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PRESERVATION ETHICS IN THE CASE OF NEBRASKA'S NATIONALLY REGISTERED HISTORIC PROPERTIES

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PRESERVATION ETHICS IN THE CASE OF NEBRASKA'S
NATIONALLY REGISTERED HISTORIC PLACES

by

Darren M. Adams

A DISSERTATION

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PRESERVATION ETHICS IN THE CASE OF NEBRASKA'S
NATIONALLY REGISTERED HISTORIC PLACES

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This dissertation focuses on the National Register of Historic Places and considers the geographical implications of valuing particular historic sites over others. Certain historical sites will either gain or lose desirability from one era to the next, this dissertation identifies and explains three unique preservation ethical eras, and it maps the sites which were selected during those eras. These eras are the Settlement Era (1966 – 1975), the Commercial Architecture Era (1976 – 1991), and the Progressive Planning Era (1992 – 2010). The findings show that transformations in the program included an early phase when state authorities listed historical resources pertaining to the settlement of the state, and also to Native American village archeological sites. At that time, authorities viewed road and bridge construction projects as threats to historic sites. After the passage of the 1976 Tax Reform Act, common citizens gained considerable site selection power. Motivated by tax advantages, such citizens favored commercial architecture, changing the geography of the National Register.

In addition, in 1992 authorities wrote the *Highway Bridges in Nebraska 1870 – 1942* documentation, and laid out plans for the selection of bridges, roads, and for the renovation of entire sections of decaying inner-cities.

As part of the dissertation research, data were gathered using the National Park Service's national register information system database, and were acquired during personal interviews with state historic preservation employees. Information was also noted while directly in the field. In order to examine how minorities are being represented at sites, a field study was conducted which involved visiting thirty-two minority sites (twenty-two Native American, and ten African American sites). Lewis' (1979) and Meinig's (1979) landscape analysis approaches informed the field study, and the researcher used the versatile narrative-descriptive approach (as recommended by Mink [1987] and by Tuan [1991]) to analyze and describe the general datum trends. This dissertation serves decision-makers by providing an evaluation of past trends in historic site selection processes and consequently assists them in discerning historical significance and cultural value. It concludes with prognostication about future patterns in historic preservation and recommends research into areas including the fifty-year rule, and nationally-scaled preservation ethics.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to several noteworthy individuals, especially...

to Joshua A. for friendship;

to Keri A. for witty dialogues;

to Amanda A. for her veterinarian-style concern for animals;

to Paula A. for camaraderie;

to Will S. for his perceptiveness;

to Bill C., Jerry C., Richard V., and Alan M. for clean humor;

to Fred R., and Burl I. for examples of gentleness;

to Howard S., and Dr. Don W. for vigilance;

to Francis de A., and devout Simeon for firm and resolute character;

to Abigail A. for being frolicsome, loyal, quick to forgive, and non-accusatory;

to Grandpa H. Christensen for altruism;

to Grandpa M. Fisher, and Mr. Guilfoyle for dignity, duty, maturity, and civility;

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and to the Lord Jesus Christ for forgiveness, sustenance, attentiveness, and blessings.

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CHAPTER 1: RESEARCH AND THE GEOGRAPHY OF PRESERVATION BEHAVIOR

This dissertation involves looking at historic sites listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Such historic sites are geographical entities (Puschendorf 2006), and they are located throughout the State of Nebraska. In order to avoid conflicts between demolition crews and preservationists (those people who actively seek to protect historic places), the 1966 Historic Preservation Act served to encourage each of the 50 states to identify and list significant properties and historical entities. The State of Nebraska has been in the process of nominating such properties and entities to the National Register for 44 years. The designation of historic sites on the National Register shows geographical patterns. The term “scenario” will be used to refer to the way in which historic sites have been chosen, and how they have been locationally patterned within time periods, and across the state.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are as follows:

- 1) To provide an account of the geography of Nebraska’s nationally registered historic places by locating Nebraska’s registered properties both in space and time;
- 2) To identify preservation ethic eras according to which types of sites were registered where and when;
- 3) To use categorized historic site data to produce scenario maps;
- 4) To describe how legal/political and social events or contexts have impacted each scenario’s characteristics

5) To conduct a field study of minority representations so as to determine whether or not minorities have been historically misrepresented at Nebraska's nationally registered historic places.

Questions for Research

With these objectives in mind, specific questions follow:

- What are the characteristics of preservation scenarios?
- Within the context of such scenarios, which property types were most nominated?
- Where were they located?
- Why were they located there?
- What explains the prevalence of certain property characteristics?
- Which property types were barely nominated?
- What is the reason why such properties were least nominated?
- How do property and monument patterns reflect political/legal actions and broader social events/contexts?
- Do certain kinds of historic property characteristics show up in one section of Nebraska but not in another?
- Did any site characteristics diffuse first into one area and then into another?
- Regarding the field study, how have minorities been represented?

Key Concepts

This dissertation makes a number of references to the terms “preservation ethic,” “preservation scenario,” and “national register.” For this reason, an explanation will be provided for each of these terms. Furthermore, this dissertation chiefly asks: “Is the preservation ethic and the geographical configuration of nationally registered historic sites changing with time; and, if so, what characterizes and explains those changes?” In order to lay a foundation for answering such questions, this introduction proceeds with term definitions, and a description of research methods. The chapter will then provide a literature review, followed by an account of the formulative history of America’s preservation ethic, and of the National Register Program.

Preservation Ethic

A preservation ethic is a pattern of behavior toward historical sites. Preservation ethics are popular habits and behavioral paradigms which can change over time. Lowenthal pointed out that the criteria that mark buildings, artifacts, and landscapes for study and preservation are in constant flux (Lowenthal 1981, 219). Features considered to be historically significant likewise change over time (Lowenthal 1981, 220). In fact, entire aspects of the past become newly worth saving or ripe for discarding in the course of a change in the preservation ethic (Lowenthal 1981, 220). Such differences in behavior will be visible “on the ground.” That is, over the course of time, people will change which types of sites they prefer to preserve and to call historic. Hence, there are distinct landscapes which reflect a preservation ethic.

Moreover, a preservation ethic is a cultural pattern which informs people about how they should behave when it comes to historic sites and other antiquities. A change in a preservation ethic often occurs as a correction, adaptation, or response to large scale social stimulations (Cisneros 1992). Such stimulations encompass popular thinking patterns and propel society into action. Such social stimulations cause changes to a preservation ethic when humans popularly see opportunities (e.g., tax advantages), or sometimes when injustices need to be addressed, such as controversial exclusion of minority sites on the Register (Stupka-Burda 2006 A). When people make an assessment and decide that something new must be done, people amend pre-existent ethical patterns (patterns of behavior) in order to meet the need, take advantage of the opportunity, or bring about justice. Some of the changes causing social stimulations mentioned in the literature have included: the end of the frontier; Vietnam Conflict protests; threats to specific historic places or sites; changes caused by new legislation; abuses to low-income classes (e.g., through the demolition of their apartments and homes); the threat of rapid post-World War II economic development; and the depletion and contamination of the natural environment (Morgan and Melnick 1985). Laws codify the ideas and agendas which social stimulations have “given birth to;” and laws are therefore uniquely useful ethical markers – assisting in the demarcation of different preservation ethics (Cisneros 1992; Stapp 1992).

Preservation Scenario

What is a preservation scenario? A number of researchers have made use of the scenario concept (which is a time and space behavioral model). It is useful to briefly consider some examples. For instance, Ferrill (1988) carefully reconstructed Nebraska’s

tree cover scenarios. She first identified four “tree ethic eras” – periods of time when Nebraskans interacted with trees (e.g., cutting them, planting them, and situating them upon landscapes). For each of these four ethic eras, Ferrill made maps of typical tree locations. She found the following to be suitable titles for her scenarios: Tree Cover before European Settlement; Early Euro-American Settlement, 1870 – 1902; The Shelterbelt Era, 1935 – 1945; and Tree Planting, 1977 – 1988. Based on the literature, Ferrill proceeded to map and explain each scenario’s characteristics.

Likewise, Josephson (1996) delineated and discussed Idaho’s water ethic scenarios. In his work, Josephson referred to a scenario from 1863 – 1890; and he used a chapter titled “Capturing the Water Resource” to describe it. Josephson also wrote about an 1890 – 1928 scenario titled “Water as a Commodity;” a 1928 – 1964 scenario, naming it “Conservation of Water for Multiple Use;” and a 1964 – 1993 scenario, calling it “Water as a Protected Resource.” He provided maps and illustrations for each.

Similarly, Fimple (1989) divided the ethnic neighborhoods of Omaha spatially and temporally into scenarios; Dagle (1994) categorized North and South Dakota’s evolving ranching practices according to time and space; and Bays (1996) identified and discussed six Cherokee Nation town settlement scenarios. Each of Bays’ scenario chapters consisted of considerations about the nature of contemporaneous Cherokee towns. While discussing the characteristics of towns, Bays relied heavily on central place theory (as explained by Berry [1961], and also by Christaller [1966]). Bays was illustrating Cherokee settlement locations and town attributes, and dividing such attributes into separate eras, producing ethic scenarios. He was explaining the nature of typical settlement behaviors, and providing reasons why such behaviors occurred (for example,

by referring to prevalent federal laws). From these examples one may observe that a scenario is like a snap-shot photo of an area, region, or landscape as it “looked” at a certain time. Always attached to and embedded in the scenario concept is the implication that certain categorical, chronological, and typically human causal factors produced each scenario’s conditions.

The National Register

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 authorized the Secretary of Interior to begin making an official list called the National Register. The National Register, another key term, is a list of historical districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects which should be protected from demolition (Birch et al 1985; and Murtagh 1992). When legislators signed on to Section 106 of the 1966 Act, they wanted to protect historic properties from inadvertent yet aggressive federal actions by allowing for public involvement, partnerships, and a federal quality-control mechanism (Rogers 1992, 83; and Longstreth 1999). Indeed, the Act and its provisions established the framework within which citizens currently plan, identify, evaluate, register, and protect significant historic and archeological properties throughout the country (King 1985; and National Park Service 2009). The National Register is administered by the National Park Service, which is part of the U.S. Department of the Interior.

While writing the National Historic Preservation Act, officials provided a means for quality control in order to insure that federal agencies would cooperate. Such legislators set up a presidentially-appointed board, known as the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, to review decisions, delay demolitions, negotiate, or recommend choices regarding federally funded projects affecting historic sites and properties (Birch 1985;

Brown 2008; and Stupka-Burda 2006 A). The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation relied on Section 106 of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act for its authority to review federal procedures that might adversely affect listed and protected properties (Murtagh 1992). The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation is situated in the National Park Service's Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation.

Technically, when the Act was first passed in 1966, all of the land management agencies within the federal government were made responsible for cooperating by coming up with preservational missions and mandates (National Park Service 2009). In addition, State Historic Preservation Officers (SHPOs) were assigned to implement the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act by listing properties on the National Register. Since 1966, there have been some program changes and transformations – which will be discussed in more detail later in the study.

A number of benefits come from listing properties on the National Register (National Park Service 2009). The property is recognized as having historic significance. The property will be taken into consideration for federal projects. It gains potential eligibility for federal tax benefits – supporting local restoration workers and developers (King 1985). The historic property may qualify for federal grants – which become available periodically. Participation on the National Register makes federal, state, and local governments eligible for assistance in cultural resource planning and policy analysis while drawing fund money for surveys and inventories of historic properties (Birch 1985; and Shull 1985). Methods used in this dissertation for acquiring, evaluating, and reporting data are discussed below.

Methodology Section

This study uncovers historic site geographies by locating registered historic properties in time and space, by identifying preservation eras, and by describing preservation scenarios. The study takes relevant political/legal actions into consideration, identifies pertinent social trends, and reviews minority representations in order to reveal previously hidden geographies and to contribute to current scholarly discussions about historical significance.

Collecting Data about Nebraska's Nationally Registered Sites

Since the state level is the primary jurisdictional area for nominating properties to the National Register of Historic Places, it is fitting to use the State of Nebraska as a case study. This research has relied on the National Park Service's downloadable database (which is called the national register information system, or NRIS). The NRIS includes Nebraska's recognized historical property characteristics and their spatial coordinates. The database contains a wide variety of information about the historic properties, including their acreage, their certification dates, the federal agency which initiated the nomination process, the number of properties per county, the number of properties per historical region, and the current function of the property, to name only a few.

In addition, this research relies upon information from the Nebraska State Historical Society, and also Nebraska's SHPO (State Historic Preservation Officer) office, both of which are located in Lincoln, Nebraska. Furthermore, literary items, such as Baltensperger's (1985) *Nebraska: a Geography* (which is currently being used in the State Historic Preservation Office as a primary guide to understanding Nebraska's historical geography), also provided useful background information. Facts were also

gleaned from state historic preservation plans and specifications, “Brown Book” regulations, federal laws, and amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Such sources of information proved to be assistive in the processes of delineating the scenarios, and providing narrative material about the geography of Nebraska’s historic sites.

Data Classification

In the *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains*, Wishart (2004) explained that the delineation and explanation of regions always contains some subjective elements. For example, a researcher typically has to choose between a variety of options including climatic, biological, historical, cultural, and political variables in order to define a region. Filtering such options through personal experiences and education, the researcher prioritizes certain variables above others, and generates a report accordingly. Likewise, the process of organizing data pertaining to nationally registered historic sites, or other kinds of entities, so as to produce tables and maps often includes subjective behavior. Because this is so, researchers need to clearly explain how data categories have been chosen, and give reasons why categories were assembled in that way. They answer questions such as, “What criteria were used for sorting the data into groupings?” For this reason, a relatively brief explanation is offered so as to explain the thirteen mutually exclusive categories used for the main maps and tables throughout this dissertation. Two additional, less relevant, and almost mutually exclusive categories; a subcategory of what will be explained as the “military” category; and four separate categories are also explained.

The entire body of the dissertation then proceeds to more extensively justify and describe the categories and the reasons for assembling the nationally registered properties into such categories.

The foundations and core reasons for developing the main thirteen (mutually exclusive) categories emerged directly from the four personal interviews (IRB # 2009069837EP) which were conducted with current and former State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) employees, and from a review of the literature. Three people from the SHPO office were interviewed and asked how changes in the National Register Program had affected changes in the geographies of nationally registered historic sites. These individuals included Stupka-Burda (the National Register Coordinator from 2000-2009), Puschendorf (the current Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer), and Dolberg (the Architectural Historian for the office). All three individuals agreed that high-style buildings had lost priority, and that vernacular building selections had gained increasing precedence. Consequently, high-style and vernacular building designations gained ascendancy as a research priority.

What were vernacular buildings, and what were high-style buildings? Vernacular architecture could be observed in the form of simple hewn log houses, or, alternately, it could be seen in any uncomplicated, unembellished, unadorned, or unornamented house or commercial building (Raetz and Maxwell 2006). Moreover, ordinary wage earners lived and worked in buildings with vernacular architecture, which generally displayed very few structural appendages beyond those necessary for core activities (LaChiusa 2002).

Vernacular architecture carried basic structural elements, such as a gently sloping roof, and was often traceable back to earlier times, revealing local carpentry, culture, ethnicity, history, and construction behaviors (Heritage Protection Department 2007).

High-style architecture, by contrast, often displayed extra embellishments, decorations, ornaments, and more numerous evidences of geometrical complexity. For example, SHPO officials recognized high-style Victorian architecture because it displayed, for example, fretwork spandrels (elaborate wood cutwork, expertly connected with ball and dowel or spindle sections); and officials knew Greek Revival high-style by its decorated stone columns topped by ornate capitals (the “head” or crowning member of the column), an entablature (the collection of richly festooned roof support beams, which were divided into three horizontal sections, starting with the architrave [resting immediately upon the columns], the frieze, and then the cornice on top). Usually, high-style architectural characteristics had been initially designed, revived, or popularized by noble, monarchical, or aristocratic class members (Heritage Protection Department 2007). In addition, rather than persisting with local and mostly practical architectural trends, as vernacular builders had done, high-style architects had given deference to national or international fashions, vogues, and conventions (Brunskill 2000).

Even though the precise criteria for dividing one architectural type into the high-style category and another into the vernacular category will be subsequently explained, it may be worthwhile, at this point, to describe procedures for those few indistinct cases. To be precise, at one end of a continuum, buildings displayed all of the commonly accepted characteristics of certain types of high-style buildings (e.g., Greek columns, and elaborate wood carvings).

At the other end of the spectrum one could view, at the Nebraska State Historical Society (NSHS) website, photographs of easily identifiable examples of vernacular architecture, fitting neatly into the above description of vernacular architecture. However, starting in the 1990's, a gray area emerged where high-style buildings occasionally appeared situated in the middle of the two extremes, between the easy to identify high-styles and the vernacular types. This called for increased scrutiny of several high-styles, including the American ornamented cottage, prairie school, shingle, colonial revival, Renaissance, late 19th and 20th century revivals, and early commercial styles.

Personal visual inspections of NSHS photographs were undertaken. If a particular building possessed over half of the commonly accepted criteria for a particular high-style, then the building was accepted as the genuine high-style article. If fewer than fifty percent of such criteria could be identified photographically, then the structure was categorized as vernacular. Colonial revival, renaissance, and late 19th and 20th century revival styles were most likely to meet the high style criteria, after being meticulously inspected. Some structures were supposed to display elaborate chimneys, carved wooden cornices, elaborate dormer windows, tall narrow windows, stone or brick banding between floor levels, decorative arches, recessed entries, ornamental wall detailing, stylish parapets, specific roof and chimney forms, roof or gable decorations, verandah designs, tower or spires, and/or quoins (artistically carved and enhanced wall blocks) as demanded by the classification criteria, but failed to do so. Such properties showed stronger vernacular characteristics

(having uncarved panels, moderately sloped roofs, no porch woodwork or columns, unpretentious railing, the absence of milled panels, no carved fan brackets, no balcony, an absence of decorative glass, or the lack of a bay window) and were categorized accordingly.

Murphy (the fourth person on the list of people who were interviewed, and the one who currently serves as the Senior Research Architect for the Nebraska Historic Preservation Office, but who was formerly the Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer [from 1974-1989]) noted changes and transformations occurring in commercial versus non-commercial historical entities. He pointed out that when the tax advantages began as a result of the 1976 Tax Reform Act a new historic site selection incentive arose, driven by the market, to identify and preserve historical sites which could be quickly converted into commercial establishments. Murphy (2006) also expressed during an interview that he believed that federal tax incentives had caused a disproportionately high number of historic site selections to be listed in urban rather than rural areas because the larger cities possessed more abundant stocks of antique commercial buildings. The other three people who were interviewed agreed with Murphy's insights, and in order to further investigate the spatial and ethical implications of their suspicions, the researcher added commercial dimensions to the previously mentioned high-style and vernacular categories, calling for the development of "high-style commercial, high-style residential, vernacular commercial, and vernacular residential" dissertation categories.

It became evident that several other issues had emerged, transforming the historic preservation ethics of the National Register Program. Tomlan (1992) conducted a study which found that, because fewer people regularly attended churches, a number of

practically empty churches were being threatened with demolition. Controversies raged and pivoted around the topic of using government intervention to preserve aging places of worship. Interviews with Stupka-Burda (2007) and with Murphy (2006) only confirmed Tomlan's assertions, and in order to evaluate how this issue impacted Nebraska's geographies of historical places, the researcher established criteria for categorizing religious buildings. As the process of data categorization progressed, it became evident that a few buildings which had been established for philosophical reasons, especially the Z.C.B.J. (the Western Czechoslovakian Brotherhood) buildings, exhibited the same trends as churches. Such findings lead to the development of a "religious or philosophical buildings category."

Farmsteads had reached the forefront of literary discussions during the 1980s (Morgan and Melnick 1985). Essentially, small-scale farmers were being popularly viewed as free-thinking and independent moral paragons, and as environmentally responsible people. In addition, the numbers of small-scale farms and traditional barns were noticeably shrinking. For these reasons, and because Stupka-Burda (2006 A), and Murphy (2006), both confirmed that the discussion was being played out on Nebraska's nationally registered landscapes, "farmsteads" became the next of the thirteen data categories.

As a preliminary and informal examination of the NRIS data was being undertaken, four more categories came to light as useful tools for probing geographical as well as tabular data. For instance, forts and battlefields came to the forefront, and could be identified as predominating during the early stages of the National Register Program's implementation. In order to look further into such data, a "military" category was developed.

A “non-military governmental” category simultaneously emerged as a reasonable “military” category dichotomy. Likewise, at an early stage in the program’s implementation, archeology-related historic site designations abounded., begging for further evaluations, and leading to the development of the “archeology” category.

What turned out to be practically a subcategory of the non-military governmental category also emerged during initial considerations about the NRIS data. This is because, in spite of the fact that a main reason for developing the National Register Program in the first place had been to protect historic entities from federal and state road construction project’s destructive side-effects, beginning in 1992, a number of bridges and roads started to be listed on the National Register. Likewise, bridge support structures, including types of trusses and support beam assemblies, started to be admired as commendable feats of engineering. In order to find out more about this unexpected program transformation, the researcher created a “bridges and roads” category.

Finally, three other categories were developed in order to neatly divide up the remaining sites. Hence, the categories called “landscapes, burials, and historic districts,” were “after-thoughts,” or categories for handling left-over data.

The National Register Information System (NRIS, found at <http://www.nr.nps.gov/>) has served as an original online repository of records about nationally registered historic places. This site, embedded within the official National Park Service’s site, allows researchers to download a multiplicity of information about all of the nationally registered historic sites. Data from around the country can be accessed initially in DBS file format. In order to further manipulate the data, the numerous DBS files need to be imported into Microsoft Access, or a program with similar capabilities.

Microsoft Access allows researchers to establish relationships between data column heading names and specific row values beneath those headings. Microsoft Access can take the massive NRIS database and use one state column, filled with state specific reference numbers, to filter out the data for one specific state such as Nebraska. After such relationships have been established, a researcher can then export the data into a format which is suitable for Microsoft Excel spreadsheets. Microsoft Excel comes with chart making options for ample visual displays of data.

For this dissertation, the full range of columnar data about Nebraska's nationally registered properties were downloaded and processed in this mechanical and unbiased manner. In the appendix section of this dissertation, one may view an abbreviated version of the original NRIS data. In this abbreviated version, columns and data labels are shown. However, for the sake of brevity, the names, dates, and addresses for each particular site are not shown (see table A.1). The columns of information which do appear in the appendix include "applicable criterion, applicable historical periods, architects, architectural styles, areas of significance, body which selected the sites, cities, counties, cultural affiliations, current functions, dates listed, dates of events, federal agencies which selected sites, historic people, level of significance, materials applied/parts of structures, multiple properties, national landmarks/monuments, original/historic functions, original/historic sub-functions, ownership, property restrictions, site addresses, titles of projects, types of resources, and UTM coordinates/acreages."

Each column handles a unique type of data. Some columns will provide a datum about a single historical site on a one to one basis.

For instance, the “county” column gives only one county name to relate to one site name, indicating where that one particular site is located. Other columns give somewhere between zero and five rows of information per listed site. For example, the downloaded “Materials Applied/Parts of Structures” column relates five rows of information about how the Bradshaw Town Hall was renovated. The column indicates that the foundation, wall, roof, “other,” and “other” were respectively renovated using concrete, brick, “none listed,” metal, and stone – five rows of descriptive material for that one property. Additional explanations are given in the Appendix section.

The listed titles of individual nationally registered historic properties often revealed which of the thirteen categories a property belonged in. For example, Eagle Creek Archeological Site uses the term “archeology,” which is one of the dissertation categories, leaving little room to doubt about its correct category placement. However, if the name did not provide such cogent categorical information, two other avenues were taken so as to logically determine how any given property should be categorized. These two other sources of information have been previously described, and consisted of the additional NRIS columnar data, and also the Nebraska State Historical Society’s online textual and photographic property summary material.

One further note is worth making before presenting the list of criteria for classifying the data into the thirteen main categories, and twelve minor categories (organized within two less relevant and almost mutually exclusive categories; a subcategory of the “military” category; and into four uniquely overlapping categories). The further note is that while delineating the primary thirteen categories, nearly all of Nebraska’s 978 nationally registered historic sites fit into one category each.

However, on fourteen occasions, sites fit into exactly two categories. These fourteen two-fold sites were included twice each in the maps, and twice each in the tabularized data. In nine of those cases, the reason for dividing the sites into two categories was the word “and,” which made the researcher aware of two categorically distinct entities within close proximity. For instance, the Pawnee Mission and Burnt Village Archeological Site possessed religious and archeological characteristics. The Winds Springs Ranch Historic and Archeological District was another example. Likewise, the Moses Merrill Mission and Oto Indian Village site had similar two-fold characteristics. In the other five cases, the NSHS site photographs and descriptions showed the need to place each one of the listings into two categories because two very distinct entities existed at those sites.

The brief and precise criteria for classifying the data into the main thirteen categories are as follows:

Archeology:

- If the property name included “archeological site,” such as “Red Smoke Archeological Site,” then the property became part of the archeology category.
- If the property name did not include “archeological site,” but the NSHS website described the site as singularly archeological, then the property became part of the archeology category.
- Or, if the property name did not include “archeological site,” but the NRIS data attached to the property included the terms “trade archeology,” or “village site,” then the property became part of the archeology category.

Bridges and Roads:

- If the property name included “bridge, or highway” such as “Columbus Loup River Bridge,” then the property became part of the bridges and roads category.
- If the property name did not include “bridge, or highway,” but the NSHS website described the site’s history as a bridge or roadway, then the property became part of the bridges and roads category.
- Or, if the property name did not include “bridge, or highway,” but the NRIS data attached to the property included “highway bridges in Nebraska,” or “Lincoln Highway in Nebraska ,” then the property became part of the bridges and roads category.

Burial:

- In this case, if the NRIS data attached to the property included “funerary, cemetery, graves/burials, or mortuary,” and if the property was not first and foremost a church, then the property became part of the burial category.

Farmsteads:

- If the property name included “barn, farm, or farmstead,” such as “Christopher Knoell Farmstead,” then the property became part of the farmstead category.
- If the property name did not include “barn, farm, or farmstead,” but the NSHS website described the site’s history as singularly farm-related, then the property became part of the farmstead category.

High-style commercial:

- If the registration date was pre-1990, the NSHS website described the property as a historical commercial building, and the NRIS columnar datum identified the structure as possessing high-style architectural traits, then the property became part of the high-style commercial category.
- If the registration date was 1990 or later, the NSHS website described the property as a historical commercial building, and the NRIS columnar datum identified the structure as possessing high-style architectural traits, then the property would become part of the high-style commercial category if its NSHS photograph showed over half of the commonly accepted criteria for a particular high-style. Otherwise, the property fell into the vernacular commercial category.

High-style homes:

- If the registration date was pre-1990, the NSHS website described the property as a historical house, and the NRIS columnar datum identified the structure as possessing high-style architectural traits, then the property became part of the high-style home category.
- If the registration date was 1990 or later, the NSHS website described the property as a historical house, and the NRIS columnar datum identified the structure as possessing high-style architectural traits, then the property would become part of the high-style home category if its NSHS photograph showed over half of the commonly accepted criteria for a particular high-style. Otherwise, the property fell into the vernacular home category.

Historic Districts:

- If the property name included “historic district,” such as “South Omaha Mainstreet Historic District,” then the property became part of the historic district category.
- If the property name did not include “historic district,” but the NSHS website described it as such, and the NRIS data attached to the property included “historic district,” then the property became part of the historic district category.

Landscapes:

- If the name of the property and the NRIS data attached to the property included “landscape, natural feature, or park,” or if the NSHS website described the site as either historically and/or currently essentially devoid of man-made objects, then the property became part of the landscape category.

Military:

- If the property name included “army, battlefield, guard, fort, or bombsight,” such as “Fort Atkinson,” then the property became part of the military category.
- Or, if the NSHS website described the site’s history as singularly military in nature, then the property became part of the military category.
- Additionally, if the NRIS data attached to the property included “military, army, defense, arms, battle site, fortification, or naval” then the property became part of the military category.
- Incidentally, in order to point out more specific changes in preservation ethics, the dissertation includes “forts” (a subcategory of “military”) in tables 2.1, 3.1, 4.1, and

6.1. The criteria for the inclusion into this subcategory were that either the name of the site could be found tagged with “fortification” in the NRIS “original/historic sub-function” column, or the NSHS website described the site’s history as having served as an early fort.

Non-Military Government:

- If the property did not fit into the military category, and if the property name included “county courthouse, city library, city hall, town hall, district, municipal, state capitol, or post office,” such as the “Valentine U.S. Post Office,” then the property became part of the non-military government category.
- Or, if the property name did not include any of the abovementioned keywords, but the NRIS data attached to the property included “politics/government, government, U.S. Postal Service, Carnegie libraries in Nebraska, courthouses, post offices, capitol, city hall, civic, correctional facility, or government office” then the property became part of the non-military government category.
- Additionally, if the property name did not include any of the above mentioned keywords, but the NSHS website described the site as having been funded primarily by the government, and/or the property as generally having been or currently being used as some type of extension of the government, then the property became part of the non-military government category.

Religious or Philosophical Buildings:

- If the property name included “cathedral, church, mission, seminary, temple, or Z.C.B.J. (the Western Czechoslovakian fraternal organization which possesses religious elements),” then the property became part of the religious or philosophical category.
- If the property name did not include the above mentioned terms, but the NSHS website described the site’s history as singularly religious or philosophical, or an outgrowth thereof, then the property became part of the religious or philosophical category.
- Or, if the property name did not include the above terms, but the NRIS data attached to the property included “religion, or religious structure” then the property became part of the religious or philosophical category.

Vernacular Commercial:

- If the NSHS website described the property as a historical commercial building, and the NRIS columnar data did not identify the structure as possessing high-style architectural traits, then the property would become part of the vernacular commercial category.

Vernacular Homes:

- If the NSHS website described the property as a historical vernacular house, and the NRIS columnar data did not identify the structure as possessing high-style

architectural traits, then the property would become part of the vernacular homes category.

The brief and precise criteria for classifying the data into the remaining categories are much simpler and easier to explain than the thirteen preceding categories. That is, the second group (consisting of three almost mutually exclusive categories: nationally significant, significant at the state level, and locally significant) was taken directly from the NRIS database's "level of significance" column. The meaning of "almost mutually exclusive" is that, during the Settlement Scenario, the NRIS database assigns two "tags" to one property. During the Commercial Architecture Scenario, it assigns two "tags" to three properties, and during the Progressive Planning Scenario, it assigns fifty-five extra "tags." In addition, the Wahoo Burlington [railroad] Depot possessed international significance. This single property, although interesting, provided insufficient information about historic site nominational trends, and was therefore excluded. Even so, the four pertinent divisions of "tags" served as adequate categories, and the study did not involve developing any additional sorting criteria.

The above was likewise true for the third group (consisting of four almost mutually exclusive categories: eligible [for listing on the National Register of Historic Places] because of a historic event, eligible because of a historic person, eligible because of architecture or engineering, and eligible because of a source of information). Being similar to the previous case, the four eligibility criteria categories partially overlapped. That is, within the context of the Settlement Scenario, the NRIS database assigns fifty-six

extra “tags.” During the Commercial Architecture Scenario, it assigns 263 extras, and during the Progressive Planning Scenario, it assigns 197 extra “tags.”

Four additional categories were used to promote understanding. These four categories are not mutually exclusive, do not relate directly with one another, and do not cover all 978 of Nebraska’s registered properties. However, the “federal agency selected sites” category was useful for probing the extent to which various agencies have participated in the National Register Program over the years, and was derived exclusively from listed properties “tagged” with an agency name under the NRIS “federal agencies which selected sites” column. The “multiple properties” category was useful for bringing out the increasing use of multiple property documentation (which is explained in Chapter 3) in the National Register Program, and was derived exclusively from listed properties “tagged” with the names of pertinent multiple property documentation under the NRIS “multiple properties” column. The “Native American sites” category was useful for showing the changing trends in the nomination of Native American sites, and was derived exclusively from listed properties “tagged” with “prehistoric, historic-aboriginal, or Native American” under the NRIS “areas of significance” column. The final category used in this dissertation, “Willa Cather sites,” was useful for bringing out the importance of an early Nebraskan frontier writer, and was derived exclusively from listed properties “tagged” as “Willa Cather multiple properties” under the NRIS “multiple properties” column.

Field Evaluation of Minority Sites

As part of determining the characteristics of minority representations, the research involved field travel for the purpose of “reading” landscapes. To “read” a landscape is to

view it and to analyze it by taking such steps as considering its spatial context, the landscape's function, the transformations it has gone through, and its general connections with the outside world. Through landscape reading, scholars obtain data, reveal site characteristics, and describe the terrain.

It is worth noting some of the significant works regarding the landscape here, as essential background to interpreting the minority sites on Nebraska's historic register. Several geographical scholars have provided assistance to field researchers by describing prevalent landscape reading methods and concepts. For example, Lewis (1979) described seven axioms (or truisms) about reading a landscape. Lewis' axioms point out that man-made landscapes are autobiographical, and reflect cultures. In addition, Lewis notes that cultures change rapidly, that both massive structures and small-scale details deliver information, that greater landscape contexts provide information about a site, and that landscapes demonstrate human adaptations to nature. Lewis' seventh axiom calls for assistive research questions, such as "what does it look like, how does it work, who designed it, why, when, and what does it tell us about the way our society works?"

Also in regards to reading landscapes, Deardon (1989) wrote about the "idealism range." He explained that, in extreme idealism, researchers assume that human beings each "create" landscapes according to their own thoughts and cognitions. In extreme idealism then, the actual landscapes are not thought to exist. Partial idealists, on the other hand, hold that both the thoughts of viewers and the landscapes themselves interact to produce an objective set of landscape data and interpretive material.

A non-idealist is a person whose opinions fit at a far end of Deardon's idealism range. Non-idealists believe that only landscapes themselves "speak," and that human thoughts are of little or no importance.

Meinig (1979), a humanistic geographer, pointed out that when looking at any one landscape in particular an individual may choose from among several types of "lenses" through which to view the scene. Meinig listed nine such lenses, including a *nature* lens, which causes a viewer to interpret a landscape entirely from the perspective that nature serves as the central pivot for all reasoning about the landscape. Meinig also wrote about a *habitat* lens, which permits a viewer to argue that human occupancy and adaptation (in response to the challenges of the natural environment) best explains a landscape. Meinig also described an *artifact* lens (no nature, only human creations remain); a *system* lens (wherein patterns, such as biological and social interactions, explain a scene); a *problem* lens (where pollution, erosion, and other evils predominate); and a *wealth* lens (where the landscape is best understood by considering business, and wealth-generating activities at a site). He went on to clarify that an *ideological* lens permits a viewer to see the "ghost images" of influential men and women – such as Frederick Jackson, Thomas Jefferson, and John Dewey – "hovering," as it were, over the effects which such influential individuals have had upon a landscape. Meinig proceeded to list a *historical* lens (through which landscapes are seen as chronologies of significant events); a *place* lens (through which a landscape serves as a single conceptual tool, or as a reference point on a map); and an *aesthetic* lens (through which one sees a scene as if through the eyes of an artist).

