access to the men's toilet area, and to the Superintendent's Office (Supervisor's Office on plan). The restrooms/utility room was also in this section. It was accessed through a small hallway to the south and behind the sales display area. The display area actually served a dual purpose by a providing a site barrier to the hallway and women's toilet, while displaying books and items for sale. There was no second means of egress/ingress for the ladies room from the office side. Only the men's room had a second door, meaning that the work force was predominately male when design and construction of the Visitor Center occurred. Modifications to these areas have included the minimal upgrade of the restrooms to provide accessibility to all visitors, occurring in 1985. The office functions have changed with the Superintendent and Administration functions no longer present in the building.[19] The offices have had

[15] Japanese Pieris is commonly known as Andromita and Spurge is Japanese Spurge.
[16] Allaback, op. cit. pp. 270-72.
[17] Retrofit of lobby info desk was on September 17, 1986, new carpeting and cove base in 1993.
[18] These seats were 50s-60s bucket style chairs, ochre light color, epoxyed to a cast aluminum spider, which was anchored to a metal frame and then anchored to the floor. Carpeting was by Bigelow Carpets, color of Gold Coast Tweed. Sample viewed in park records.
[19] These functions were relocated to the former Booker T. Washington Elementary School in May 1993.

Appendix C: Continued

upgrades to the carpet, ceiling tiles and wall surface coverings. Original Vinyl Asbestos Tile (VAT) which was in the lobby area and office area was removed and replaced with wall-to-wall carpeting. The suspended ceiling has now been replaced with an improved dropped ceiling and parabolic louver fluorescent lighting. The plaster walls are now covered in artificial wood paneling, replacing a darker colored paneling that was put in c.1974-75. The folding partition wall was removed and a solid wall installed in its place in 1978. The information desk has been removed: a new three-quarter length, full height wall was installed in its place in 1986.

Overall the first floor level is 79'0" x 33'8" and is comprised of three main areas: (1) central lobby/exhibit area; (2) theater/orientation/audio-visual (AV) room east of the lobby, and (3) office/staff functions, restrooms and stair access to lower level west of the lobby. The roof form is clearly a 60's modern interpretation of a gable roof. It has an extended gable ridge with a 4'-10" projecting overhang at the ridge level and a 2'-0" projecting overhang at the gable eave ends; overall, the roof is 88'-8" long at ridge peak by 36'-8" wide, eave to eave. The roof was originally covered in wood shingles, replaced in 1995 with asphalt shingles. The wood board and batten was originally stained in a pecan color finish, but was re-stained in a darker color. Wall materials in the VC are comprised of Virginia Clay Brown Brick, wood board and batten siding, partial window walls in the north and south elevation office areas, full window walls at the entrance and exit lobbies. Wall construction on the upper level is stud framing, covered by Celotex®, then covered either in brick veneer or with the board and batten siding.[20] Running the length of the building were seven (7) 6"x16" wood beams, fully exposed in the main lobby area and theater area; concealed behind a dropped ceiling area in the office/headquarters area. All project beyond the exterior wall surfaces within the roof gable area on both gable ends. Each of the three areas is explained in succeeding paragraphs. (See Tab 4b, Const. Dwgs for reference.)

The lower level is comprised of five rooms (not including the stairwell): (1) storage room, (2) toilet, (3) storage closet (behind toilet area), (4) mechanical room, and (5) shop area (equipment room) which, while physically connected, was separate from the building, and un-excavated areas (under lobby and AV room). Basement level is composed of two different overall sizes: the shop area (5) is 41'-4" x 28'-4" and the second [areas (1)(2)(3)(4) and stairwell] is 31'-8" x 20'-0". Lower level construction materials are composed of poured-in-place concrete footings, stepped footings, and float finished slabs. In the maintenance area (equipment room and storage area) concrete masonry unit (CMU) blocks form the interior walls. Steel beams span the garage (equipment room) to support wood decking and built-up roofing (BUR). This roof was replaced in 1995 with a modified bitumen built-up roof. In the storage area, the spanned areas are composed of poured-in-place concrete slab (5-½" thick) to serve as the upper level flooring. Brick veneer facing on the exterior CMU & footing walls are of two types: below grade brick is of lower quality mixed-grade units, covered in bituminous coating; above grade is uniform Virginia Clay brick (See Tab 4b, Dwg 2, 5 & 7 of 12).

