

Preserving the Records of Mount Auburn Cemetery

Mount Auburn Cemetery, located in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was established in 1831, in alliance with the newly formed Massachusetts Horticultural Society. It was the first garden cemetery in North America, and still serves as the model for other cemeteries of that type around the world. Listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the cemetery occupies 174 acres that contain almost 6,000 foreign and native trees representing more than 700 varieties. Among the great figures of American history buried here are scientist Louis Agassiz, actor Edwin Booth, architect Charles Bulfinch, religious leader Mary Baker Eddy, lyricist Julia Ward Howe, poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and politician Charles Sumner, to name but a few. The cemetery's nearly 30,000 examples of funerary art include numerous outstanding works by noted 19th-century artists, and constitute the full range of vernacular Victorian cemetery adornment.

In 1989, Kathleen D. Leslie, the cemetery's part-time archivist/librarian, undertook a survey of a group of 17 rural cemeteries nationwide to determine the nature and extent of their archival collections and the practices employed in managing them. Ms. Leslie determined that none of the early garden cemeteries in this group maintained a catalogued archival collection. Mount Auburn then had a field representative from the Northeast Document Conservation Center (NEDCC) in Andover, Massachusetts, conduct a survey of its records and its administration building, which was slated for extensive renovation. The NEDCC survey helped provide guidance in the construction of a permanent records storage space, and also yielded recommendations for the treatment, handling, and disposition of the cemetery's records.

The cemetery's administrative building's renovation in 1990 included the establishment of a climate-controlled archives room. The cemetery also arranged for an NEDCC paper conservator to provide staff training in document preservation techniques, and sponsored Ms. Leslie's attendance at workshops

on descriptive format and on preservation of photographic materials.

In 1991, the Friends of Mount Auburn Cemetery applied to the Commission for a grant to arrange, describe, and preserve its records. The proposed project had three goals: (1) to establish a formal archival program for the cemetery, (2) to arrange and describe the cemetery's records, and (3) to produce a procedures manual for the care of garden cemetery archival material. The materials in question consisted primarily of some 150 cubic feet of business and legal documents, horticultural records, and

correspondence dating from the period 1831-1935, then housed in 38 large containers. These materials would be flattened, placed in acid-free containers, and stored in a climate-controlled area. In addition, the project would describe the cemetery's post-1935 records, which had been maintained according to an established filing system. The collection also included architectural drawings, maps, and a variety of photographic records, among which were glass slides, stereographic cards, and copper

plates. The project staff also proposed to conduct a survey of other garden cemeteries in order to develop a standard methodology for processing and preserving garden cemetery records.

At its winter meeting in 1992, the NHPRC recommended approval of a grant in the amount of \$19,600 for a one-year project, with funds to be expended for a portion of the salary of the project archivist (Kathleen Leslie) and all of the salary of an archives assistant (Joan L. Gearin).

The project began in August 1992 with the flattening, cleaning, and repair of the records, which were then sorted into folders for cataloging. This work took longer than expected, but yielded important discoveries, such as the approximately 750 handwritten committee reports from the 1830s to the 1880s which turned up in November 1992. The project staff also established a control group of 12 other rural cemeteries, which

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Entrance Gate of Mount Auburn Cemetery, from Mount Auburn Illustrated, drawings by James Smillie, notes by Cornelia W. Walter (New York: R. Martin, 1847).

ANNOTATION

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From the Editor

The theme of this issue of *Annotation* is Commission support for projects that document ways in which we relate to the American environment, whether it be the preservation of outstanding portions of that environment in their original state, the alteration of other portions to reflect our concept of a pleasing natural setting, the introduction of man-made structures into such settings, or the design and construction of buildings and other works to facilitate human interrelationships in a manner both functional and pleasing.

Our coverage of this theme begins with an article on efforts to arrange, describe, and preserve the records of Mount Auburn Cemetery. Established in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1831, Mount Auburn was the first garden cemetery in North America, and served as the model for other cemeteries of this type around the world. That tradition now extends into the area of records preservation, for one of the products of this NHPRC grant was a primer to acquaint users with the contents of rural cemetery records, including background information on the rural cemetery movement in the United States.

One of the founders of the American environmental movement was John Muir, a naturalist, explorer, and conservationist who spent years studying California's Yosemite Valley and other natural areas in that state, Nevada, Utah, the Pacific Northwest, and Alaska. A grant from the Commission helped the Holt-Atherton Center for Western Studies at the University of the Pacific undertake the microfilming of the John Muir Papers.

Muir founded the Sierra Club, which has been involved in virtually every effort to preserve the American environment over the past century. The records of that organization, housed in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, are an invaluable resource for those who seek to understand the birth and development of the environmental movement in the United States. A Commission grant to the library enabled it to survey the records in six Sierra Club offices, provide records management assistance to the Club, and process a substantial amount of its paper records and photographs.

Since almost the turn of the century, the firm of Ochsner, Hare, and Hare has been writing its own chapter in the history of American landscape architecture and city planning. Founded in 1910 by the father-and-son team of Sidney J. and S. Herbert Hare, its body of work includes private residences, parks, cemeteries, military installations, college campuses, and community planning and design projects in 28 states. The firm's records for the period up to 1979 are now in the custody of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. An NHPRC grant assisted in the arrangement, description, and preservation of these records.

William Thornton, a man of many interests, was one of the founders of Washington, DC, and heavily involved in the design and construction of the U.S. Capitol. Benjamin Henry Latrobe is generally considered America's first professional architect and engineer. NHPRC grants have supported the publication of both men's papers. Our coverage includes retrospectives on the Latrobe Papers by two of those involved in their publication.

The Executive Director's Column

At a time when every well-run organization is driven by a mission statement, let me quote a mission statement of an organization over one hundred years old:

To explore, enjoy, and protect the wild places of the earth; to practice and promote the responsible use of the earth's ecosystems and resources; to educate and enlist humanity to protect and restore the quality of the natural and human environment; and to use all lawful means to carry out these objectives.

This is the mission of the Sierra Club, founded in 1892 in San Francisco by John Muir and his friends concerned about the protection of the Sierra Nevada. Led by the indomitable Muir, the Sierra Club played a major part in establishing the National Park System and the Forest Service and helped create such treasured sites as Sequoia and Kings Canyon. Preservation of and access to natural lands was their goal.

The NHPRC's mission statement, too, is concerned with preservation and access:

To ensure understanding of our nation's past by promoting, nationwide, the identification, preservation, and dissemination of essential historical documentation.

In many respects, the works of John Muir and the conservation movement can be seen as metaphors for the Commission's own program. The preservation and description of documents, photographs, and electronic records; good archival management; and the publication of



documentary editions are all inseparable components of an overarching enterprise to preserve valuable resources and make them accessible for use.

Muir realized that groups of individuals and institutions with similar goals must unite in a concerted effort to promote their common goals. He and others joined to rescue treasured resources from the damage wrought by apathy and time. In its own areas of interest, the NHPRC, joining with other organizations and institutions, attempts to do much the same thing.

As this issue of *Annotation* illustrates, the Commission has supported a number of archival and editing projects that document ways in which we relate to the American environment and the way that environment has shaped us: from the work of Muir and Benjamin Henry Latrobe to the urban architectural designs of Sidney and Herbert Hare. In the September 1998 issue of *Annotation*, we focussed on other such projects—documentary editions on the work of landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted and the career of architect Robert Mills, designer of the Washington Monument, and projects to document the history of Michigan architecture and the home designs of David Adler. At the time, our call for articles resulted in too great a harvest for one issue.

All of these projects help us better understand the creative impulses and energy, the organizational planning efforts, and sheer savvy behind the individuals and their organizations whose documentation these projects are



John Muir resting on the trail to the Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park. Photo courtesy of the Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University of the Pacific. A related story begins on page 5.

NHPRC Application Deadlines

The Commission's meetings follow the fiscal year of October 1 to September 30. Consequently, the first meeting of the fiscal year is in November and the second is in May.

June 1 (for the November meeting)

Proposals addressing the following top priorities:

- The NHPRC will provide the American public with widespread access to the papers of the founders of our democratic republic and its institutions by ensuring the timely completion of eight projects now in progress to publish the papers of George Washington, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and papers that document the Ratification of the Constitution, the First Federal Congress, and the early Supreme Court.
- The NHPRC will promote broad public participation in historical documentation by collaborating with State Historical Records Advisory Boards to plan and carry out jointly funded programs to strengthen the nation's archival infrastructure and expand the range of records that are protected and accessible.
- The NHPRC will enable the nation's archivists, records managers, and documentary editors to overcome the obstacles and take advantage of the opportunities posed by electronic technologies by continuing to provide leadership in funding research and development on appraising, preserving, disseminating, and providing access to important documentary sources in electronic form.

October 1 (for the May meeting)

Proposals not addressing the above priorities, but focusing on an activity authorized in the NHPRC statute as follows:

- collecting, describing, preserving, compiling, and publishing (including microfilming and other forms of reproduction) of documentary sources significant to the history of the United States.
- conducting institutes, training and educational courses, and fellowships related to the activities of the Commission.
- disseminating information about documentary sources through guides, directories, and other technical publications.
- or, more specifically, documentary editing and publishing; archival preservation and processing of records for access; developing or updating descriptive systems; creation and development of archival and records management programs; development of standards, tools, and techniques to advance the work of archivists, records managers, and documentary editors; and promotion of the use of records by teachers, students, and the public.