Although Meinig (1979) described several different types of psychological lenses through which to evaluate landscapes, four of Meinig's lenses proved to be especially useful while assessing minority sites. Such lenses included the *historical* lens (through which past events pertaining to landscapes were considered), the *system* lens, the *problem* lens, and the *place* lens.

Craik (1986) added that *roles* (e.g., the task a taxi driver would have while searching the roadway for a particular restaurant), *personalities* (e.g., level and type of education, prior experiences, and personal tendencies), and *cultures* (the behavioral tendencies which stem from one's social training) also determine how a person will read a landscape. While conducting this dissertation's field study, Lewis' (1979), Deardon's (1989), Meinig's (1979), and Craik's (1986) concepts were used to visually evaluate and read minority sites and landscapes.

Narrative-Descriptive Analysis

One of the overall goals for this study is to provide an initial account of the geography of Nebraska's nationally registered historic places. With this goal in mind: three chapters have been written so as to provide an explanatory report on three scenarios. A narrative-descriptive approach, as recommended by Mink (1987) and by Tuan (1991), is used.

Explanation is inherent in the organization of the narrative, and in theory tends to be implicit rather than explicit. The narrative approach is especially useful because it gives researchers the freedom to consider a subject from a number of perspectives. If, by contrast, a researcher were to rely exclusively on identification processes or theoretical frameworks, the freedom which a narrative approach would have otherwise provided

becomes lost in an overly inflexible research structure. This is because, for example, an exclusively identificatory approach limits a study's scope of inquiry to looking at variables (such as names, certification dates, and the locations of entities). Such an approach tends to stifle free thought about variables. Likewise, theories by themselves have limitations because theories explain items within firm and unbending contexts. By comparison, the narrative-descriptive approach is especially assistive, allowing researchers to contemplate the "life stories" of historical entities while, at the same time, incorporating other approaches (for example, mapping) which might shed light on the topic at hand.

Concluding Methodological Remarks

Several scholars, (including Blake [2004], Zelinsky [1976], and Rainey [1997], whose work will be explained further in the Literature Review Section) provide assistance for categorizing site characteristics. Moreover, Ford's (1985) categories of preservational schools of thought (which are also described in the next section) have proven to be useful for understanding and classifying sites. In summary, Nebraska's general site categorizations and explanations are based on insights gained from downloaded electronic data, on-site observations and photos, and available literature. Datum comparisons were made between scenarios, then conclusions and findings were mapped and word processed.

Literature Review

Site Advocacy Studies

This literature review begins with brief examples of the basic types of studies which researchers have conducted in regards to the National Register of Historic Places.

Some researchers have evaluated the potential for, and encouraged, specific property nominations. For example, Simoulin (1999) sought to justify the listing of the S.S. Pomona underwater shipwreck site by demonstrating the viability of her plans for a specific park in Fort Ross cove, California. In order to support her plans, she demonstrated that her strategy offered reasonable park access and public safety. Moreover, she maintained that museum displays, brochures, and the vigor of the marine environment were sufficient enough to warrant the park's creation and designation. Wood (1996) conducted a similar type of study in an effort to protect downtown North Little Rock, Arkansas. Likewise, Wygal (2003) worked to preserve Alaska's paleo-Indian archeological sites. These are only a few of the individuals who have championed property nominations.

Site Evaluation Studies

Other researchers have chosen to study specific sites which were already listed on the National Register of Historic Places. For example, Walker (1994) examined twenty-five registered Carnegie libraries in Georgia. He provided data about architects, current physical conditions, any interior changes, and the buildings' general levels of integrity. He also took historical significance into consideration. As a result of his work, three of the libraries received threatened status (and were hence provided with greater care and protection).

In a study which more closely parallels this dissertation, Chong (2005) looked at the State of New York in order to determine what types of historic districts have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places. He proceeded by downloading property data from the Park Service's web site, and then processed the data using computer programs

such as Microsoft Excel and Access. His findings indicated, for example, that certain counties (including Suffolk, Manhattan, Dutchess, Albany, and Brooklyn) had the greatest concentrations of districts. He recommended that officials work toward including more diversity, especially in regard to memorializing Native American historic contributions. Chong's study differs from this dissertation because Chong focused on historic district attributes. The present study identifies and explains the geographies which have resulted from the State of Nebraska's overall behavior with regard to the process of implementing the Historic Preservation Act of 1966. This present study involves the designation of scenarios, and the study's explorations will contribute to scholarly discussions about the definition of the term "significance."

Site Preservation Impacts

A number of historical geographers have considered the ways in which property nomination and restoration decisions have an effect on the local people. For example, Newsom (1971) pointed out that historic preservation and restoration activities all too frequently displace urban racial and ethnic minorities, as well as other types of economically challenged individuals. From a slightly different perspective, Galbraith (1980) pointed out an example of how preservation actions may come into conflict with local people's pursuit of basic necessities (such as food and shelter). Galbraith cited the case of the Knights of St. John of the Hospital castle ruins, located 100 miles north of Damascus. After the site was preserved, locals were forbidden to take away the castle's coveted rectangular stones. For many years, locals had been using the stones in housing construction.

Other geographers and preservationists have observed that historic site protection activities can produce local benefits. For instance, Cisneros (1992, 85) pointed out that the historical legacy of a community can function as a powerful economic magnet. Popham (1981) concurred with Cisneros when he pointed out that, in the case of Lavenham, England (which has well-preserved medieval streets and buildings), historic sites have created jobs and enriched the community.

Site Character Classification Studies

Several geographers have classified monuments into categories for the purpose of explaining landscapes. As in this present research, they used the narrative approach to synthesize research. They put together tables and charts to show their findings, and to bolster their conclusions. For example, Blake (2004) looked at Native American representations along the historic Lewis and Clark Trail. He divided monuments into the following categories: councils of power (which depict Native American/U.S. government political power exchanges); hostile encounters; good neighbors (farm, hunting, and other chore-like scenes); and Sacagawea reinterpreted (which is a look at how a particular Native American woman has been personally represented using statues and monuments).

Zelinsky (1976) is especially noteworthy here, not only for his pioneering work in the field, but also because he categorized monuments. Using 1914 county and city atlases as well as 1957 and 1967 data from the American Cemetery Association, Zelinsky used the words in cemetery names to identify three distinct cemetery classifications. These classifications included: a place to walk and recreate; a place of solace and comfort for the bereaved; and a model upon which to build the collective understanding and belief

about the nature of the afterlife. Likewise, Rainey (1997) categorized the types of memorials which were raised at Gettysburg Battlefield by members of the Grand Army of the Republic (a coalition of Civil War veterans). Rainey's three primary categories included: geometrically shaped stones, which included shafts (or columnar, and vertical stones), and obelisks (which are rectangular stones) as category one. Rainey's second category included likenesses of material particulars, which included symbolic objects (such as a tower, or a book), and natural elements (such as boulders, or trees). His third category consisted of pedestalled freestanding human figures.

Spatial Distribution of Site Types

A number of geographers have found that, over time, properties endowed with certain representational styles and characteristics have gradually spread across landscapes. For example, Blake pointed to such spatial differences when referring to how Sacagawea is depicted on the easternmost and westernmost edges of the Great Plains (e.g., at Kansas City's Case Park, and at Broadwater Portage Overlook in Great Falls, Montana) versus how she is being depicted in the middle of the Great Plains (e.g., at Sioux City, Iowa, and at Washburn, North Dakota). To be specific, Blake referred to an outer to inner Great Plains diffusional delay in the way in which Sacagawea was represented on the Lewis and Clark Trail. Blake saw that Sacagawea is currently being depicted as a "capable worker" at the outer periphery of the Great Plains (a newer idea, e.g., at Kansas City's Case Park), but she is still primarily being portrayed as "a woman who is qualified to vote" in the center of the Great Plains (e.g., at Sioux City, and Washburn).

Hence, Blake provided evidence that Native American representations can be spatially differentiated according to delayable, and socially tailored, preservation ethics.

Grant (2006) also took note of similar kinds of diffusion processes. Grant noticed that after the American Civil War the habit of memorializing common soldiers replaced the former practice of merely venerating socially elite and highly decorated soldiers. Berger (2004) saw a similar diffusion of this egalitarianism into France which had not spread eastward beyond the Rhine River into Germany. Likewise, Zelinsky (1976) noticed a spatial diffusion of types of cemetery names, from the urban North-east to the rest of America, which had occurred between 1914 and 1967. He concluded that, as the twentieth century progressed, California, and perhaps parts of the South, had dominated the cemetery name “coining” process.

The Relationship between Historic Sites and Culture

Loader (1989), Middleton (1980), and Hill (2000), all concurred when they wrote that preservational decisions affect the future. This is because preservationists have the power to define and to negotiate a society’s identity and its basic ideals. Lowenthal (1975), Leowen (1999), and Smith (1992) agreed that, since preservationists have such power, they should strive for historical honesty and accuracy. By making correct historical facts available, homes, battlefields, archeological sites, and memorials serve as a basis for civic discourse, for the reaching of common social accord, and for the healing of nations (Smith 1992). Earlier in the century, Moore (1928) had pointed out that civilizations do not develop in healthy ways unless considerable numbers of people ultimately reach a consensus so as to be able to work together toward common goals.

For this reason, a society's general social well being depends, to some undetermined degree, on its historic sites, which forge a shared vision of the past.

Meinig (1979) referred to the way in which such sites serve as points of reference for navigation across rapidly changing terrain. In addition to such navigational reference points, geographers are also recognizing how historic sites buttress people's identities and ideals, serving as psychological reference points. For example, Lowenthal (1981), and Stipe (1983) both explained that most people are naturally attracted to their own heritage. Heritage provides a sense of *enracinement* (or rootedness). Lowenthal (1981) also pointed out that a firm feeling of *enracinement* provides stability, and is assistive toward decision-making processes – the pursuit of ideals and goals. When societies feel strongly rooted, they also feel ideologically anchored to geographic entities such as natural monuments, battlefields, and birthplaces.

Likewise, some geographers have underscored the importance of historic sites as imparters of culture. Loader (1989) defined culture as tradition; and he said it is the sum total of learned and shared patterns of behaving (psychologically and physically). Many traditions and communally learned behaviors can be clearly related to the environment. They are essential enough that the functional health and the continued existence of a group depends upon them. Recognizing the significant psychological feedbacks which take place between people and their hereditary landscapes, Hernandez-Reguant (2005), and Leowen (1999), pointed out that numerous political leaders have made efforts to increase and unify central power in their governments by manipulating these feedbacks.

Hernandez-Reguant cited the case of Cuba under Castro's leadership, which suppressed postmodern and post-colonial critiques in an attempt to achieve a society that denied class contradictions. Lowenthal (1994) also cited the case in which the British Ordnance and Survey Department systematically renamed Erse (Irish-Gaelic) topographic features in order to demonstrate the dominance of British authority over Irish political power.

Some geographers have discussed how, when preservationists interpret historic sites for the public, they must draw from "custom-made" recollections of the past rather than from any detached, entire, and completely objective "reservoirs" of historical memory. Lowenthal (1976), and Fowler (1981), both agreed that, when nominating memorials, preservationists often unwittingly draw from selected and sorted understandings of history. The reason why preservationists build selective representations into memorials is that preservationists themselves are unconsciously "programmed" with popular notions about solutions to current societal issues. Hence, present cultures use knowledge about past problem-solving behaviors to cope with the present. Fowler used the term *senses of the past* in reference to these handpicked mindsets.

Delving further into the subject of the relationship between psychology and people's perceptions about landscapes, including historic sites, this introductory chapter now considers Bowden's (1976) insights. Bowden introduced the term "fixed idea." He explained that the term "fixed idea" means any enduring and popularly accepted notion, which often survives beyond the establishment of proof or evidence contradicting that notion. He gave the example of the "Great American Desert," which during the early 19th century was viewed by some as a wasteland, but by the end of the 20th century was no longer referred to as a desert, but was rather accounted to be a useful, amenity-rich,

grassland ecosystem. Similarly, as Cisneros (1992) explains, the fixed idea concept is instrumental in preservationists viewing landscapes in habitual and set ways. Such views incrementally change over the course of decades, but fixed ideas remain rather unresponsive to new and conflicting facts.

Ford's Description of Preservational Schools of Thought

A number of writers have discussed the way in which different people act according to assorted schools of thought when it comes to historic site preservation. Most usefully, Ford (1985) pointed out that historic preservation approaches have either risen or declined in popularity over time. Ford saw that a "traditionalist approach" (which seeks to preserve, especially, patriotic sites as museums) had emerged primarily in New England as early colonial sites became threatened. He also noted that a traditionalist revival occurred when World War II ended, and when progress (for example, urban development) therefore threatened rare historic buildings.

Ford (1985) wrote about how a "modernist approach" (which is actually an anti-preservation school of thought) emerged at the start of the twentieth century because technology and progress became popular. All of the new inventions which were coming into use, including planes, street-cars, and electric lights, were stimulating people's imaginations about growth and the future. Ford pointed out how modernists celebrated progress and technological advances without concern for historic sites. Ford paraphrased David Lowenthal, who had recognized that modernists venerated the new technology which allowed them to rapidly expand urban industrial life rather than give consideration to the historical heritage left behind.

Ford (1985) also perceived that an “innovative approach,” characterized by interdisciplinary alliances, emerged immediately after WW II. The innovative approach is to develop cooperatives between developers, federal planners, and historic preservationists in order to maximize the number of preserved sites. Over time, the innovative “school” increasingly accepted the commercial use of historic properties (Chatfield-Taylor 1989). As of the writing of this dissertation, the innovative school is the currently dominant paradigm, and it has aligned its purposes, to a considerable extent, with the environmental movement.

Another approach to historic preservation, which Ford (1985) did not mention, endeavors to honor ancestors (Suagee 1992). This ancestralist approach (which remains popular among Native Americans) regards agreeably represented historic sites, which memorialize personal forebears, as genuine religious amenities – places for ancestral veneration, if not worship. Even though the ancestralist approach to historic preservation has existed in North America since prehistoric times, and has continued to coexist through colonial times and the life of the United States, it has only very recently been acknowledged and understood by the dominant culture.

For further clarification, it may be worthwhile to acknowledge that the ancestralist approach is by no means conceptually brand new. For example, in *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs*, Assmann (2003) mentioned some major differences between the way Americans think of preserving things today and the way Egyptians did thousands of years ago. For the Egyptians, ancient things were often treated as guidelines for how society could be improved in the present time. Egyptians viewed their past as a kind of blue-print for keeping life in balance, and as a map for

future actions. In contrast, Americans tend to view their past as an undesirable place to return to. That is, the dominant American society tends to anticipate that things built today will become structurally unsound, unpopular, unfashionable, and outdated. In contrast, both Native Americans (and, according to Assmann, the Egyptians as well) look(ed) at historical entities as possessing forward-looking, up-to-date, and regulative qualities.

Literature Review Conclusions

How does this dissertation fit into the literature pertaining to site advocacy studies, site evaluation studies, effected people scholarship, characteristics classification studies, spatial distribution work, cultural consideration studies, and Ford's schools of thought about preservation? Primarily, this dissertation is an example of site evaluation studies, and it is most similar to Chong's (2005) evaluation of New York State's historic districts. However, this dissertation also includes a field study of minority sites which, like Blake (2004), Rainey (1997), and Zelinsky (1976), involves categorizing according to site characteristics. Moreover, this current study includes considerations about effected people, especially Native Americans with regard to representations. This study can also be contrasted from the above mentioned literature because this study describes gradual changes to decision-making authorities and processes. That is, this case study of Nebraska's historic sites describes and maps incremental preservation ethical transformations. None of the other studies make use of a series of scenarios to uncover such ethical transformations. In other words, none of them look so directly at what influences site selection activities.

Ethical Roots, and the Formulative History of the National Register Program

Preservation ethics did not suddenly come into being when the Historic Preservation Act of 1966 was passed, which mandated the implementation of the National Register Program. Rather, such ethics and preservation behaviors had already been taking shape since the United States' early beginnings. For this reason, a review of America's developing preservation ethic is now offered as context for the study at hand.

America's Patriotic Beginnings

Patriotism (which pertains to Ford's traditionalist approach) guided the preservation ethic for many years (Birch 1985, 38). Hosmer (1965) pointed out that, initially, there needed to be some argument connected with patriotism, a great person's association to a place, before one could hope to preserve a historic site. For instance, in 1816, preservationists secured Independence Hall (the building within which America's founding fathers signed the Declaration of Independence and later the U.S. Constitution) (Tyler 2000). In 1853, Ann Pamela Cunningham formed the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association to save George Washington's home (Murtagh 1992; and Tyler 2000). Indeed, the homes of presidents, patriots, and the sites of national battles used to be the most important American monuments (Dworsky 1980; and Lowenthal 1981, 220).

Patriotism, as the primary reason for preserving sites, resurged after the American Civil War. Hosmer (1965) pointed out that preservationists consciously tried to "reignite the flames of patriotism" by preserving historic properties. They viewed historic preservation as one remedy for a disheartened people. They knew that thoughts of disunion continued to grip the country.

For example, in 1879, speakers at the dedication of Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge spoke specifically of the importance of patriotism for mending and healing the post Civil War nation. A few years later, in 1893, President J. D. Moffat of Washington and Jefferson College said that places connected with the lives of great men promote patriotism, a necessary ingredient for functioning societies (Hosmer 1965).

Although patriotism played a key ethic formulative role throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, several other overarching preservational motivations have come to the forefront in current times (Lee 1992). Although such motives had always been there in the backdrop, these other preservational motivations (which include America's identification with its western frontier as well as its growing appreciation for environmental riches) became more paradigmatically important.

America's Desire to Preserve the Frontier

Several scholars have pointed to an early preservation ethic which sought to safeguard frontier remnants. Among such scholars, Zietler (2008) saw a relationship between the winning of the West and the desire to create national parks. Americans could see that the West was nearly "won," that the Indian threat was subdued (but at a price of massive loss of lives, culture, and identity). As such, the dominant culture became sensitive to further losses of the coveted wild and open frontier, hence the need for a park system. That is, Americans hoped to preserve their frontier – their age old source of identity – within national park boundaries. In 1893, the American historian Frederick Jackson Turner wrote a paper called *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*.

In this essay, Turner stated that American character was essentially shaped because of the people's continuous experience of the frontier, and he was concerned about what would happen to that identity when the free land was all taken (Baker, et al 1996). The significance of such early preservation ethics is that they propelled the government toward creating the federal National Park Service and its system for handling parks and amenity valued properties. The National Register Program eventually grew out of that. At its beginning, the National Register Program was stamped with the ethics, agendas, and concerns which hearkened back to frontier preservation initiatives.

Since the National Register Program's earliest preservation ethic was rooted in a frontier preservation ethic, what chronology reveals the character of that ethic? As early as 1832, the American artist George Catlin was advocating using some great government policy to protect Indian civilizations, nature, and wilderness (Dworsky 1980). Yellowstone was the first of the national parks, established at the signing of the Yellowstone National Park Act of 1872 (Baker, et al 1996; and Tyler 2000). New York State established Adirondack Forest Preserve in 1885, clarifying in the legislation that the Adirondacks should be kept perpetually as wild forest lands (Baker, et al 1996). One might also find evidence for the punctuated emergence of a frontier preservational ethic in the fact that a number of clubs and associations formed as the frontier "closed." For example, in 1892, John Muir and a group of associates founded the Sierra Club. The Sierra Club modeled itself after the Appalachian Mountain Club, whose basic tenets were to preserve wilderness.

The Desire to Preserve Rare or Endangered Entities

The American preservation ethic which now seeks to preserve rare examples of architecture, relates to earlier efforts to preserve threatened or endangered birds, animals and plants (Baker, et al 1996). For example, in 1887, William Temple Hornaday published a report to the Secretary of the Smithsonian entitled *The Extermination of the American Bison*. In his report, Hornaday recommended protecting the herds which remained. Similarly, in 1899, Frank M. Chapman initiated *Bird-Lore*, a magazine (now called *Audubon*) which, among other things, called for the protection of threatened or endangered bird species. Likewise, James Russell Lowell sought to protect California redwoods.

Other preservationist societies were formed. For example, in 1883, the American Ornithologists' Union gathered in New York City for bird protection (Baker, et al 1996). In 1898, George Oliver Shields founded the League of American Sportsmen for field animal conservation. In 1911, the American Game Protective and Propagation Association (which is now called the Wildlife Management Institute) was organized (McCabe 2008). Such organizational activities were decisive in developing a preservation ethic in general.

In 1894, Congress passed "An Act to Protect the Birds and Animals in Yellowstone National Park" (Baker, et al 1996). Federal and state government entities called upon scholars to develop new legislation for protecting threatened species. For instance, in 1907, the Massachusetts legislature asked Edward Howe Forbush to analyze the economic importance of birds, and to pen protective strategies.

Using Forbush's suggestions, the Massachusetts legislature initiated species protection laws. In 1913 and then in 1918, Congress passed the Migratory Bird Act and then the Migratory Bird Treaty Act. Such actions relate to this dissertation because they developed preservation ethics.

Hosmer (1965) has pointed out that, before 1926, the idea of preserving a building exclusively for its architectural endangerment (without a patriotic argument) was far from popular. The National Register program's first architectural style identification guides were written by Marcus Whiffen, a bird recognition enthusiast (Breisch 1999). The rare architectural style argument thus relates to the rare birds, animals, and plants argument.

The current preservation ethic has changed so far as to parallel efforts to preserve entire natural environments. The concept of wisely stewarding entire ecosystems has contributed to current built environmental preservation ethical thinking. The roots of such parallel efforts can be traced back to two years before the Historic Preservation Act was passed, when Congress passed the Wilderness Act of 1964 (which deals with the management of bounded tracts of wilderness area [National Park Service 2009]). This parallel becomes especially evident further on in the dissertation, in Chapter 4.

Endangered Architectural Styles

According to Hosmer (1981) the preservation ethic changed noticeably during the economic crisis of the 1930s. This is because the federal government started to finance historic building stock identification activities as a way of getting unemployed young men back to work (National Park Service 2009; and Peterson 2004). In 1933, Charles Peterson, the Chief of the Eastern Division for the National Park Service, started the

Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) when he submitted a memo to the Park Service Director which outlined a proposal to gain Civil Works Administration (CWA) funds. Being an architect himself, Peterson seized an opportunity by making connections between federal grants, rare styles of architecture, and the needs of unemployed architects, and draftsmen. Peterson is said to have single-handedly brought architectural styles into the federal preservation ethic. The Park Service Director approved of Peterson's suggestion, helped write out a charter, and received approval from President Roosevelt one month later in 1934 (Dworsky 1980; and Tyler 2000). Peterson's HABS became an informal source of information for buildings needing protection, and it continued to be useful into the National Register years (Hosmer 1981).

In 1935, the year after Roosevelt signed HABS, Congress passed the Historic Sites Act (Murtagh 1992). The Historic Sites Act laid a foundation for the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (the basis for the National Register). The main reason why the Historic Sites Act was the New Deal Era precursor to the Historic Preservation Act of the 1960s is that, for the first time, the law gave the Secretary of the Interior the means to identify, acquire, and restore buildings.

The National Trust and the Preservation Ethic

The National Trust for Historic Preservation set important ethical precedents for the National Register program. In addition, the early leaders from within the National Trust directly influenced the process of creating the National Register.

After World War II, founders of the National Trust perceived that freeway builders, and the fact that fossil fuel was relatively inexpensive, were paving the way for the decentralization of the built environment (Liebs 1985). In addition, a postwar construction boom, combined with the development of an interstate highway system, caused notable growth in city suburbs, while central cities physically deteriorated (Dworsky 1980). A time of general prosperity followed World War II. Although material progress was accepted as desirable, this progress posed a threat to historic preservationists (Hosmer 1981). Indeed, from a historic preservationist's point of view, progress represented insensitivity toward historic places and properties. This is because progress, as an ethic, encourages the demolition of antique entities. For instance, when the federal government passed the Housing and Slum Clearance Act of 1949, it furnished planners with 10 billion dollars. Consequently, planners delineated urban renewal areas, "bulldozed" land, and sold such zones to developers (Birch 1985).

Meanwhile, preservationally sensitive individuals, including a number of key young planners (e.g., Martin Meyerson, F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., and others), disputed popular urban renewal techniques, which consisted of the complete felling of blocks of structures, some of which were locally, historically, and culturally valued (Birch 1985). Aware of the controversies, federal administrators authorized and funded a number of studies in order to improve planning practices. These studies, such as the *Seaver Townsend Urban Renewal Area* (Boston), *Historic Preservation Plan for a Central Neighborhood Renewal Area* (Savannah), and *The Negro Housing Problem: a Program for Philadelphia* indicated that varied aspects of social dynamics, historic sites, racial, and economic

factors should be figured into urban renewal projects. The lesson was: the government needed to use more tact while planning for urban areas.

Recognizing how vulnerable historic sites had become, preservational scholars, activists, and former government employees united to persuade the government to renew its concern for historic properties (Hosmer 1981, 1053). For example, during the heat of World War II, authors Deering Davis, Stephen Dorsey, and Ralph Cole Hall (1945) published a book called *Georgetown Houses of the Federal Period (1780 – 1830)*. In the book's introduction, they encouraged the leaders of all private preservation and patriotic organizations in the United States to band together into "a great national association" that would have the power to persuade Congress to create a system of national monuments in private ownership. Keeping historic sites in the hands of private owners would alleviate the government from the financial burden of purchasing and upkeeping all of the proposed sites. The next year, in 1946, they published *Alexandria Houses (1750 – 1830)*. In this second book, the authors stated that, "the most destructive of all wars has come and gone and our old buildings are now a tragically larger share of the architectural heritage of mankind. So it is of more than national importance now that we preserve and restore what we have." Hosmer (1981) asserted that when Davis, Dorsey, and Hall wrote these words, they were expressing the very essence of the preservation ethic in postwar America: the government should organize and provide funding for additional preservation efforts. The United States had a unique preservation responsibility and opportunity in the postwar world because it had not been ravaged and gutted like many other nations.

V. Aubrey Neasham, a historian who was acting as regional supervisor in the Santa Fe office of the Park Service, also anticipated that postwar progress would threaten historic sites. In 1941, Neasham wrote a paper indicating that he foresaw a financial and organizational challenge up against the preservation movement (Hosmer 1981). In his paper, Neasham saw an obstacle to the preservation movement as money flowed rapidly out of war industries and into peace-time enterprises. Such an influx of finances would contribute to new road and building projects, and would generate the destruction of already endangered significant historic sites. Neasham also predicted that oil exploration, office construction, the sale of surplus forts, and the destruction of archeological sites through water control projects would have traumatic impacts upon the nation's historical resources.

At the time, the U.S. government avoided regulating privately owned historic sites. The government could not take land from private owners for aesthetic, historic, nor patriotic reasons. Consequently, Neasham explained that a non-profit private corporation (which he wanted to call Historic Sites of America, Inc., but which became known instead as the National Trust for Historic Preservation) could be endowed with the power to acquire and preserve historic sites, while remaining within the existing legal precedents in place. Ultimately, this non-profit organization could be used to legally funnel privately-held historic sites into the possession of government agencies, such as the Park Service. Neasham sensed that sympathy toward historic preservation was strong enough among Americans that a sufficient number of individuals would purchase private organizational shares, or voluntarily give donations in order to get the non-profit organization going. Neasham went on to outline the structure of the organization, and he

explained how the organization could get to work using the fruits of the New Deal Era's National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings to establish a priority list of endangered sites (Hosmer 1981, 811).

There were others like Neasham who saw the need for an organization which could acquire and protect historic sites. For instance, in 1944, a restaurant owner named Mrs. M. McCann Naef wrote a letter to First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt (Hosmer 1981). In her letter she expressed a desire for the U.S. government to take some role in protecting her private and historically significant property from the ravages of progress. In order to do so, Naef suggested that the government could keep a list of federally-zoned and protected historic properties, such as hers, and thus keep them from being demolished.

Two years later, in 1946, Ronald Lee, George McAneny, Francis S. Ronalds (superintendent of Morristown National Park), and Eric Gugler (a New York architect) sat at dinner and "hammered" out a basic outline of what would turn into the National Trust for Historic Preservation (Hosmer 1981). They would start by bringing together the major preservation players in America. The first meeting consisted of fifteen people from three categories of preservation activities: private organizations, municipal and state conservation workers, and National Park Service executives. Soon, the group agreed upon at least four goals: mobilizing sentiment and opinion; diffusing knowledge about the need for such preservation and the appropriate methods and techniques; examination, appraisal, and support of specific projects; and conducting research and surveys on matters relating to the preservation and use of historic sites. The guests also wanted funding from the government to aid in the purchase of historic properties (Hosmer 1981, 821).

During a meeting in 1947, McAneny spoke out in favor of what Neasham had proposed 6 years earlier – that the national council should try to remain legally qualified to receive private donations of money and property (Hosmer 1981). The National Park Service could already accept donated historic sites and buildings, but could not purchase them. Furthermore, the National Park Service had more narrow criteria than the National Trust for accepting properties. That is, properties would be rejected if they were not deemed to have national historical significance. Locally significant sites had been considered to be unacceptable up until that time (Dworsky 1980). Consequently, the National Trust for Historic Preservation felt called to act as a mediator between private and public organizations. Its leaders knew that by carefully compiling its bylaws, and by maintaining its voluntary, cooperative, and flexible character, the National Trust would maintain its unique loophole of being able to direct properties into the care of the federal Government (Dworsky 1980; and National Trust for Historic Preservation). Such discussions bore fruit because, in 1949, President Harry Truman signed legislation creating the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Implications for the National Register Program

Soon after the creation of the National Trust for Historic Preservation the organization began to transform from within, and then to affect the old preservation ethic at the general level (Birch 1985, 42). That is, in the past, preservationists had wanted to preserve sites as pristine and untainted house museums. However, out of recognition that the house museum approach would be far too expensive for a large scale effort, the National Trust changed and became more enthusiastic about free market solutions for

keeping preservational efforts financially buoyant. Unwittingly, the National Trust began to “marry” two of America’s big opposing paradigms: money and amenity, utilitarianism and preservationism. The National Trust’s endorsement favoring the economic development of Historic Georgetown provides a 1951 example of these changes.

What is more, the National Trust began encouraging the government to let private property owners hold onto their sites, but suggested that the government should avoid destroying the sites and provide encouraging incentives for historic site maintenance. Murtagh (1992) explained that spokespeople at an invitational conference sponsored by the National Trust and Colonial Williamsburg in 1963 called for an advisory council on historic preservation. Conference participants agreed that a national list of registered historic sites should be created. These suggestions were published in *Historic Preservation Today* and *Historic Preservation Tomorrow*. Members of the Special Committee on Historic Preservation of the United States Conference of Mayors, including Gordon Gray, George B. Hertzog, Jr., Carl Feiss, and some members from the American Institute of Architects, organized and compiled these suggestions which led directly to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 – the act which created the National Register.

Within this emerging context, Nebraska’s National Register Program can be divided into three scenarios. The three scenarios consist of the Settlement Scenario, the Commercial Architectural Scenario, and the Progressive Planning Scenario (Stupka-Burda 2008). Chapters 2, 3, and 4 each deal with one of these scenarios and their associated policies and protected sites.

CHAPTER 2: THE SETTLEMENT SCENARIO (1966 – 1975)

This chapter deals with the Settlement Scenario (1966 – 1975). This ten year interval, including the late 1960s and early 1970s, gives the scope of certain historic site selection behaviors, and does not instantly refer to the historical events which transpired at selected sites. One may ask, “Which historic sites did officials select from 1966 through 1975?” In order to begin answering that question, the dissertation points out that the Settlement Scenario developed during a time when the unfledged National Register program focused uniquely on the preservation of forts as well as aboriginal, initial government, and pioneer-related historic sites.

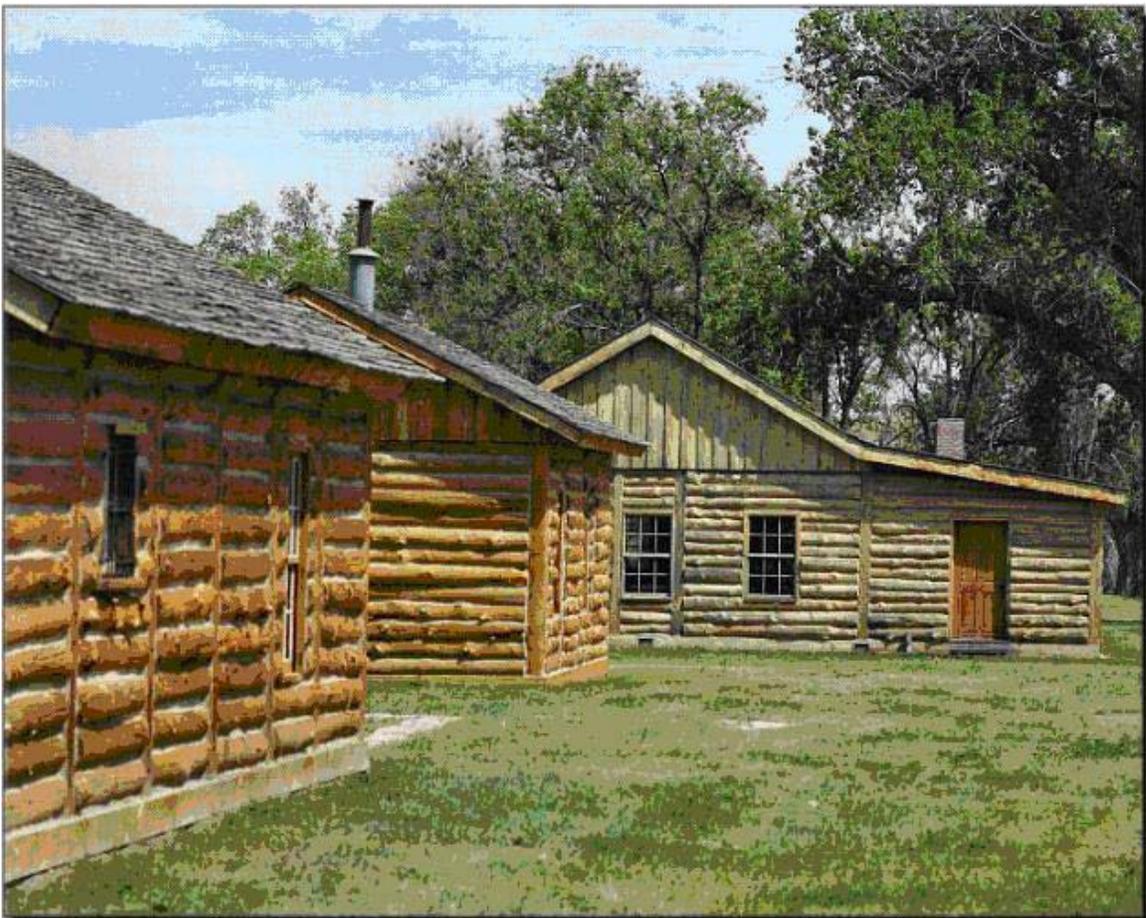


Figure 2.1: Fort Robinson (Holmberg 2009)

This focus differentiates the Settlement Scenario from later scenarios as evidenced by, for example, the number of forts and frontier-related archeological sites listed (see table 2.1). As described in the Data Classification subcategory of Chapter 1, the bases for the subsequent table 2.1 were interviews and the NRIS database.