The lower level still retains all functional uses from the original design except for the maintenance shop. While again innovative for its time, the space and functionality of the shop area proved inadequate over time. Maintenance functions were moved out of the Visitor Center to the former Booker T. Washington Elementary School. The area remains intact with its original doors and windows, but is now used for storage of park supplies. Outside and to the east of the shop area is a retaining wall. Originally this wall extended out 9', turned 90° west for 6', then turned 90° south approximately 22', and then turned 90° west for 42'. This wall began to undulate over time due to earth pressures, creating a serpentine look, and had to be rebuilt in 2000.

Exterior elevations were altered by an addition of an exterior glass and aluminum vestibule to the north face entry. This entrance was designed in October 1979 from a pre-fabricated bus shelter: it was to be attached through government-fabricated clips. The system was ordered and installed in late 1979 or early 1980. It was subsequently removed in 1983 and sold in 1985, returning the façade to its original configuration. The exterior modifications were to the gable roof, siding, and maintenance area. The roof changed materials from wood shingle to asphalt shingle. The wood siding changed in color from a pecan to a darker color. Behind, separated and hidden from public view the park has added a new open-sided slope roofed shed, above ground fuel storage tank and new transformers (See Photos, Tab 3a, 3b).

[20] Celotex® is building paper wrap, which is similar to, and the forerunner to today's Tyvek®, Typar® and Greenguard® moisture barrier wraps.

Appendix D: Correspondence between Virginia Department of Historic Resources and National Park Service about the Determination of Eligibility for the Mission-66 Visitor Center Complex at Booker T. Washington National Monument

COMMONWEALTH of VIRGINIA

Department of Historic Resources

2801 Kensington Avenue, Richmond, Virginia 23221

W. Tayloe Murphy, Jr.
Secretary of Natural Resources

Kathleen S. Kilpatrick
Director

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29 November 2002

Marie Rust, Regional Director
Northeast Region
U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service
200 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19106-2878

Attention: Clifford Tobias

Re: Booker T. Washington National Monument
Hardy, Franklin County, Virginia
VDHR Project No. 2002-0957

Dear Ms. Rust,

Thank you for providing the Booker T. Washington National Monument Determination of Eligibility report to the Department of Historic Resources (DHR) for consideration. The report was prepared by Stephen M. Clark, Assoc. AIA, Historical Architect, Northeast Cultural Resources Center, Building Conservation Branch, is dated 12 July 2002, and presents a thorough study of the Mission 66 resources at the Booker T. Washington National Monument (BOWA).

The report was considered by the DHR architectural evaluation committee on Thursday, 7 November. The evaluation committee found that the Mission 66 resources at the BOWA do not exhibit a degree of significance sufficient to meet the criteria for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NR). In this instance, because the resources are less than fifty years of age, as stated in your letter to be eligible for NR listing they must meet the "exceptional importance" standard of NR Criteria Consideration "G", " ' as an essential part of an overall Mission 66 park development plan that had extraordinary importance in the history and development of an individual park.' " It is the opinion of DHR that the Mission 66 resources at the BOWA are not representative of the level of exceptional importance required for listing, as they are not premier examples of the Mission 66 program.

While the role of Mission 66 is clearly an important component of the successful development of the BOWA as a National Park Service site, the resources are not outstanding examples of the Mission 66 program. DHR agrees that the Visitor Center (VC) and associated Mission 66 resources, including the landscaping plan, are representative of works of the Mission 66 program – as noted in the report, the VC is in the Park Service Modern style associated with Mission 66, and was designed by NPS architect Ben Biderman, with the Roanoke area architectural firm of Smithey-Boynton producing the construction drawings – but DHR finds

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Appendix D: Continued

Booker T. Washington National Monument
Hardy, Franklin County, Virginia
VDHR Project No. 2002-0957

that the level of architectural significance and the ability of the resources to convey the historic importance of Mission 66 is not sufficient to meet NR Criteria Consideration "G".