Application guidelines and forms may be requested from NHPRC, National Archives and Records Administration, 700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Room 111, Washington, DC 20408-0001, (202) 501-5610 (voice), (202) 501-5601 (fax), <nhprc@arch1.nara.gov> (e-mail), or by accessing our Web site at <<http://www.nara.gov/nara/nhprc/>>.

working to save and make available for use by the American public.

The Commission, of course, funds projects solely on the basis of their historical significance and technical merit, and regardless of the points of view therein. Nevertheless, staff preparing this issue have noted a familiar resonance in the attitudes, motivation and goals articulated in the materials preserved and made accessible by these projects.

In 1901, John Muir wrote, "I have done the best I could to show forth the beauty, grandeur, and all-embracing usefulness of our wild mountain forest reservations and parks, with a view to inciting the people to come and enjoy them, and get them into their hearts, that so at length their preservation and right use might be made sure."

Words to live by.

Microfilming the Papers of John Muir

John Muir (1838-1914), a naturalist, explorer, and conservationist, came to America from Scotland as a boy. He grew up in Wisconsin, where he attended the university, showing great interest in chemistry and geology. After traveling on foot through the Midwest, he moved to California in 1868. Muir spent six years studying and exploring the Yosemite Valley, after which he pursued similar interests in Nevada, Utah, the Northwest, and Alaska. On his excursions, he kept a journal in which he noted his observations and illustrated them with sketches.

Having secured financial independence in the 1880s through his efforts as a fruit rancher, Muir devoted the rest of his life to travel and study. He was principally interested in glaciers and forests, and was the first to demonstrate that Yosemite Valley was formed by glacial erosion. The creation of Yosemite National Park by Act of Congress in 1890 was largely owing to the public efforts of Muir and Robert Underwood Johnson. Similar observations by Muir on the wasting of national forest resources played an important part in securing conservation laws and in establishing a system of national parks.

As a naturalist and precursor of the modern environmental movement, John Muir has few peers in American history. Over a forty-year period, he acquired and enhanced a reputation as a discerning observer of the natural world. Muir challenged conventional scientific theories and helped rewrite the body of knowledge on glaciation and other geologic phenomena. His writings helped lead the nation toward an understanding and appreciation of the natural environment and of its value as both a material and a spiritual resource.

Muir's most important contribution to our nation's history grew from his political activism. One of the founding fathers of the national park system, he was instrumental in the establishment of Yosemite, Sequoia, Grand Canyon, Mt. Rainier, and other parks and monuments. As founder and first president of the Sierra Club, he helped create one of the most influential membership organizations in the conservation field. Muir had an almost mystical reverence for wilderness that brought him into conflict with management-oriented conservationists, including Gifford Pinchot, who rejected what they regarded as unproductive primitivism. His writings on wilderness preservation were an important factor in the creation of the National Park Service.

With the rebirth of environmentalism in the 1960s, the need for a complete edition of Muir's works became apparent. Frederick William Badè published a two-volume *Life and Letters of John Muir* shortly after Muir's death in 1914, including primarily selected letters written by Muir to relatives and friends. A ten-volume collected edition of Muir's works, compiled from

previous editions, appeared in the early 1920s. Linnie Marsh Wolfe published her *John of the Mountains*, which contained excerpts from Muir's journals, in 1938, and her Pulitzer Prize-winning biography, *Son of the Wilderness*, came out in 1945.

Muir's heirs placed the bulk of his papers on indefinite loan with the Holt-Atherton Center for Western Studies at the University of the Pacific in 1970. These papers constitute approximately 75 percent of Muir's extant works, with the remainder scattered among some 40 repositories, the major collections being those of the Bancroft Library, the Huntington Library, and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

With a grant from the NHPRC and the cooperation of Muir's heirs, the University of the Pacific launched the John Muir Papers Microform Project in 1981. The project's goal was to gather, arrange, and publish virtually all of Muir's correspondence, journals, unpublished manuscripts, and collected illustrations.

The project staff's first task was to locate and acquire facsimile copies of Muir materials in other repositories. These efforts built upon the foundation laid by Frederick William Badè and Linnie Marsh Wolfe. Badè served as literary executor and editor of the Muir

papers from 1915 until his death in 1936. He had acquired hundreds of Muir items, and made transcriptions of all original material he did not have permission to keep. After Badè's death, the Muir family appointed Wolfe to continue organizing and publishing what remained. Both the Badè and Wolfe papers have survived, and the project staff was able to reconstruct the search procedures and editorial policies of both the earlier efforts.

The Muir project staff followed an institutional approach to the search for additional materials. A form letter explaining the project and requesting assistance in locating Muir materials was sent all major or likely repositories across the country. Major archival and historical publications outside of California received a press release describing the project and its goals. The press release was sent to historical societies, libraries, and newspapers throughout California, as well as to likely individual collectors and their organizational journals within the state. A professional researcher was hired to search all likely record groups and collections in the National Archives and the Library of Congress. Search letters and notices were also sent to principal repositories elsewhere in the English-speaking world. The search effort appears to have located all major sources of Muir documents.

Muir himself failed to establish an organizational system for his papers. The project staff reorganized the original Muir family collection at the University of the Pacific into seven major series, incorporating loaned copies of Muir letters and

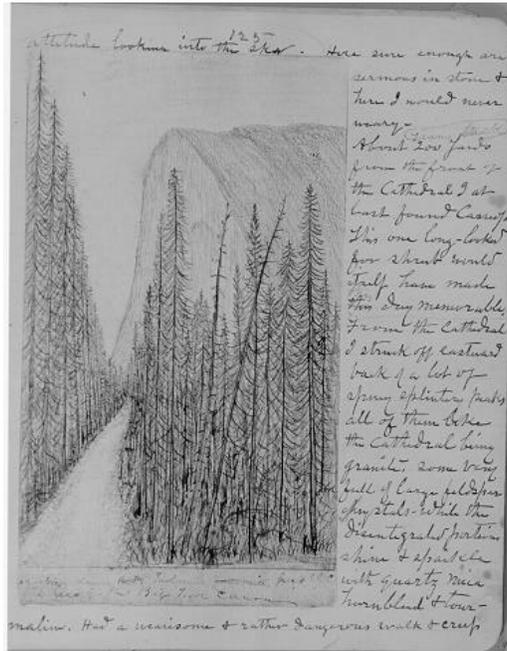


John Muir. Photo courtesy Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University of the Pacific.

manuscripts into the family collection as appropriate. The series categories are correspondence and related documents, journals and sketchbooks, manuscripts and published works, pictorial works, related papers, related articles and scraps, and the Muir Library Collection. Each series category is further subdivided (e.g., the related papers category contains subcategories for the Badè, Wolfe, family, and Sierra Club papers relating to Muir).

The series of related articles and scraps and the Muir Library Collection were excluded from the microform edition because both consist primarily of printed materials. In addition, the former series contains no material by Muir, and much of its contents are undated and of dubious research value. Portions of the series of related papers constituting manuscripts and correspondence collected by family members of friends, but not within the time-frame or subject-matter limits of the project, were also excluded.

The resulting 51 rolls of 35mm microfilm and 53 microfiche reproduce some 11,000 items. The 111 journals and notebooks demonstrate Muir's skill as both scientific observer and artist; they contain unpublished descriptive narratives and pen and pencil sketches previously unstudied by scholars. The manuscript drafts, many of which differ significantly from the published versions, are



Muir kept journals describing the wilderness, rocks, and plants. Photo courtesy Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University of the Pacific.

evidence of Muir's importance not only as an educator and a publicizer, but as one of the great writers of his generation. The 3,300 photographs and illustrations are an untapped resource for the study of 19th and early 20th-century wilderness landscapes. The 7,000 pieces of correspondence, largely unused as a scholarly resource, reveal the extent of Muir's communications with and influence upon leading scientists, writers, businessmen, journalists, artists, and politicians of his day. Among Muir's correspondents were Richard A. Ballinger, John Burroughs, George Gray, Edward Harriman, Joseph Hooker, Helen Hunt Jackson, Robert Underwood Johnson, William Keith, C. Hart Merriam, Henry Fairfield Osborne, Walter Hines Page, Theodore Roosevelt, Charles S. Sargent, and William Howard Taft.

The microform, as well as *The Guide and Index to the Microform Edition of the John Muir Papers, 1858-1957*, edited by Ronald H. Limbaugh and Kirsten E. Lewis, was published by Chadwick-Healey Inc., of Alexandria, Virginia, in 1986. Since

then, public and scholarly interest in Muir's life and works has continued unabated. Among recent scholarly works on Muir are *John Muir: Apostle of Nature*, by Thurman Wilkins (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), and *John Muir in Historical Perspective*, edited by Sally M. Miller (New York: Peter Lang, 1998).