Table 2. 1: Settlement Scenario Site Information

Mutually Exclusive Divisions of the Entire List of Sites	Number of Sites	Percent of All	Mutually Exclusive Divisions of the Entire List of Sites (a Third)	Number of Sites	Percent of All
Archeology	66	43%	Eligible b/c of a Historic Event	63	30%
Bridges and Roads	0	0%	Eligible b/c of a Historic Person	21	10%
Burial	3	2%	" " Architecture or Engineering	50	24%
Farmsteads	2	1%	" " Source of Information	75	36%
High-style commercial	16	10%			
High-style homes	17	11%	A Subcategory of a Mutually Exclusive Division (Military)		
Historic Districts	4	3%			
Landscapes	5	3%			
Military	10	7%	Forts	6	4%
Non-Military Government	8	5%			
Religious or Philosophical Buildings	8	5%	Separate Categories which Overlap Other Categories		
Vernacular Commercial	7	5%			
Vernacular Homes	7	5%			
Nationally Significant	101	66%	Federal Agency Selected Sites	12	8%
Significant at the State Level	52	34%	Multiple Properties	3	2%
Locally Significant	1	1%	Native American Sites	66	43%
			Willa Cather Sites	1	1%

This Settlement Scenario ended in 1976 when Congress passed the Tax Reform Act, significantly altering the preservation ethic, bringing financially motivated private citizens into choice-making processes. The chapter commences with a discussion about how authorities began registering historic sites. It provides a map of key property designations. Before closing, the chapter considers the preservation ethic altering legislation, and the importance of a specific type of property designation process which uniquely illustrates the preservation ethic.

Early National Register Program Leadership

In the introductory chapter of this dissertation, it was pointed out that the National Trust for Historic Preservation played a key role in getting the legislation passed which created the National Register. One of the primary authors of the National Historic Preservation Act was Robert R. Garvey, Jr. (King 2000, 19). Soon after the Act's passage, Garvey, who had been a part of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, became the Executive Secretary (later Executive Director) of the Advisory Council – the National Register's supervisory body. Garvey and Fred Rath (another leader from the National Trust) established the initial processes of implementing the 1966 Historic Preservation Act.

Although the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation possessed total “referee” authority, the federal government gave Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall the exclusive management responsibility to implement the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (Murtagh 1992). Not wanting to possess the sole responsibility, and understanding that states have the best grasps of their own history, Udall quickly wrote to governors of the states and territories, asking them to hire people as state historic preservation officers (SHPOs) (Hild 1985).

In the mean time, individual states were accepting the federal act and preparing to empower SHPOs by passing enabling legislation (Murphy 2008). Technically, states and territories of the U.S. did not have to cooperate with the Historic Preservation Act, but they all did so in order to receive federal funding. Marvin Kivett, Director of the Nebraska State Historical Society, became Nebraska's first state historic preservation officer.

The 1967 enabling legislation that the Nebraska Legislature completed, as part of the State's acceptance of the provisions of the National Preservation Act, delegated the administration of the state's historic preservation program to the Nebraska State Historical Society (Nebraska Task Force on Historic Preservation 1995). Moreover, as was the pattern in a large number of other states, Marvin Kivett happened to be the Director of the Historical Society (not to mention that he possessed a sufficient degree of education paired with noteworthy archeological field experience) and so by default was asked to be the first SHPO. The SHPOs who would follow Marvin Kivett would be approved by a governing board, but would not be politically appointed (Stupka-Burda 2006 A). Nebraska has continued to run its program from the State Historical Society (Murphy 2008). As an alternative, many other states run their programs from historically active game and parks divisions or commissions.

During the Settlement Scenario (1966 – 1975), Nebraska's SHPO, Marvin Kivett, initially possessed a significant amount of personal power, but that singular power decreased over time. In the early years the SHPO enjoyed individual freedom to identify and submit nomination requests to the Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places, according to his own professional interest and understanding (Murphy 2007). The SHPO derived this individual freedom from the Keeper's desire to rapidly launch the program (the Keeper having requested initial "consensus" property nominations from each of the nation's SHPOs). The Keeper, then, held the final authority to determine historic property eligibility, and could delegate that authority to others. Because the decisions directly affected the Federal Treasury, certification decisions were finalized by the Department of

the Interior and not state offices (Jandl 1985). Even so, the Department of the Interior accepted the vast majority of state recommendations.

Trained in archeology and anthropology, Marvin Kivett (the first SHPO) laid the foundation for the program in Nebraska (Stupka-Burda 2006 C; Stupka-Burda 2008). His training and preferences are reflected in the initial pattern of numerous Native American archeological sites which were listed (Murphy 2006; Murphy 2008; and Stupka-Burda 2008). However, his role at that time was not as much personality-related as discipline-related. Having been requested to do so by the Keeper, Kivett engaged in submittal activities which, although relatively independent, were not arbitrary but made sense from his own background and training (Murphy 2007). Kivett also influenced the future direction of the program, via his Deputy SHPO, Tim Turner, in the hiring of new staff from a variety of disciplines.

Most of the archeological nominations were based on old archeological reports (Stupka-Burda 2006). Many of the archeological sites had been excavated in the 1930s and 1940s, part of the salvage work that had been completed through the Smithsonian Institution and the Bureau of Reclamation (Stupka-Burda 2006; and Murphy 2008). Kivett simply approved the data and asked his staff archeologist to write up the nominations. In addition, before federal involvement, students and professors from both Nebraska and South Dakota had engaged in a region-wide effort to identify and report on archeological sites (Murphy 2008). Kivett used such reports, which, incidentally, were usually senior authored by the professors.

With reference to the subsequent figure 2.2, *Settlement Scenario*, there is a notable quantity and pattern of archeological sites.

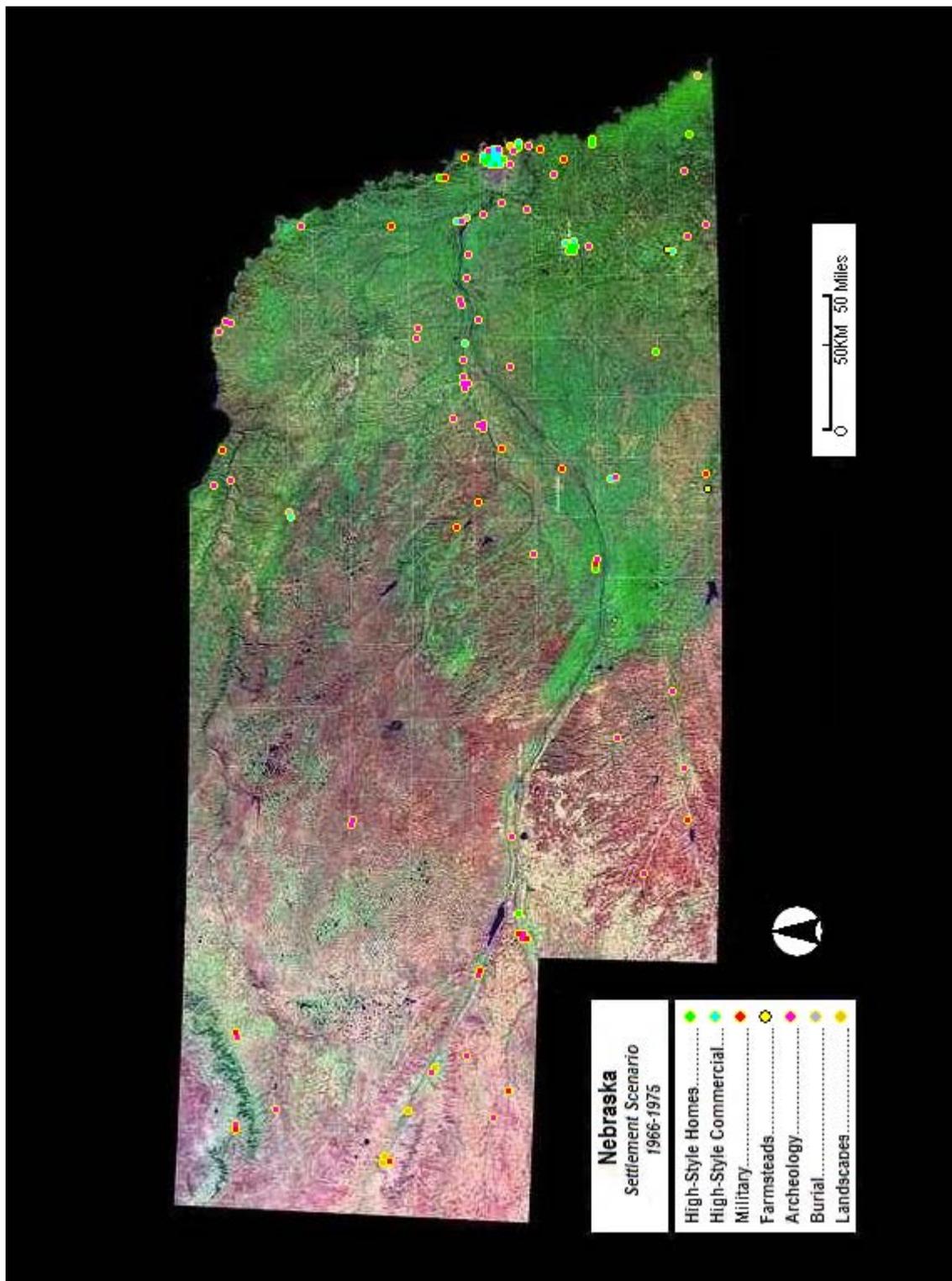


Figure 2.2: Settlement Scenario (Terraprints 2009, modified by Darren Adams)

Archeologists had discovered and left records about the sites which are located linearly from the mouth of the Platte River, beginning near Omaha and winding westward into the Loup River Basin. In ancient prehistory, this river system served as a transportation corridor, supporting trade and communication for a series of American Indian villages. In the earliest stages of the National Register program, the leadership highlighted this ancient corridor through nominational activities.

By comparing figure 2.2, *Settlement Scenario*, to figure 2.3, *Nebraska from 1675 to 1726*, one may notice how similar the two figures are in terms of the location of archeological and village sites.



Figure 2.3: Nebraska from 1675 to 1726

Both figures agree as to the locations of Nebraska's early inhabitants. Other river systems, such as the Missouri, the North Platte, and the Big Blue, served the same purposes, and figure 2.3 shows how Indian villages thrived along their banks. Many of such villages have been memorialized on the National Register, but their precise

archeological site locations have been intentionally kept a secret so as to safeguard valuable data and relics. Consequently, the pink archeological site dot symbols shown in figure 2.2, *Settlement Scenario*, mostly represent towns near archeological sites.

Incidentally, the name “Nebraska” was an Omaha and Oto (Native American) word which meant “Flat Water.” The first Europeans into the area were French trappers and fur traders. The French translated “Nebraska” directly into their European language as “Riviere de Plat,” or “Platte River.” The bulk of the archeological sites which have been identified and listed on the National Register were located either on the banks of the Platte River, or not far away, on the banks of the Platte’s tributaries. Hence, Nebraska (that is, the political entity) was known by the ancients as a stream system and its villages, and the National Register designations reflect that original system.

Looking at the subsequent figure 2.4, *Settlement Scenario, the Number of Listed Sites per County* one may see the same trend. That is, that most of the historic sites were selected within the vicinity of Nebraska’s larger streams and rivers.

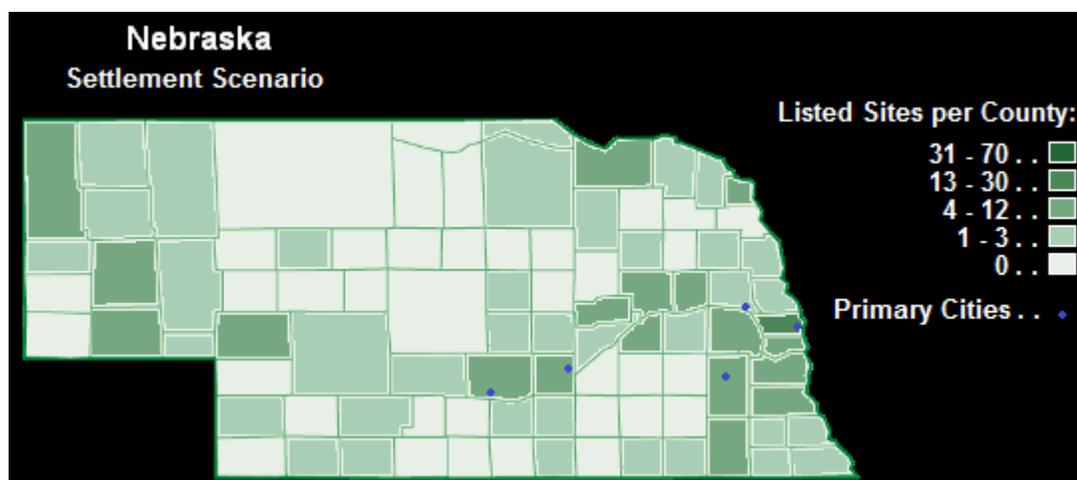
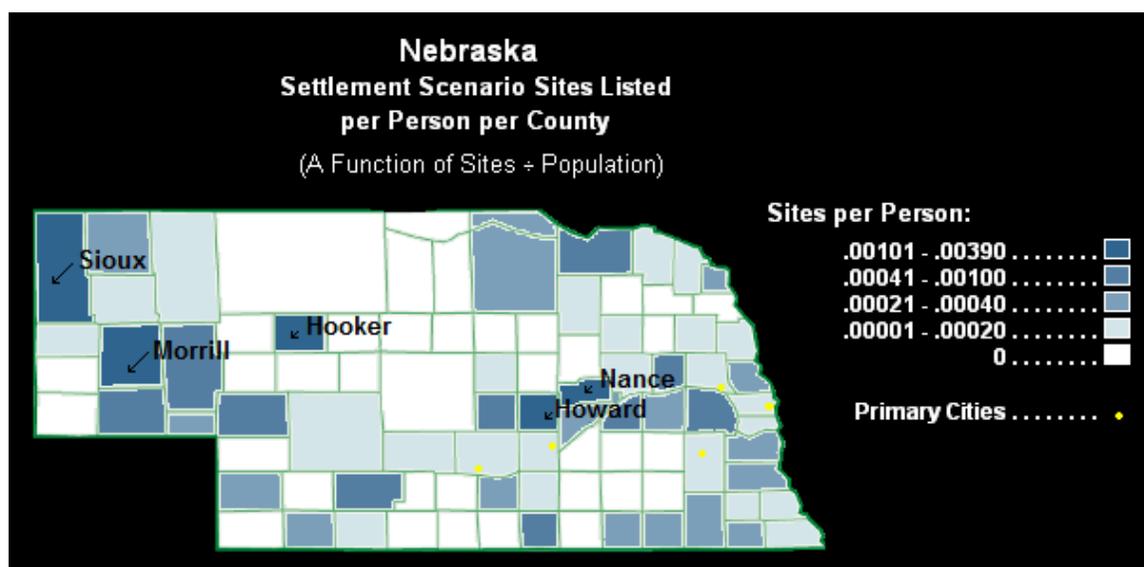


Figure 2.4: Settlement Scenario, the Number of Listed Sites per County

Incidentally, figure 2.4 also displays a strong relationship between the numbers of sites listed per county and those counties' populations.

In order to probe the question of whether or not the program favored certain segments of the state over others, in terms of the number of historic resources nominated per person, the subsequent figure 2.5 was developed. In other words, Figure 2.5 is meant to answer the question, "Is this financially and culturally beneficial program (the National Register Program) benefiting highly populated counties, such as Douglas and Lancaster, but not the less populous counties, such as Sioux and Morrill?"



**Figure 2.5: Settlement Scenario Sites
Listed per Person per County**

Figure 2.5 shows where the big "shares" per person of historic sites were located. That is Sioux, Howard, Morrill, Hooker, and Nance Counties had the most sites nominated per person, dispelling the suspicion that only the most populous counties benefitted from the program. Indeed, the data shows, in figure 2.5, that rural archeological and migration-related sites dominated and explain the above-mentioned abundant site listings. Sioux, Howard, Hooker, and Nance counties are shown boldly because of an abundance of

archeological sites. Morrill County stands out as unique among this set of counties because it has been emboldened for pioneer-related travel, and navigation and milestone reasons – featuring sites including Chimney Rock, and Courthouse and Jail House Rocks. Consequently, after reviewing the available data pertaining to sites per person, one may observe that figure 2.5 brings out the archeology and frontier settlement issues.

Figure 2.6, *Chart for the Settlement Scenario* likewise shows how prominent archeological sites were during the era.

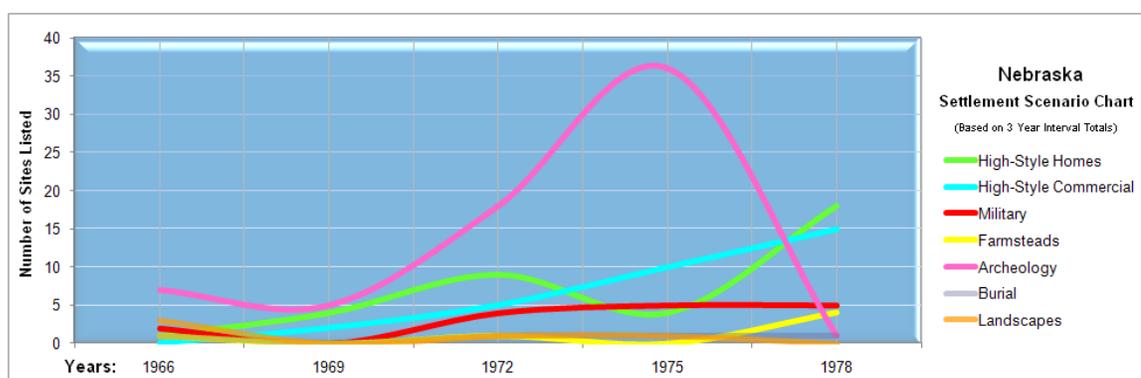


Figure 2.6: Chart for Settlement Scenario

In addition, high-style homes and commercial architectural sites were comparatively few but increasing. When authorities started implementing the 1966 Historic Preservation Act and National Register Program, historic sites were generally easier to identify because they obviously fit the parameters of the program (Stupka-Burda 2008). For example, Marvin Kivett recognized the obvious historic value of such buildings as the Thomas Kennard House and the Ferguson House, both located in Lincoln, Nebraska. Kivett and his staff members readily observed that the Kennard house had been long known as the oldest house in Lincoln, and in 1967 it was acquired and restored as the Statehood Memorial (Murphy 2008).

In addition, the Kennard house displayed Italianate-style from 1869, and it had been the home of the Secretary of State Thomas P. Kennard, one of three commissioners who chose Lincoln as Nebraska's capital city. Likewise, the William H. Ferguson House, built between 1909 and 1911, was once the home of Ferguson, an influential Lincoln businessman. The Ferguson House was also a noteworthy example of Second Renaissance Revival-style. Other obviously significant properties included places like Arbor Lodge (which was built in 1855 in Nebraska City, and was the home of J. Sterling Morton, the founder of Arbor Day), the William Jennings Bryan House (an example of the Queen Anne high-style, and the home of Bryan who was a lawyer, a congressman, the secretary of state, three-time presidential candidate, and a gifted orator), and also the State Capital Building (Puschendorf 2006). The subsequent figure 2.7, *Lincoln, Nebraska, and the Settlement Scenario* shows the Thomas Kennard House (right-most of the paired red dots), the Ferguson House (the red dot adjacent and southwest of that), and the William Jennings Bryan House (situated toward the lower right hand corner of the map).

Figure 2.7 also demonstrates how buildings near a city's original central business district (CBD) tended to be the ones most likely to qualify for nomination. Many of Nebraska's cities, including Lincoln, grew out of railroad transport and cargo station hubs, expanding and spreading outward over time in accordance with upgraded means and modes of transportation. Figure 2.7 suggests a hierarchy of designations in reference to the CBD. That is, if one considers the early Haymarket train station loading and unloading dock as the highest order spatial point, one may observe that government

buildings were nominated closest to that dock, followed further away by high-style homes, and then finally high-style commercial buildings.



**Figure 2.7: Lincoln, Nebraska,
and the Settlement Scenario**

Interestingly, figure 2.7 and also the subsequent figure 2.8 show remarkably few vernacular buildings, which is consistent with the general Settlement Era ethic. That is, unless a vernacular building site had a history dating back to pioneer times, as a general rule, SHPO office personnel would not pursue its nomination to the National Register.

It is worth noting on figure 2.8, *Settlement Scenario*, that there were absolutely no vernacular buildings nominated in Lincoln or in Omaha during the Settlement Era. There were only high-style structures nominated within that time frame. For purposes of comparison to later scenarios, it should also be noted that neither roads nor bridges were nominated as historical during the Settlement Ethical Era (1966 – 1975).

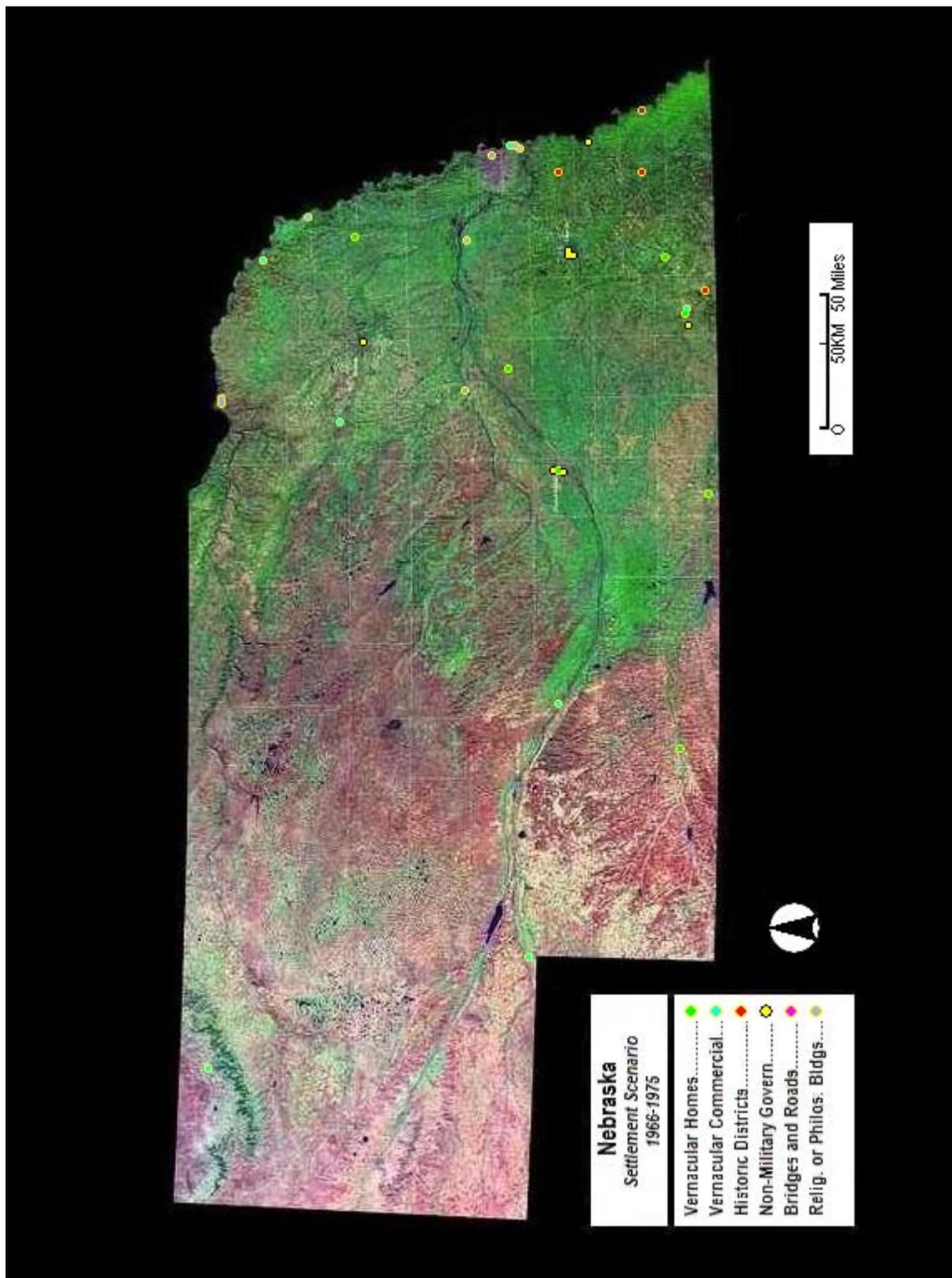


Figure 2.8: Settlement Scenario (Terraprints 2009, modified by Darren Adams)

This reflects the initial preservational value system which viewed road and bridge construction processes as hostile to historic sites.

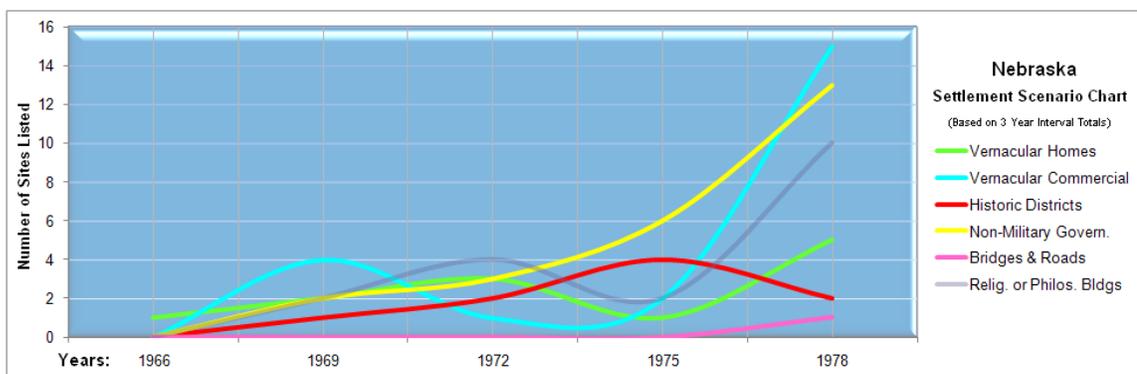


Figure 2.9: Chart for Settlement Scenario

Federal Agencies and Historic Properties

In fact, in those early years, the government expected SHPOs to protect historic properties from uncompromising federal projects (King 2000). Hence, there was a close relationship between proposed or predicted federal projects and the nomination process (Murphy 2008). The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 also gave federal agencies themselves the responsibility to locate, inventory, and forward to the Park Service their information about all sites, buildings, districts, and objects under their jurisdiction or control that appeared to qualify for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (National Park Service 2009; and Stupka-Burda 2008). As part of the mandate, Congress asked the various land management agencies to create federal preservation officer (FPO) positions for managing and determining the eligibility of jurisdictional historic sites. The FPO was supposed to coordinate his or her agency's preservational activities, and to do the same kinds of tasks that any SHPO did.

With minimal budgetary resources, federal preservation officers (FPOs) tried to negotiate conflicts of interest between amenity valued sites and agency projects (King 2000; and Stupka-Burda 2008). They did so by identifying sensitive historic sites, proceeding with the nomination processes, and then taking Advisory Council comments into consideration (National Park Service 2009). Having complied with this procedural requirement, a federal agency could then adopt any course of action it believed was appropriate. While the Advisory Council comments had to be taken into account and integrated into the decision-making process, program decisions rested with the agency implementing the undertaking (National Park Service 2009).

Because of budgetary constraints, and the general inconvenience of directives, agencies would commonly only sluggishly cooperate with the mandates (Davis 1992). Recognizing agency indolence, Congress and the Park Service periodically released additional mandates. For example, it was not until the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) that pressure increased to go out and nominate or identify any and all eligible properties (Murtagh 1992; and King 2000). NEPA applied extra pressure on agencies because of its relatively powerful Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ), which made allegations against those who threatened historic, and amenity valued properties (King 2000).

Congress established the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) when the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) was written and passed (Whitehouse 2009). The Council's Chair holds a powerful position and directly advises the U.S. President. Included with the CEQ's responsibility to watch over the natural environment is the need to oversee the protection of important national heritage resources (Council on

Environmental Quality 2009). As part of this oversight responsibility, the CEQ wrote up initial regulations for guiding the process of identifying and protecting heritage resources (Bureau of Reclamation 2009). In 1970, amendments to NEPA permitted the Council on Environmental Quality to require all land management agencies to fill out environmental impact statements, including statements about threatened historic sites and resources (Council on Environmental Quality 2009).

For example, in compliance with Section 106 of the Historic Preservation Act and with NEPA, the City of Lincoln/Lancaster County, the Nebraska Department of Roads, and the Federal Highway Administration prepared an environmental impact statement which took into consideration potential impacts upon Nebraska's historic sites. The environmental impact statement pertained to the extension of a four laned roadway around Lincoln, Nebraska's, southern and eastern perimeter (Lancaster County 2009). Four route alternatives were taken into consideration. These included a south beltway alternative (which was called SM-4) and three east beltway alternatives ranging from close to the city's edge to farther from the city (EC-1, EM-1, and EF-1). In the process of conducting the research necessary for filling out an environmental impact statement, organizations found that the much-needed roadway would inevitably impact either a certain number of historic standing structures or archeological resources. The only remaining question would be whether those impacts would occur at the one site along SM-4, at the one site along EC-1, at the two sites along EM-1, or at the three sites along EF-1.

Similarly, and in another case, while planning for Nebraska's Medicine Creek Reservoir the Bureau of Reclamation initiated research which led to the discovery of the Mowry Bluff Archeological Site (Blasing 2000). This circa 1100 A.D. Upper Republican Phase Native American dwelling represented many other adjacent structures and cultural remnants which were being threatened with inundation. Such efforts led to the site's 1974 protection and nomination to the National Register.

The Council on Environmental Quality can exert pressure on federal agencies to take care of their environmental and historic-related duties because it maintains close contact with the Presidency and the federal court system. For instance, the EPA periodically sends regional division inspectors out to observe and audit agency compliance with regulations (Environmental Protection Agency 2009). Although the EPA does not initially threaten an agency with legal action (choosing to issue orders for required changes, and giving due dates), the EPA is capable of making threats. In extreme cases, such as in a case of bribery and intentional regulatory violations, federal agency officials have been stripped of their jobs and reputations through being fired and imprisoned.

Besides NEPA's direct regulations and CEQ activities, NEPA encouraged a wave of enthusiastic archeologists to get involved in historic preservation (Murtagh 1992; and King 2000). In the pre-NEPA days of the early 1960s, neither the Forest Service nor the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers had archeologists on staff (Davis 1992). Both agencies had dozens by the mid-seventies. The new archeologists started taking issue with slothful agencies, and exerted pressure to get agencies to identify and evaluate potentially eligible historical sites (Davis 1992). Additionally, the new archeologists complained about shortages of funding. When Congress passed the 1974 Archeological and Historic

Preservation Act (also known as the Moss-Bennett Act) archeologists started receiving the kinds of funds they had contested for (Davis 1992, 181). Consequently, the number of archeological sites listed on the National Register increased.

In addition to NEPA, the U.S. President signed (in 1971) Executive Order 11593. This Order firmly reminded agencies of their responsibilities, and also called for closer cooperation between federal agencies and state historic preservation officers (Murtagh 1992). Consequently, Executive Order 11593 increased the number of historic sites being listed on the National Register (Murphy 2006).

Several years later, the Archeological Resource Protection Act (ARPA) of 1979 was approved, also asking agencies to take their own responsibilities more seriously. The federal government wanted agencies to follow the recommendations of SHPOs regarding the identification of, and the minimization of damages to, jurisdictional historic sites. Moreover, Title 36 Part 327 of ARPA required that agencies record their plans for minimizing impacts in a Memorandum of Agreement.

In 1980, the federal government amended the earlier mentioned Executive Order 11593 so that land management agencies could use 1% of their federal project funds to fulfill their historic preservation duties (Davis 1992; and Murphy 2006). Still later, in 1981, the federal government made the 1971 Executive Order 11593 more strict by adding extra bureaucratic material, codifying how every federal agency was required to identify jurisdictional cultural resources and to report them to SHPOs, and then to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (Murtagh 1992). The overarching points are that the first several years of the National Register Program focused on protecting historic sites from federal projects. Federal agencies would become involved and engaged in such

protective efforts when they were reminded to do so – when new directives were given to them from higher government authorities. Figure 2.10, which has been taken directly from the “federal agencies which selected sites” column of the NRIS data, suggests that federal agency site nominations increased when higher authorities mandated it, but usually for only a brief period of time (see table A.1 of the appendix for agency names).