The DHR architectural evaluation team finds that the Mission 66 resources at the BOWA might contribute to NR eligibility of the complete property, but more information about the other resources at BOWA will be needed to make this assessment. Recently DHR received a copy of the draft Cultural Landscape Report: Booker T. Washington National Monument, prepared by the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, and dated August 2002, to assist with the evaluation of the BOWA property. DHR will provide comments on the eligibility of the property and on the Cultural Landscape Report within the next thirty days.

Thank you for consulting with DHR on the NR eligibility of resources at the BOWA. If you have questions about DHR's comments, please contact Susan Smead by e-mail at SSmead@dhr.state.va.us or by phone at 804-367-2323, extension 110.

Sincerely,

Ethel R. Eaton, PhD.
Manager, Office of Review and Compliance

c: **Rebecca Harriett, Superintendent**
Booker T. Washington National Monument
12130 Booker T. Washington Highway
Hardy, VA 24101

Appendix D: Continued

COMMONWEALTH of VIRGINIA

Department of Historic Resources

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23 December 2002

Marie Rust, Regional Director
Northeast Region
U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service
200 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19106-2878

Attention: Clifford Tobias

Rebecca Harriett, Superintendent
Booker T. Washington National Monument
12130 Booker T. Washington Highway
Hardy, VA 24101

Re: Booker T. Washington National Monument
Hardy, Franklin County, Virginia
VDHR Project No. 2002-0957

Dear Ms. Rust and Ms. Harriett,

The Department of Historic Resources (DHR) recently considered the report entitled Cultural Landscape Report: Booker T. Washington National Monument (Boston, Massachusetts: National Park Service Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, August 2002) (CLR) and other materials on the Booker T. Washington National Monument (BOWA), including the National Register of Historic Places nomination for the property and the Booker T. Washington National Monument Determination of Eligibility (DOE) for the Mission 66 resources, prepared by Stephen M. Clark, June 2002, to assess whether the Mission 66 resources appear to contribute to the National Register eligibility of the BOWA. On 29 November, DHR sent a letter to you with the finding of DHR's architectural evaluation team that the Mission 66 resources at the BOWA are not individually eligible for listing in the National Register: in DHR's opinion they do not exhibit the degree of significance needed to meet the criteria for listing in the National Register as they are not premier examples of the Mission 66 program.

While not considered individually eligible, the DHR architectural evaluation team finds that the Mission 66 resources at the BOWA do contribute to the National Register eligibility of the property. The CLR points out that the BOWA property was molded by the Mission 66 program, through the addition of the visitor center, park infrastructure, and landscaping. The Mission 66 work at the BOWA falls within the 1952-66 period of significance, and represents current thinking at that time for the interpretation of the property. The

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Appendix D: Continued

The CLR describes the following resources constructed prior to 1966: visitor center, 1965-66; cabin, 1960; the park entry road, 1956-1966, and Plantation (formerly Roll Road) Trail, completed ca. 1959-61. In addition, the landscape underwent reconfiguration, especially in the northern section of the park, with the National Park Service demolishing a number of twentieth century structures circa 1958.

The resources that date to the 1970s include the following components of the living historical farm: horse barn, built 1970; corn crib, built 1972; blacksmith shop, built 1972; privy, built 1973; chicken house, built 1973; and smokehouse, built 1974. The kitchen garden dates to ca. 1972 and the herb garden to 1982. The Jack-O-Lantern Branch Trail was constructed ca. 1972. A number of small-scale features—spring box, dinner bell, grinding stone, rain barrels—presumably date to 1972; and the hog lot, date unknown, and was moved to its current location in 1989.

Later NPS constructed resources include a now-abandoned campground (in use 1980-83).

In considering resource eligibility, the NPS cited and used the registration requirements for visitor centers. Registration requirements have not yet been developed for other types of Mission 66 resources (a study of the program as a whole is underway). Specifically, the characteristics of landscape design that characterize Mission 66 development, except specifically in relationship to the placement and setting of visitor centers, have not been clearly defined in the Mission 66 visitor centers study.