On the trail to Hetch Hetchy, 1909. Photo courtesy Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, University of the Pacific.

Preservation and the Conservation Movement: The Sierra Club Records

by Lauren Lassleben

Among the most heavily-used archival collections housed at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, the Sierra Club Records provide invaluable primary source materials for students, scholars, writers, activists, and Club members who seek to understand the birth and growth of the organization itself and the environmental movement in the United States during the 20th century. A grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission in the years 1990 through 1992 allowed the Library to survey the records in six offices; provide records management assistance to the Club; and accession, arrange, and describe over 1,200 linear feet of records and more than 40,000 photographs. In addition, the project staff contacted every Sierra Club chapter in the country, offering to help match those that had historic records with an appropriate archives interested in acquiring them.

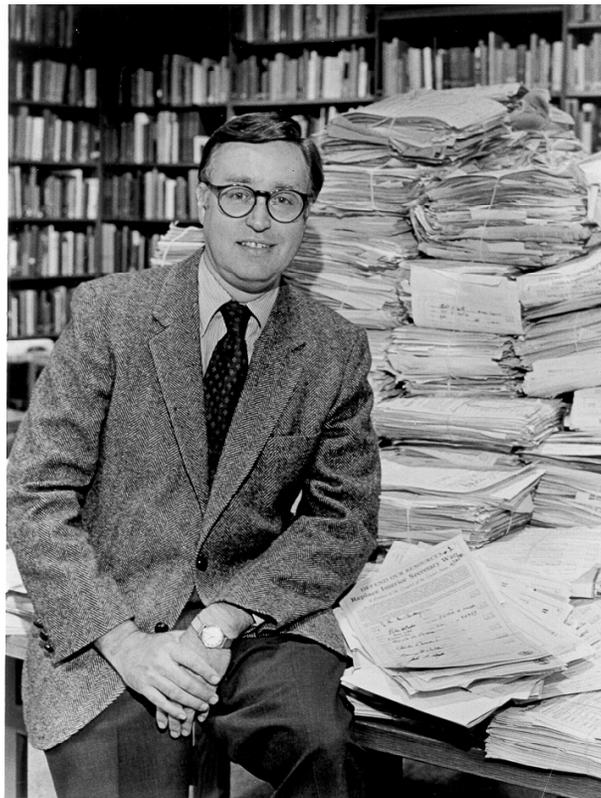
The Sierra Club was founded by pioneering conservationist John Muir in San Francisco in 1892. The occasion of the Club's centennial celebration provided an ideal opportunity to mount a concerted effort to archivally process records as well as to assure that historically valuable records still on site would be transferred during the project or at an appropriate later time to the Bancroft Library. The offices which participated included the San Francisco national headquarters, the international program, the legislative offices in Washington, DC, and Sacramento, and the San Francisco Bay and Mother Lode Chapters. The project staff also solicited and acquired Sierra Club members' papers, including those of volunteer activists, officers, and staff members who have engaged in national, regional, and local conservation battles throughout the United States. Two figures of national importance included in this collection are former Club executive directors David R. Brower and Michael McCloskey.

Thanks in large part to the visionary efforts of the Sierra Club History Committee, the Sierra Club Records, which began to be accessioned at the Bancroft Library in 1970, were the first large significant archival collections at the Library which support the study of environmental history. Since that time, a number of other important groups, such as the Friends of the Earth, the

Save-the-Redwoods League, the Save San Francisco Bay Association, Ecology Action, and the Tuolumne River Preservation Trust Fund, have donated their records. The Library also houses the papers of such dedicated conservationists as Robert Marshall, Margaret Wentworth Owings, and California Congressmen Phillip Burton and Clem Miller. In addition, the Regional Oral History Office of the Bancroft Library continues its long-time project of interviewing key Sierra Club staff members and volunteers. The edited and bound transcripts are available in the Library's reading room and are for sale to other libraries and individuals.

The Sierra Club Records contain a wide variety of types of documentation. In addition to the usual correspondence, agendas, minutes, reports, and budgets, the collections contain detailed information on important legislative battles, such as the creation of national parks in Alaska, California, and other western states. There are many cartons of conservation reference files on hundreds of subjects, ranging from synthetic fuels to the Federal government's Roadless Area Review and Evaluation Program. There are motion picture films and sound recordings of board of directors meetings, wilderness conferences, press conferences, radio programs, and public service announcements. The lighter aspects of Club outings are demonstrated by songsheets, poetry, and scripts for skits. The pictorial collections include albums of outings, beginning with the High Trips, and photographs by notable photographers, such as Ansel Adams and Cedric Wright, and by anonymous club members.

It is interesting to former project staff members to note what kind of use is currently being made of these collections. Some of the memorable users and their research interests have included mountain climbers wishing to document their own or others' first ascents of various peaks. The mountain registers and records range in format from bound books to business cards, matchbooks, and other small slips of paper which were inserted into a metal can and left at the summit. One researcher has sought information for a doctoral dissertation on the changing trends in leisure activities, such as hiking and camping, in this century. Another



Sierra Club Executive Director Michael McCloskey with some of the thousands of petitions demanding Federal action on an environmental issue. Photo from the Sierra Club Pictorial Collection, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Ph.D. candidate chose to analyze David Brower's controversial but extraordinarily successful campaigns to stop the building of dams in Southwestern national parks, including the Grand Canyon. Many remember Brower's skillful creation of exhibit format books on environmental subjects, and the full-page anti-dam advertisement he placed in major American newspapers, which asked the reader to consider whether it would be appropriate to flood the Sistine Chapel so that visitors could get a closer look at its ceiling. Brower's impassioned opposition to the building of the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant on the central California coast created heated internal battles among the members of the Club's board of directors at the same time it inspired other anti-nuclear activists around the country.

The Sierra Club itself regularly makes use of its archives. Both historical documents and photographs have been printed in *Sierra* magazine, in other national publications, and in chapter newsletters. During the Club's two-year centennial celebration, there were

outings which recreated such historic events as the legendary Sierra Club High Trips of the early years of the century, which were discontinued when it was realized that the large numbers of people and pack-stock camping for extended periods in fragile alpine meadows were damaging the very areas that the Club was so eager to protect. Another centennial outing retraced John Muir's walk from Wisconsin to Florida, before he made his way to California and fell in love with the Sierra Nevada, which he called the Range of Light.

Now that the Sierra Club findings aids have been mounted on the World Wide Web as part of the University of California's Archive of California project, we expect that the collection will continue to draw ever larger numbers of users studying a wide variety of environmental history topics.

(Lauren Lassleben is Supervising Archivist at The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.)

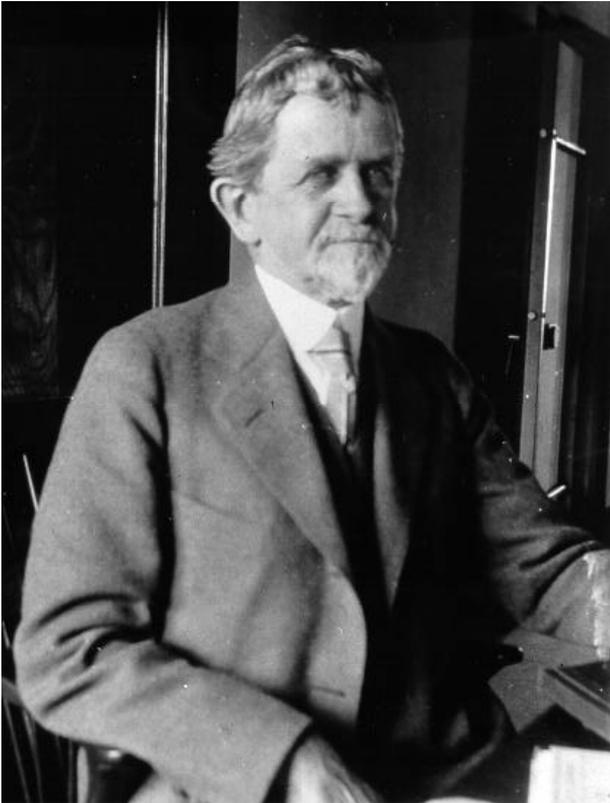


Past, present, and future U.S. Presidents Johnson, Nixon, and Reagan gather at the 1969 dedication of Redwood National Park on the Northern California coast. Photo from the Sierra Club Pictorial Collection, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Protecting the Records of a Pioneering Landscape Architecture Firm

In 1902, Sidney J. Hare left his position as superintendent of Forest Hill Cemetery in Kansas City, Missouri, to enter private practice as a landscape architect. His son, S. Herbert Hare, was a student of Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., at Harvard University. One of the first individuals formally trained in the new profession of landscape architecture, the younger Hare joined his father's practice after his graduation in 1910.

architectural and design drawings. The Hare and Hare collection contained some 50,000 such drawings; a preliminary inventory done in 1994 identified 219 cubic feet of folded records consisting of an estimated 38,000 drawings; an additional 150 cubic feet of rolled drawings estimated to number 12,000; correspondence; lecture notes; photographs and slides; and financial, personnel, and legal records.