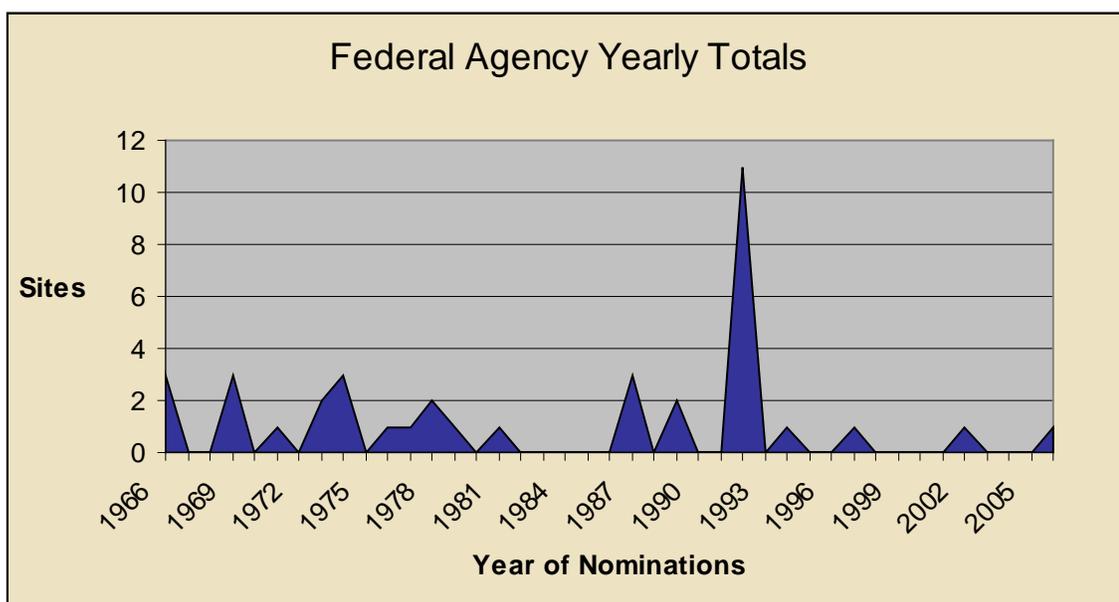


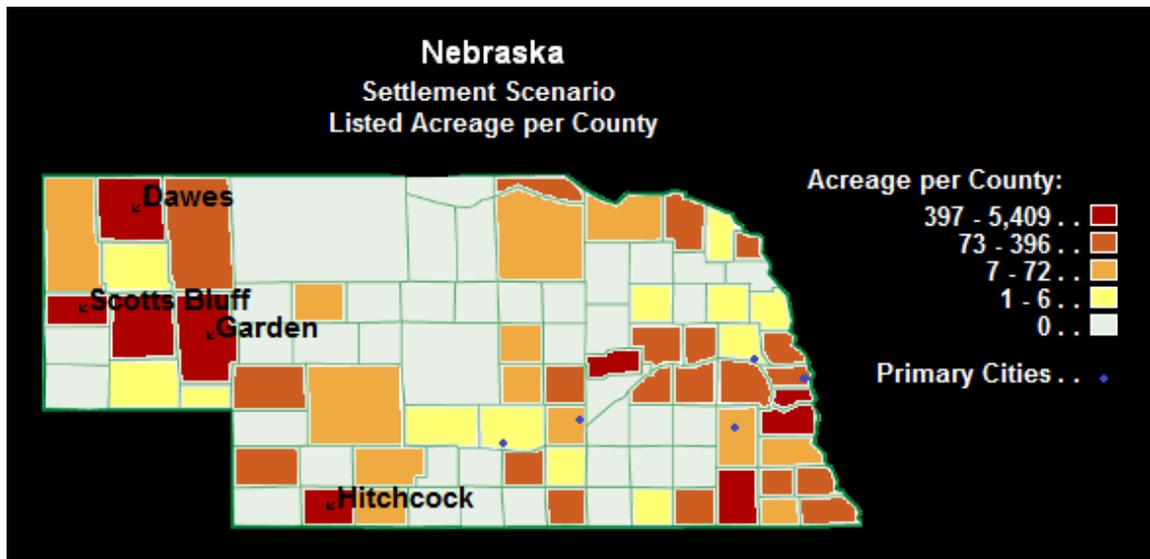
Figure 2.10: Federal Agency Owned Properties Listed on the National Register, Illustrating “Starts and Stops” in Federal Agency National Register Program Involvement and Activity

Site Acreage

Another interesting Settlement Ethical Era factor pertained to the relatively high acreage of several protected properties. Many sites with high acreage go back to Kivett’s interaction with the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) program. To be specific, the nomination process of these high acreage properties began when Marvin Kivett received a call from the National Historic Landmarks program (Puschendorf 2006).

The NHL program's assignment was to transfer nationally significant properties into the care of the Park Service. Moreover, even though the NHL program officials knew they had more properties listed than the Park Service could financially handle, they called Marvin Kivett, soliciting comments for additional national historic landmarks. When NHL officials called him, Kivett simply "rattled off" a lot of sites that he knew of that would have national significance. Since Kivett was an archeologist by training, he gave the NHL information about a lot of archeological sites that he remembered. Almost to Kivett's astonishment, the sites became national historic landmarks. Kivett felt pleasantly surprised at how persuasive his personal training and interests were to NHL officials (Stupka-Burda 2006 A).

The subsequent figure 2.11, *Settlement Scenario Historic Site Acreage by County*, shows these high acreage sites within the context of counties. For instance, in 1966, Kivett communicated with the Park Service about Fort Robinson and the Red Cloud Agency (Murphy 2006). The Red Cloud Agency had historically been supplied with a warehouse, offices, two Indian trading stores, an agent's home, a blacksmith's shop, stables, and eventually a public school (Nebraska State Historical Society 2009). The Agency provided basic survival products to Chief Red Cloud's subdued band of Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Sioux Indians. The Red Cloud Agency, a forerunner to the American Indian reservation system, had been moved from Scotts Bluff County to Dawes County in 1873. The Agency remained there, secured by soldiers stationed at Fort Robinson until 1877. Being an NHL and an unusually high acreage historic site, Fort Robinson and the Red Cloud Agency have caused Dawes County to be rendered in dark red in figure 2.11.



**Figure 2.11: Settlement Scenario
Historic Site Acreage by County**

Also listed in 1966, Scotts Bluff National Monument (another NHL, shown in figure 2.12) consists of 2,988 acres, making figure 2.11 dark red over Scotts Bluff County.



Figure 2.12: Scotts Bluff National Monument (Judge 2009)

Likewise, Massacre Canyon, which was nominated in 1974, is a 3,680-acre battlefield near Trenton, in Hitchcock County. Ash Hollow serves as another example of a high-acreage historic site. Beginning with Ash Hollow Cave in 1966, and then adding additions under the title of “Ash Hollow Historic District” in 1975, officials nominated a total of 5,400 acres near Lewellen, Garden County. The significance of each of the above-mentioned high-acreage properties can be traced directly to Nebraska’s historic period of settlement.

Financial Motivators during the Settlement Scenario

During the Settlement Era (the initial stage of the implementation of the National Register program), SHPOs were partly motivated by the financial incentives. Marvin Kivett, Nebraska’s first SHPO, received a percentage of the annual Federal Register funds based on the numbers of nominations that were completed (Stupka-Burda 2006 A; Stupka-Burda 2008). There was a direct money-per-site relationship to this income.

Starting in 1967, the federal government stimulated historic property nominational and renovational activity by providing “bricks and mortar” (or, matching grants-in-aid) funds to assist restoration work (Birch 1985; and Hild 1985). The public and state agency property owner’s demands for such funds put pressure on the SHPO and his staff members to quickly expedite historic property nominations. This is because renovators could only get bricks and mortar funding when their site was listed on the National Register (Puschendorf 2006; and Stupka-Burda 2006 A). Federal bricks and mortar funding, for example, remunerated workers who had contributed labor to the restoration of both the Kennard House and the Ferguson House.

That is, workers were hired by contractors who were paid by the state, which were then reimbursed out of the federal bricks and mortar program (Murphy 2008).

Formulative SHPO Office Procedures

Another characteristic which differentiated the Settlement Era from later eras was that forms were easier to fill out. The documentation standards were not as rigorous as they later became (Stupka-Burda 2006 A; and Stupka-Burda 2008). Many of the early nomination documents, which were based on earlier archeological reports, consisted of uncomplicated descriptions of properties. They were not comprehensive nominations, although the bibliographies would refer to the technical reports that the nominations were based on (Murphy 2008).

In 1974 Marvin Kivett gained authorization and budgetary support for a set of assistive staff members, which allowed him to select the first Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer (Tim Turner). Before 1974, the authorities had provided Kivett with enough financial resources to hire one assistant (the first being John Q. Magee, and then, at a later time, Kolberg took Magee's place, based on Murphy [2008, and 2009]).

Every staff member has had a particular background and bias. Personality played a certain, and yet limited, role in staff member's site selections. Such bias can be seen, for example, in the way in which Magee (the SHPO's initial assistant) preferred high-style architectural sites dating from either 1871 or older. Kivett wanted to see Magee work on some of Nebraska's younger and more vernacular historical sites. It is possible that these and similar kinds of differences contributed to Kivett's decisions to terminate first

Magee's, and then Kolberg's, employment. In 1974, Kivett hired Tim Turner, who then hired historian Janet Jeffries and architectural historian David Murphy.

Incidentally, Marvin Kivett temporarily placed Ron Kivett (a family member and non-degreed archeological assistant) in a SHPO office staff archeological position, but the federal government rejected that choice on the grounds that the younger Kivett did not possess sufficient qualifications. In submission to that rejection, Marvin Kivett hired Richard E. Jensen for the archeological position.

Another formulative SHPO office procedure can be observed in distinctions in planning processes. At first, and in response to federal planning requirements, the SHPO and his staff members used a comparatively informal preservation series for planning (Puschendorf 2006). Starting in 1971, the SHPO office kept this same preservation series (which they nicknamed "The Brown Book") as a convenient list of significant properties (Murphy 2006). The Brown Book was a one-time publication which provided an easy reference source for statutes. Staff members also used the Brown Book's white pages and spaces to record their survey activities.

After a period of time the federal requirements changed, and the SHPO office began to issue an annual and more formal preservation plan as part of a grant application for a fixed percentage of Historic Preservation Fund (HPF) money (Puschendorf 2006; and Stupka-Burda 2006 A). Submitted to the National Park Service, each year's preservation plan explained how the fixed percentage of funds would be used to accomplish that year's preservation goals and objectives (Murphy 2008). This preservation plan-based funding process replaced the earlier money-per-site financial incentive. The bureaucracy

was growing, and as technicalities increased the SHPO's personal power decreased. Preservation ethics moved into federally regulated assistive staff member's hands.

In addition, by the mid-1970s the SHPO office was choosing two counties each year in which to conduct surveys (which were collectively called the Nebraska Historic Building Survey) for historic standing structures (Puschendorf 2009; Stupka-Burda 2006 A; and Stupka-Burda 2006 B). The two counties were chosen according to certain criteria. One of the criteria for choosing counties was that there needed to be a "demonstrated public interest" in historic buildings. Demonstrated public interest would include, for example, a historical society contacting the SHPO office with a request for research assistance. In addition, a private developer might call, wanting aid with identifying potentially restorable sites. SHPO staff members would also recognize, by examining records of past survey efforts, that certain counties had not been surveyed, or that some counties had not been surveyed for a long time (so that some buildings had now aged enough so as to gain historical significance).

Beyond surveying standing structures, the SHPO and his staff members (starting with archeologist Terry Steinacher) also started doing statewide surveys of drainage basins for archeological resources (Stupka-Burda 2006 B; and Murphy 2009). As a result of those archeological surveys, staff members occasionally identified sites that were eligible for listing. Over time, this became the nearly exclusive means by which archeological sites were nominated.

Another important means for nominating properties also emerged during the Settlement Ethical Era, affecting patterns in site nominations. This key means became known as multiple property submissions. Multiple property submissions (MPSs) reveal

state level historical priorities. For example in Nebraska in 1969, the SHPO launched its first of such properties – a property pertaining to Willa Cather, Nebraska’s most famous fiction writer. Willa Cather wrote fictional historical books about settlement times, and hence neatly fit within the Settlement Ethical Era. The subsequent table 2.2 is based directly on the “Willa Cather” tagged NRIS “multiple properties” column data.

Table 2. 2: Nationally Registered Willa Cather Sites

<u>Site Names:</u>	<u>City and County:</u>	<u>Types of Sites:</u>
• Burlington Depot	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Train Station
• Cather House	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Vernacular Home
• Chalk Cliff and Republican River	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Landscape
• City Pharmacy	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Vernacular Commercial Building
• Crossroads Grave Site	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Graveyard
• Dr. Gilbert McKeeby House	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	High-style Home
• Elm Street Historic District	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Historic District
• Farmer’s and Merchant’s Bank	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	High-style Commercial Building
• First Baptist Church	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Church
• Garber Grove	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Landscape
• George Cather Farmstead	Bladen, Webster Co.	Farm
• Grace Episcopal Church	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Church
• Jackson’s Reserve	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Landscape and Vernacular Home
• Main Street Historic District	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Historic District
• Matthew R. Bentley House	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	High-style Home
• Miner Brothers Store	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Vernacular Commercial Building
• Miner House	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	High-style Home
• Moon Block	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Vernacular Commercial Building
• Opera House	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Vernacular Commercial Building
• Pavelka Farmstead	Bladen, Webster Co.	Vernacular Home
• Perkins-Wiener House	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	High-style Home
• Railroad Addition Historic Dist.	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Historic District
• Seward Street Historic District	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Historic District
• St. Juliana Falconieri Church	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Church
• St. Stephenie Evangelical Church	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Church
• Warner-Cather House	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Vernacular Home
• Webster County Courthouse	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Courthouse
• Willa Cather Memorial Prairie	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Landscape
• William Cather Homestead Site	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	Vernacular Home
• William Ducker House	Red Cloud, Webster Co.	High-style Home

The historical sites pertaining to Willa Cather and her work were all located in South Central Nebraska. Because Willa Cather identified actual places in her writings, the National Park Service was able to identify twenty-six individual sites and four historic districts, listing them as multiple properties (National Park Service 2009).

Her mentioned places range from rural landscapes, farmsteads, churches, a grave, a railroad depot, a government building, residential neighborhoods and commercial districts. Figure 2.13 shows a Willa Cather-related landscape.



Figure 2.13: Willa Cather Memorial Prairie (Mawhamba 2009)

The historical sites pertain to Cather's personal life story (National Park Service 2009). At the age of eight years, she and her family moved to Catherton, Nebraska, from the State of Virginia. As a youth, she experienced the rural community and prairie situated between Catherton and Red Cloud, Nebraska, where eight of the twenty-six sites were selected.

As an example, her novel, entitled *Antonia*, focused on Cather's personal friend Annie Pavelka. Based on that work, authorities approved of the 1979 listing of the Pavelka Farmstead on the National Register (figure 2.14, National Park Service 2009). Incidentally, Cather mentioned people from numerous ethnic backgrounds who had settled the area. For example, Antonia (or Annie Pavelka) was of Czech heritage.



Figure 2.14: the Pavelka Farmstead (Nebraska State Historical Society 2009)

Aside from the Willa Cather sites, the other multiple property submissions, initiated during the Settlement Era were the Opera House Buildings in Nebraska (1867 – 1917). The opera house site locations are shown in figure 2.15 and are based on the NRIS database’s “multiple properties” and “site addresses” columns. The opera house sites which were nominated beginning in 1973 reflect an appreciation for what was one of the main forms of public entertainment at the time when European-Americans first began settling in Nebraska (National Park Service 2009). In addition to their unique architecture and opera performances, these opera houses met other early community needs and desires to have places to dance, to hold town political and fraternal meetings, to present plays and concerts, and to hold local talent shows. Because opera houses did not pertain to the life of one particular historical individual, such as Willa Cather, one may observe (on figure 2.15) that opera house site nominations displayed a comparatively diffused distribution pattern across the map.

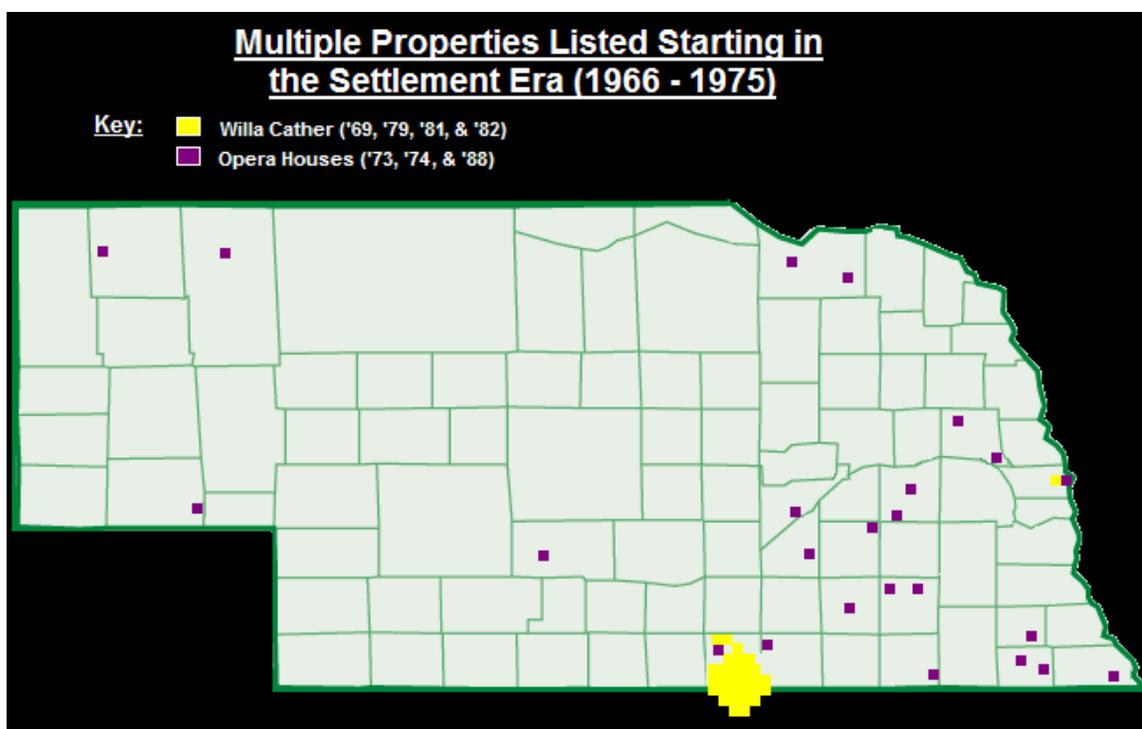


Figure 2.15: Multiple Properties Listed Starting in the Settlement Era (1966 – 1975)

In addition, because public events at opera houses were typically downtown experiences, the distribution of opera houses can be spatially differentiated, to some extent, from the more rural Willa Cather site distribution. To be precise, opera houses would fall closer to the urban end of a rural-to-urban continuum.

Estimated as approximately one third of all historic properties, multiple property submissions (MPSs), as the name suggests, were a collection of historic properties which were related to each other by theme or, alternatively, by context (Murphy 2009). Multiple property submissions typically reflected state heritage more strongly than other submissions, because MPS called for initial steps of deliberate research to establish a historic context (National Park Service 2009). SHPO staff members filled out multiple property forms to handle a certain aspect of their own state's unique history.

The historic contexts which they established in those initial forms then became foundational for numerous later listings. Properties of a common type were then identified as being located in many different places and circumstances throughout the state. Because state and sometimes federal officials pursued multiple property nominations more proactively than single property nominations, multiple property submissions (MPS) more directly expressed state and federal preservation habits.

What made MPSs useful to SHPO staff members? Stupka-Burda (2006 A) explained that SHPO staff could much more quickly fill out the forms, for example, for a number of historic bridges. It reduced paperwork (National Park Service 2009). It also reduced the amount of time it took to conduct historic research. That is, if a courthouse or an opera house reached an age of eligibility, officials merely had to do the research for that individual building but did not have to do the foundational research pertaining to all of the courthouses or opera houses in the state (Stupka-Burda 2006 A). When Stupka-Burda was interviewed, someone had contacted her from Hayes County, Nebraska, wanting to get the local courthouse listed on the Register. Stupka-Burda explained that, in spite of the backlog of her other work, she was able to pass encouraging news onto the individual. She could get the courthouse paperwork processed comparatively quickly because county courthouses had been covered by the County Courthouses of Nebraska MPS documentation.

Multiple property submissions involved two paperwork stages (National Park Service 2009). In the first stage, officials filled out the Multiple Property Documentation Form – an umbrella form which established the historic context for all of the properties which would later be appended. The Multiple Documentation Form was a cover form that

explained what physical characteristics caused the site to qualify for eligibility (Lee and McClelland 2007). Physical characteristics embodied, for example, styles, surroundings, and structural integrity. On the Multiple Documentation Form, officials also explained the qualifying contextual and associative characteristics which were required to be present before a site could be appended to the body of multiple property documentation (Stupka-Burda 2006 A). Associative contexts and characteristics set the stage for checking up on such items as theme, any event which needed to have transpired, required time frame, and any optional ownership requirements. In the second stage, officials filled out a set of registrations forms to describe *specific* properties (National Park Service 2009).

Interestingly, in 1984 the National Register program changed the way it dealt with multiples of similar property types (National Park Service 2009; and New Jersey Historic Preservation Office 2008). Before 1984, officials used two categories to describe multiple properties. One category, thematic resource nominations (TRAs) dealt with a finite number of sites which could be located anywhere on a map (National Park Service 2009). Less concerned about location, TRA paperwork handled any property sharing a highly definable theme. In the early eighties, officials also started using Multiple Resource Areas (MRA) paperwork. MRA paperwork decreased the burdensomeness of filling out all of the separate paperwork for numerous geographically bounded, and closely related, properties. However, by 1984, Park Service officials recognized that both formats could be handled under the multiple property submission (MPS) umbrella (Lee and McClelland 2007; and Park Service 2007).

When the Settlement Scenario transitioned into the Commercial Architecture Scenario (1976 – 1991), the federal government considered innovative approaches for speeding up nominational processes, getting more historic places registered and protected. The next chapter maps out, explains, and describes the impact of federal and state strategies on Nebraska's historic sites and registration ethics.

CHAPTER 3: THE COMMERCIAL ARCHITECTURE SCENARIO (1976 – 1991)

Whereas the first scenario, the Settlement Ethical Scenario, characteristically displayed a unique emphasis on Nebraska's pioneer and settlement years, the second scenario focused more on government-owned and privately owned commercial architecture (see table 3.1).

**Table 3. 1: Commercial Architecture
Scenario Information**

Mutually Exclusive Divisions of the Entire List of Sites	Number of Sites	Percent of All	Mutually Exclusive Divisions of the Entire List of Sites (a Third)	Number of Sites	Percent of All
Archeology	8	2%	Eligible b/c of a Historic Event	262	35%
Bridges and Roads	3	1%	Eligible b/c of a Historic Person	109	15%
Burial	4	1%	" " Architecture or Engineering	360	49%
Farmsteads	16	3%	" " Source of Information	10	1%
High-style commercial	72	15%			
High-style homes	81	17%	A Subcategory of a Mutually Exclusive Division (Military)		
Historic Districts	18	4%	Forts	3	1%
Landscapes	5	1%			
Military	6	1%	Separate Categories which Overlap Other Categories		
Non-Military Government	118	25%	Federal Agency Selected Sites	11	2%
Religious or Philosophical Buildings	69	14%	Multiple Properties	121	25%
Vernacular Commercial	59	12%	Native American Sites	6	1%
Vernacular Homes	19	4%	Willa Cather Sites	28	6%
Nationally Significant	68	14%			
Significant at the State Level	237	49%			
Locally Significant	176	37%			

The Commercial Architecture Ethical Scenario began when Congress passed the 1976 Tax Reform Act, causing more of a shift in focus toward city centers, and toward buildings which could be renovated and put to private profit-making uses. Likewise, during the Commercial Architecture Ethical Era, officials started to relinquish a considerable measure of their site-choosing power, giving that control to private citizens and developers (Stupka-Burda 2008). The preservation ethic, in general, was transitioning from Ford's (1985) traditionalist approach to the innovative approach.

Processes Replaced Personal Authority

Looking back to the Settlement Ethical Scenario (1966 – 1975), Marvin Kivett, the first SHPO, had held considerable personal power to select the historic sites which he considered to be worth listing on the National Register of Historic Places. The federal government had also financially rewarded the Nebraska State Historical Society according to the numbers of historical sites it was able to get listed. Eventually, the federal government removed that incentive. This occurred when, in 1976, Congress and the President amended the Land and Water Conservation Fund of 1965 to create a historic Preservation Fund (Murtagh 1992). They arranged the situation so that offshore oil drilling would generate revenue for that Fund. Furthermore, the government started sending a state population-based annual portion of the Historic Preservation Fund to each state (Stupka-Burda 2006 A). The amended budgetary structure paid more for a preservational *process* than for a SHPO's personal strategy.

When the Commercial Architecture Ethical Scenario (1976 – 1991) developed, James Hanson, the Director of the Nebraska State Historical Society, took over as SHPO. One of the reasons why a profound decrease in the number of listed archeological sites occurred was that Hanson possessed a personal difference in training and background (in American Studies) from Kivett's archeological expertise (Stupka-Burda 2006 C). In addition, the federal government had reduced Hanson's and other SHPO's site selection roles, delegating those roles away to SHPO office staff members and to the public. Another reason why fewer archeological sites were nominated into the Commercial Architectural Scenario was that archeological sites require extensive survey and excavation efforts to supply the data necessary for nominations. Such work is expensive,

so nominations based on older fieldwork had been logical and readily available to Marvin Kivett. However, James Hanson was faced with a different situation. Since finances for such work were not generally provided by Historic Preservation Fund money, which was meant to be primarily used for historic building surveys, James Hanson, the new SHPO, lacked financial incentives to vigorously pursue archeological nominations (Murphy 2009). Figure 3.1, *Chart Showing Peaks in High Style Architecture*, displays the resulting decrease in archeology-related historic site listings.

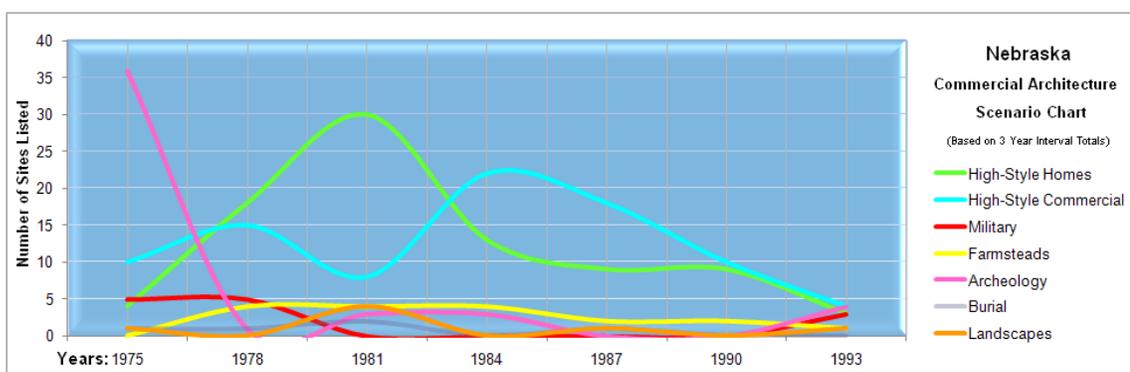


Figure 3.1: Chart Showing Peaks in High Style Architecture

Another change in the balance of authority occurred in 1974. At that time, SHPOs lost some of their personal site-choosing power because of an added “fifty-year rule.” The federal government had decided that sites needed to be at least fifty years old to qualify as listable historic properties. Consequently, beginning in 1974, and with each passing year, additional sites “matured” so as to qualify for listing. Before the fifty-year rule came into force, Nebraska’s first and second SHPO’s assistants, Magee and Kolberg, had held to an approximately 100-year rule (Murphy 2006). Notably then, as the bureaucracy grew, SHPOs and their assistants gave up some of their decision-making authority.

Private Citizens Use Criteria to Choose Sites

One might ask, “If SHPOs were losing power, who was gaining power?” The answer to that question is that informed and shrewd private citizens began using eligibility criteria to select sites and initiate nomination processes. When the Commercial Architecture Scenario unfolded, a collection of regulations (instituted in 1974, and initially known simply as eligibility criteria) were emerging as the bureaucratic mechanism for guiding the historic site selection process (Murphy 2008). One might ask, “Why would the government want to replace a SHPO’s personal choice-making power with eligibility criteria?” In answer to that question, the government’s goal was not initially to empower citizens. Instead, the government provided eligibility criteria for SHPOs and their professional staff members in order to assist them while they surveyed their state’s sites. From such simple beginnings, the government proceeded to develop a plan for accelerating historic site protection processes, indirectly empowering private citizens.

The federal government determined that sites were being threatened by destructive agency projects at a faster rate than such sites could be, or were being, listed on the National Register. Consequently, in 1971, the President signed Executive Order 11593 (King 2000). Executive Order 11593 essentially required care and protection for both the eligible and the already listed properties. However, in order to provide such speedy protection, the government had to define the criteria for eligibility. What makes a historic property eligible and in need of protection?

According to the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, the Advisory

Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) possessed the authority to determine that criterion. Section 211 of the NHPA gave the ACHP “rulemaking authority” over NHPA implementation processes (King 2000). It followed that in 1971 the ACHP started to issue criteria, “rules” for deciding what was eligible and what was not. Since, at first, nobody felt sure whether or not such “rules” carried the force of law, agencies often shirked, and evaded expensive property nomination efforts. However, when Congress passed the 1979 Archeological Resource Protection Act, the “rules” reached their fully recognized law-equivalent status; and the agencies felt more of an urgent compulsion to go out and identify eligible properties.

As an indirect result of furnishing SHPOs and federal agencies with sets of eligibility criteria, private citizens likewise obtained a means for identifying listable tax-advantaged properties. One might then raise the question, “Who wrote (and who continues to write) the eligibility criteria?” In answer, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) began by deciding to divide the eligibility criteria into four categories: “A, B, C, and D” (Williams 1983; King 2000; and Stupka-Burda 2006 A).

Private citizens could now understand that a property which met the “A” criterion would be eligible because it pertained to “broad patterns of history.” The National Park Service (NPS) had identified a number of such broad patterns of history including the development of the American economy; the role of transportation corridors; the transformation of the environment; the shaping of the political landscape; the expression of cultural values; the creating of social institutions and movements; the peopling of places; the changing roles of the U.S. in the world; and the expanding of science and technology (Hardesty and Little 2000; and National Park Service 2009).

Moreover, the federal government started to encourage each state to identify how such broad historic themes had played out at the state level. SHPO office personnel identified and published Nebraska's contextual areas of contribution, such as the state's cattle range history, and then published those findings in the 1984 – 1989 preservation plan.

Moreover, citizens came to know that a property meeting the “B” criterion could be listable through the property's association with famous or significant historic people.

Properties that met the “C” criterion could be listed if they displayed a distinctive architectural or engineering characteristic (Hardesty and Little 2000: 33 – 37). In addition, a property which met the “D” criterion could be listed if it offered significant information about prehistory or history. During the Commercial Architecture Ethical Scenario, properties with the “C” characteristic had taken the primacy.

One reason why “C” criterion grew in prominence after 1974 was that the SHPO office gained staff who knew about architecture. Another reason why the “C” characteristic (or, the architectural reason for listing a property) took the primacy during the Commercial Architecture Era was that, essentially, SHPO office staff members became “swamped” by public nominational solicitations. The overload of paperwork produced a “shortage of staff condition” in the office. This “shortage of staff condition” drove officials, in turn, to look for short-cuts in order to process all of the paper work. Realizing that the nominational work pertaining to either archeology, a famous person, or a broad pattern of history, was creating more research burdens than to simply identify a site's architecture, staff members grew accustomed to reducing work by listing a property because of its easily identifiable architectural type (Puschendorf 2006; and Stupka-Burda 2006 A). This trend began occurring across the nation and was not limited to Nebraska.

Puschendorf explained that, “When we had a lot of back-logged nominations, we just automatically looked at something architecturally significant and listed it. Whereas, we didn’t delve into the other criteria: persons or events that were associated with these properties.” Stupka-Burda (2006 A) verified what Puschendorf stated when she explained, “In nominations under criterion ‘C,’ the architectural significance is straight forward and easy to write. So, if office personnel are faced with an overload of properties to nominate, and not very much staff time to get them done, it becomes a way to quickly get those things listed.”

In theory, state historic preservation office employees, all over the nation, can do scholarly work above and beyond “the call of duty,” and can receive recognition for doing so (Longstreth 1999). Some of Nebraska’s staff members have found the time to make such contributions. However, high volumes of paperwork and minimal amounts of employees typically make such work and recognition uncommon. With this regard, one may observe that what was going on in Nebraska, as far as the shortages of staff, and in terms of the private citizen being financially motivated and hence defining the preservation ethic to some extent, was also going on in the other states. Hence, the Commercial Architecture Scenario was characterized by an increase in an ethic where history is defined in terms of architectural styles.

Along with the 1974 changes, private citizens, agencies, and SHPO staff members increasingly relied upon federally published historic architecture style definitions. That is, even though citizens became aware that there were these four criteria for eligibility (A, B, C, and D), citizens needed more specific information.

In other words, would a twelve-story building, built in 1927, characterized by the Gothic Revival architectural style and with documented visitations by high government officials qualify as being eligible for the National Register? Because of this need to know eligibility specifics, the staff of the National Register, from within the National Park Service, simultaneously started to publish National Register Bulletins (King 2000).

National Register Bulletins

The National Register started to ask scholars from within the agency, and sometimes from related fields outside of the Park Service, to write the National Register Bulletins. For instance, typically, a number of scholars worked together as a result of their common interests and training. Such scholars came either from the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the Heritage Preservation Services Program, or even from specific national parks to voice their suggestions, and to share their knowledge. Through the National Register Bulletins, the Park Service started to provide answers to questions about how to find and list specific types of eligible properties.

The scholars who started writing the criteria for listing properties on the National Register identified scarce but historically relevant architectural styles. Moreover, according to Hunter (1981) and Prince (1981), underneath the surface of the mandated governmental criteria, scholars were reacting to a commercial-like demand for what should be saved. Such market-like forces changed over time, and consequently caused changes to the preservation ethic.

Lowenthal (1981) pointed out that “appetites” for history arise in different epochs. For example Greek, Roman, and Gothic architectural traditions have enjoyed measurable seasons of revival and public admiration. Birch (1985) pointed out that popular social trends and celebrations, such as gentrification and the Bicentennial commemoration of the 1970s, changed the demand for certain architectural styles. Gentrification was the gradual process of relatively affluent individuals renovating antique inner-city homes, moving in, bringing economic stability, jobs, prosperity, and additional renovation activities with them (Moran 2007).

Bulletin writers also responded to the back-to-the-farm movement, which impacted preservation trends. However, whereas scholars increasingly took note of the back-to-the-farm movement during the 1970s, its origins could be traced back into the 1930s (Treib 1985; and Duerksen 1992). This is because American auto-mobility had contributed to city expansion, rapidly increasing suburbia. Consequently, small farms became threatened with extinction; and this increased their preservational desirability (Morgan and Melnick 1985). The scarcity of the farms became a market-type thread in the demand for old farms. Hence, a direct relationship between basic market realities and preservation ethics developed, and the scholars who wrote the National Register Bulletins picked up on that (Duerksen 1992; Lowenthal 1997; and Morgan and Melnick 1985). In addition, and into the 1970s, people were increasingly appreciating older farms because they retained their sense of a stable past (Morgan and Melnick 1985). Simultaneously, the older farmers of yesteryear started to be seen as social paragons, intimate with nature, and hence sympathetic to the growing natural environmental paradigm.

Such social forces impacted how history was being perceived – what was valuable and what was not. As the Bulletin writers informed the public about the historical value of aging farmsteads, preservationists and tax-advantage minded individuals initiated most of the nominational processes. Consequently, several of Nebraska’s farmsteads began to be listed on the National Register during the Commercial Architecture Scenario.

Moreover, the 1980 Census indicated a change in the kind of landscapes Americans valued and wanted to live in (Morgan and Melnick 1985). In the past, Americans targeted different areas to live. For example, in the 1920s cities were considered to be desirable. In the sixties, the suburbs were highly desirable. However, the 1980 Census indicated that, during the seventies, a sizeable portion of the population was choosing to move to small towns and villages, particularly agricultural areas. Morgan and Melnick made an observation, in the case of northern New England, that the counter-cultural back-to-the-earth generation had set this pattern. Can such value transformations have an effect on National Register nominations? The preceding table 3.1, and the subsequent comparative table 6.1, (found in the Conclusion Chapter), suggest that they can.

In addition, Morgan and Melnick (1985) mentioned another reason why traditional rural landscapes became rare. The rise in agribusiness had made the smaller “mom and pop” types of farms less commercially competitive. By simply producing larger quantities of products with highly efficient machines using less labor, agribusinesses out-marketed the “little guy.” Hence, small mom and pop types of farms were being threatened with extinction through direct market forces; and, again, their “threatened status” increased their preservational desirability.