Nonetheless, we recognize our responsibility for evaluating all Mission 66 in advance of the national study to the extent feasible. Using the Mission 66 Visitor center registration requirements as a guideline, a significant resource (1) must have been planned and built as part of the Mission 66 program, (2) should possess substantial integrity to the period of significance, and (3) should possess sufficient features to relate the property to the Modern movement. Additionally, the visitor center registration requirements state that to be exceptionally significant a property's period of significance must fall within the years 1945-1966.

Clearly, only some of the early NPS-era resources meet these requirements. The visitor center dates to 1966, and the entry-road, parking lot, split rail fencing along the road, and landscape treatment surrounding the visitor center were planned and built at that time; but these features stand apart other landscape resources throughout the park. While some, most notably the cabin replica and the Plantation Trail (formerly known as the Roll Road Trail), were constructed in the early 1960s and are clearly Mission 66 features, most of the interpretive elements within the landscape post-date Mission 66. As noted above, the reconstructed structures and landscape features in the historic core date to the early 1970s. Likewise, the configuration of field and forest did not appreciably change during the Mission 66-era despite the issuance of several historical and vegetative base maps that proposed adaptation of contemporary vegetative patterns. In fact, the Mission 66-era recommendation to clear a substantial amount of forest was never implemented.

Thank you for your earlier comments respecting the eligibility of Booker T. Washington NM's Mission 66 visitor center and we look forward to clarifying further the eligibility of this and other NPS-era resources at the park.

Sincerely,

Marie Rust

Marie Rust
Regional Director

Appendix D: Continued

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Northeast Region
United States Custom House
200 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19106

IN REPLY REFER TO:

February 19, 2003

Ms. Ethel R. Eaton
Manager, Office of Review and Compliance
Commonwealth of Virginia
Department of Historic Resources
2801 Kensington Avenue
Richmond, Virginia 23221

per 32-15

Dear Ms. Eaton:

Re: Booker T. Washington National Monument
Hardy, Franklin County, Virginia
VDHR Project No. 2002-0957

Thank you for your letters of November 29, 2002 and December 23, 2002 regarding the eligibility of Mission 66 resources at Booker T. Washington National Monument (BOWA). I am writing to request that you clarify why criteria consideration G applies to the park as a whole and the specific park resources to which they do apply.

In this respect, as the Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) documents, the resources that exist today in the park do not reflect the parkwide implementation of Mission 66. With the primary exceptions of the visitor center and its immediate setting and the birthplace cabin, the features and facilities proposed as part of the park's initial Mission 66 program were never developed, or constructed in modified form after the end of the Mission 66 development campaign.

In your November 29 response to the National Park Service (NPS) submittal, you found that the Mission 66 resources at BOWA do not meet the exceptional importance standard of National Register criteria consideration "G." In your follow-up letter of December 23, you found that "while not considered individually eligible, ... the Mission 66 resources at the BOWA do contribute to the National Register eligibility of the property." Your December 23 correspondence refers to the draft cultural landscape report (CLR) for the property under your review. The CLR describes the NPS effort to develop the property for interpretive purposes both during and after the Mission 66 era.

From the outset, the NPS sought to present the BOWA site as "as a typical middle class 1850s farm" while providing for modern facilities and exhibits. Proposed physical improvements included interpretive trails, a new cabin replica, reconstructed farm buildings, employee housing, utility building, and removal of non-historic structures. Demolition of a number of standing structures was also proposed.

While much of this program eventually came to fruition (employee housing was not built), the focus of activity during the Mission 66 period consisted of building demolition, construction of the Visitor Center complex, creation of the Roll Road interpretive trail, and construction of the conjectural "birthplace cabin." Other components of the living historical farm, constructed in the early 1970s, were part of the living history movement that can in the National Park Service be dated to 1965 and at the park to mid 1968. Farming activities shifted considerably from the previous system of pasturing a few dozen acres to include working fields and livestock tended using nineteenth-century methods. While site interpretation at Booker T. Washington National Monument (NM) represents a continuation of Mission 66 planning, it truly belongs to the post-Mission 66 era. According to the NPS's 1972 Operations Evaluation Report, the 1964 Master Plan did not envision the scale of the development that actually occurred. Living history continued at the park until 1994.