Sidney J. Hare



S. Herbert Hare

The firm of Hare and Hare wrote its own chapter in the history of American landscape architecture and city planning. Its body of work encompassed private residences, parks, cemeteries, military installations, college campuses, and community planning and design projects in 28 states. Hare and Hare's commissions included the grounds of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, Missouri; the campus of the University of Kansas in Lawrence; and the pre-planned city of Longview, Washington. After Herbert Hare's death in 1960, other partners managed the firm until a merger reconstituted the firm as Ochsner, Hare, and Hare in 1980.

Ochsner, Hare, and Hare subsequently transferred the original firm's records for the period ca. 1904-1979 to the Western Historical Manuscript Collection (WHMC) at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. The WHMC, which focusses its collecting policy in part upon the documentation of urban history and the built environment, holds approximately 250,000

The WHMC applied to the NHPRC in 1995 for a grant to enhance public access to the Hare and Hare records through a comprehensive arrangement and description of the records, and to undertake conservation of the records in terms of flattening the folded and rolled drawings, making necessary repairs, and providing appropriate storage. The Commission recommended a grant of \$57,860, to be expended over a 15-month period.

The project did not begin until October 1, 1996, because of difficulties encountered in securing adequate space on the University of Missouri-Kansas City campus. The WHMC finally secured donated space off-campus, but the facility proved too small and awkwardly laid out for efficient use. In early October 1997, the operation moved to another building in downtown Kansas City that was much larger and more suitable for the work in question. A larger humidification chamber, more tables, and more room to spread out made for a more efficient work flow, which compensated somewhat for the time lost in the move. In

the end, the WHMC requested and was granted a six-month extension of the project. Keri Peterson, who prepared the preliminary inventory of the Hare and Hare records, served as the project archivist for 13 months, with Jennifer Parker, the WHMC's senior manuscript specialist, devoting considerable time to the project throughout its term.

The project staff constructed a large walk-in humidification chamber which permitted the processing of 200-300 sheets of drawings for each cycle of six to eight hours. After removal from the chamber, the sheets were flattened between blotting paper for about six hours. The sheets were then repaired and rolled onto three-inch tubes for storage. These tubes are sleeved with 2 mil polyethylene plastic and cut to fit into 36-inch long boxes. As many as 50 sheets of drawings can be rolled onto each tube, which is then inserted into another polyethylene sleeve as an outer protective wrapper. All control numbers for the drawings are clearly visible. The same number of rolled drawings is stored in a box as in a five-drawer map case.

It turned out that the folded drawings were in need of more extensive repairs than expected. Repairs involved the removal of old cellophane tape, if necessary, and the application of heat-set tissue tape to fix tears. Denatured alcohol and heat were used to loosen the adhesives. The project staff also had computer trouble, solved by replacing the hardware, and found it necessary to modify its numbering and descriptive systems to accommodate some anomalies in the collection. All problems proved surmountable, and did not unduly complicate staff activities.

In terms of description and control, the project staff discovered that by storing more than one job, or set of drawings, on each tube, it was possible to considerably reduce the number of tubes and boxes required to house the records. The staff also determined that the Hare and Hare records contained not 50,000 drawings, but slightly over 30,000, which also reduced the space required for the collection. At the close of the project, some 2,000 drawings remained to be fully processed. Some 80 of the 225

cubic feet of records had not been processed, but these consisted of reports, books, and other materials that would require much less attention than the drawings.

One significant departure from the original proposal was the decision not to produce a printed finding aid for the Hare and Hare records. The project staff determined that the most effective finding aid for the collection was a searchable database, which was produced in the course of processing the records. Although the database was still undergoing final adjustments as of this writing, it will eventually be housed on the WHMC's World Wide Web site at <<http://www.umkc.edu/whmckc/>>.

A number of scholars and others did research in the Hare and Hare records while they were being processed. The Philbrook Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma, is preparing an exhibit on the work of Hare and Hare in Oklahoma; the museum's landscape was designed by the firm. Several news articles and one scholarly article pertaining to Hare and Hare have been published, and several National Register nominations and environmental impact studies have been based upon the firm's records. In addition, the WHMC established an on-line exhibit on its Web site dealing with Kansas City's Ward Parkway, which was largely designed by Hare and Hare.

The WHMC plans to microfilm the Hare and Hare drawings in the near future in order to make them more easily accessible. It has also noted that individual sheets of the drawings appear to be chemically unstable, a problem common to all collections of architectural drawings, and may require additional conservation work. The WHMC has several prospects for using the records in exhibits and publications. In summary, the Hare and Hare records are only beginning to return the rich cultural and historical rewards that can be expected from the Commission's investment in their preservation.

(David Boutros, Associate Director of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, kindly provided assistance with this article. All photos are from the WHMC's Hare & Hare Landscape Architects Records.)



The William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Atkins Museum of Fine Arts in Kansas City, Missouri, designed by Hare and Hare.

A Capitol Designer

Plans for turning the new Federal District on the Potomac into a true capital city were not going well in the fall of 1792. President Washington was in a hurry to begin work on the United States Capitol, the principal public building for the young nation. Although the Federal government was not scheduled to move to Washington, DC, for another eight years, further delays in construction would only serve to bolster the continuing arguments in support of keeping the government in Philadelphia or of finding some other more suitable site.

Although the site for the Capitol had been selected by Pierre L'Enfant and approved by Washington, no drawings for the building itself had been prepared when the president dismissed L'Enfant in February 1792. In March, advertisements appeared detailing a competition to take place for the selection of a design for the Capitol, with a tight submission deadline of July 15. Amateur architect William Thornton did not hear of the competition until shortly before the deadline, but was quite interested in preparing a submission. Fortunately for Thornton, none of the entries received on time were judged to be satisfactory, and he was allowed to submit a late entry. In this rare case, submitting a late proposal had a most positive outcome.

William Thornton was born in the West Indies on the island of Tortola on May 20, 1759. At the age of 18, he began a four-year apprenticeship to a surgeon and apothecary, which was followed by nearly two years at the University of Edinburgh as a student of medicine. Thornton continued his medical studies in London and Paris and, following a brief stay on Tortola, arrived in Philadelphia in October 1786 for what was intended to be a visit, but which turned into something more. Thornton remained in the United States, and on January 7, 1788, became a citizen.

Thornton's desire to carve out a place for himself in the life of Philadelphia and his interest in design probably led him to submit drawings for an architectural competition for

the new hall of the Library Company of Philadelphia. His entry was selected on October 1, 1789, making his first public venture into the world of architecture a successful one, although the building as constructed was somewhat different in appearance from Thornton's design.

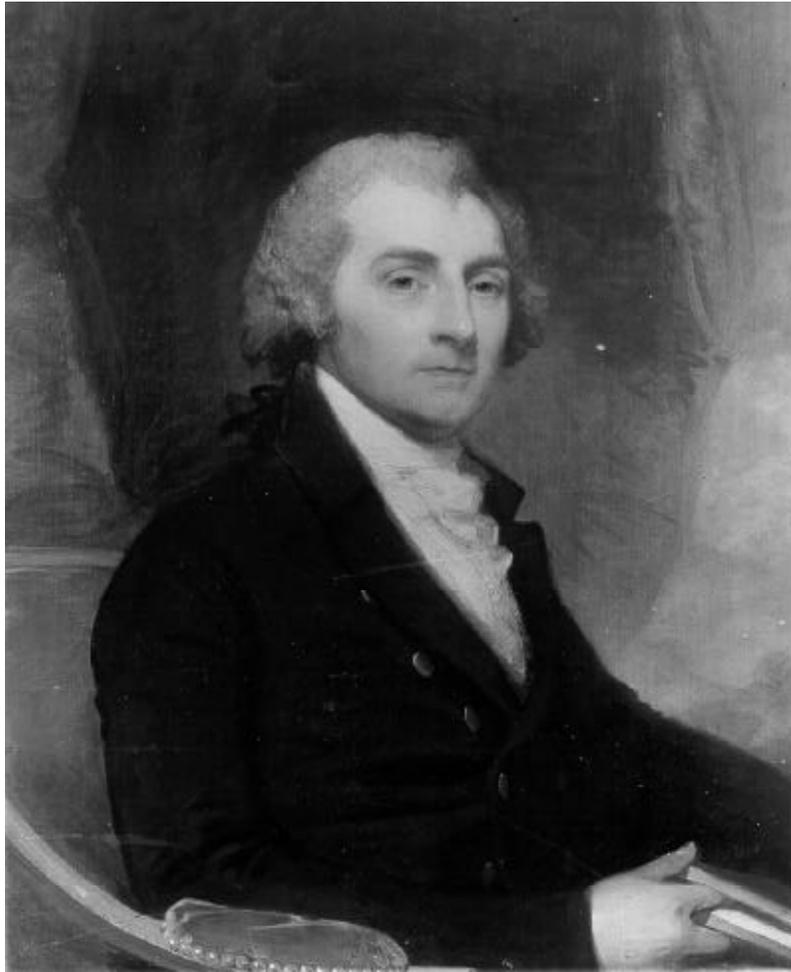
Besides his interest in architecture, Thornton was also heavily involved in the areas of science, language, the

antislavery movement, and the development of the steamboat. His many and varied interests are well documented in *Papers of William Thornton: Volume One, 1781-1802* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995). This volume, edited by C. M. Harris, with Daniel Preston as assistant editor, details the many facets of Thornton's life, including interesting insights into the process by which the Capitol was ultimately erected. The volume ends just prior to Thornton's appointment as a clerk with the Department of State and the creation of the first distinct U.S. Patent Office.