The scholars who wrote the criteria into the bulletins sought answers to such questions as: “What architectural styles are in demand? Which are endangered?” and, “What is historical?” They would then proceed to publish their findings as Park Service bulletins. Since the inception of the Commercial Architecture Ethical Scenario, the bulletins have continued to clarify precisely what styles of architecture, which archeological sites, and what patterns of history the National Park Service will accept as being significant (Stupka-Burda 2006 A). The number of bulletins available has increased over the years. The scope of acceptability has widened, and minor amendments have been made (Hardesty and Little 2000).

Early on, the Park Service clarified that it would not list certain site types (Williams 1983). To be specific, the Park Service did not want to list ordinary cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, or properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, or structures that had been moved from their original locations, entirely reconstructed historic buildings, or commemorative properties without onsite history.

An impassioned discussion about whether or not to list churches on the National Register emerged during the Commercial Architecture Scenario. Tomlan (1992) explained that church demolition controversies were springing up because large numbers of certain types of urban church organizations, such as the Roman Catholic and the Christian Scientist denominations, started to suffer from congregational declines as large as 30 or 60 percent (as calculated from the early 20th century up until Tomlan’s study). Consequently, numerous culturally expressive and stylish churches, affiliated with the above-mentioned denominations, became targets for destruction.

Hosmer (1965) was ahead of his time when he wrote about the Park Street Church in Boston. When a syndicate of promoters offered to buy and demolish the structure (which was built in 1809) because it occupied valuable real estate, preservationists and a group from within the congregation joined in a struggle for its protection. Because the church did possess historical significance for several reasons (one being that the church had a 217 foot steeple [which used to be the first landmark travelers saw when they arrived in Boston Harbor], another being that the church served as a hub for anti-slavery activism, and yet another reason being that the popular song “*My Country ‘Tis of Thee*” was sung for the first time within the Park Street Church) private sector preservationists were able to protect it from demolition (City of Boston). Even though churches could be listed on the National Register, individuals who wanted to see a church get listed on the National Register were often turned away at one of the several stages of the nominational, or listing, process (Puschendorf 2006). Surprisingly, and in spite of the “red tape” involved in getting a church listed, the Commercial Architectural Scenario was characterized as a scenario within which relatively numerous churches were registered.

Looking at figure 3.3, *Commercial Architecture Scenario Map*, one can see that Nebraska’s preservation ethic accommodated religious buildings, including churches. Likewise, figure 3.2, *Chart Showing a Peak in Non-Military Government Buildings*, not only shows a notable increase in the number of religious or philosophical organizational buildings but the figure also shows a notable “non-military government building peak.” What explains this non-military government peak?

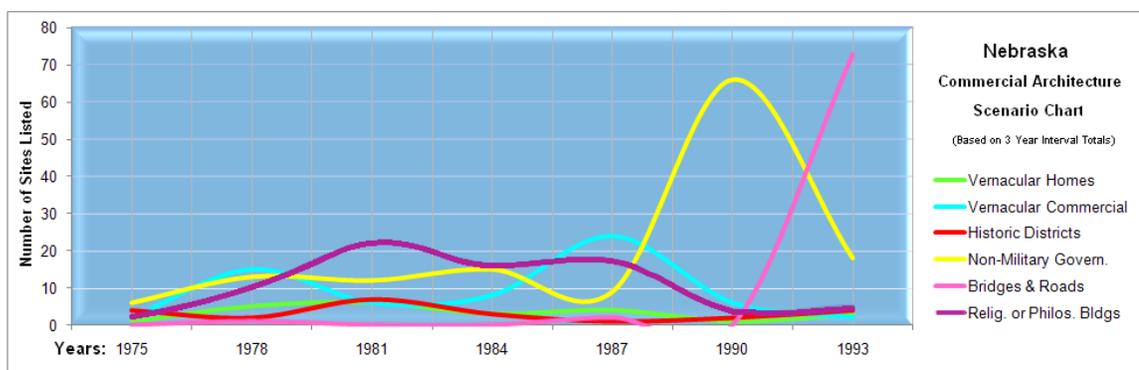


Figure 3.2: Chart Showing a Peak in Non-Military

While examining figure 3.3, *Commercial Architecture Scenario Map*, and reflecting back on figure 2.2, *Settlement Scenario*, for comparison, one may see the difference between the locations of non-military government sites and archeological sites. Non-military government sites were distributed evenly throughout Nebraska's counties (because courthouses are political entities), but the archeological sites of figure 2.2 correspond with the physical geography of Nebraska's major streams.

Government Buildings

A large cluster of courthouses were nominated in 1990, showing up as this yellow peak. More specifically, in the fall of 1989, James Hanson, Nebraska's second SHPO, signed the *County Courthouses of Nebraska Multiple Property Submission* document (Hanson 1989). Most of the county courthouses which were consequently listed exhibited high-style architectural traits. Although they were not commercial buildings, they possessed the desirable attributes of the many commercial buildings which were also being listed during the Commercial Architecture Era. On a national scale, the historical preservation ethic, which had favored high-style commercial architecture, started to liberally accept high-style government office entities as well. A subtle and fundamental ethical transition was underway.

The ethic was increasingly embracing rather than shunning the government and its actions. That is, in the early years of the National Register Program, government decisions and policies were viewed with suspicion – as being potentially historic-property-destroying forces. The abundance of non-military government buildings which were nominated during the Commercial Architecture Era shows that such suspicions were dissolving and eroding – a precursor to the Progressive Planning Era.

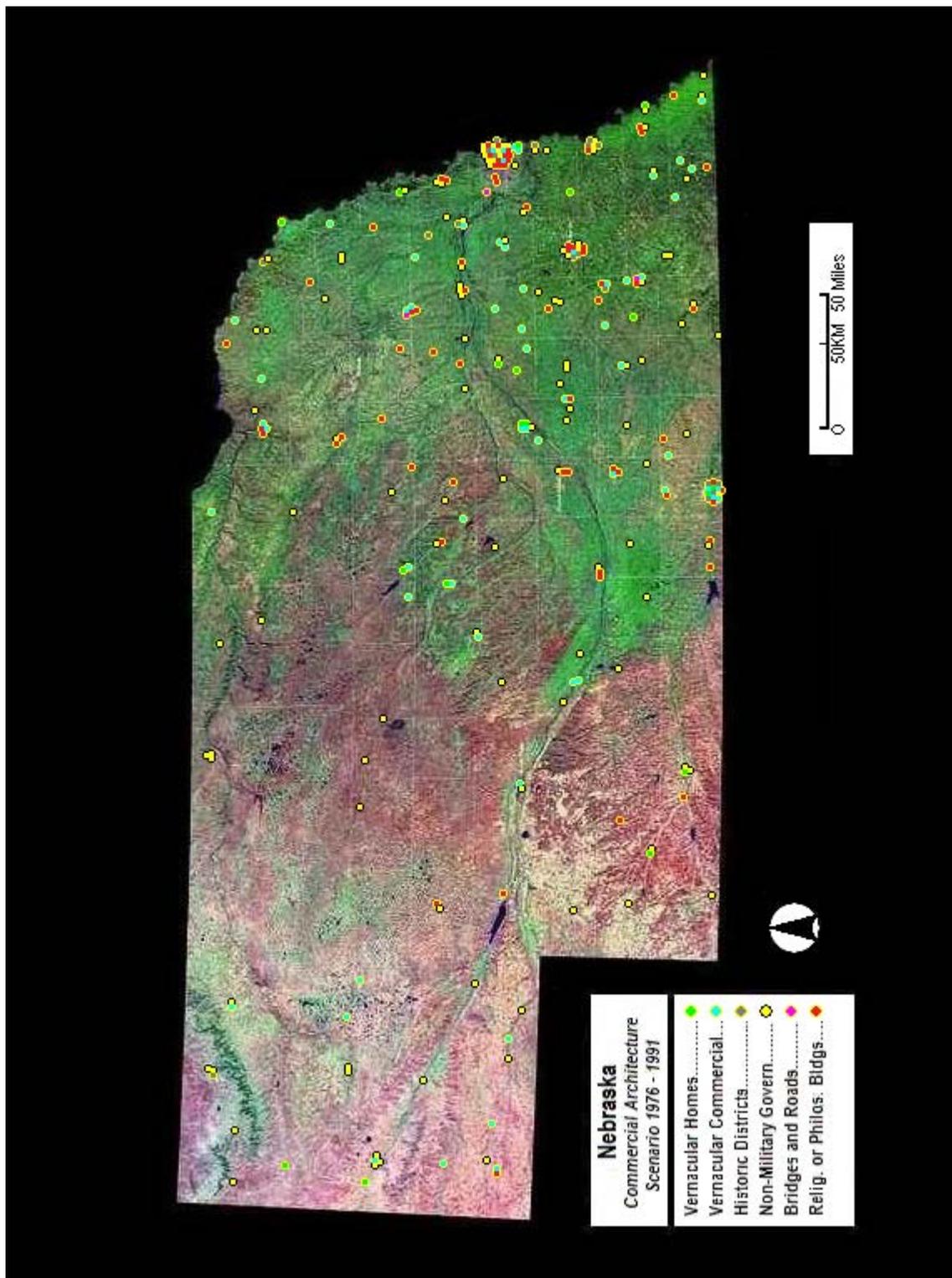


Figure 3.3: Commercial Architecture Scenario Map
(Terraprints 2009, modified by Darren Adams)

The Johnson County Courthouse provides a good example of the numerous courthouses which were rapidly listed in 1990.



Figure 3.4: the Johnson County Courthouse (Jones 2009)

The Johnson County Courthouse, which was built in 1888-89, displays a number of high-style architectural attributes. Such attributes include the Romanesque Revival-style, corner towers and a central dome, sophisticated ornamentation, and rare construction materials (Hanson 1989). An additional reason for its listing was that William Gray, a notable Nebraskan architect, designed the structure.

Private Citizens Initiated Property Nominations

After using bulletins to identify eligible properties, what courses of action did private citizens take in order to get properties listed on the National Register? This dissertation proceeds to address that question, briefly reviewing key processes including site research, documentation, and the submission of forms.

Informal Dismissals

It may be pointed out that sometimes private citizens mistakenly approached Nebraska's SHPO office with ineligible properties. Stupka-Burda (2006 A) explained that, as a general rule, staff members tried to let private citizens know in advance that their property did not qualify for eligibility. To save the person from having to waste time doing paperwork and research, staff members preferred to educate the person who owned the property to let them know that there was a specific reason why the property did not meet the integrity or the significance requirements. Stupka-Burda went on to point out that, since she started working in the office in 2000, she knew of only one property owner who had not been "informally dismissed," but rather had fully completed the required paperwork, bringing that paperwork before SHPO staff members (in a State Review Board meeting) only to then be rejected for some other reason than that, after a closer field inspection of the historic building, the structure was determined to be lacking in physical stability, or integrity. In every other case she was familiar with, staff members had told private citizens over the phone, through paper letter, email, or in person that their property was clearly ineligible for a specific reason. Although the SHPO office had been holding on to an unsystematized collection of perhaps 70,000 "informal rejection" related

correspondence items, even the most exhaustive attempt to organize such items would probably not yield informative data (Stupka-Burda 2006 A).

Writing the Form

If the property had every appearance of being eligible, staff members encouraged private citizens to proceed by filling out the necessary paperwork for the nominational processes (McClelland 1997). Puschendorf (2006) and Stupka-Burda (2008) both agreed that because of staff shortages the office would first ask involved private citizens to move forward as far as they could on their own with the paperwork and then the office would follow through with further assistance. This required private citizens to make diligent attempts to conduct trustworthy research and to document the histories of their own properties.

In the registration form (NPS 10-900), individuals provided basic factual information about a property such as its name, location, function, acreage, maps, photographs, structural integrity, any modifications which had been made, and research findings (McClelland 1997; National Park Service 2009; and Stupka-Burda 2006 A). Anyone was allowed to prepare these forms for the purpose of listing a property on the National Register. However, typically, nomination forms were documented by property owners, but forms were occasionally also filled out by local governments, federal preservation officers (FPOs), interested citizens, and members of the SHPO office.

Speaking from a 2006 perspective, Stupka-Burda pointed out that private citizens were usually waiting from between 1^{1/2} and 2 years from the time they handed in the form to the time their property was listed.

Stupka-Burda (2006 A) further explained that in 2000, when she was first hired as the National Register Coordinator, there had been merely a 9 month wait time. The difference in the expected wait time points to an increasing “shortage of staff condition” (a circumstance in which a relatively fixed and few staff members, over time, were becoming gradually more “swamped” by public nominational solicitations).

The Review Board

When the Park Service first started issuing bulletins, the SHPO offices organized groups of staff members, and frequently private citizens, into state review boards for examining nomination forms. At the group’s meetings, the Nebraska State Review Board would ask questions such as: “Were forms filled out correctly?” and “Were properties actually eligible according to program criteria?” The government initiated the assembly of the Nebraska State Review Board (this collection of staff members represented professional fields in American history, architectural history, historic architecture, prehistoric and historic archeology, and other professional disciplines) to discuss and answer such questions (National Park Service 2009). Incidentally, in 1979, the Nebraska State Historical Society Board transferred staff members and all of its National Register related responsibilities to the newly organized Nebraska State Review Board (Puschendorf 2006). When SHPO office staff members decided to hold a state preservation review board meeting, such staff members were required to provide property owners and local officials with a 30 day advanced invitation to attend (National Park Service 2009). While at the meeting, local officials and private property owners were encouraged to comment about, concur with, or object to the nomination.

Owner consent was not required when the Settlement Ethical Scenario (1966 – 1975) unfolded, but it became an important factor at the time of the Commercial Architecture Scenario (1976 – 1991). The appearance and unexpected need for owner consent also contributed to the situation where laypeople were initiating most of the historic site nominational activity. In 1981, the federal government had published regulations instructing SHPO staff members to obtain owner consent before listing any property (Murphy 2006; Murtagh 1992; Puschendorf 2006; and Stupka-Burda 2006 A). This new precondition caused significant program changes because it complicated and stifled SHPO staff members' proactive listing efforts (Jandl 1985).

This was the first time when an owner of a private property, or when a majority of owners within a proposed historic district, could officially object to having their properties listed in the National Register (National Park Service 2009). However, even with such objections, the SHPO's office could forward paperwork to the Park Service Keeper for a determination of eligibility. If determined to be merely eligible for listing, such properties would then be protected from federally destructive projects; but the owners would not gain a listed property's status for access to grants, loans, nor tax incentives. Moreover, if the private property was found to be eligible, federal agencies would still need to negotiate with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation to decide whether or not alternatives to demolishing the property could be found, and implemented.

Why would owners object to having their properties listed on the National Register? After all, under federal law, private property owners did not have to open their Nationally Registered properties to the public, nor did they need to restore them,

or even maintain them (National Park Service 2009). There were no restrictions whatsoever that came with listing on the National Register (Stupka-Burda 2006 A; and Murphy 2008). What then were some owners concerned about?

There are a few explanations for owner's concerns. For example, although the federal government did not restrict owner's activities, sometimes local governments did. Some states and communities had enacted preservation laws or ordinances that applied to nationally registered properties (National Park Service 2009). For example, in some communities, state or local governments used listing on the National Register as an indicator of historic significance; and they took legal measures to protect such properties. However, such restrictions usually only came into play at the local level when property owners had agreed to enter into a covenant, or agreement (National Park Service 2009; and Stupka-Burda 2006 A). That is, typically private property owners would only have to deal with local laws or ordinances if they, or a previous owner, had agreed to easements or other restoration criteria in exchange for grants, loans, or tax benefits. In more rare cases, a local zoning ordinance had dictated what was to be done at a historic site. Programs differed from state to state, and from one community to another.

Why else would owners prefer that their properties not be listed on the Register? Private property owners sometimes harbored the unfounded fear that the federal government would expect them to keep a building up to museum quality standards. This was another misconception. However, historic property owners could choose to get an easement contracted for the permanent protection of a part of their building (Murphy 2008).

An easement would then last for the life of the building; and it would stay with the person who made the contract, even when that person had moved out, and no longer owned the site. For example, in the historic Federal Building in downtown Lincoln, the renovators chose to contract an easement for the façade and the interior court (Stupka-Burda 2008). As a result of getting that easement, and even after selling the Federal Building, the easement requirement was still in force. The new owners could not destroy the façade or the interior court. Incidentally, that has been another change in the program (Stupka-Burda 2008). Before the 1981 ERTA was passed, when restoration standards were more strict (as will be subsequently explained), SHPO office staff members used to recommend to owners that they obtain easements as a long-term preservational tool.

Another reason why owners have occasionally objected to having properties listed on the National Register is because they would rather maintain their privacy (Murphy 2008). Murphy explained that he once visited a gentleman who owned a highly eligible farmstead with a number of historic buildings on it, including the main house and barn. The farmstead owner gave Murphy permission to photograph the barn but not the house. Murphy perceived that the farmstead owner felt somewhat embarrassed about the condition of the house as compared to the integrity of the barn. The owner also did not want his address to be available to the public (for family safety reasons).

Murphy (2008) further explained that he could partially substantiate the owner's concerns. This is because Murphy remembered a couple of cases where sites had been vandalized. For example, Murphy recalled a time when someone pulled pews and a stained glass window from a listed church. Murphy considered the rural and isolated sites

to be more vulnerable than urban sites. Likewise, owners sometimes worried that curiosity would bring trespassers.

A fourth reason why owners sometimes chose to not have their properties listed is that they feared a federal “taking” of their property (Murphy 2008). The fifth amendment to the U.S. constitution rules that private property cannot be taken without a fair market value monetary compensation (Morton III 1992). However, several legal events pointed to changes in what defined a taking. For instance, William O. Douglas, of the Supreme Court in the 1950s, held that clean air, clean water, scenic beauty, and the preservation of sense of place would satisfy the demand for just compensation (Murtagh 1992). Moreover, in the 1954 case of *Berman v. Parker*, the Supreme Court ruled that private property could be controlled for beauty’s sake. Later, in 1978, in the case of *New York City versus the owners of the historic Grand Central Station*, the Supreme Court decided that a city could negate financial gains from a private property owner in order to preserve local history. Duerksen (1992) pointed out that numerous private property owners were expressing frustration about overly aggressive environmental regulations. In other words, some historic site owners do not want their properties to be listed on the National Register for similar reasons. Such owners feel like, “Someone out there wants to manage my house, my land, and my assets.” This information about owner consent ties back into how the State Review Board functioned, and how the Review Board became more careful about owners objecting to listings.

As of 2006, the State Review Board was finding around 30 out of a little more than 50 properties per year to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (Stupka-Burda 2006 A). Most of the time properties which the State Review Board found

to be ineligible no longer possessed a certain amount of integrity. The NPS has described seven elements of integrity (National Park Service 2009). These seven elements included location (the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred); design (the combination of elements that created the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property); setting (the surroundings of a historic property); materials (the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property); workmanship (the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory); feeling (a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time); and association (the direct link between an important historic event, or person, and a historic property (National Park Service 2009). Even though, technically, there were seven elements of integrity, the term "integrity" usually meant "sufficiently structurally sound and untampered with" (Stupka-Burda 2008). In other words, how did the structure look? Was it in good repair? According to Stupka-Burda, when a historic building did not have some portion of all of those seven aspects of integrity, the State Review Board could not list it.

Interestingly, staff members noticed that the SHPO office's definition of the word "integrity" had changed over time. A few of the historical sites which would have been rejected for lacking integrity in earlier years were eventually being accepted. Stupka-Burda (2006 A) explained that when David Murphy worked in the SHPO office, and the program was new and fresh, and staff members had the entire state to look at, the SHPO office could afford to be more choosy.

The program encouraged staff members to be more particular about things like artificial siding. In those earlier days, artificial siding was “the kiss of death,” causing properties to be ineligible for lack of integrity. However, over time artificial siding became more acceptable, something which could be ignored when it came to determining whether or not a building possessed sufficient integrity. In fact, Stupka-Burda explained that she knew of two specific farmsteads which, at the time she was interviewed, had recently been listed on the National Register, neither of which would have been listed in times past because of artificial siding (Stupka-Burda 2006 A). To be more specific, the owner of one of the just mentioned farmsteads had applied wide-lapped steel siding to the farmhouse, but the rest of the complex was intact physically. The program had adjusted to the point where staff members could accept that a historic farmhouse retained its significance, in certain regions of Nebraska, even though its integrity had been somewhat compromised. This was because farmhouses tended to be of a vernacular type, basically a square box shape; and they never were high-styled and structurally complicated. Accordingly, when SHPO staff members looked at a historic site which sustained significance because of its, e.g., rare Queen Anne-style (which has value in its ornate wood work, its turrets, and its multiple dimensionality) staff members still had to be as selective about integrity as they had been before. In contrast to vernacular box-shaped farm houses, Queen Anne-styled homes, or any high-style building for that matter, would be quickly compromised because of ornamental damage. However, in the early years of the Program, staff would have been choosy about any type or style of building.

Hence, for the above reasons, the issue of structural integrity changed historic site designation processes at the Review Board level, increasing the number of vernacular buildings being listed.

In any event, at State Preservation Review Board meetings, individuals presented cases in support of their assertions that properties were indeed significant (McClelland 1997). While making such cases, individuals would justify their efforts to list properties by citing federal criteria, by displaying photographs, delivering narratives, and quoting from historical resources. At such meetings, staff members deliberated with one another, and when they reached an agreement based on criteria, regulations, and personal experience they made decisions (Stupka-Burda 2006 A).

Personal experience and knowledge came into play when one staff member specialized, for example, in identifying the attributes of significant Victorian architecture. Hence, at state preservation board meetings, there was a degree of human variability or bias affecting the decision-making process; but Park Service eligibility criteria bridled that variability. At the conclusion of such meetings, state review boards either recommended property approval or property disapproval to their SHPO (Hardesty and Little 2000). Based on positive recommendations, the SHPO would almost always forward the candidate property to the Federal Keeper of the National Register.

When the recommended nominations reached the Keeper of the National Register, the Keeper's staff member immediately stamped a 45 day response time limit mark on the form. The Federal Keeper's Office then published property candidacy information in the *Federal Register*. The publication of such information allowed for a 15 day public comment period. After the public comment period, officials reviewed the form and

checked for accurate technical and administrative information. At that point, the Keeper either rejected the property as ineligible (which very rarely occurred), returned the form for typo and other “cosmetic” corrections, double checked the information with the assistance of National Register substantive review staff, or the Keeper approved the nomination and officially registered the property (Hardesty and Little 2000; and Stupka-Burda 2008).

Interestingly, if for any reason a Keeper encountered public resistance to the listing of a property on the National Register, the Keeper often chose to hand the case over to staff reviewers so that the property would get recorded as being simply eligible for nomination (Hardesty and Little 2000). This situation could arise, for example, when a majority of private property owners within a proposed historic district objected to being collectively listed (Stupka-Burda 2008).

Another situation which arose periodically, and which had to do with nominational procedures, was that somebody recognized the need to redo a historic site nomination. Typically, faulty or modified property boundaries needed to be redrawn (National Park Service 2009). In order to rectify the boundaries of an already listed property, individuals needed to go through most of the same initial listing processes as had originally been done, as if the site had never been listed. The exception to this rule was that, when it came to public participation, SHPO staff members only needed to contact the property owners within the changed area, giving them a 30 day advanced invitation to attend the upcoming state preservation board meeting. There were four reasons why boundaries could be altered. These reasons included professional error in the initial nomination, loss of historic integrity, recognition of additional significance, or else additional research had

been conducted which documented that a larger or smaller area could or should be listed. This concludes the dissertation's review of nominational procedures which brought the public into greater involvement during the Commercial Architecture Era, and which influenced the types of properties being nationally registered. Next the dissertation addresses a major motivating factor, which provided incentives and rewards to private citizens and developers who wanted to list historic properties.

Financial Incentives Drove Preservation Actions

What did laypeople stand to gain from getting a property listed on the National Register? Aside from being glad to participate in the preservation of historical entities (often motivated by appreciation for, admiration of, interest in, or conviction about the worth of a place), the main driving reason why private citizens participated was to reap financial benefits from recently upgraded federal programs (Murphy 2006; Stupka-Burda 2006 A; and Stupka-Burda 2008). For instance, if a developer could get certified rehabilitation funds by getting an apartment building listed in the National Register, and earn more money by choosing that alternative, he or she would move forward with an apartment building restoration project. David Murphy (2008) pointed out that because of the new financial incentives and public access to identification criteria, a real change in the program occurred. More to the point, David Murphy stated that the 1976 Tax Reform Act made developers and private owners interested specifically in commercial historic buildings. This was because the Tax Act stipulated that, in order for developers to qualify for the financial benefits, any given building would have to either have been an improved business or made into a commercial establishment. Through greater involvement, this

allowed private citizens to exert a stronger influence over the preservation ethic. That is to say, according to program parameters, common people started choosing what would be nationally recognized as historical. With this regard, the Tax Reform Act “tipped the balance of financial incentives” away from what had been, during the Settlement Era, favoring state agency historic preservation activity (rooted in state agency proposals and grants-in-aid) toward private citizen preservation activity (rooted in private citizens’ tax benefits).

Stupka-Burda (2008) observed that, out of the 8 years that she had worked in the Nebraska SHPO’s office, she could only remember one time when staff members had ever pursued a private owner and said, “We think your property is eligible. Are you interested, or would you be interested in listing it?” Other than that one particular occasion, private owners approached the office. Bob Puschendorf, the Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, added, “And, I think that most of us lament that we can’t spend a lot of time [proactively] listing things that require our research interests and our educational expertise (Puschendorf 2006).”

Seeing that financial incentives became more readily available to private citizens, became a major motivational force for the preservation ethic, and consequently altered the Commercial Architecture Scenario, one may ask, “What essentially were these financial incentives?” In answer to that question, Congress initiated these financial incentives by passing three major tax programs, including the 1976 Tax Reform Act, the 1978 Revenue Act, and the 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act. The dissertation now provides a brief description of each act.

The 1976 Tax Reform Act

The 1976 Tax Reform Act proved to be an effective historic preservation motivational tool, and it transformed the preservation ethic by removing the financial incentive to demolish older buildings (Candee 1985, and Tyler 2000). Prior to the Tax Reform Act, the government had rewarded developers with tax breaks for demolishing aging building stock (Murtagh 1992). The Act also allowed preservationally minded citizens to make tax write-offs for a five-year period for the costs of rehabilitating nationally registered buildings (as long as the restored structure would be used for either commercial or housing purposes) (Candee 1985; and Tyler 2000).

Murphy (2008) explained that he saw a possible relationship between the 1976 Tax Reform Act and Congressional politics. Murphy suggested that members of the then dominant Republican Party probably preferred the on-site tax savings approach to rewarding private citizen for participating in the program, rather than the former proposal and grant system. That is, during the Settlement Ethical Era, matching grants-in-aid had been offered to state agencies and laypeople who renovated historic buildings. With the Tax Reform Act, Congress was avoiding direct expenditures from the federal treasury, allowing private citizens and developers to capture tax savings “at the sites.” Another reason why the 1976 Tax Reform Act was passed may have related to the earlier 1971 Executive Order 11593. Executive Order 11593 had hurried the process of protecting threatened sites by extending such protection to eligible (unlisted) sites. The 1976 Tax Reform Act had subsequently been passed, quickening the process by promoting more public involvement.

This would suggest that, seeing a shortfall from its original preservational goals, perhaps in addition to internal politics, Congress provided new tax incentives in order to more speedily and affordably protect threatened structures.

Jandl (1985) and Candee (1985) both affirmed that the number of nomination requests increased dramatically after 1977 as the populous gained knowledge of Tax Reform benefits (see figure 3.5, *Nebraska's Historic Commercial Buildings*).

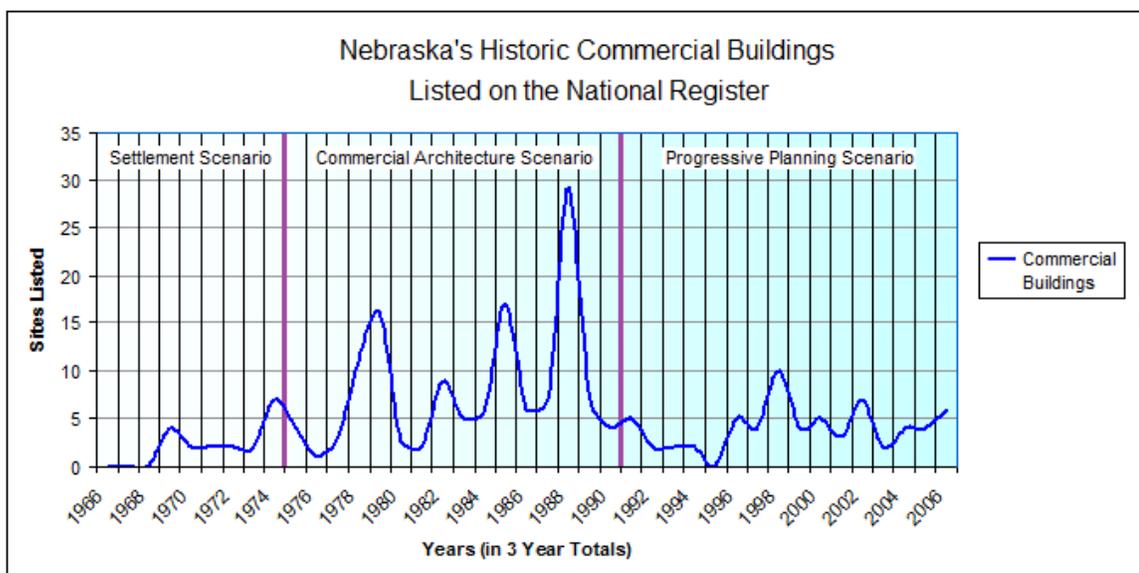


Figure 3.5: Nebraska's Historic Commercial Buildings

Indeed, speaking from his personal experience in Nebraska's SHPO office from 1974 through 1989, Murphy (2008) also confirmed that when the tax program got started a lot more people began to bring their properties in. However, private citizens tended (because tax incentives rewarded those who could renovate income-producing properties) to bring in commercial properties; and that effected the preservation ethic.

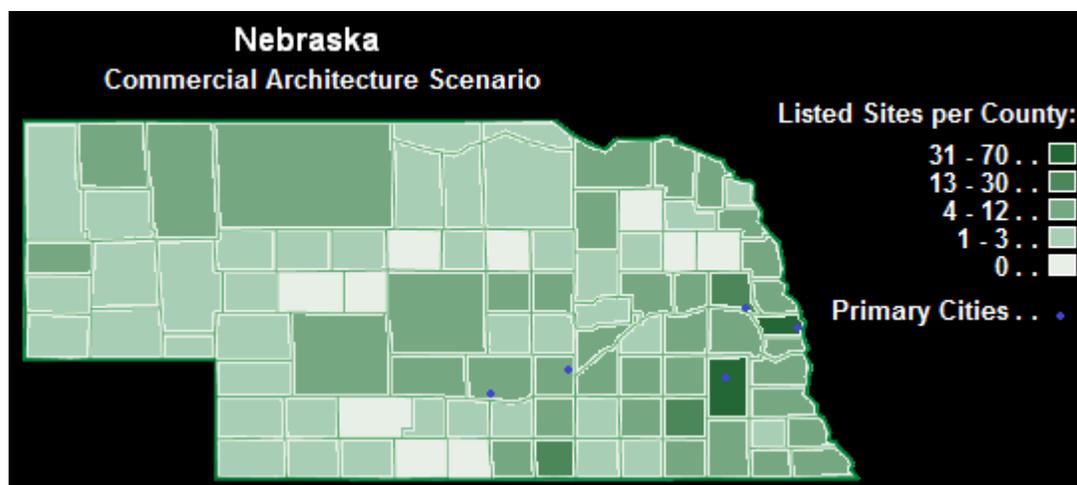
It is also worth noting that, since private citizens reached the forefront of the preservation ethic, and since they became motivated by immediate monetary benefits,

archeological sites became less important. Aside from the lack of financial incentives, such private citizens did not tend to know that their archeological sites could be interesting to the general public. Stupka-Burda (2006 A) stated that since she had become a SHPO staff member, she had not had one person approach her from the public wanting to list their archeological site. She explained that this was partly a public outreach kind of an issue. The office simply did not have the resources to inform the public about archeological sites through educational courses.

In an interview, Murphy (2008) was asked how private citizens found out about the National Register, and especially how they came to realize that there were financial opportunities available through getting a property listed. Murphy explained that there were three ways through which people found out about the program. Some of the people who were involved in commercial construction endeavors talked to each other and shared ideas. If there was a developer involved in more than one restoration project, he or she was going to be plugged into a social network. They were in a little “community” that dealt with financing construction work. As an example of such individuals, and of being earnestly involved with the lucrative facet of preservation, Murphy said, “I personally remember one developer who did specifically look for properties to redevelop – that he could do historic rehabs with.”

Incidentally, preservation ethical activity concentrated on urban geography (Murphy 2008). When Murphy was in the office during the 1980s, Lincoln and Omaha were buzzing with commercial restoration activities; and this related to developers networking together, and taking advantage of the federal financial incentives. The subsequent figures 3.6, 3.8, and 3.9 illuminate the Commercial Architecture Scenario’s unique emphasis on

high-style commercial architecture. The noticeably enlarged cities of Omaha and Lincoln, Nebraska, which were packed with such architecture, especially disclose an urban focus which differentiates the Commercial Architecture's from the Settlement Scenario's rural archeological spotlight.



**Figure 3.6: Commercial Architecture Scenario
Sites Listed per County**

By way of contrast, the subsequent figure 3.7, *Commercial Architecture Scenario Sites Listed per Person per County*, shows that, in spite of how busy and alive Lincoln, and Omaha, were with listing activities, other parts of the state were not lagging behind in terms of per person historic property nominations. Although in comparison to the previously shown figure 2.5, *Settlement Scenario Sites Listed per Person per County*, Lancaster, and Douglas, counties (in figure 3.7) had increased in terms of per capita sites. Even so, these highly populated counties did not come close to leading, or to having the most sites listed per capita. Other, less populated, counties had more sites listed per person. For instance, Webster County, shown at the bottom of figure 3.7, with .00618 sites per person, “weighed in” as the most extreme scenario outlier, and that number reflects the multiple listings of Willa Cather sites.

The extraordinarily high fraction of sites per person in Arthur, and nearby counties such as Cherry, Grant, and Hooker, resulted mostly from courthouse and post office multiple property nominations. Even so, public schools, hotels, and churches also boosted those counties' sites per person fractions.