Appendix D: Continued

The CLR describes the following resources constructed prior to 1966: visitor center, 1965-66; cabin, 1960; the park entry road, 1956-1966, and Plantation (formerly Roll Road) Trail, completed ca. 1959-61. In addition, the landscape underwent reconfiguration, especially in the northern section of the park, with the National Park Service demolishing a number of twentieth century structures circa 1958.

The resources that date to the 1970s include the following components of the living historical farm: horse barn, built 1970; corn crib, built 1972; blacksmith shop, built 1972; privy, built 1973; chicken house, built 1973; and smokehouse, built 1974. The kitchen garden dates to ca. 1972 and the herb garden to 1982. The Jack-O-Lantern Branch Trail was constructed ca. 1972. A number of small-scale features—spring box, dinner bell, grinding stone, rain barrels—presumably date to 1972; and the hog lot, date unknown, and was moved to its current location in 1989.

Later NPS constructed resources include a now-abandoned campground (in use 1980-83).

In considering resource eligibility, the NPS cited and used the registration requirements for visitor centers. Registration requirements have not yet been developed for other types of Mission 66 resources (a study of the program as a whole is underway). Specifically, the characteristics of landscape design that characterize Mission 66 development, except specifically in relationship to the placement and setting of visitor centers, have not been clearly defined in the Mission 66 visitor centers study.

Nonetheless, we recognize our responsibility for evaluating all Mission 66 in advance of the national study to the extent feasible. Using the Mission 66 Visitor center registration requirements as a guideline, a significant resource (1) must have been planned and built as part of the Mission 66 program, (2) should possess substantial integrity to the period of significance, and (3) should possess sufficient features to relate the property to the Modern movement. Additionally, the visitor center registration requirements state that to be exceptionally significant a property's period of significance must fall within the years 1945-1966.

Clearly, only some of the early NPS-era resources meet these requirements. The visitor center dates to 1966, and the entry-road, parking lot, split rail fencing along the road, and landscape treatment surrounding the visitor center were planned and built at that time; but these features stand apart other landscape resources throughout the park. While some, most notably the cabin replica and the Plantation Trail (formerly known as the Roll Road Trail), were constructed in the early 1960s and are clearly Mission 66 features, most of the interpretive elements within the landscape post-date Mission 66. As noted above, the reconstructed structures and landscape features in the historic core date to the early 1970s. Likewise, the configuration of field and forest did not appreciably change during the Mission 66-era despite the issuance of several historical and vegetative base maps that proposed adaptation of contemporary vegetative patterns. In fact, the Mission 66-era recommendation to clear a substantial amount of forest was never implemented.

Thank you for your earlier comments respecting the eligibility of Booker T. Washington NM's Mission 66 visitor center and we look forward to clarifying further the eligibility of this and other NPS-era resources at the park.

Sincerely,

Marie Rust

Marie Rust
Regional Director

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11 September 2003

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Re: Booker T. Washington National Monument – Mission 66 resources
Hardy, Franklin County, Virginia
VDHR Project No. 2002-0957

Dear Ms. Rust,

Thank you for your letter of 19 February 2003, received by the Department of Historic Resources (DHR) on 25 April 2003. After careful consideration of the questions raised in the letter concerning the Mission 66 resources at the Booker T. Washington National Monument (BOWA), and review of additional material concerning Mission 66 at the BOWA, DHR has revisited the eligibility of these resources for listing in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). DHR's architectural evaluation team has reevaluated the Mission 66 resources at BOWA in light of the clarification provided by your letter, and finds again that these resources are considered eligible for listing in the NRHP as part of the Booker T. Washington National Monument NRHP listing.

DHR recommends the expansion of the period of significance for the NRHP listing to include the Mission 66 initiative at BOWA. Also, DHR suggests that the period identified in the report entitled Cultural Landscape Report: Booker T. Washington National Monument (Boston, Massachusetts: National Park Service Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, August 2002) (CLR) as 1952-1966, should be considered for inclusion in an expanded period of significance for the property, for the role of the Booker T. Washington Elementary School Building during the era of massive resistance in Virginia.