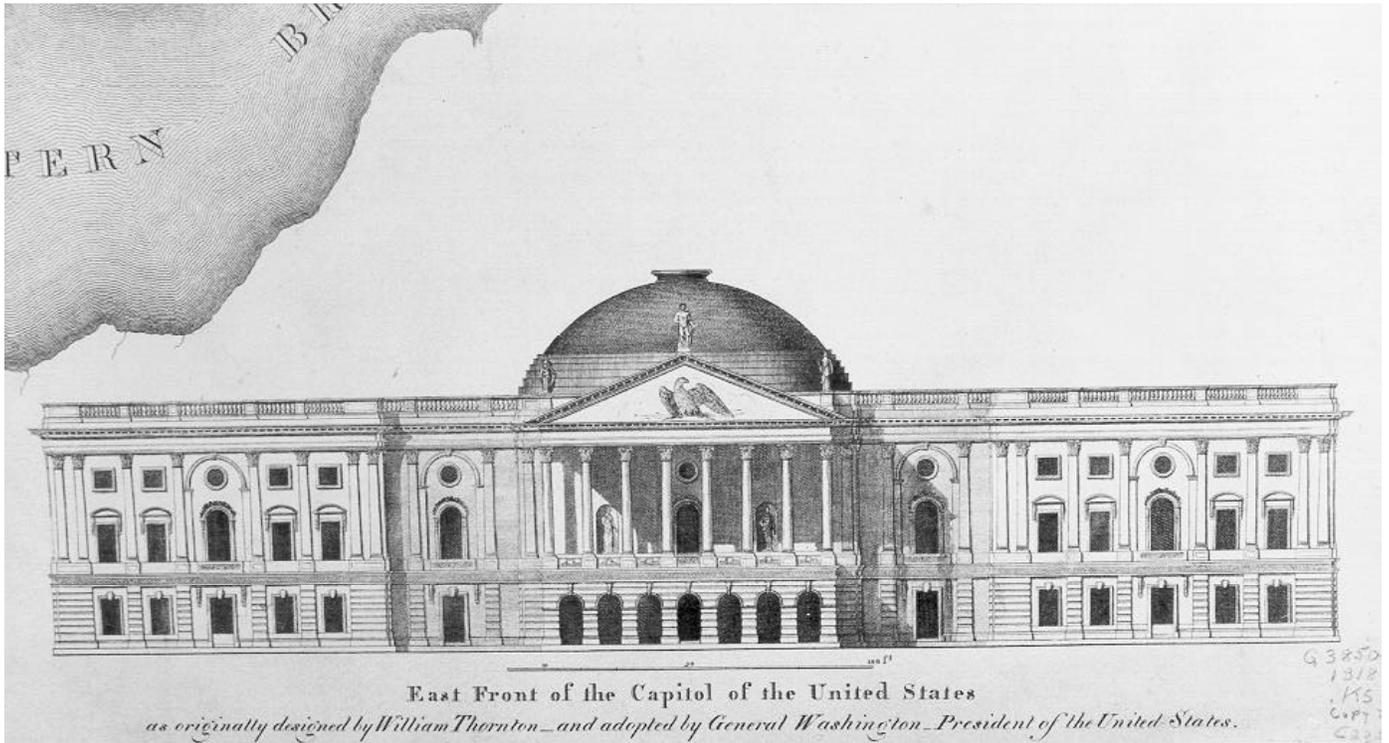
Thornton's late entry of a design for the Capitol was eventually submitted in January 1793 and, after some additional drawings were prepared, was formally approved by President Washington on April 2, 1793. As the first-prize winner of the design competition, Thornton

received \$500 and a city lot. With the conclusion of the competition came the beginning of the struggle to turn the design of an amateur architect into a building that adequately suited the needs of various government interests, provided commodious amounts of air and light, and fit within the limited budget of an aspiring new nation. The final design process was not made any easier by the fact that the second-place winner in the initial design competition, French architect Etienne Hallet, was hired to execute Thornton's design.

Politics, personal ambitions, architectural differences, and a shortage of cash all contributed to the continuing development of the design of the U.S. Capitol. The laying of the cornerstone by President Washington on September 18, 1793, was carried out with an elaborate Masonic ceremony, and construction proceeded at such a pace that the north wing of the building



*William Thornton, by Gilbert Stuart.
Photo courtesy National Gallery of Art, Mellon Collection.*



*East elevation of the U.S. Capitol, engraved from Thornton's manuscript drawings.
Photo courtesy Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress*

was completed in time for the arrival of the Federal government in November 1800. The Senate, the House of Representatives, and the Supreme Court had to share this limited space for some time, but through the efforts of such famous architects as James Hoban, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, and Charles Bulfinch, construction of the south wing and the central domed section of the Capitol was completed.

The Capitol has changed significantly over the past 200 years. The basic design of William Thornton, however, remains evident. From the windows of the Commission's offices, we occasionally see tourists standing in the middle of Pennsylvania Avenue, amidst nine lanes of traffic, with cameras aimed toward the east. They seem to be as impressed and captivated by the U.S. Capitol as President Washington was so many years ago.

Adler Project Completed

The readers of *Annotation* may recall that we mentioned a current NHPRC grant to process the records of architect David Adler (1882-1949) at The Art Institute of Chicago in an article in our September 1998 issue. That project is now completed, and the Institute has published a finding aid on the David Adler Archive that is attractive, informative, and easy to use. The finding aid, which describes the contents of each project undertaken by Adler, is arranged alphabetically by clients' names, followed by project location. Each project entry provides 14 categories of information pertaining to the client, firm, and types of drawings available.

The illustrations in the publication also give the user an idea of the type and scope of plans and drawings contained within the collection. This finding aid will hopefully foster a greater understanding of both Adler's

career and of the "great American house" period of the first half of the 20th century.

The publication has been distributed to over 800 libraries, historical societies, archives, scholars, and other interested parties. Positive results are already being felt through an increased number of telephone inquiries and appointments to view Adler documents. As a result of the project, the Institute is able to plan an exhibition and catalog of Adler's work. This exhibition is only possible due to the results of this project to process the materials in this collection. The exhibition will be the first monographic exhibition held on the work of David Adler.

Additional information is available by contacting the Institute's Department of Architecture at 111 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL 60614 or by telephone at (312) 433-3949.

The Latrobe Papers: A Retrospective

by John C. Van Horne

Now that Benjamin Henry Latrobe papers project has concluded its work by publishing a comprehensive microfiche edition and ten printed volumes of selected journals, letters, watercolors and sketches, architectural and engineering drawings, and miscellaneous writings, we can reflect on the history of the project and discuss the rationale behind some of the decisions the editors made as to how best to deal with such a variegated mass of material. But first some brief biographical background.

Latrobe is generally acknowledged to be America's first professional architect and engineer. He worked in the United States from 1796, when he arrived from England at the age of 31, until his untimely death from yellow fever in New Orleans in 1820. Latrobe was born in 1764 in the Moravian community of Fulneck, England, the son of a prominent Moravian clergyman and a Pennsylvania-born mother. He studied at Moravian schools and seminaries both in England and Germany, in one of the best educational systems available. He enjoyed a broad classical education including Latin, Greek, Hebrew, most modern European languages, math, music, drawing, botany, physics, theology, and philosophy. Most of the students in this system were destined for careers as Moravian clergy or missionaries, as was Latrobe's older brother. But Benjamin had doubts about his religious faith and, despite his father's position in the church, he was found to be a deleterious influence on his peers and was sent away from the seminary in Germany in 1783, at the age of 19.

Latrobe returned to London and shortly began to study architecture and engineering in the offices of Samuel Pepys Cockerell and John Smeaton. He married the daughter of an Anglican clergyman in 1790, and began to get his own architectural commissions. The Latrobes had two children, but in 1793 his wife died in childbirth with their third. At the same time, Latrobe's professional prospects had dimmed due to the war with France, and he went bankrupt. So with his personal and professional life in tatters, he left his two young children with relatives and sailed for America in 1795 to begin anew.

Latrobe brought with him the highest European standards of education and the latest in European taste and technology. For the next 25 years he exercised his talents in the service of his adopted nation, designing some of the earliest exemplars of the Neoclassical and Gothic Revival styles and training some of the most gifted and influential 19th-century architects and engineers. Among his major architectural commissions were the Virginia State Penitentiary in

Richmond, incorporating the latest ideas in penology; the Bank of Pennsylvania, the early Neoclassical building that Latrobe considered his masterpiece; the United States Capitol, where Latrobe labored as architect and designed the greatest set of Neoclassical interiors in the nation; the Roman Catholic cathedral in Baltimore, exhibiting an imaginative fusion between a rotunda and the common Latin cross church form; and St. John's Church, on Lafayette Square in Washington, DC.