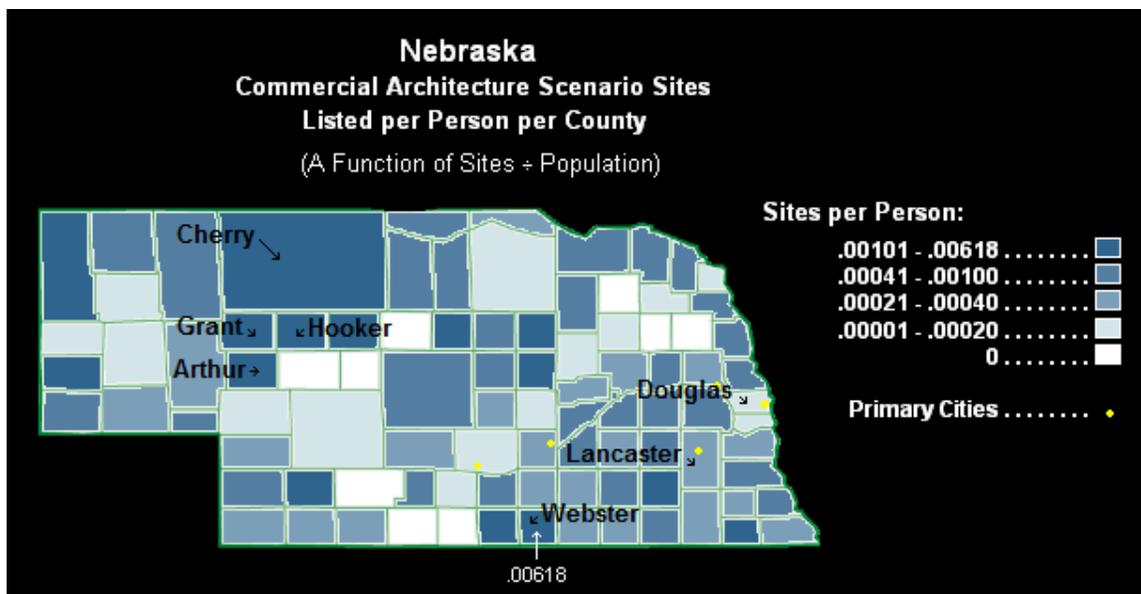


Figure 3.7: Commercial Architecture Scenario Sites Listed per Person per County

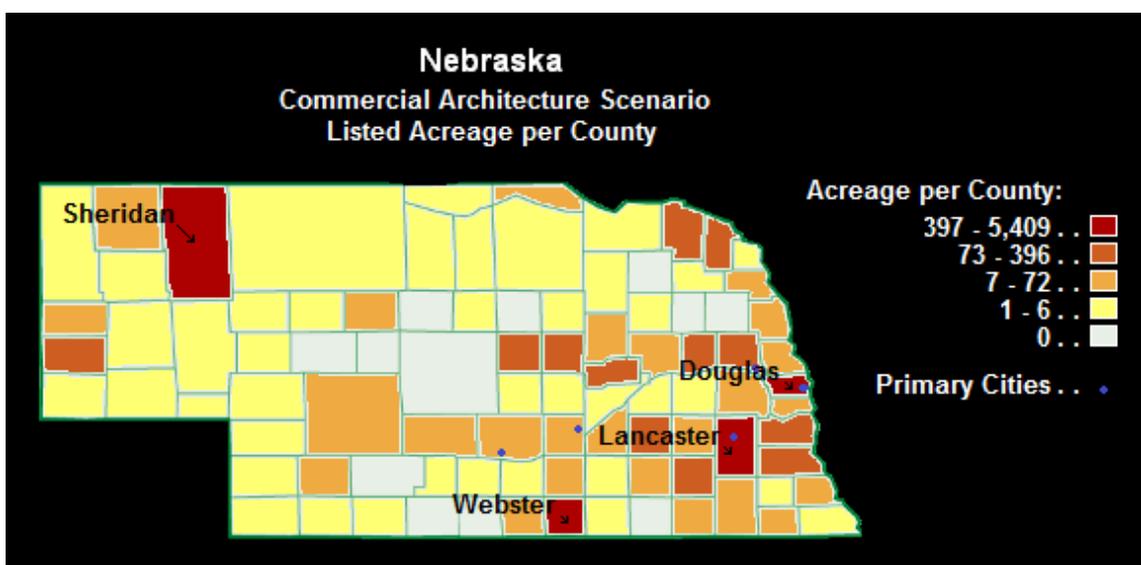


Figure 3.8: Commercial Architecture Scenario Listed Acreage per County

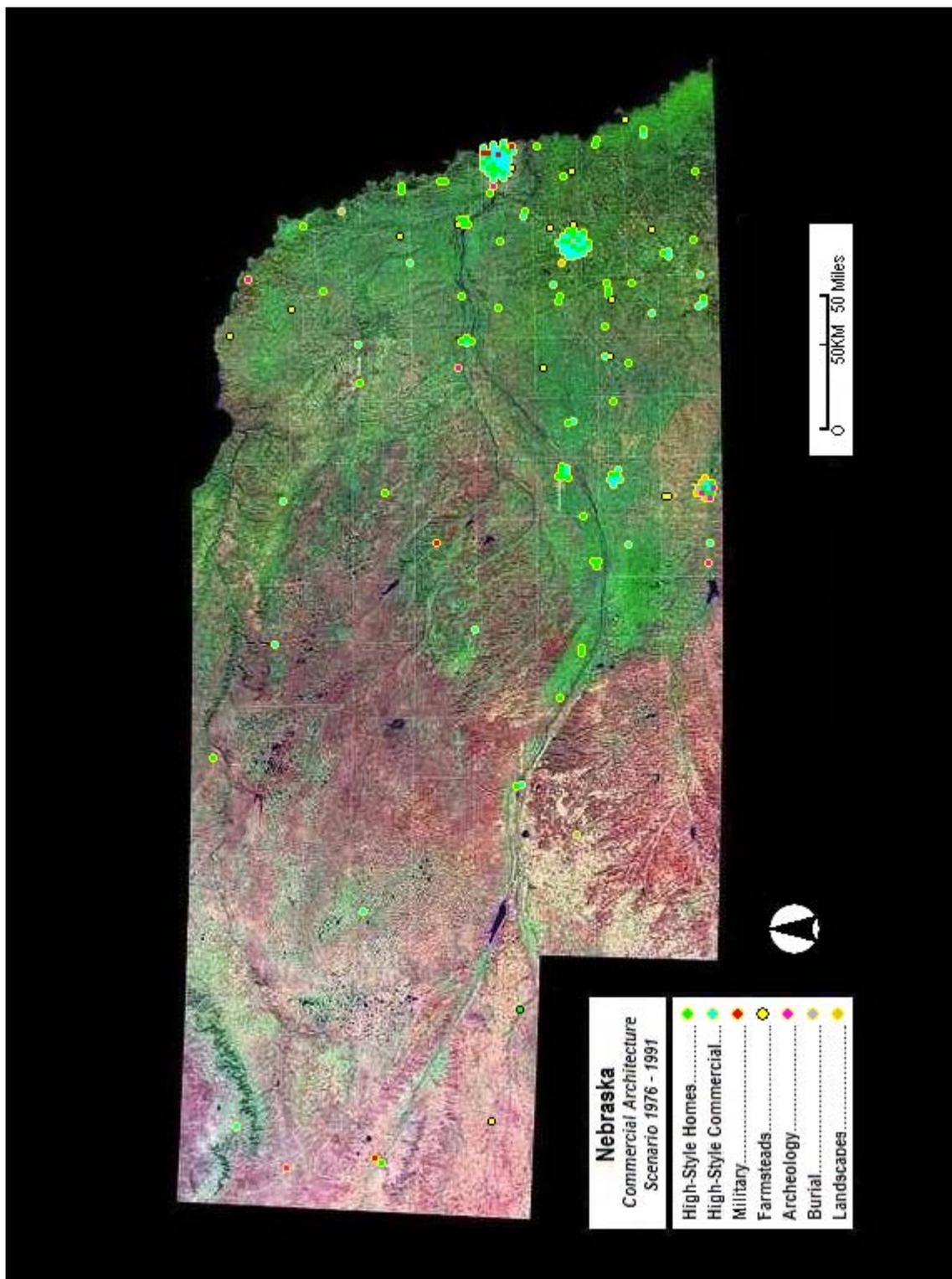


Figure 3.9: Commercial Architecture Scenario (Terraprints 2009, modified by Darren Adams)

Figure 3.8, *Commercial Architecture Scenario Listed Acreage per County*, would imply that the buzzing nominational activity occurring in Lincoln and Omaha did increase the extent of Lancaster and Douglas counties' nationally registered acreage. However, along with commercial buildings in Douglas County, Father Flanagan's 1,310-acre Boys Home caused extensive mappable acreage increases. Likewise, in Lancaster County, commercial buildings dominated, but the 228-acre Nine-Mile Prairie, the 160-acre Retzlaff Farmstead, and the 124-acre Wyuka Cemetery also contributed significantly to the acreage total. Figure 3.8 also depicts Sheridan County in dark red because of the 3,840-acre Spade Ranch. Capturing the essence of the Sandhills Region's latter 1800s ranching history, Spade Ranch was listed on the National Register in 1980, and it included numerous original buildings such as an 1879 log cookhouse, a horse barn, calving sheds, breaking pens, corral areas, and rancher bunkhouses.

An overall look at the Commercial Architecture Scenario, and a comparison of its acreage to the Settlement Scenario's acreage, reveals that a general decrease in the numbers of acres occurred. This held true even though more sites were nominated during the Commercial Architecture Era. A notable reduction in the number of listed pioneer and emigration-related landscapes explains the acreage reduction.

The spotlight had shifted over to architecture and types of buildings, which are inherently confined to contracted lots.

Figure 3.10, *Lincoln, Nebraska, Commercial Architecture Scenario*, shows a remarkably clustered group of high-style commercial buildings situated in the heart of Lincoln's traditional downtown area.

This cluster spatially relates to the Historic Haymarket and train station area, and demonstrates ties between the city's earliest places of establishment and preservation decisions. More notably, time-lapse photography would be able to show that, in terms of chronological site listing practices, decision-makers have gradually chosen sites further out and away from that initial unloading dock. The fifty-year rule provides one reason why decision-makers were choosing sites further from that initial city center. The fifty-year rule had allowed younger buildings to "mature" and become eligible for listing. Such younger buildings tended to be slightly farther away from the downtown area than previously nominated buildings.

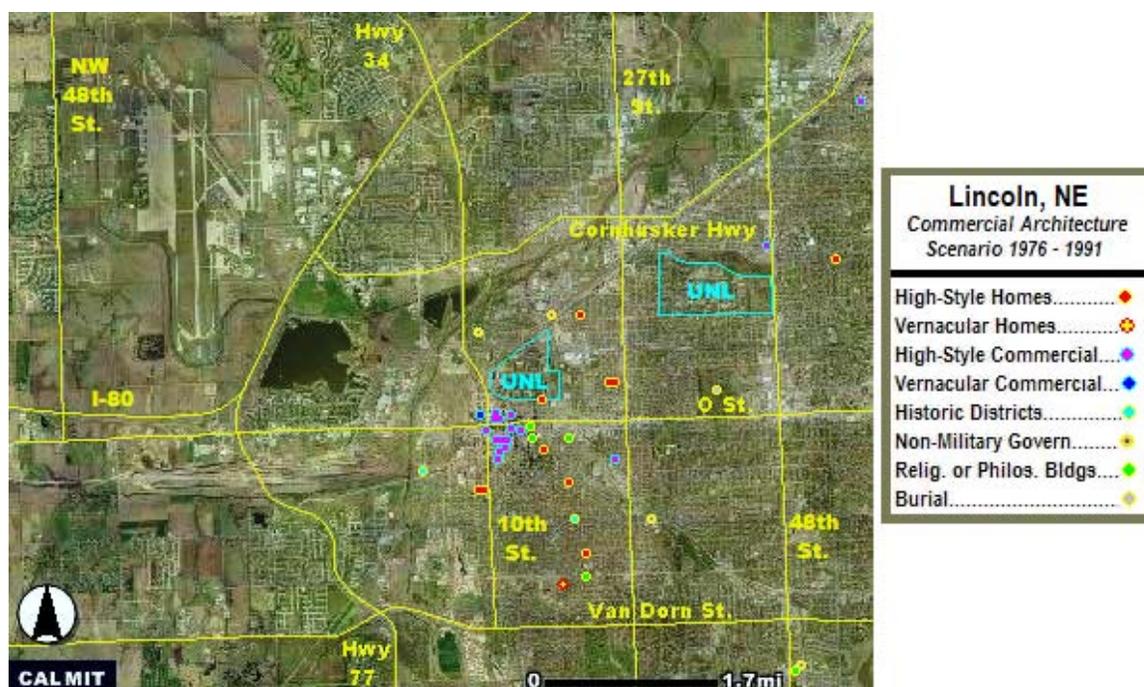


Figure 3.10: Lincoln, Nebraska, Commercial Architecture Scenario

Consequently, as the National Register program matured, the site selection practices had generally moved linearly away from the area where the city had first begun – near the railroad station. In Lincoln's case, the city grew in an eastward direction.

Hence, the course of site designations rather neatly reenacted the spatial/chronological story of Lincoln's historical expansion. This study has revealed a delayed spatial relationship between city growth and historic preservation practices, a principle which can be applied to many other cities besides Lincoln.

Nonetheless, returning to the prior discussion on the topic of how people found out about the benefits of listing a property, people often discovered the lucrative possibilities by "accident" while reviewing the tax code (Murphy 2008). That is, a person, for example, may have decided on his or her own to rehab an antique-looking building and then inadvertently came across the tax advantages of historically registered buildings. Such a private individual would then go to the SHPO's office and proceed with the paperwork. Murphy affirmed this second means of finding out about the opportunities when he stated, "I think more people found out about the tax stuff through the tax code (and then got led to the Preservation Office) than that they found out about it [directly] from the Preservation Office."

Even so, Murphy (2008) pointed out that some people did learn about the program through direct contact with SHPO staff members. For example, various organizations, including schools and historical organizations, would periodically sponsor SHPO staff presentations. In addition, SHPO staff members held public information meetings when they traveled out to evaluate property eligibility. After such presentations, staff members would leave literature. However, since relatively few inexperienced historic property owners attended, the presentations did not often persuade people to go out and nominate properties.

The 1978 Revenue Act

A second thrust, the 1978 Revenue Act, likewise impacted the preservation ethic, and consequently influenced how sites were being listed on the National Register (Murtagh 1988; Paskoff 2001; Tyler 2000; and National Park Service 2009). This was because the Revenue Act made private citizens capable of receiving a 20% historic tax credit (HTC) if they owned an income-producing historical structure which was listed on the National Register (Howard 1988). Because HTCs were providing such lucrative benefits, realtors and bankers began using the program, and generating higher profits (Lowenthal 1983; and Paskoff 2001). However, such private sector individuals benefited from the HTC program only after they had made qualified rehabilitation expenditures (QREs). QREs were, most especially, the costs accrued while doing the hands-on carpentry work that met the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties.

What were these Standards? Two years earlier, when Congress had passed the 1976 Tax Reform Act, the Secretary of the Interior, in cooperation with the Treasury Department, devised these Standards in order to supervise private citizen's use of the newly offered tax advantages, and to evaluate the impact of restorative work on historic buildings (Jandl 1985; and Murtagh 1992). Managed by the National Park Service's Technical Preservation Services, the Secretary of the Interior's Standards were to provide building owners, administrators, consultants, architects, contractors, and project reviewers with useful principles for organizing manual labor processes and the use of construction materials (Candee 1985; and National Park Service 2009). For instance, the guidelines recommended nationally preferred approaches to restoring masonry, wood, metal, roofs, windows, storefronts, frames, and interior spaces.

The standards also provided guidance for additional considerations such as energy efficiency and wheel-chair accessibility.

By definition, if such standards were met, the renovation became eligible as a qualified rehabilitation expenditure (QRE), and the government agreed to reimburse the renovator after the building actually opened for commercial use. The government also treated full structure renovations and small-scale remodeling jobs differently. Historic tax credits (HTCs) applied only to complete renovations.

HTCs also applied beyond the hands-on carpentry work realm to include construction period interests and taxes, architectural and engineering fees, site survey fees, legal expenses, insurance premiums, and development fees.

The 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act

Could a renovator qualify for HTCs on any aging building, or did the building need to be historical? Interestingly, starting in 1981 when Congress modified the Revenue Act by passing the Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA), the government started to extend HTCs to non-historic building owners, once again foreshadowing the coming of the Progressive Planning Scenario. The new legislation stipulated that such buildings did need to be from 30 to 40 years old in order for renovators to reap the 15% benefits, and over 40 years old to collect the 20% deductions. At the height of the HTC activity during the 1980s, and at the national level, renovation developers were investing \$2 billion a year into aging buildings (Shepherd 1992, 123).

Consequently, the 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA), similar to the other financial acts, modified the Commercial Architecture Scenario (Hild 1985; Newman 2001; and Paskoff 2001). The 1981 ERTA did so especially because, instead of exclusively encouraging owners of nationally registered properties to make five-year reconstruction cost tax write-offs, the federal government extended the incentive to renovated National Register qualified buildings, offering a 25% tax break to owners – off of their entire purchase and reconstruction costs – while giving them a 15 year adjusted cost recovery period (Candee 1985; Jandl 1985; and National Park Service 2009).

As an aside, ERTA significantly boosted mainstream public preservation behaviors by supporting gentrification activities (the movement of the middle class toward city centers). However, unexpected side effects of the 1981 ERTA included that it somewhat favored wealthy contractors (Candee 1985). In other words, those who could afford the largest and most expensive projects obtained larger proportions of the tax incentives. In addition, the inner-city poor, who often happened to be minorities, suffered because of gentrification (Newman 2001; and Townsend 1974). This was because, as land values increased, the inner-city poor often had to scramble to other areas in order to find affordable housing (Reichl 1997; and Ziegler 1974). Even so, gentrification remained as an effective planning tool for renewing inner-cities.

Since the gentrification issue parallels this dissertation's 5th objective, as presented in Chapter 1 (that is, the objective to conduct a field study of minority representations so as to determine whether or not minorities have been historically misrepresented at Nebraska's nationally registered historic places), a brief discussion proceeds at this point

to describe inner-city minority representation findings. Then the discussion will return to the topic of the 1981 ERTA, and how ERTA changed the preservation ethic.

A field study of African American-related nationally registered historic sites uncovered four categories of representations: economic advancement; cultural contributions; leader or role model representations; and African American Christian churches. Sites demonstrating African American economic advancement and leadership were more common than the others. For example, a primary reason why the Webster Telephone Exchange building, located in downtown Omaha, became a listed historic place in 1977 was that it contained a Black history museum.

The museum within the building mainly exhibited African American transitions from Southern agriculturalists to Midwestern urban workers; the establishment of African American churches; and participation in beneficial community institutions. In addition, the museum housed musical influence displays as well as literary and cultural contribution representations. The African American designers of the representations produced accurate, fair, and respectful representations.

In 1923, an African American businessman named James C. Jewell, organized the construction of the building depicted in the subsequent image, figure 3.11, *The Jewell Building, and African American History*, which would later become a nationally registered historic site (Nebraska State Historical Society 2009). Within the walls of the building, significant events pertaining to America's musical, social, and African American history had unfolded. On the second floor (known as the Dreamland Ballroom) famous jazz musicians, including Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Dinah Washington, and Earl Hines, had periodically entertained lively patron



Figure 3.11: the Jewell Building, and African American History (Nebraska State Historical Society 2009)

For example, Duke Ellington (who won the Pulitzer Prize for influencing the history of recorded music through his compositions, piano skills, and band leadership) periodically played at the Jewell Building (Cole 1999). During his career from 1923 through the 1970s, Ellington's creativity reached beyond the bounds of jazz, influencing the blues, gospel, movie soundtracks, pop, and also classical music (Hajdu 1996).

Currently, visitors who enter the Jewell Building encounter a series of African American representations. Posters made from snap-shots of musicians appear linearly along the hallway, respectfully representing these professionals. The mood of admiration for James C. Jewell and the deferential posters of musicians intertwine so as to meet a need to understand and to honor the African American sub-culture.

Similarly, during the 1970s, properties relating to African American leaders (such as Malcolm X), received recognition as being significant. Incidentally, only the remnants of Malcolm X's Omaha residence remain today, and the Webster Telephone Exchange museum, mentioned previously, is closed for lack of both visitors and funding.

Both of these two particular sites have become “places of neglect.” That is, for instance, at Malcolm X’s home site, there merely stands a marker, posted in front of an overgrown clutter of stone, cement, brick, and rusty metal.

Moreover, African American churches were relatively abundantly listed on the National Register. Although Black Christian churches usually possessed characteristics of high-style architecture, the language describing the reasons why the sites were worthy of being listed generally pointed toward African American community cooperation, celebration, and empowerment. More precisely, the church site nomination language usually memorialized specific African American men or women who set certain programs and projects into motion, benefiting the Black community.

Something that geographically sharply contrasted African American minority sites from Native American sites was their urban versus rural locations. African American representations were, almost without exception, located in inner-city urban areas. Accessible Native American representations, by contrast, were designated at rural sites.

This raises the question, “Why were African Americans, and associative nationally registered historic sites, so often found in urban settings?” Kahn and Bajari (2001) conducted research which addressed that question. Using an estimation strategy which involved relaxing a number of assumptions pertaining to the “hedonic two step” housing research model, Kahn and Bajari found that suburban to urban commuting costs tended to prohibit African American suburban living. Kahn and Bajari also found that African Americans made use of “lower-class” job and housing “bundles” which could be found in inner-city areas. In addition, Anglo Americans displayed a more pronounced aversion to living in poor neighborhoods than their African American counterparts.

Affinity and affiliation to cultural types also played a role. That is, there was a racial/cultural commodity factor (being among likeminded people) which “weighed into the balances,” and this contributed to the urban choice. If all other prices were equal (the price of transportation, the price of rent, and so forth) then the gains that came from living in a familiar cultural setting could make an African American choose to live in the central city versus the suburbs. In spite of such findings, Kahn and Bajari went on to point out that, since racial tensions were decreasing, and African American educational levels had been increasing as a percentage, a steady trend was on the rise which included the process of African American households gaining professional jobs and homes in the suburbs.

When it came to some of the types of registered properties which minorities noticed were being listed on the National Register and renovated in their neighborhoods, Tyler explained that minorities often felt slighted and badly represented (Tyler 2000). Probing the issue further, Tyler referred to an incident which occurred at the 1988 Annual Conference of the National Trust for Historic Preservation – a major National Register “think tank.” A member of the local African American community in Cincinnati spoke out against the preservation of a historic opera house, saying, “The only thing that historic theater was good for was putting me in the balcony (Tyler 2000, 212).” To this particular Cincinnati, the theater served only as a symbol of White oppression against Black minorities.

Atlanta, Georgia, also fit into the category of communities which suffered from cultural and racial disunity, impacting planning for historic preservation.

To be specific, Atlanta's Mayor Andrew Young was one of many people who initially opposed historic preservation. Being African American himself, he sympathized with local African Americans who disapproved of prevailing White dominated history (Newman 2001; and Stone 1989). Atlanta's developers also shunned preservation because, in earlier years, preservationists had opposed development.

Eventually, Mayor Young came to recognize how preservation could contribute vigor to the city's economy. With this insight, Young created a seventeen member consensus-seeking task force (Elliott 1998). This task force proceeded to identify a common vision; and it managed to assist the disagreeing assembly in ultimately reaching a historic preservation favoring compromise (City of Atlanta 1988, 4; and Collins, Waters, & Dotson 1991).

While considering similar issues in another state, Lee pointed out that, as popular demand for cultural sensitivity increased, many city officials had hurriedly worked to amend local historic representations (Lee 1992). This required the reinterpretation of historic properties. For example, interpreters had originally designed the representations at the Fort Concho National Historic Landmark, in San Angelo, Texas, in a way that portrayed Anglo-Americans as the only historical contributors to the security of the nascent State of Texas. It was not until 1979 that officials agreed upon a new master plan to redesign the site's representations to acknowledge the importance of African American Buffalo-Soldiers as renowned 19th century U.S. cavaliers, and as noteworthy guardians of Texas' security.

Interestingly, during the seventies and eighties, Nebraska received authorization to list a number of ethnic group related sites. Stupka-Burda (2008) explained that there was an

increased interest in Swedish, Danish, Volga and Black-Sea Germanic, Norwegian, Italian, Irish, and Czech ethnicity; and the discussions focused on how those early populations had influenced the built environment. None of these ethnic groups' architecture had been covered in the Anglo-dominated architectural guides and bulletins (Murphy 2009). Consequently, the SHPO office had to develop its own strategies in order to answer questions such as, "What does a house that was built by Czechoslovakians look like? Is that reflected in the construction method of the house or barn?" As an explanatory aside, "Czech" emigrants were coming from what was then called Bohemia and Moravia, or as their citizenship papers said, from Austria-Hungary. "Czechoslovakia" was only the name of those lands after the Soviet Union came into power, which was many years after the ethnic groups had immigrated to America, which complicated the Nebraska SHPO office's research efforts.

Returning to the primary discussion about how the 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA) changed preservation ethics – ERTA affected how visitors would begin seeing the interiors of nationally registered historic buildings. This was because the government decided to lower federal restoration standards, allowing renovators to halfheartedly refurbish historic places. Before 1981, these Standards (the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties) required renovators to produce, as much as possible, museum quality historic site replicas. However, Candee (1985) complained that the 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act had opened the door to individuals who would ignore the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation. The resulting renovations would then be historically inferior to those reviewed under

Standards for Rehabilitation guidelines. Consequently, Candee asserted that ERTA should be amended so as to raise the standards again.

Without regard for Candee's assertions, Duerksen (1992) approved of the new and more relaxed standards. Duerksen explained that in spite of tax advantages, some developers had been declining to undertake certain restoration projects because they did not agree with the overly-high renovation standards. Such developers often shunned the expensive structural materials which the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation demanded. Duerksen pointed out that such developers felt as though the Standards for Rehabilitation were too expensive, calling for "Cadillac-styled" renovations when "Chevy-styled" work would do. Because of such unnecessary expenses, rare examples of architecture were felled, or were neglected into dilapidation. Rypkema (1992) agreed with Duerksen; and he pointed out that by minimizing reconstruction costs, by relaxing the 1976 Secretary of the Interior's Standards, and by making authentic building materials more affordable, the federal government could boost program benefits. The main point being that financially related actions were profoundly influencing the preservation ethic. Such influences reached into the interiors of buildings; and the federal government showed an increasing willingness to accommodate the often abrasive market forces.

The Importance of Local History Increased

Another primary attribute of the Commercial Architecture Era was that local history gained increasing importance above national history. The subsequent figure 3.12, *the Change in Focus from Nationally to Locally Significant Historic Properties*, shows this

trend. The figure is based on the “level of significance” column from the NRIS database. Part of the reason why there was an increase in the number of Nebraska’s locally significant site listings was that the federal government developed a system whereby separate cities could become certified, and then they could set up offices so as to function like subordinate State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs).

What caused the federal government to delegate authority to specific cities? Birch (1985) explained that in 1979 President Carter tried to balance the federal budget by cutting all payments for federal preservation activities. This included National Register activities.

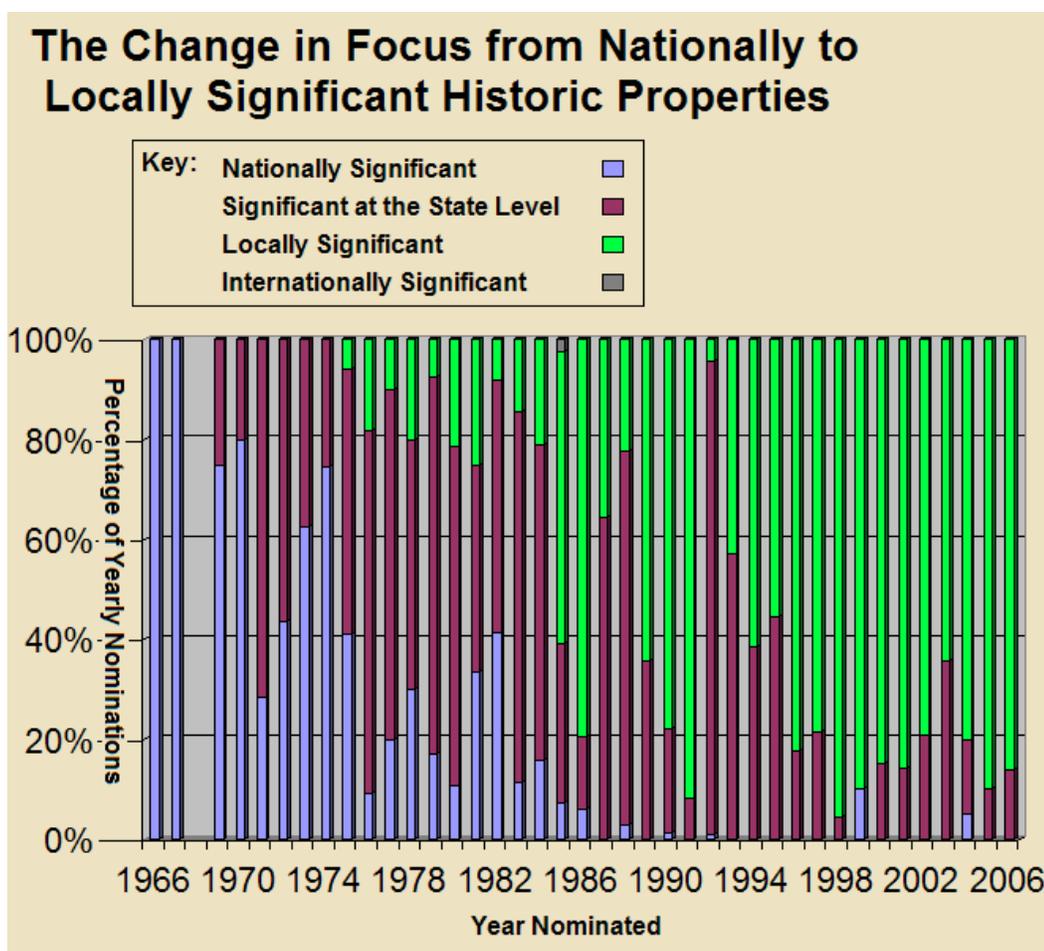


Figure 3.12: the Focal Change from National to Local

Congress was still processing President Carter's requests when President Reagan came into office. President Reagan concurred with former President Carter; and he sought to reduce federal preservation funds to zero, but, because of Congressional objections, he was only able to decrease funding from \$55 million annually to \$26 million per year. At the time of such budgetary debates, SHPOs and their staff members underwent a stressful period of indecision. That was because, in 1981 – 1982, the federal government ordered a twelve month moratorium (a temporary activity halt) theoretically putting National Register work to a halt (Puschendorf 2006). Under President Reagan, the moratorium (which also cut funding to urban areas for park facilities) reduced federal spending by \$188 million (New York Times 1981). Inexplicably, when one examines the National Register for that year, private citizens were still able to get as many sites processed through the system as in previous years (Stupka-Burda 2006 A). Although the federal government lifted the moratorium, throughout his administration (1981 – 1989), President Reagan continued to cut funding for preservation and planning activities.

Because of this financial threat to the preservation program, preservationists tried to get legislation passed which would compel local governments to assume nominational responsibilities (Birch 1985). Local governments, which already possessed salaried specialists in urban planning, could shoulder the burden more affordably. It was under this kind of financial pressure that the federal government, in 1980, authorized the assembly of certified local governments (CLGs).

To get CLGs functioning, CLGs were to be awarded a 10% share in the percentage of funding which, up to that time, had been sent to SHPOs (Birch 1985).

Federal government officials started to encourage states to nominate certified local governments according to criteria which would satisfy both state and federal agendas (Hild 1985). The budding partnerships between states and constituent cities invigorated local preservation programs. In addition, CLGs began to play an important role in urban planning – a trend which presaged the coming Progressive Planning Era (Hild 1985).

Alliances between state governments and local authorities were comparable to the well established alliances between federal and state governments in the sense that state authorities began playing a federal-like provider's role to cities – distributing funds, preservational expertise, and procedural instructions. In addition, CLGs hired their own employees; and they implemented the program without oppressive supervision from state authorities (Stupka-Burda 2006 C). By 2006, Nebraska had five CLGs – which comprised several of the most populated cities within the state. These included Omaha, Lincoln, Red Cloud, Plattsmouth, and Sidney. Omaha and Lincoln were the first of Nebraska's CLGs, followed by local governments with smaller populations.

CLGs functioned differently in each city. For instance, Lincoln and Omaha each administrated CLGs from their planning departments (situated in the Lancaster, and Douglas county municipal buildings). Each of these two CLGs chose to hire professional historic preservation planners (Stupka-Burda 2006 A). In addition, the new legislation provided certified local governments (CLGs) with authority to review National Register nominations, and to establish their own survey, registration, and protection plans (Hild 1985).

Historic Regions and Site Significance

As the Commercial Architecture Era unfolded, the Nebraska state preservation authorities detected pressures from private developers skewing the preservation ethic in favor of listing urban commercial architecture, causing a distorted reduction in the numbers of other types of nominations. Partly as a way to curb, or rather, to balance out this market driven distortion, the SHPO office began looking at history according to intra-state regional contexts.

Another reason why the SHPO office began looking at the regional contexts of Nebraska's history is that a general nation-wide desire to further contextualize site significance occurred (Hardesty and Little 2000). Preservation officials from all over the country recognized that history and geography interacted so as to define important sites. John Wilson (1990) wrote an article entitled *We've Got Thousands of These? What Makes a Historic Farmstead Significant?* In the article, Wilson outlined an approach to regionally contextualize history. He suggested establishing regional contexts by first extensively reviewing local histories. By examining Surry County, New Hampshire's, population statistics, agricultural productivity statistics, occupation patterns, and occupation spans of households, Wilson demonstrated that intra-state historic regions could be adequately identified and phased into state historic preservation programs (Hardesty and Little 2000).

In sync with Wilson's findings, the State of Nebraska took steps to increase its sensitivity to regional historical contexts. To be specific, the Nebraska SHPO office adopted a historic *Regions Map* (the subsequent figure 3.13).

This pre-existent map had gone through several stages of development before it was adopted by the SHPO office (Murphy 2009).