DHR finds that the visitor's center at BOWA and associated landscape elements meet the requirements for exceptional importance in the Mission 66 Visitors Center Guide (VCG), in that they were planned and built as part of the Mission 66 program, possess substantial physical integrity to the period of significance of 1945-1966, and possess exceptional historic importance for association

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Appendix D: Continued

Booker T. Washington National Monument
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with events and activities that made an outstanding contribution to the history of the local community. The last consideration lies in the BOWA's state and local significance under NRHP Criterion A, for association with events important in America's racially-related social and political developments. This is tied not only to school desegregation and massive resistance, but also to the establishment of a memorial to Booker T. Washington.

The BOWA was only "the second African-American site designated by Congress" when the National Park Service (NPS) accepted the site in 1956 (CLR, page 145). The CLR notes that "It is itself historically significant that Congress should have established Booker T. Washington National Monument when it finally did" (page 160). Shortly after, Mission 66 developments at BOWA were planned. The significance of this could be further illuminated by determining whether any other NPS properties associated with African American history were included in the Mission 66 initiative. According to the CLR, work began on the BOWA visitor's center in 1964, and it was dedicated in 1966, in the face of threatened Ku Klux Klan rallies planned to protest the opening. This was also the year that the Booker T. Washington Elementary School was closed, rather than integrating it, perhaps due to KKK rallies held in the area in 1966 (CLR, page 163). A remarkable contrast in historical events is represented by the parallel unfolding of these developments.

Architecturally, while DHR finds that the BOWA visitor's center is a relatively small, and not outstanding example of the "Park Service Modern" style of the Mission 66 visitor's centers, it has the hallmarks of the style, and retains excellent integrity. The characteristics itemized in the VCG, met by the BOWA visitor's center and associated site development and landscaping, include the following:

- The building's positioning in relation to the park entrance and its relationship to other features at BOWA, relating to an overall plan for "visitor flow", and "emphasiz[ing] visitor's experience of spatial procession";
- The "building design emphasizes plan organization," defining spaces with a plan that allows "visitor flow" through the building, while it incorporates and centralizes park functions, facilities, and interpretive features;
- Split levels allow separation between public and administrative or service areas, giving the appearance of a low profile, one-story building on the public side, and using planting to screen the service area, all allowing the building to harmonize with its setting;
- The building's design exhibits the vocabulary of the "Park Service Modern" style, with a broad gable roof providing shelter to entrances, exposed structural members supporting the roof, window walls allowing integration of interior and exterior spaces, an entrance porch, and use of naturalistic wood and brick construction materials.

Based on this assessment, the BOWA visitor's center and landscaping presents a small-scale essay in the Mission 66 and "Park Service Modern" style.

The Summary of Landscape Characteristics and Features for Booker T. Washington National

Appendix D: Continued

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Monument, presented in the CLR (page 163-167), has been considered by DHR since receipt of your letter. This summary notes that the Mission 66 resources are under consideration. Besides recommending that these resources contribute to the BOWA NR listing with an expanded period of significance, DHR concurs with the other eligibility findings except for fencing: fences installed as part of the Mission 66 development, such as those along the park entry drive, are regarded by DHR as contributing.

Thank you for considering the comments presented herein. DHR invites the NPS to agree with the recommendations presented, or refer the determination of eligibility to the Keeper. In the meantime, DHR continues to recommend treatment of the Mission 66 resources at BOWA as NR eligible, as contributing resources in the Booker T. Washington National Monument historic district, by insuring that any work proposed for these resources will meet *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*. If you have questions about DHR's comments, please contact me at Eeaton@dhr.state.va.us, or 804-367-2323, ext. 112, or Susan Smead at SSmead@dhr.state.va.us, or at 804-367-2323, extension 110.

Sincerely,

Ethel R Eaton

Ethel R. Eaton, PhD.
Manager, Office of Review and Compliance

c: Rebecca Harriett, Superintendent
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