Besides these major commissions, Latrobe executed numerous private residences, schools, churches, hospitals, and banks. His engineering achievements include the Philadelphia Waterworks, the first successful steam-powered urban utility, and the Susquehanna River Survey to improve navigation on the river. Beyond these accomplishments, Latrobe had a professional or near-professional level of expertise in a great many other fields, among them applied science, natural history, art, linguistics, and music. He was, like Benjamin Franklin and his friend Thomas Jefferson, one of the last of the great 18th-century polymaths.

The great majority of Latrobe's papers are at the Maryland Historical Society, which acquired most of them in 1960 and 1961. Latrobe's papers there comprise 23 manuscript journals kept intermittently from 1795 to 1820; about 6,000 letters to and from Latrobe, mostly the retained polygraph copies of letters from him that Latrobe kept in 19 bound volumes of letterbooks from 1803 to 1817; 14 sketchbooks containing over 350 pencil, pen-and-ink, and watercolor drawings, with about 150 pages of accompanying notes; about

500 architectural and engineering drawings; and numerous other miscellaneous written records, such as pamphlets, scientific papers, government reports, newspaper items, legal documents, and even some very bad poetry.

The Society's Council and its Publications Committee, determined to bring the collection into public view, in 1967 received a grant from the National Historical Publications Commission to prepare a feasibility study on the editing and publishing of the papers. Professor Paul F. Norton of the University of Massachusetts, a noted Latrobe scholar, completed his study a year later, recommending publication *in toto*. In the fall of 1970, the offices of the project opened at the Society, with Edward C. Carter II as editor-in-chief. Norton's feasibility study not only evaluated the Society's Latrobe holdings, but also located and identified a large majority of the Latrobe materials in other repositories as well,



Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820), by Rembrandt Peale, ca. 1816. Photo courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society.

thereby aiding the early collecting phase of the project. Carter and his at first small staff spent much of the first year analyzing and organizing the Latrobe materials in the Society's collections.

Latrobe was a contemporary of the Founding Fathers, and indeed his papers include much correspondence with and commentary about Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. Yet his surviving papers are not susceptible of the kind of treatment accorded those of the Founding Fathers. They vary too much in size, medium, and nature to be published easily. Thus one of the earliest decisions faced by the editors was how best to organize and publish this unique collection.

The first and most consequential decision was to issue first a comprehensive microform edition and then a selected book edition of ten volumes in four series. There were no precedents for a microform edition of a similar collection. We were in uncharted waters, and Thomas E. Jeffrey, the editorial director of the microfiche edition, did a great deal of research into all the options before recommending microfiche. In deciding on which microform to adopt, one of the primary considerations was the reproduction of oversize drawings. If large-scale technical drawings were reproduced so that the entire sheet were visible in a single frame of microfilm, the reduction ratio would have been such as to make the drawings virtually illegible. Thus microfiche was decided on as the form that would allow both ease and speed of use and scanning of an oversize drawing without having the image appear either too small or broken up and distributed over several frames.

The microfiche edition was published in 1976 with a printed guide and index. Access to the collection is through this one alphabetically arranged index. Letters are indexed under the name (other than Latrobe's) of the writer or recipient, and there are entries for all the architectural and engineering projects that list all of the relevant documents. The editors' intention was to publish the microfiche edition expeditiously, so as to have it available to scholars as soon as possible. This was accomplished, but the production schedule did not allow for the compilation of a subject index to the *contents* of all of the documents reproduced on the fiche. The guide and index is thus of somewhat limited utility to those interested in the many subjects the documents touch on besides Latrobe's professional commissions. (*The Collected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family* benefitted from our experience and published a microfiche edition in 1980 that did include an index with subject access to the documents.)

The existence of a comprehensive microfiche edition that reproduced all of the Latrobe documents of any description that the project was able to locate in its first four years enabled us to contemplate a selected book edition of the most significant of those documents. A scheme was established for Yale University Press to publish the documents in four series that were intended to be complementary and that would best allow for the wide variety of material.

First, all of Latrobe's surviving journals were to be published in full in three volumes. These books are 8½" by 11" and include numerous color plates and black-and-white illustrations, most of which are in-text sketches from the manuscript journals but some of which are from Latrobe's sketchbooks or other sources.

Second, two volumes were to be devoted to Latrobe's architectural and engineering drawings. The volume of engineering drawings measures 11" by 14" and consists of three sections—an extensive introductory essay by the volume editor, Darwin Stapleton, treating Latrobe's engineering training and career; the historical study and annotation by historical geographer Stephen Lintner of Latrobe's 17-foot-long Susquehanna River Survey Map of 1801-1802; and a catalogue of over 80 of Latrobe's engineering drawings, incorporating essays on each project and commentary on most drawings. The architectural drawings, edited by Jeffrey A. Cohen and Charles E. Brownell, appeared in 1994 as the last volumes in the Latrobe Papers publishing program. This substantial work, published as a two-volume set measuring 9" by 12", includes

extensive introductory material and all surviving Latrobe architectural drawings, organized roughly chronologically by project. Each project is exhaustively documented.

The third series, consisting of roughly half the drawings in Latrobe's sketchbooks, was published in a single volume, with commentary. And the fourth, containing about 20 percent of Latrobe's surviving correspondence and miscellaneous papers, was published in three volumes. Aware that these

three volumes were highly selective, the editors read and calendared every document and used those calendars both in the process of selecting which documents to publish and in drawing on the contents of all the documents in annotating those selected. Thus the annotation of the published 20 percent is replete with quotations from and cross-references to the unpublished 80 percent.

Another significant decision made early on in the project's history was to recognize the limitations of the staff's expertise. The project always had historians of architecture and of technology on the staff, but Latrobe had so many other interests besides. For expertise in Latrobe's other interests, the editors sought the guidance and insight of specialists in art, natural history, musicology, applied science, linguistics, and other fields. These consultants were sent written documents or drawings for their comments, which were then incorporated into the annotation. The editors believe that the commentary in our published volumes is much the richer for the contributions of these scholars, and that we were no doubt spared the embarrassment of having overreached ourselves in subjects beyond our ken.

In the three volumes of *Journals* and the three volumes of *Correspondence*, drawings and sketches are either embellishments or are illustrative of textual passages. But in the other volumes of the edition—*Engineering Drawings*, *Architectural Drawings*, and



Benjamin Henry Latrobe, The Bank of Pennsylvania, 1798. Photo courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society.

Latrobe's View of America—the drawings are themselves the historical documents being presented, and they had to be dealt with appropriately.

One fact we had to confront was that some drawings were not strictly architectural or engineering drawings, but had attributes of each kind. Latrobe did not neatly divide his commissions into these two types, and he practiced both professions simultaneously. Many of his projects called on Latrobe to wear both hats, and the surviving drawings for those projects reflect that mingling of his talents. For instance, a drawing for the Philadelphia Waterworks depicts not only the engine house in section, plan, and elevation, but also shows details and dimensions of the steam engine in the plan and section. Our solution was to classify each such project as principally an architectural or engineering enterprise and to reproduce the drawings in the appropriate volume, always making sure that there were adequate cross-references and that our historians of both architecture and technology had a chance to comment on the significance of the drawings.

The sketchbooks posed their own problems, although they have been fascinating to work with. In *Latrobe's View of America*, our goal was to thoroughly annotate each drawing the way we would a written record; that is, we tried to place each drawing in its proper context by detailing the history of structures and towns, the lives of the people involved, and the geographical coordinates and features of topographical views. We also noted changes that have occurred to the scenes over the years since Latrobe executed his drawings, such as whether structures or towns are no longer extant or have been drastically altered, and

whether changes in building patterns and land use have eradicated a site as Latrobe viewed it.

Most of the sketches are straightforward depictions of what Latrobe saw as he traveled around the young republic. His subjects include historical sites, towns, mansions, civic buildings, genre scenes, natural history, and landscapes (the largest group). In fact, many of the drawings that might be described as historical scenes or town views also fall under the rubric landscape, for Latrobe rarely drew a subject in isolation from its natural surroundings. Such is the view of Richmond from Bushrod Washington's Island in the James River. Some sketches, though, are not true-to-life, and we had to be alert to the possibility of a faulty memory, the exercise of artistic license, or borrowings from other works.

It should be emphasized that one of the greatest intellectual challenges of dealing with such a vast array of documents is to keep an open mind. Documents, whether written or drawn, are not always what they at first appear, and one has to learn to expect the unexpected and not take too much for granted. It is all too easy to read a document cursorily and arrive at conclusions about its nature or contents that may not be borne out by a more careful scrutiny.

(John C. Van Horne has been the Librarian [Executive Director] of the Library Company of Philadelphia since 1985. He joined the staff of The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe in 1975 as an NHPRC Fellow and continued with the project until its conclusion in 1994, serving as Editor from 1986. An earlier version of this article was published in Volume 2, Number 3 (September 1989) of Documentary Editing, permission from the editor of which is gratefully acknowledged.)