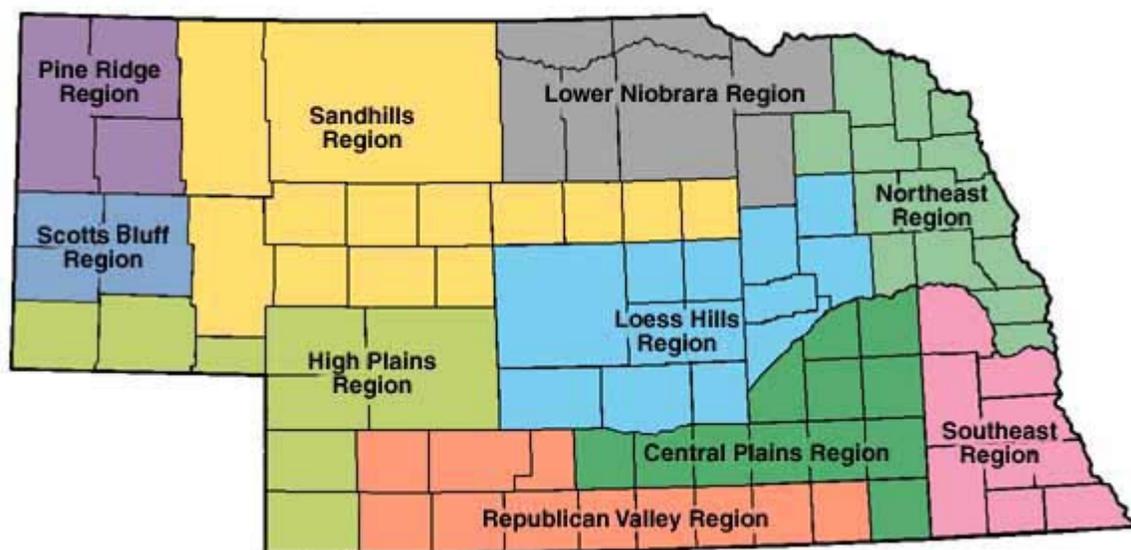


Figure 3.13: Nebraska's Historic Regions Map
(Nebraska State Historical Society 2009)

In the first formulative stage of the *Historic Regions Map*, UNL's Conservation and Survey Division had initiated a topographic regions map, later using the topographic regions map as the basis for a farming regions map. Still later on, Baltensperger (1985) relied upon the Conservation and Survey Division's earlier productions when he wrote *Nebraska: a Geography*, a book explaining Nebraska's historical development from the frontier era to the 1980s (Tate 2009). In *Nebraska: a Geography*, Baltensperger described the State's landforms, physical geography, and human geography. In addition, Baltensperger produced a map of Nebraska's ten historical regions, including the High Plains, the Loess Hills, the Sandhills, the Pine Ridge, the Scotts Bluff Region, the Republican Valley, the Lower Niobrara, the Central Plains, the Northeast, and the Southeast regions. Other than altering Baltensperger's regional map so that historical regions fit neatly into Nebraska's county boundaries, the SHPO office wholly accepted

Baltensperger's historic regions delineations (Murphy 2009; and Stupka-Burda 2007). Puschendorf (2006) confirmed that, by espousing the *Nebraska's Historic Regions Map* (figure 3.13), the SHPO office gained a new and more in-depth geographical perspective on the varying distributed histories from around the state. The SHPO office had enhanced its ability to choose which properties should be listed according to the contribution those sites made to the locally significant history (Stupka-Burda 2006 A; and Puschendorf 2006).

For example, Puschendorf (2006) saw the need to look at the unique settlement pattern in western Nebraska. During an interview, Puschendorf pointed to the eastern part of the *Nebraska's Historical Regions Map*, explaining that, "In here, we have settlement being 1850s, peak periods of development being the 1880s, which was a real boom time – settlement and town building. But over here," pointing to western Nebraska, "Scottsbluff was not founded until 1900. So, you're going to find a whole different mass of resources." Puschendorf went on to explain that, for example, the Northeast Region of Nebraska has experienced a history of intensive farming, which would lead one to expect to find cattle feeding and crop operations in that area. Moreover, if one looks at the Sandhills, one finds the range cattle industry and sites pertaining to that industry would be especially significant and representative of the local history.

At the time an interview was conducted with her, Stupka-Burda (2006 A) further illustrated the usefulness of *Nebraska's Historical Regions* map when she explained that, at that time, she had an appointment scheduled to go out into the field and look at a ranch consisting of a 1920s bungalow and barn in the High Plains Region. At her appointment, Stupka-Burda would need to decide whether or not the buildings at the site had integrity

(structural soundness). She went on to explain that, normally, when an architecturally significant site lacked structural integrity it could not be listed. However, in the case of the particular High Plains Region ranch, which she was about to look at, some weaknesses in structural integrity could be compensated for by the site's inherent regional significance. Knowing that the range cattle industry was the High Plains Region's major built environmental legacy, and seeing how scarcely registered examples of that legacy were, Stupka-Burda prepared herself to overlook minor built environmental structural flaws, entertaining the possibility that the site could still be listed on the National Register. Hence, Stupka-Burda's appointments had often involved a site choice-making process – weighing integrity against her regional geographical and historical knowledge of local history.

Interestingly, at the national level, government officials had also learned to accept certain site types as being significant at one location, but, contrarily, not so significant from within another geographical context. King (2000) noticed these site decisional differences from one state to another. For example, states with an abundance of old buildings, like those of the northeastern United States, tended to be less archeo-biased (and more architecto-biased) than western states (King 2000: 42). Stupka-Burda (2006 A) concurred with King when she elaborated on how, in a state like Nebraska, where most of the built environment was not high-style architecture, the SHPO's office would send comparatively vernacular architecture-related paperwork to the Park Service Keeper's office. For example, Nebraska would send paperwork to the Park Service about a modest bungalow from the 1920s. If, for instance, a Park Service official's appreciation of historical significance was not attuned to regional historical differences, and if that

official compared Nebraska's property to, for example, a state like New York's, or to another eastern state (which would often have an abundance of high-style architecture), then that particular Park Service official would be tempted to think, 'What is so significant about a modest bungalow?'

However, since officials do know that there are regional differences throughout the United States, Park Service officials respond with understanding – accepting from Nebraska what would seem odd coming from New York (Puschendorf 2006). Moreover, for example, there never was a property that dated to 1770 in Scottsbluff, Nebraska, unless it was archeological in nature. Stupka-Burda (2006 A) elaborated further on this “regional sensitivity principle” which arose during the Commercial Architecture Era. She explained that William, one of Nebraska's SHPO staff members, came to the Nebraska SHPO office bearing an Illinois bias. William had worked in Illinois so he was used to looking at a built environment that had a longer history. When he came to Nebraska, it was difficult for him to think about a modest bungalow in Scottsbluff as being eligible for registration because he was more used to high-style older buildings.

Conversely, when he would go back east, after having worked in Nebraska, William would be shocked when Easterners rejected a site which would have been considered to be very eligible in the West (Stupka-Burda 2006 A). For instance, William could not believe that eastern officials would not try to register a certain 1812 farmstead. He recognized obvious differences in preservation ethics from state to state and from region to region.

This leads into a reflection on some specific similarities and differences between Nebraska's architectural nominations and those of another state.

In making this comparison, the study relies on Chong's (2005) research into New York State's 634 historic districts. Figure 3.14, *Percentages of Sites with an Architectural Style*, shows differences between New York's architectural style choices and Nebraska's. The researcher produced figure 3.14 by combining Chong's data (which he acquired from the NRIS database's "architectural style" column) with data pertaining to Nebraska's architecture (also obtained from the same source). For instance, Nebraska has listed Chicago-style (which was developed in the City of Chicago) while New York has not listed that style. The Chicago-style originated in Chicago, Illinois, after the fire of 1871 had gutted part of the inner-city. The Chicago-style was a subtype of the commercial-style which made use of iron (and later steel). Consequently, the Chicago-style was uniquely strong for its time, capable of accommodating wide and high fenestrations (window openings), and of supporting five or more floors. Nebraska's differing preservational behavior, characterized by the listing of Chicago-styled buildings on the National Register, points again to regional and spatial differences between the compared states. Since Nebraska straddles the western edge of the Midwest, and since Chicago is the Midwestern Regional hub, figure 3.14 confirms statements made earlier about uniquely regional site listing behaviors.

Likewise, because of the age difference between the two states (New York having become a state in 1776, and Nebraska having become a state in 1867), New York has been able to identify and list a number of Federal-styled buildings which were constructed between 1780 and 1830. Nebraska was not part of the United States when New York's Federal-styled buildings were under construction.

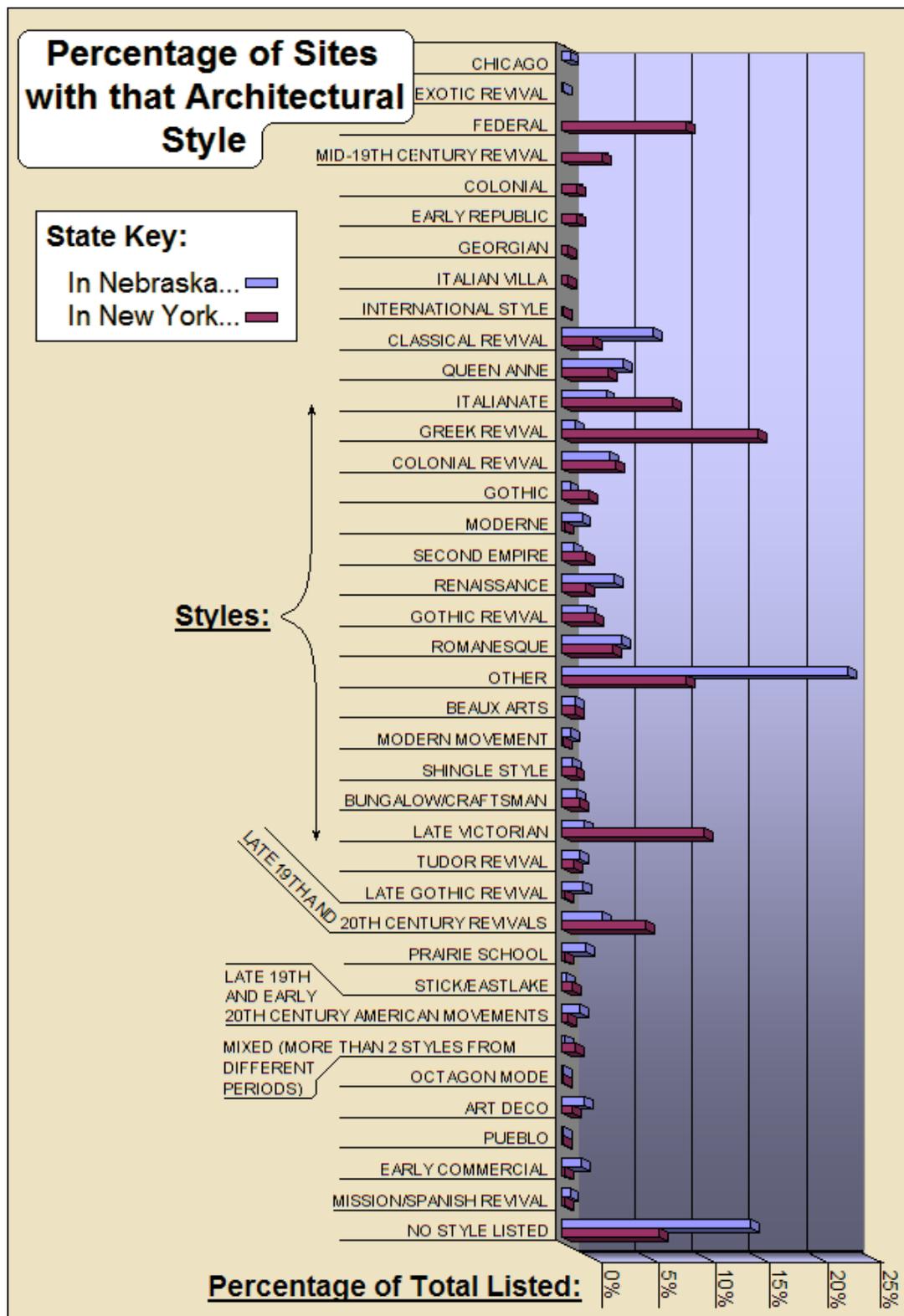


Figure 3.14: Percentage of Registered Sites with an Architectural Style

One may also notice, in figure 3.14, that, for example, Colonial-styled buildings (which were constructed before 1776) were listed in New York but not in Nebraska.

Interestingly, then, there are both regional as well as age-determined reasons for differences between New York's and Nebraska's listing practices.

Alternatively, the remainder of figure 3.14 shows some similarities between New York's and Nebraska's historic architecture choices. Even though figure 3.14's state datum peaks and valleys are not exactly even, a cursory glance at the figure suggests that, from a wider point of view, New York's and Nebraska's architectural styles generally agree. What do these generally agreeing datum patterns suggest? Such patterns suggest that (in spite of the few regional and age-determined differences mentioned previously) both states do have, for the most part, similar styles and quantities of listable historical buildings. That is, the mostly laypeople in Nebraska and New York (who choose sites according to the prescribed National Register listing process) are dealing with similar building style stocks, and they share a common ethical "thread." If New York and Nebraska show such similarities, the data probably also reflect broad national preservational stocks and trends.

Chapter 3, *The Commercial Architecture Scenario*, has underscored the way in which preservation behaviors transformed from 1976 to 1991. Private citizens increasingly piloted site selection activities, and were rewarded with tax breaks. Sensitivity for minority representations increased, the significance of local history grew, and authorities identified intra-state regions.

Preservation processes commercialized, renovation standards declined, and the pace of site protective activities hastened. The next chapter goes on to describe the preservation ethical changes which occurred from 1992 to 2010.

CHAPTER 4: THE PROGRESSIVE PLANNING SCENARIO (1992 – 2010)

The first year of the Progressive Planning Era was 1992. In that year, the Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, Bob Puschendorf, signed a *Highway Bridges in Nebraska 1870 – 1942* multiple property document, marking significant transformations to the preservation ethic (National Park Service 1992). Fifty-three days later, from his Washington, DC, office, the Acting Keeper of the National Register (Patrick W. Andrus) approvingly signed Puschendorf's documentation, simultaneously listing the first ninety-nine of Nebraska's historical bridges.

Considerable preparations had gone into the writing of the *Highway Bridges in Nebraska 1870 – 1942* multiple property document. The SHPO office had cooperated with the Nebraska Department of Roads so as to conduct an inventory and historical review of Nebraska's functioning state, county, and city bridges (National Park Service 1992). This research effort benefited both of the involved state agencies. It benefited Nebraska's Department of Roads by making it easier for the department to formulate long-range bridge maintenance, funding, rehabilitation, or replacement plans. In addition, the roads department would be better prepared to minimize its impacts upon National Register-eligible structures while proceeding with future construction projects. The research results benefited the SHPO office by providing a database and a contextual background for the identification of additional examples of exceptional bridge history or engineering methods.

One might suspect that the Nebraska Department of Roads was taking advantage of tax benefits, and had no interest whatsoever in historic preservation.

This was not the case because, although financial rewards had continued into the Progressive Planning Era for private citizens who were able to get their commercially viable properties listed, the legislation made it clear that rehabilitation tax credits applied only to buildings, but not to ships, bridges, nor other structures (National Park Service 2009). The Department of Roads only benefited from all of this by expanding its planning ability.

Progressive Planning Era Sites Listed

How did the *Highway Bridges in Nebraska 1870 – 1942* multiple property submission (MPS) indicate that significant transformations to the preservation ethic had occurred? In answer to that question, this particular MPS signaled a reversal in preservational values. That is to say, when the program was first started in 1966, legislators feared that economic progress, and especially federal road and bridge construction projects, would destroy numerous historic sites and buildings. Such an ethical contradiction between the initial distrust for bridges and then the ensuing *Highway Bridges in Nebraska* MPS begs one to reflect on the fact that precisely the same roads and bridges, which the National Register Program initially shunned, could now, themselves, be viewed as historical. Indeed, in 1966, and owing to the raging counter-cultural movement of the sixties, even the federal employees who made roads and who built bridges were viewed with some suspicion. However, in the Progressive Planning Era, such employees started to be honored as diligent workers who made use of resourceful engineering techniques (see table 4.1). This points to how entirely a historical perspective can change over time.

The fifty-year rule partially explains why historic preservation ethics had changed (Hardesty and Little 2000).

**Table 4. 1: Progressive Planning
Scenario Site Information**

Mutually Exclusive Divisions of the Entire List of Sites	Number of Sites	Percent of All	Mutually Exclusive Divisions of the Entire List of Sites (a Third)	Number of Sites	Percent of All
Archeology	20	6%	Eligible b/c of a Historic Event	275	51%
Bridges and Roads	75	22%	Eligible b/c of a Historic Person	15	3%
Burial	2	1%	" " Architecture or Engineering	237	44%
Farmsteads	15	4%	" " Source of Information	17	3%
High-style commercial	30	9%			
High-style homes	30	9%	A Subcategory of a Mutually Exclusive Division (Military)		
Historic Districts	23	7%	Forts	0	0%
Landscapes	5	1%			
Military	4	1%	Separate Categories which Overlap Other Categories		
Non-Military Government	63	18%	Federal Agency Selected Sites	15	4%
Religious or Philosophical Buildings	28	8%	Multiple Properties	113	33%
Vernacular Commercial	30	9%	Native American Sites	15	4%
Vernacular Homes	22	6%	Willa Cather Sites	0	0%
Nationally Significant	4	1%			
Significant at the State Level	191	48%			
Locally Significant	207	51%			

This is because the fifty-year rule brought a collection of properties into maturity for registration; and, such properties helped to usher in an implied value system. For instance, along with roads and bridges, President Roosevelt's New Deal Era properties became available; and such Great Depression related properties brought with them a paradigm which saw commercial progress as a virtue rather than a threat. What were these New Deal programs?

Briefly, President Franklin Delanore Roosevelt signed Senate Bill 5.598, otherwise known as the 1933 Emergency Conservation Work Act, which created the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) (Wirth 1980). The federal government wanted the CCC to provide young men with jobs so that such young men had money to spend on industrial products – supporting the economy. In 1933, the CCC provided 300,000 young men, ages eighteen to twenty-five, with thirty-dollar per month earnings (Mintz 2007). In Nebraska's case, young men, participating in the CCC, planted most of the Bessey

National Forest of Halsey, Nebraska, in the Sandhills Region (Stupka-Burda 2006 B; National Forest Service 2009).

New Deal Era Public Works Administration (PWA) funds poured in during the thirties (National Park Service 2009). The road system benefited from the Great Depression in the sense that, in 1933, the federal Emergency Relief and Construction Act (of 1932) had permitted the allocation of \$7,828,961 to the State of Nebraska. Not more than 50% of that was to be used to extend the federally funded highway system. Prior to 1933, states had not been allowed to use such funds in urban areas. In addition, in earlier times, states had to match federal funding. However, since the federal government recognized that the Great Depression was generally wreaking havoc on cities, states were permitted to spend federal funds in urban areas; and states no longer needed to match money. Because of this new legislation, Omaha, as an example, was able to make a one million dollar contract with the Kansas City Bridge Company for the building of the South Omaha Bridge (figure 4.1).

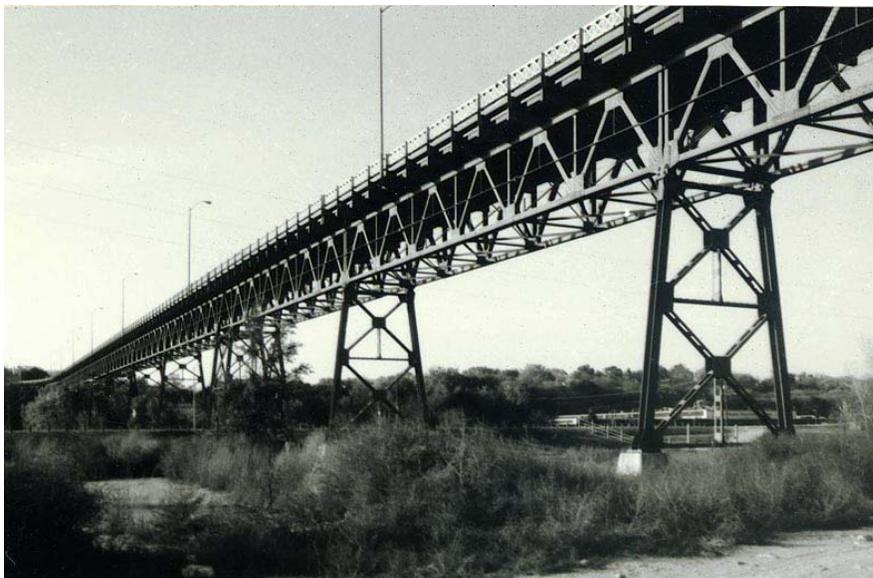


Figure 4.1: South Omaha Bridge (Nebraska State Historical Society 2009)

The bridge was opened to traffic on January 18, 1936; it was renamed the Veterans Memorial Bridge in 1985; and it continues to currently function as a major interstate crossing (from Omaha, Nebraska, to Council Bluffs, Iowa). The reason why states could begin to spend funds in urban areas is that the federal government recognized that cities housed most of the nation's unemployed young men (National Park Service 2009). In addition, and in the case of the South Omaha Bridge, traffic jams had been spurring the urban populace to petition for additional bridge finances. The resultant funding changes had then played out geographically in the production of numerous New Deal Era bridges, many of which, later on, would fit neatly into the context outlined in the *Highway Bridges in Nebraska 1870 – 1942 MPS* (see the subsequent figures 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4). By 1934, an average of 18,600 Nebraskans per month were employed in state and federal highway work.

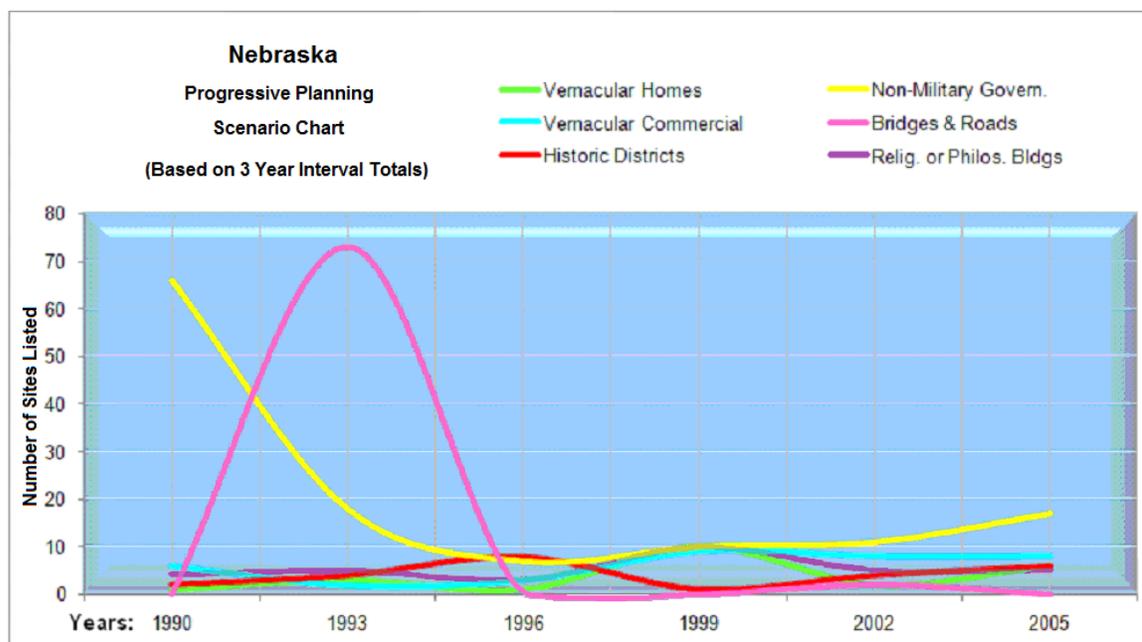


Figure 4.2: Chart for the Progressive Planning Scenario

Interestingly, Nebraska's bridge sites are uniquely related to the physical environment – and the need for humans to overcome opposing forces of nature in order to make travel possible. Bridge engineers dug deeply to handle soil instability and to find bedrock (National Park Service 2009). Researchers have shown that Nebraska has more stream surface area than any other state. The Missouri, the Platte, the Niobrara, and the Republican are the main rivers which course through, and such rivers are constantly shifting sediments and being replenished by an abundance of smaller waterways.

Engineers artfully sketched the necessary mechanisms and components to build bridges in hopes of producing lasting passages across streams. The oldest of Nebraska's known bridges dated back to the 1800s, and it had been made of erodable sod. Such sod bridges did not endure. For instance, ice jams and floods, in 1881, annihilated all bridges along the Platte River (southeast from where the Platte merges with the Loup River). In the 1800s, the wooden kingpost truss bridge type (characterized by "A" frames and iron rod hangers) predominated (National Park Service 2009). However, the late eighteenth hundreds and through to approximately 1910 saw a revolution from wood and iron to steel and concrete in bridge construction. After 1902, engineers turned to steel I-beams, and also H-beams for relative lightness, strength, and flexibility.

As might be perceived intuitively in figure 4.3, *Progressive Planning Scenario*, the *Highway Bridges in Nebraska 1870 – 1942* MPS correlated with Nebraska's river system, yet treated that water system as an obstacle. In the Progressive Planning Scenario, bridges were being acknowledged as significant components of a vast land-based transportation system, viewing that water system as an impediment.

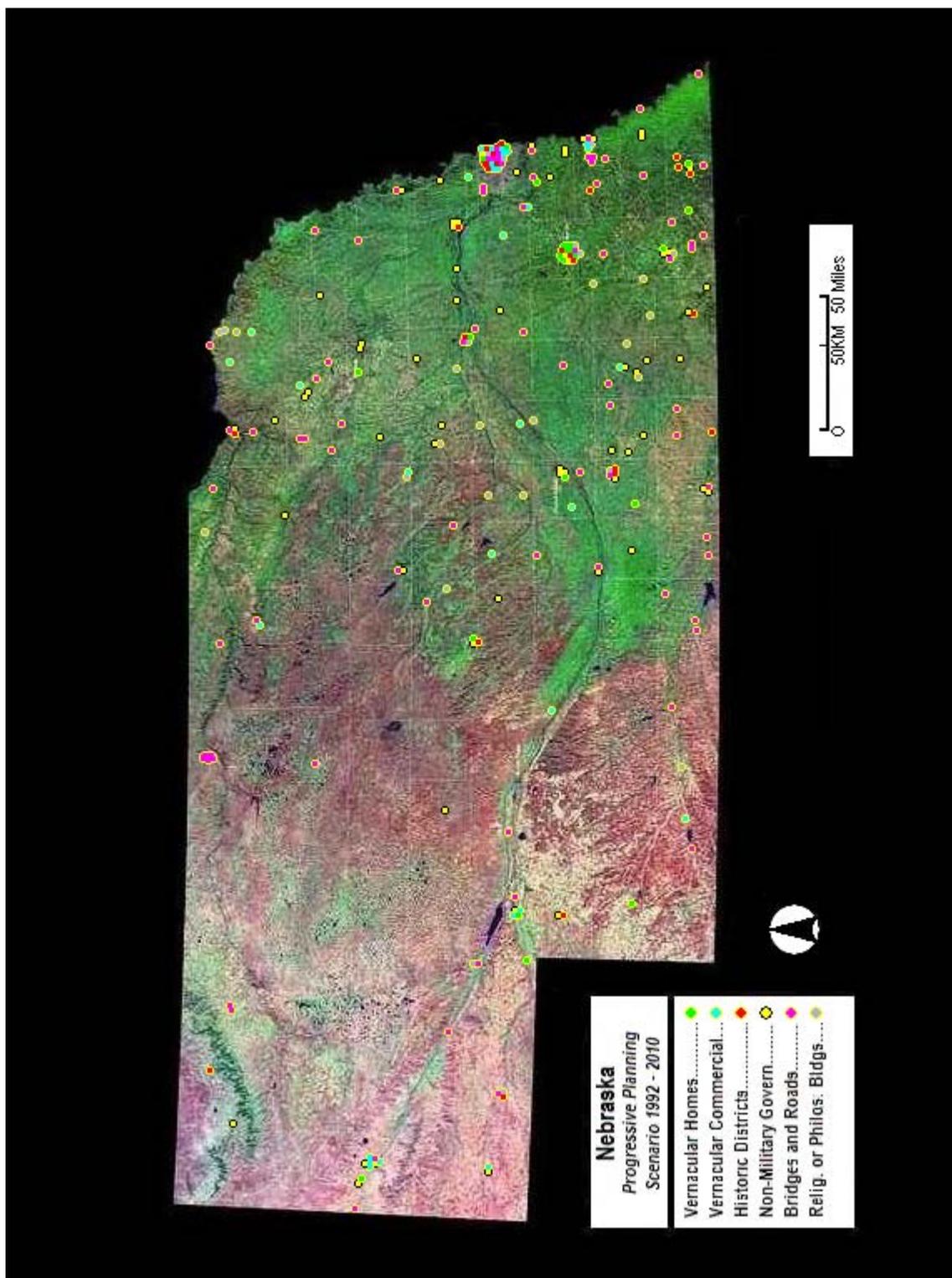


Figure 4.3: Progressive Planning Scenario (Terraprints 2009, modified by Darren Adams)

This view of Nebraska's rivers contrasted sharply with the way in which rivers had been emphasized during the Settlement Scenario (1966 – 1975). In the Settlement Scenario, the abundantly listed archeological sites were closely associated with Nebraska's river system, but such sites commemorated Native American villages. Those Native Americans who had formerly lived at the sites had been using those same rivers as a water-based transportation system, viewing that water system, contrastingly, as a transportational asset.

It is also notable (on the precedingly shown figure 4.3) that the locations of nominated bridges spatially differed from where the abundantly listed courthouses of the Commercial Architecture Era (subsequently shown in figure 4.4) were located.

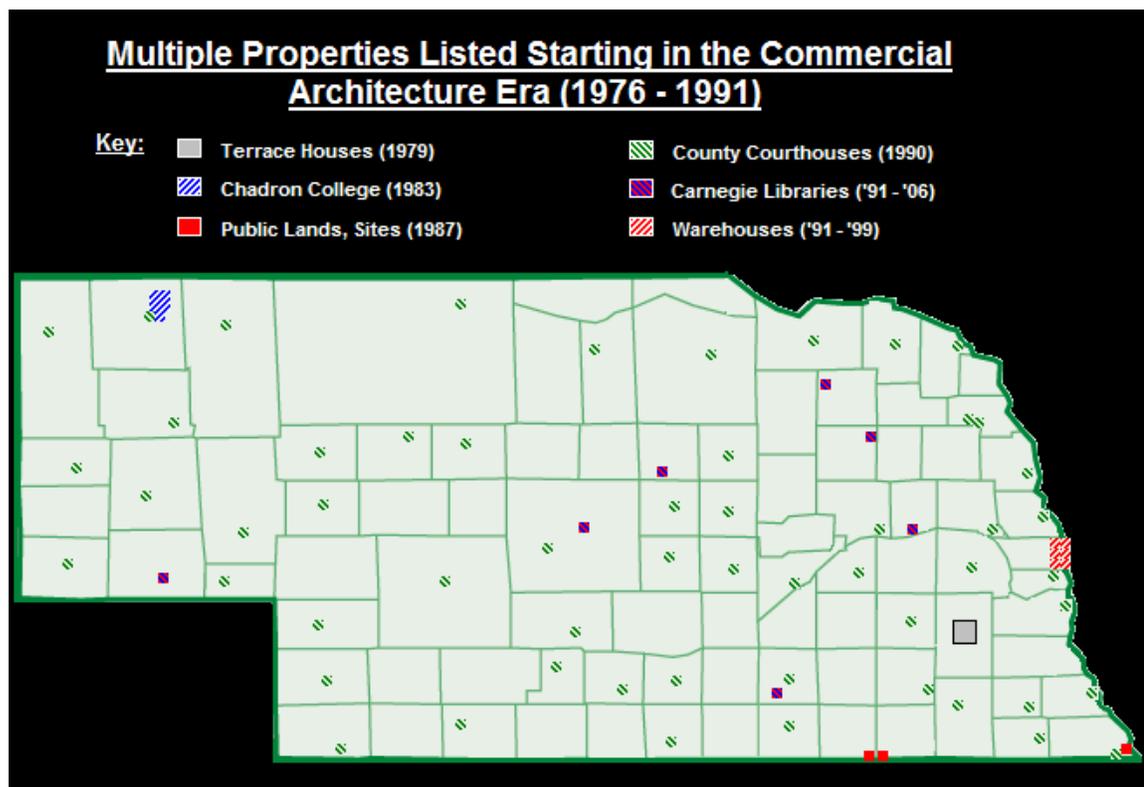


Figure 4. 4: Multiple Properties of the Commercial Architecture Scenario

Since courthouses are political entities (built in the communities that act as the seats of county governments) it follows that courthouses displayed a uniform state-wide distribution. The relationships between courthouses and physical geographies (especially rivers) are obviously not as strong as the Progressive Planning Scenario's plentiful bridge-to-river relationships.

In January of 1935, Congress expanded activities permitted by the Emergency Conservation Work Act by creating the Works Progress Administration (WPA) (Mintz 2007). This upgraded program employed 3.5 million workers at a "security wage" (defined as twice the level of welfare payments). In its first five years, the WPS either built or renovated 2,500 hospitals, 5,900 schools, 1,000 airport fields, and nearly 13,000 playgrounds. Interestingly, the WPA featured an Art Project Division. Through the Art Project Division, artists traveled to different libraries and post offices, painting optimistic murals which usually depicted muscular workmen, expansive wheat fields, and buzzing industrial and agricultural machinery. The value system that such entities "communicated" has influenced the preservation ethical paradigm so as to generate current admiration for common laborers, grand development projects, and the virtue of diligence. Indeed, personal interviews have revealed that SHPO staff members now cherish New Deal Era sites.

Stupka-Burda (2006 B; and 2008) explained that, in 1966, SHPO staff members did not pause to even consider New Deal Era resources. However, since time had passed, staff members began to recognize how significant these resources were to each community. In spite of their significance, Nebraska's SHPO staff members did not send New Deal Era site paperwork to the Keeper unless the site told that Great Depression Era

story and had enough structural integrity to qualify for the program (Stupka-Burda 2006 A). A case in point was that (at the time of the interview) Stupka-Burda was about to travel to Fremont, Nebraska, to look at a WPA auditorium. During her visit, she planned to determine whether or not that particular auditorium could serve as a prime sample, from among other potentially listable auditoriums, of Nebraska's New Deal Era auditorium construction experience. Stupka-Burda also wanted to find out (as she would want to do with any property) if the auditorium was in good repair, structurally sound, and relatively unmodified.

Progressive Planning Scenario MPSs

Into the Progressive Planning Scenario, multiple property submissions continued to serve as good indicators of the characteristics of the preservation ethic. That is, SHPO staff members used the multiple property approach in order to nominate numerous New Deal Era properties, which became the most immediate symbols representing the Progressive Planning Scenario. Figure 4.5 shows Nebraska's Progressive Planning Era MPSs.

Bridges were recorded as historically significant for the criterion "C" (architecture or engineering) reason. Starting in 1980, the "C" reason had changed from only architecture to either architecture or engineering (Morton III 1992). This made it possible for bridges, culverts, dams, and the like to be listed. Before 1980, the "C" reason for listing a property had always been to preserve various exceptional styles and types of commercial or residential buildings (see figure 4.6, *Sites Listed According to Eligibility Criteria*). Figure 4.6 shows the number of times sites were listed as being significant for the "A" (historic

event), “B” (historic person), “C” (architecture or engineering), and/or “D” (source of information) criterion reasons.