*Benjamin Henry Latrobe, View of Richmond from Bushrod Washington's Island, April 1796.
Photo courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society.*

Life and Afterlife of an Editorial Project: The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, 1970-1995

by Jeffrey A. Cohen

In 1994, with a final two-part volume, the Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe completed a program of publication projected over two decades earlier. Like the documentary editing projects modeled on the papers of the country's Founding Fathers, the Latrobe Papers undertook to gather, publish, and recontextualize documents left by an individual of public reputation. In this case, the subject was also a leading figure in his day, but somewhat atypical. Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820), discussed in greater detail in John C. Van Horne's account above, was an intimate of political and social leaders of the early republic, a prolific correspondent, an intellectual with an inquiring mind, an amateur artist, and an acute observer of many dimensions of the early American scene. Latrobe was principally known, however, as one of the nation's first and most influential professional architects and engineers. This critical fact presented the project's editors with some challenges, given the physical diversity of Latrobe's documentary legacy and his specialization yet breadth, that were less familiar among ostensible peer projects.

Early in the project's life, important guiding decisions were made by its prime movers: the Maryland Historical Society, the project's editorial board, and Editor-in-Chief Edward C. Carter II. It was agreed that Latrobe's papers, already widely recognized and highly valued by architectural historians, were equally if not more important for the light they shed on social, political, intellectual, and everyday landscapes of the early republic.

Having emigrated from England to the United States in the mid-1790s while in his early thirties, Latrobe responded to his new environment from the perspective of a cosmopolitan outsider. He easily related the social mores and artistic modes he found in this new setting to those he had encountered in Europe, but was attentive to differences large and small, observing and recording them with some of the same spirit and precision he accorded to new phenomena in natural history. Such reflections were the product both of his education in Moravian Church schools and of his own ambivalent place in society, as an Englishman abroad and as a professional and intellectual in circles still dominated by aristocrats and amateurs of more assured social standing and financial means.

A near-outsider and trained observer encountering a new environment, Latrobe presents a point of view that is particularly congenial to that of the modern reader. He was unlike the typical correspondent or diarist of the day, the cultural informant who was fully part of a society and setting and who usually writes with an interiority, a familiarity that outsiders must struggle to reframe and relate to their own worlds. They must do this by fleshing out the implicit, by supplying those critical but unspoken aspects that define differences of place and moment. Latrobe, coming from what most would have taken as the center of a culture to its periphery, expected some form of distorted echo, familiar yet skewed or diluted, and he was keenly attuned to samenesses and distinctions. In this sense, his perspective is easy to adopt as our own retrospective vantage point, for we have a fair picture in our minds of the society in which Latrobe moved. We know of many of the characters, events,

and places, and we have some idea how events of the day turned out. But Latrobe's words and images supply us with the textures of day-to-day life in settings depicted more fully than would our imaginations, textures observed in the verbal, economic and emotional transactions with others that occupied his waking hours. His perspective and ours share an alertness to reconciling the familiar with the new, or more accurately in our case, with the old.

In line with this new emphasis on Latrobe the observer, and the fact that Latrobe was already well known to architectural historians, the initial products of the Papers were intended to complement Talbot F. Hamlin's Pulitzer Prize-winning 1955 biography *Benjamin Henry Latrobe*. Hamlin had done an admirable job of portraying the architect and man in the currents of his time, introducing him to a wide range of audiences. He relied largely on the rich set of documents that had descended through the family and that are now at the Maryland Historical Society, along with other documents in various public collections.

Hamlin's monograph presented the Latrobe papers project with something of a foil. The project's editors sought resolutely and methodically to cast a wider net, and succeeded in identifying many previously undiscovered primary documents. But beyond that, they purposefully aimed at contextualizing these in more detailed ways, through annotation and collateral materials, in order to shed new light on Latrobe's activities. Most of these new documents were included in the comprehensive microfiche edition of Latrobe's papers, edited by Thomas E. Jeffrey, that appeared in 1976. The microfiche edition quickly found its way into several dozen key research libraries, making available to scholars a full facsimile set of the several thousand items comprising Latrobe's known corpus of writings and graphics, accompanied by an index and preliminary subject guide listing key documents connected with most of his professional projects.

The project's final publications contained selections from Latrobe's rich collection of professional drawings for projects in architecture and engineering. On these subjects, much of the ground had been covered by Hamlin and several others, for Latrobe's role as a founder of both disciplines in this country was quite widely acknowledged, and his built works appear prominently as key landmarks in most historical survey texts on these subjects. What remained for the Latrobe papers project to undertake with these volumes was again a matter of more directly presenting the evidence, but here our approach changed somewhat. The medium was different; the focal documents were drawings whose interpretation was deeply interwoven with framing particulars of time and place for which one had to venture even further beyond the document at hand. These graphic documents were less susceptible to a simple reading, not only because of their technical visual language, but also because they captured moments and motives in complex, evolving intellectual, physical, and financial processes.

The portrait rendered through these professional drawings was again more detailed, more textured, and more directly connected with the evidence than they would have been in most narrative treatments. But because of their nature as artifacts more than as contemporary exposition, these professional drawings also

demanded more extensive scholarly efforts devoted to meaningfully contextualizing and interpreting them within their specialized realms and among the intersecting influences, settings, and agencies that conditioned them. These volumes on them were thus more discursive than the earlier ones. Great pains were taken to comprehend the marks on the paper and to situate each drawing in its place in the process of a project's realization, in the maturation of the designer, and in the evolution of the disciplines involved.

It became evident that these publications of Latrobe's professional drawings must be extensively and effectively illustrated if they too were to deliver the evidence directly, that is, to reproduce these drawings in their full communicative scope. The drawings are large, often scaled for measurability of all details, annotated in ways that would be fully legible only at nearly full size, they are usually color-coded in important ways, and they are often marked by critical evidence of revision. Nearly all would be significantly reduced in size and rendered in black and white, and much that was visible and legible would have to be reported selectively in words rather than shown. The project had to some accept some compromises in this area.

There was another reason for more extensive annotation in these volumes, especially that on architecture. Although left until last, Latrobe's architectural work and role was a subject in which knowledge and interest was far more advanced than it was regarding his other roles. To render full service to scholarship, the project's edition of the drawings had to be more penetrating and more comprehensive than what had previously been available. We thought it critical to identify and set each architectural drawing in its proper place, and to provide annotation that presented the reader with all evidence available to further an informed understanding of these documents.

Did all these efforts alter the portrait of Latrobe that Hamlin had painted four decades earlier? Certainly not in any sweeping, definitive way. Many new documents and even new projects were discovered, new interpretations assigned known drawings, and new sequences of events identified. The main contribution, though, was in providing a more detailed and textured portrait of events, combined with the direct presentation of evidence brought together from varied sources for others to use and judge in the new scholarly interpretations that have already begun to spring off from this project, presenting new evidence and insights.

When the architectural drawings volumes finally reached readers in early 1995, a new phase in the project's life began. It was time to disassemble the Latrobe Papers office, initially housed at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore, but since the early 1980s located at the Library of the American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia. A good deal of material had been assembled over a quarter century, some of it promising to be of scholarly and archival value and that might be integrated into the collections of these two institutions. Most obvious were the reproductions of dozens of documents discovered since the 1976 microfiche edition, which were added to the full set of reproductions of all known Latrobe documents from which much of the microfiche edition was photographed, maintained in a largely chronological order in folders. This includes some letters and drawings still not published. An addendum to the microfiche, incorporating these items, was intended somewhere down the road, but never came to pass, although we did list some of the newly discovered documents of architectural significance at the end of the *Architectural Drawings*. More have emerged since.

The project also produced a rich collection of collateral documentation and research, all gathered in topical and chronological sequences. The most useful of these materials was the set of several thousand one-page calendars of the documents, assembled chronologically in folders still at the American Philosophical Society Library, which would quickly prove to be quite a helpful resource for researchers in the years to follow. Also preserved intact were our research folders, full of notes and photocopies that served as sources for identification and annotation in several volumes. And then there was the project's own archive, our correspondence on searches for documents or permission to publish, evidence of grantsmanship and project direction that seemed, if not of immediate value, at least something that we were reluctant to discard. A little distance on the project may make it easier to judge what might be parted with, like interim manuscript versions, judging whether their historiographic value would offset the cost of their preservation and access.

New scholarship on Latrobe and the projects with which he was connected continued during and since the project's lifetime, most of it aided by the project's products, but some of it independent of them. Dissertations were written on Latrobe's activities, most notably by Lee W. Formwalt and Mark E. Reinberger, both of whom ultimately worked with the project in their own areas of expertise. Even before our writing stopped in 1991, articles appeared in the scholarly journals focusing scrutiny on specific episodes in Latrobe's professional life. Exhibitions spurred by the bicentennials of the U.S. Capitol and the White House gathered together an unprecedented collection of representations of these two buildings, throwing further light on these key subjects of the architect's efforts. Editorial projects were begun on Latrobe's student Robert Mills and on his frequent rival William Thornton, initial designer of the U.S. Capitol, which drew on both the materials and the experiences of the Latrobe papers project. A pair of architectural historians, Patrick Snadon and Michael Fazio, have begun to prepare a monograph on Latrobe's domestic designs; when finished, it promises to more fully integrate physical with documentary evidence and to reflect a scope of analysis that, unlike our papers project, will be less fundamentally focussed on Latrobe's surviving drawings and words.

New documents have also continued to emerge. Some of the most exciting to date have been architectural. Even as the architectural drawings manuscript was moving through the latter stages of production, a trove of designs for Moravian community buildings came to light in London, allowing us to mention but not illustrate them. In the spring of 1997, an antiques dealer in southwestern England discovered and placed on the market a large 1790s watercolor of one of Latrobe's earliest house designs, Hammerwood Park, which was purchased by the Royal Institute of British Architects. And slightly earlier, the Bluegrass Trust for Historic Preservation, which championed the restoration of Latrobe's John Pope house in Lexington, KY, purchased a document specifying the workmanship of a house immediately west of Latrobe's Markoe house in Philadelphia that other documents had only hinted at.

Documents on paper were the key sources for the Latrobe Papers, but, as in the case of the Pope house and others, surviving buildings and traces of others continue to disclose further information about Latrobe's works, and to spur further searches for related records. Preservation efforts usually start with campaigns of intense documentation and examination culminating in what are called "Historic Structures Reports," which often locate critical

sources of information further removed from Latrobe's own hand. Such reports have recently been prepared on the Pope house, Decatur house in Washington, and the Sedgely tenant house in Philadelphia; and one on Latrobe's Baltimore Cathedral is on the horizon.

Such discoveries provide further insights into intention, form, process, and chronology that expand on and complement the work of our documentary editing project.

But of course all this begs questions of closure. There is a compulsion for completeness and closure that haunts a project like this, and doesn't surrender easily even after the office closes and the funding ends. One wishes at the outset to gather everything within certain parameters and place all within one apparatus, providing future scholars with a front door to a comprehensive archive. But the passing of this possibility must eventually be accepted, as new material continues to accrue.

In the project's early afterlife, five years out, one is still tempted to bring the new into the fold by whatever means become periodically available, whether through opportunities like the appendix to the *Architectural Drawings*, or in publications independent of the project, like the present one. But nothing seems to spur new discoveries like a publication seen to imply some comprehensiveness, and one might expect yearly evidence that proudly sneers at that illusion of completeness.

Should one attempt to place these items under the project's umbrella by some means? The discoveries usually come at irregular intervals and are widely spaced topically. Taking them all together, they would not make a coherent scholarly article except of a forced or kaleidoscopic nature, nor do they usually come in quantity enough on a given topic to motivate other forms of publication devoted to them alone. One could and probably will try to continue to collect new discoveries in an open file with those for the once-planned microfiche addendum, maintained for scholarly access at the American Philosophical Society, though this would leave little off-site knowledge of them. More ephemeral interim publications like a newsletter or a website might also be possibilities for making scholars aware of these, or even of publishing them in full there and then perhaps periodically gathering them into some more lasting publication if a critical mass were reached. But, ultimately, one might have to surrender this mission and release Latrobe to the standard bibliographical tools and publishing instrumentalities as such volunteered efforts fade. It's an uncertain future, one left to the vicissitudes of scholarly interest, to the progress of archival interconnection, and to the serendipity of documents surfacing.

A final thought pertains to a matter of approach, to the enthusiasm that future scholarship will assign to studies based on biographically defined subjects, particularly treatments of prominent architects. The quarry of architectural historians has tended more than ever before toward the lesser but more widespread in recent decades, and less exclusively toward the "big game" with the famous name. There has been growing attention to the buildings that set the background for the extraordinary designed departure, to the buildings that show cultural localisms or that more skeptically probe the powerful sway of influence from afar. Scholars have broadened their view to look at the landscapes that are integral with the conception of

individual buildings, and to patterns of patronage and mechanisms of lay and critical response that award primacy to key buildings and eventually commend them more strongly to our retrospective attention. Amid such tides, does there remain an important role for such monographic biographical approaches? Would there be similar interest in an editorial project on other key figures in the profession, say architects such as Thomas Ustick Walter, Richard Morris Hunt, Henry Hobson Richardson, or Frank Lloyd Wright? Each left behind significant architectural archives. Would any such projects bring as much interest from beyond the most immediate disciplinary boundaries as Latrobe's has?

Some of these are difficult questions, but one would have to doubt whether such a project would be so broadly based. These figures generally seem to have led more specialized, characteristically nineteenth-century lives, although the case of landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted seems more akin to that of Latrobe in the breadth of his observations and activities, and he has already become the subject of a formidable documentary editing project. The interest in Wright's work too, if more specifically architectural, has already encouraged efforts to publish thousands of his drawings, and similar efforts have focused on twentieth-century architects such as Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, and Louis Kahn, in each case focussing more on graphic than textual documents.

If these projects seem to run counter to those rising, more circumspect perspectives within the discipline of architectural history, and may be totally independent of such impulses, there is a sense in which such biographically defined editorial projects, bringing detailed documents to broader audiences, cast light outward from their central subject and toward wider issues. For in their detailed and their contexts, one more closely glimpses the multivalent forces intersecting in the realization of architectural works, which necessarily present themselves less as singular artistic acts devised in sacred isolation. Such documents reassert issues like client motive, money, reputation, influence, place, production, and relation to more normative languages of form.

An easier question than the future attraction of such projects, though, concerns the role of new technologies in them. Desktop computers would not only have made this project far easier to carry out in the form it took, in matters of searches and transcriptions and manuscript iterations, but they would also very likely dictate a different form of publication. One can easily imagine the documents delivered in transcription or facsimile on CD or the web, with the attendant advantages that this might bring in terms of performing text searches, zooming in on full-color images, and interconnecting materials presently in separate publications. But even more than such added functions, the economics of publication might well drive such a migration to digital media for something with small press runs and a specialized audience, something that for most would be more of a reference work of occasional need. A new ecology of publishing modes may well destine such undertakings to digital means in the near future.

(Jeffrey A. Cohen is a lecturer in the Growth and Structure of Cities Program at Bryn Mawr College.)

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were surveyed for records types and information on management practices in preparation for the compiling of the procedures manual.

The project staff soon learned that the volume of materials to be processed and the amount of time required to process the folded items had been underestimated. In addition, new bodies of material were discovered after the start of the project. Although volunteers and student interns provided additional manpower, the original twelve-month span of the grant proved too short a time to complete the project, and a six-month extension was authorized.

When the grant extension ended on January 31, 1994, six of the original 38 containers of records remained unprocessed, but the staff and the wherewithal existed to complete that task by the end of August 1994. Mount Auburn Cemetery also published *A Guide to Rural Cemetery Records*. Intended as a primer to acquaint users with the contents of rural cemetery records, the guide also included historical background information that placed the records within the context of the rural cemetery movement in the United States.

Mount Auburn Cemetery's NHPRC grant helped generate institutional support for its archival program. The University of Massachusetts and the School of Library and Information Science at Simmons College established internship programs with the cemetery. The cemetery's archival staff was able to provide guidance to other rural cemeteries in the establishment of records programs. Mount Auburn Cemetery's experience with its NHPRC grant also provided its staff with experience that proved useful in the preparation of grant proposals for the

funding of additional archival preservation work. In her final report to the Commission, Kathleen Leslie expressed her gratitude for its support, "without which the Mount Auburn Cemetery Archives would not exist in its current organized and accessible state." Ms. Leslie retired from Mount Auburn in 1995. The archives are now under the supervision of Meg Winslow, Mount Auburn's Curator of Historical Collections.

Organization of its archival holdings greatly facilitated the completion of the Cemetery's Master Plan in 1993. The records in the archival collections have been consulted in connection with every aspect of Cemetery development, from improving the landscape, to implementing preservation plans for monuments and buildings, to designing interpretative materials.

In September 1998, the Friends of Mount Auburn Cemetery received a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to support the implementation of a comprehensive interpretive plan for Mount Auburn. A database of historical cemeteries modeled after Mount Auburn is being constructed to help document the rural cemetery movement in the United States.

Mount Auburn's staff knows of dozens of such cemeteries in major American cities, but is eager to obtain information about other mid-19th century cemeteries that should be included in the database. To provide such information or to learn more about Mount Auburn Cemetery, contact Janet Heywood, Director of Interpretive Programs, Mount Auburn Cemetery, 580 Mount Auburn Street, Cambridge, MA 02138. Ms. Heywood's e-mail address is <friends@mtauburn.com>.

(Janet Heywood generously provided photographs to illustrate this article and reviewed its contents for accuracy.)



A view of Washington Tower. Half of a stereographic photograph, circa 1870 (Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Series). This view of the Tower captures a gardener at work, reminding us of the decades of horticultural care that have shaped Mount Auburn's landscape.

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Two ardent lovers of the Sierra Nevada mountain range, long-time Sierra Club Secretary Will Colby and University of California, Berkeley, Professor Joseph N. LeConte, admire the view. Photo from the Sierra Club Pictorial Collection, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. A related story begins on page 7.