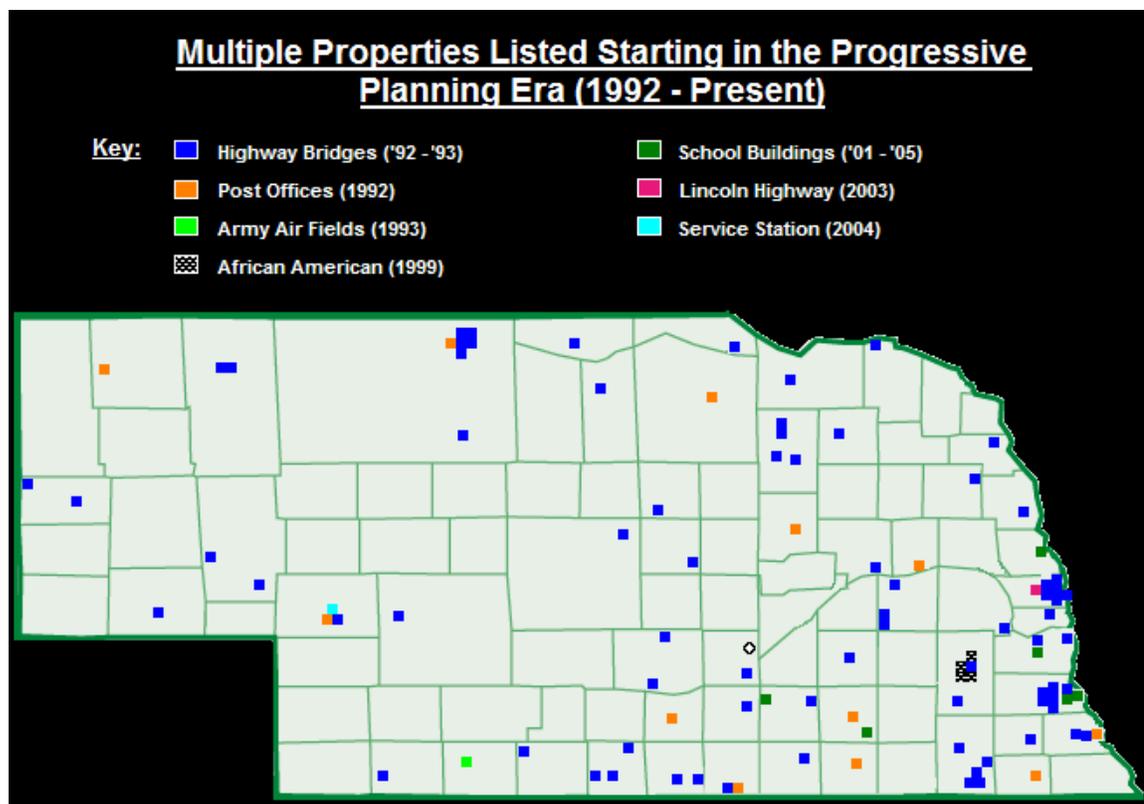


Figure 4.5: Multiple Properties of the Progressive Planning Scenario

A single site could be listed as being historically significant for a couple of reasons. The highest datum peaks correspond to multiple property submissions, especially to bridges, courthouses, and post offices. During the Progressive Planning Era, a relationship developed between reason “A” and reason “C” significance, as evidenced by corresponding datum peaks and valleys. What explains that relationship? In answer, officials found that many of the county courthouses possessed both architectural significance and, at the same time, significance because of politically historical events (Hanson 1989).

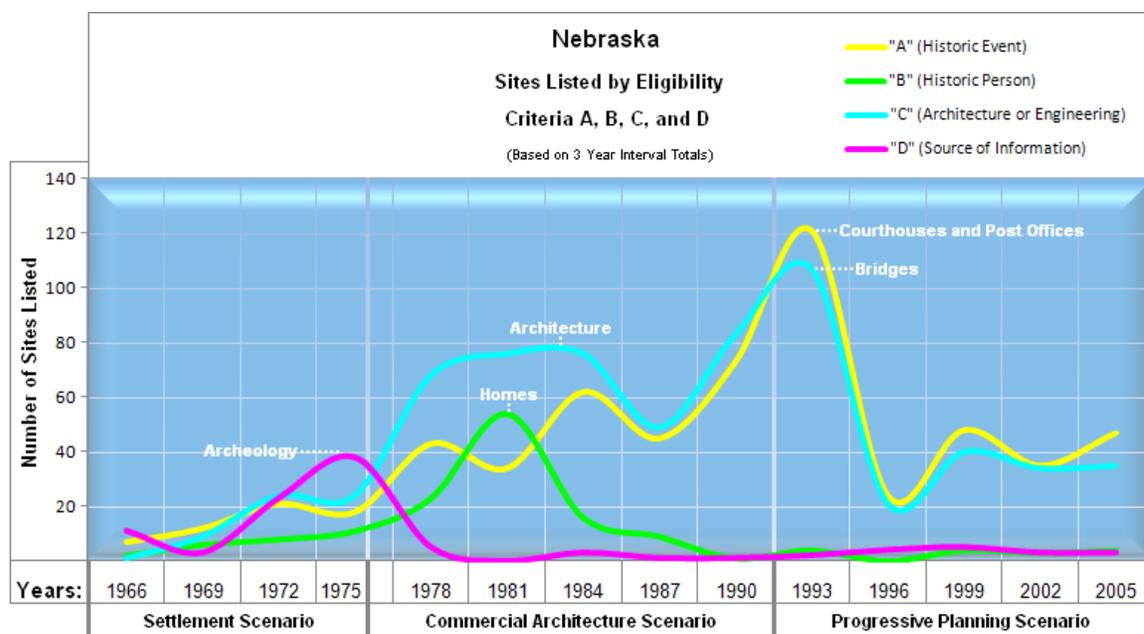


Figure 4.6: Sites Listed According to Eligibility Criteria

Somewhat similarly, SHPO staff members initially recognized one of Nebraska's multiple property submission types as being valuable for architectural reasons (for the criterion "C" argument); but eventually they saw how the genre related to broad patterns of history (the criterion "A" reason for nominating properties). This change in perception, as to why a property was to be listed on the National Register, pertains to the *Carnegie Libraries in Nebraska, 1899 – 1922*. These Carnegie Library submissions are like the New Deal Era submissions, mentioned above, in the sense that Andrew Carnegie, the wealthy Pennsylvania steel magnate, gave grants to 68 of Nebraska's communities, townships, or counties, driving library construction processes, and pumping wealth into the economy. During an interview, Bob Puschendorf, the current Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer (2006), clarified that, at first, staff members listed the libraries as being architecturally significant because, obviously, they were monumental buildings for a community.

Later on, starting in 1991 (and as a result of a property-type analysis), staff members started to list them as significant because of the events surrounding Carnegie's personal work toward increasing education and toward advancing library construction, setting the stage for state funded public libraries in Nebraska (Puschendorf 2006; and Stupka-Burda 2006 A). Before Carnegie started financing public libraries, only Omaha had a public library. Prior to the establishment of the Omaha Public Library, it was women's clubs which had set up reading rooms and collections of library books. Libraries were not funded institutions in Nebraska's community awareness. Putting this information together, and with reference to figure 4.6, one may consider how the ethic had transformed so as to value Carnegie libraries as reminders that Carnegie, like Roosevelt, had initiated significant community improvements.

The launching of an Army Air Fields MPS in 1993 showed how the preservation ethic was starting to accommodate younger, technologically upgraded, sites which had gained their significance because of urgent military situations. Partly because the SHPO's office set up the Army Air Fields MPS, vernacular housing units gained significance in relation to war-time situations, having provided lodging places for assembly plant workers, New Deal Era laborers, and pilots. Stupka-Burda (2008) explained that Nebraska possessed a number of modest World War II Era housing units (e.g., the housing units pertaining to Offutt Airforce Base) which had become significant. The significance of the simple housing units also derived from the fact that, in 1940, the federal government transferred funds from New Deal Era programs to the war effort. At that time, the Army Air Corps chose Offutt Field (situated in the southernmost suburbs of Omaha) as the site for a new bomber assembly installation (Nebraska Department of Education 2009).

The Corps built a two mile-long concrete runway, six large hangars, and a 1.7 million square-foot aircraft-assembly building (Sarpy County Museum 2009). Under the guidance of the Glenn L. Martin Company, the plant's assembly workers (which included many "Rosie the Riveters" – a nickname for the war-time women laborers) built 531 B-29 Superfortresses and 1,585 B-26 Marauders (Nebraska Department of Education 2009). The housing units, within which the workers lived, "ripened" into historical significance at age fifty, and became eligible for listing.

Stupka-Burda (2008) further explained that New Deal Era history became significant enough to where many other examples of simple vernacular homes associated with the era merited preserving. Modest houses that one would not have taken a second look at when the National Register Program began had gained significance. Stupka-Burda illustrated this housing nominational behavior using a CCC dam construction site example. CCC housing units were built to accommodate construction workers. When workers completed the dam, the housing units were sold off to private families. Having passed from federal to private hands, the current occupants could then benefit from getting their properties listed on the National Register. Incidentally, the National Park Service itself, as an agency, had submitted similar New Deal Era multiple property documentation (National Park Service 2009).

During the Progressive Planning Scenario, SHPO staff members also wrote up a *Warehouses in Omaha* multiple properties submission. The Warehouses submission included a group of six downtown Omaha warehouses that were constructed from 1889 through 1919 by businessmen who benefited from Omaha's central role in the U.S. ground-based transportation network of the late 19th- and early 20th centuries.

By completing this submission, staff members displayed their growing appreciation for vernacular entities, recognizing that even neglected warehouses could be restored and converted for commercial and residential uses (Dolberg 2008; National Park Service 2009). It is noteworthy that the language of the *Warehouses in Omaha* multiple property submission made reference to the importance of the U.S. ground-based transportation network. This reference to the historical importance of ground transportation hearkens back to the statements offered as explanations for listing Nebraska's bridges, and service stations (noted in figure 4.5), and the reference underscores how consistently the preservation ethic had changed so as to accept the significance of road-related entities. Indeed, a general ethic which appreciated locally familiar roadside structures had arrived (Ford 1985).

The Urban Planning Ethic

During an interview, Jill Dolberg (2008) commented on the issue of converting common structures into housing units as part of historical preservation. Dolberg pointed out that, for example, some of the listed warehouses in Omaha were being transformed by developers into high-density housing units. She suggested that such transformations probably reflect the increasing interaction and mutual support which had been maturing between historic preservation, environmental, and urban planning interests. Indeed, the spotlight on broad planning efforts sets the Progressive Planning Scenario apart from previous preservation scenarios.

Congress had “planted the seeds” of the planning ethic several decades earlier. That is, if the 89th Congress (1965 – 1967) was the “Preservation Congress” (because it passed so many environmentally and historically sensitive land management acts), then the 93rd

Congress (1973 – 1974) could be called the “Urban Planning Congress” (Birch 1985; and Murtagh 1992). For instance, the 93rd Congress passed the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act, requiring personnel to conduct citywide neighborhood quality evaluations. By 1977, personnel were using these evaluations to designate neighborhood strategy areas. In neighborhood strategy areas, planners, developers, and preservationists worked together, using housing rehabilitation and rental assistance programs to revitalize areas and to simultaneously minimize the displacement of minority and economically challenged residents. Environmentalists, city planners, conservationists, and preservationists proceeded to join forces to deal with large scoped issues such as urban renewal, economic growth, affordable housing, landscape management, and urban design (Walter 1992; Middleton 1980; Loader 1989; and Boasberg 1992: 150). A planning ethic had started to grow.

Even earlier, the 89th Congress had passed the Department of Transportation Act and the preservation accommodating Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act (Murtagh 1992; and King 2000). In Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act, the government required the Secretary of Transportation to identify, and avoid infringing on, parkland, wildlife refuges, and other amenity resources when building roads. Such legislation had widened the national land management vision so as to bring environmental enthusiasts, transportation officials, urban planners, and historic preservation entities into cooperation.

Dworsky (1980) had pointed out that the preservation ethic was beginning to emphasize adaptive use and urban planning.

Adaptive use means to take aging and neglected building stock and infuse it with an increased level of governmentally or commercially useful activities (Johnston 1985). From a congressional perspective, the lines had blurred between what was historical and what was conducive to inner city vitality. Preservationists, the federal government, and other allying entities, such as the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) as well as the U. S. Department of Commerce and Economic Development, began to focus not only on neighborhoods but also on entire urban areas. Downtown renewal became even more appealing because of rising suburban fuel and transportation costs (Dworsky 1980).

In addition to the 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act's (ERTA's) financial incentives, preservation minded developers could now take advantage of other sources of federal funding, such as those which became available through the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) (Birch 1985). For example, HUD made an eleven billion dollar package of tax incentives available to those promoting businesses in economically challenged parts of cities (areas designated as "renewal communities" and "empowerment zones") (Housing and Urban Development 2009).

There are a couple of other explanations as to why urban planning started to intertwine with historic preservation. For instance, in 1978, federal officials realized that it was unrealistic to try to finish surveying and listing properties on the National Register of Historic Places by the originally planned completion date of 1983 (Hild 1985, 75). Consequently, federal officials changed the direction of the program by encouraging states to use the National Register as a planning tool, and to strategize an entirely new planning process (Birch 1985).

In addition, certified local governments (CLGs) started to play a bigger urban planning role than SHPO's offices did. This is because local city government offices, where CLGs were typically headquartered, controlled planning and zoning, which impacted historic properties (Farmington Plan 2008). As a consequence, CLG staff members became more likely to adopt a comprehensive urban planning ethical reason for saving history than the private citizens who were initiating property nominations.

Results of Urban Planning Ethics

Some scholars with overall national foci have complained that historic preservation has strayed too far from its original purpose – to oversee remnants of the nation's history. For example, Merritt (1980) objected to reckless support for adaptive use restorations, which he noticed were changing the preservation ethic and deadening genuine appreciation for rare historic entities by favoring commercial activities. Merritt gave the example of a developer who had received federal approval to prepare an Albany, New York, urban historic district for restoration and commercial use. Merritt pointed out that the developer had then proceeded to demolish every “insignificant” structure, (which amounted to nearly half of the buildings in the district) including every worker's house, outbuildings, and some commercial structures. The urban renewal agency had then proceeded to look for a developer who would “do” the Albany neighborhood (Merritt 1980: 169). To Merritt, the process did not show any sign of respect for history.

Other scholars have applauded the financial success of urban planning coalitions. For example, Paskoff (2001) explained that, through federal and local financial assistance and incentives, the private sector pumped over \$22 billion into rehabilitation, creating over

113,000 new housing units and renovating over 164,000 older units. According to the National Park Service's Federal Tax Incentives for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings report, such economic activities created 41,535 new jobs. Such large numbers speak of considerable economic results – especially since the results often occurred in despairing inner-city areas.

Likewise, Colorado's SHPO office studied the results of urban planning and preservation coalition activities; and it found that similar lucrative benefits had accrued within its state jurisdiction. That is, the SHPO office found that, since the passage of the 1981 ERTA, there had been gains of two billion dollars through historic preservation. Twenty-nine thousand jobs had emerged. Additionally, a "sister industry," that is, the tourism industry, had gained \$3.4 billion and created 60,964 jobs (Colorado Historical Society 2008).

Research data from other states supported those conclusions. Findings showed that states tended to gain significantly from being engaged in sponsored nationally registered renovations, and also from being involved in any federally assisted restorations of non-historical buildings. For instance, Texas had gained \$1.4 billion yearly; Georgia had created 7,550 property rehabilitation jobs over a five year period; and a Maryland study showed that every tax credit dollar leveraged \$6.70 worth of additional economic activity (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 2009). Such factors propelled the growing preservation planning ethic forward.

There were certain communities which had become aware of such lucrative benefits and had initiated the processes for listing historic districts. For instance, figure 4.7, *Southeastern Nebraska*, shows three historic districts nominated relatively closely

together in rural Nebraska (including the Pawnee City, Table Rock, and Humboldt communities).

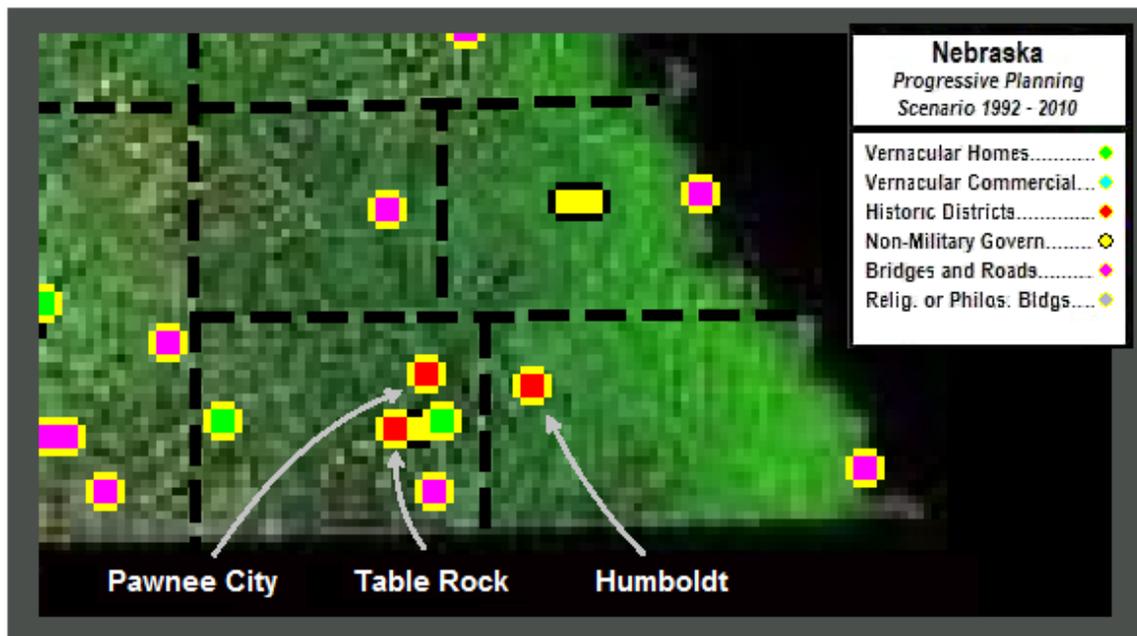


Figure 4.7, Southeastern Nebraska

By direct communication and example, these three communities contributed to one another's awareness of both the cultural and financial gains which could be derived from renovating historic districts. The Pawnee City, Table Rock, and Humboldt designations demonstrated a localized "idea diffusion" principle – the spatial "spreading" of historic site listing behaviors outward from one "nucleus" to neighboring communities. In this case, both Pawnee City and Table Rock gained historic districts in 1994, followed by Humboldt (to the east) in 2005. It remains to be seen whether or not other nearby communities will follow suit.

Another diffusion principle continued to play out during the Progressive Planning Era. During the preceding Commercial Architecture Era, decision-makers had selected sites for listing on the National Register in a pattern near the Lincoln, Nebraska, central city

area, producing a cluster of sites near the Historic Haymarket and train station area. However, since the fifty-year rule continued to bring younger sites to “maturity,” the pattern of sites became less clustered around the center. Consequently, the distribution pattern for the Progressive Planning Scenario followed younger transportation lines.

The earliest supply routes into Lincoln came into the community from Nebraska City, Nebraska. Before 1864, when homesteaders began settling in the area to grow crops, cargo coach drivers would stop in Lincoln to barter material goods, such as sacks of flour, and corn, in exchange for processed salt (Nebraska State Historical Society 2010). Some of the earliest settlers of the Lincoln area used to dig up and refine the salt from the large Salt Basin which used to be clearly visible along the west bank of Salt Creek. When salt resources ran low, and when the stench of dumped garbage replaced industrious salt works, a small dam was built, and the Basin was filled with water (which created Lincoln’s “Salt Lake”). In 1906, after repairing a leak in the small dam, developers renamed the lake Capitol Beach Lake.

Returning to the main point of the discussion, the earliest settlers in Lincoln organized a historical meeting to discuss where to locate a central place (situated between cabins, homesteads, and the original salt mining industry) to start the government and to facilitate additional commercial activities (Hayes, A. B., and Cox, Sam D. 1889). Historical records indicate that there used to be a large elm tree growing near the chosen central place. Subsequent settlers proceeded to build and then upgrade the selected freight unloading and bartering site, producing the Haymarket Train Station, and exerting a tremendous influence upon the future development of the city.

Nebraska City was the leading city of Nebraska until the early 1860s (because of its convenient position on the Missouri River's bank). After that, Omaha became Nebraska's prominent city. However, initially, the Platte Valley freighting business of Russell, Majors, and Waddell would transfer supplies from steamboats to large freight coaches, and haul those shipments from Nebraska City to inland destinations such as Lincoln, Kearney, and other settlements (Nebraska State Historical Society 2010). Eventually, this Platte Valley freighting business improved its capabilities by completing lines of the Midland Pacific Railroad, and, consequently, the company began making rail line deliveries into Lincoln, beginning in 1871. One of the Midland Pacific rail lines used to enter the Lincoln community from the south, and then it continued semi-parallel to, yet east of, 10th Street before this rail line entered the Haymarket unloading zone. Similar lines were successively built, by the same and other companies, to Omaha and Nebraska City. As shown by the blue arrow pointing toward Nebraska City in figure 4.8, *Lincoln, Nebraska, Progressive Planning Scenario*, these early east/west transportation routes have now (as of 2010) become the focal points for historic preservation activities, and they reflect Lincoln's earliest city growth patterns. Upon close inspection of figure 4.8, the vernacular homes (which are by themselves a primary characteristic of the Progressive Planning Era) lay along a consistent circular arc about 1.7 miles away from that original transportation center (see table 4.2). The researcher obtained the table 4.2 distance values using a ruler, and the neatness of that 1.7 mile distance demonstrates how the 50 year rule sets the stage so that researchers can make approximate predictions about the locations of upcoming historic site nominations.

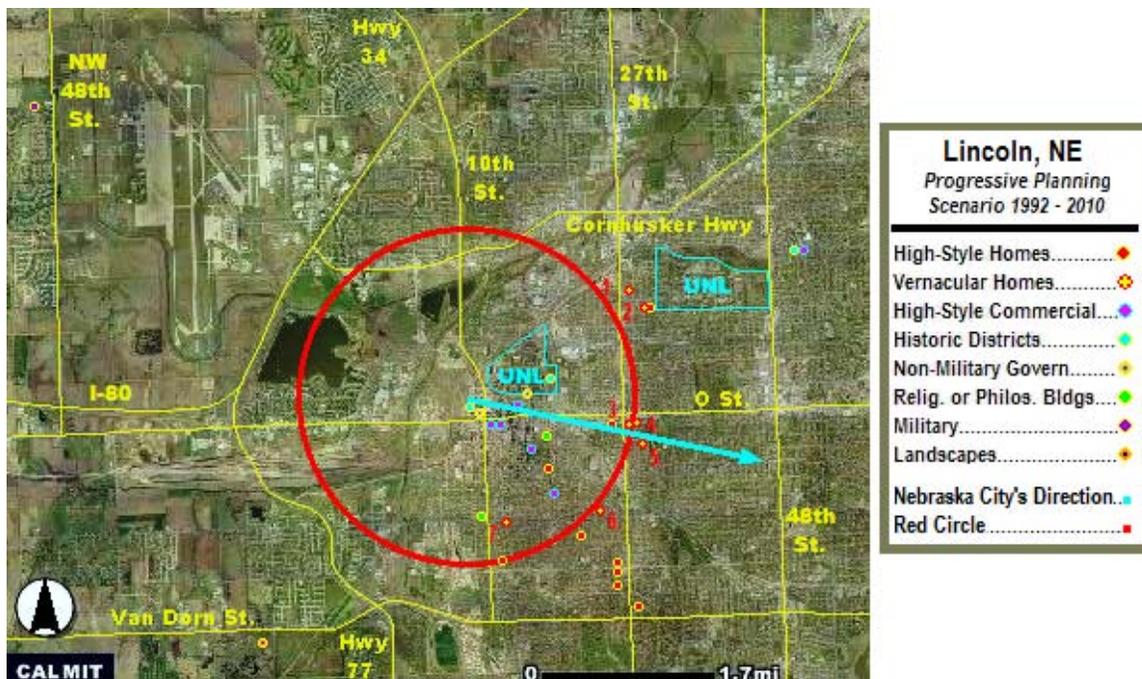


Figure 4.8: Lincoln, Nebraska, Progressive Planning Scenario

Referring back to figure 4.8: *Lincoln, Nebraska, Progressive Planning Scenario*, one may also observe that both the high-style commercial and the high-style residential buildings were being selected further away from the original central business district (south and east of that district), as compared to the Commercial Architecture Scenario map.

Table 4. 2

Vernacular Homes' Distance from the Train Station		
Vernacular Homes' Names:	Miles from the Train Station	Miles from the Red Circle (1.7 Mile Radius from the Station)
1) McWilliams House	1.95	0.25
2) Theodore Kiesselbach House	1.955	0.26
3) Guy Brown House	1.555	-0.15
4) R.O. Stake House	1.56	-0.15
5) Ross Nimrod House	1.8	0.1
6) Frank and Emma Gillen House	1.75	0.05
7) Burckhardt House	1.35	-0.36

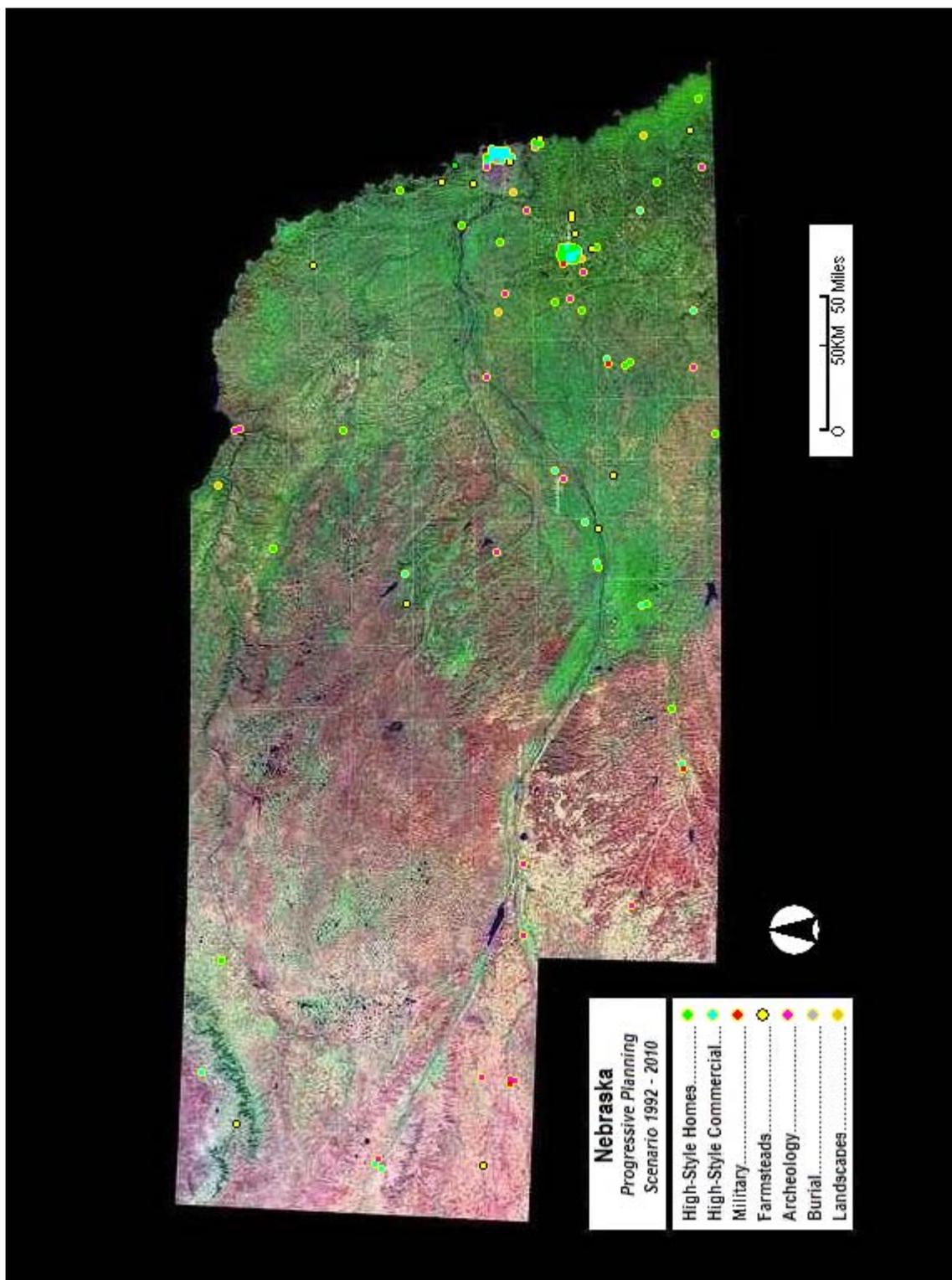


Figure 4.9: Progressive Planning Scenario (Terraprints 2009, modified by Darren Adams)

In addition, those high-style structures continued to be selected in close proximity to major settlement era roads and railroad lines, reflecting the earliest stages of city growth.

The statewide Progressive Planning Scenario Map (figure 4.9, *Progressive Planning Scenario*) shows a marked reduction in the overall number of high-style buildings. In addition, it does not emphasize archeology sites as the first scenario map did (figure 2.2, *Settlement Scenario*). As a consequence, and even though the map covers fifteen years (as compared to the first scenario's ten, and the second scenario's sixteen years) this particular map looks comparatively empty. This emptiness speaks volumes about the reduced focus on high-style buildings (Stupka-Burda 2008). This emptiness also suggests that Nebraska's classic high-styled buildings (such as Queen Anne, Late Victorian, and Greek Revival-styled building) had already been listed. Another point to consider while looking at figure 4.9 is that the archeological sites listed in the Progressive Planning Scenario focused on Europeans and Americans themselves (e.g., wagon trails, cattle ranch remnants, and supply posts) instead of on Native American village sites.

As was the circumstance in the previous scenarios, the sites per county map (in this case, figure 4.10, *Progressive Planning Scenario Sites per County*) emphasizes large population centers. Similarly, regarding the number of sites listed per person per county, as shown in figure 4.11, a fairly steady pattern had continued from the previous preservation era. That is, the high population centers of the state (including primary cities such as Lincoln, and Omaha) displayed a relatively low per-person number of listed sites. In contrast, out in the rural segments of the state, counties either displayed a high sites-per-person proportion, or else the counties did not have any sites listed at all.

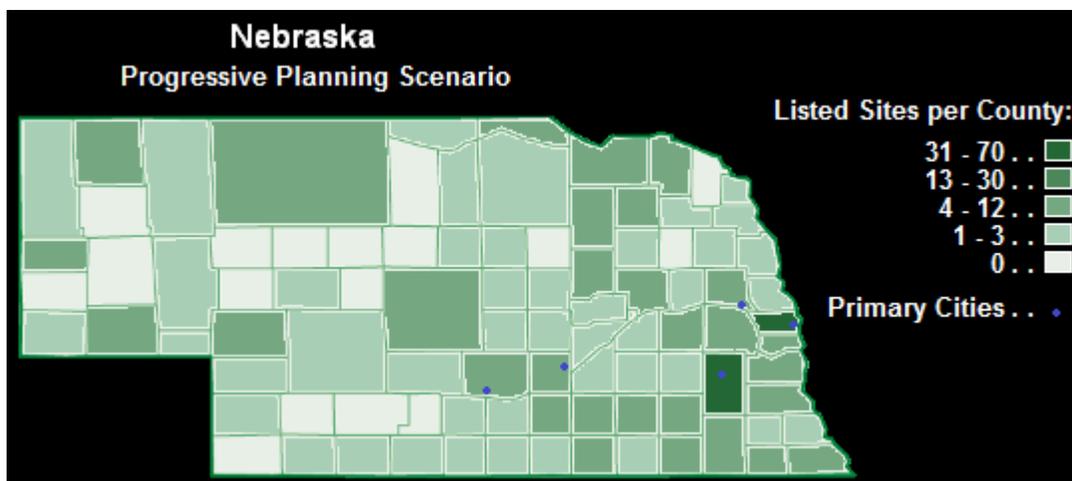


Figure 4.10: Progressive Planning Scenario Sites per County

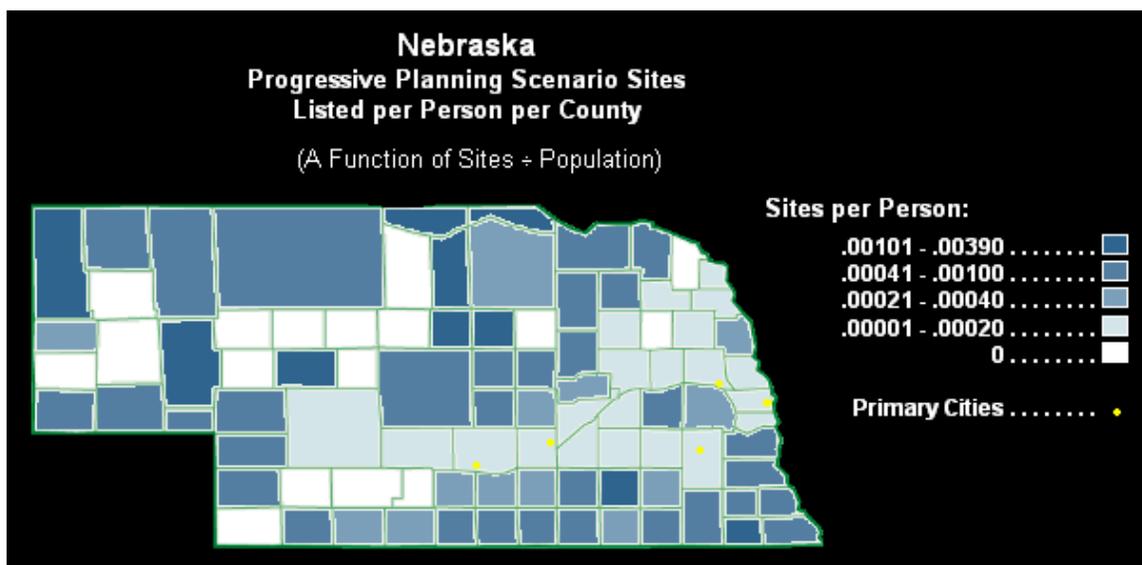


Figure 4.11: Progressive Planning Scenario Sites per Person

However, the Progressive Planning Scenario lacked “extreme highs” (.00246 - .00390 sites per person) in the data. This differentiates the Progressive Planning Scenario from the Commercial Architecture Era (figure 3.7). What explains this tempering effect, this lack of datum extremes? In answer, counties which had well-known historic places (such as Webster County, where Willa Cather had lived) had already listed their known resources before the coming of the Progressive Planning Era.

In addition, the Progressive Planning Era showed a changed focus, emphasizing 1930s and 1940s public welfare and New Deal Era types of historic sites – the kinds of sites which were relatively widely distributed throughout the state.

With regard to the number of acres of land listed on the National Register during the Progressive Planning Era (figure 4.12, *Progressive Planning Scenario Site-Acres per County*) one sees another general continuation of the trends which began during the Commercial Architecture Era.

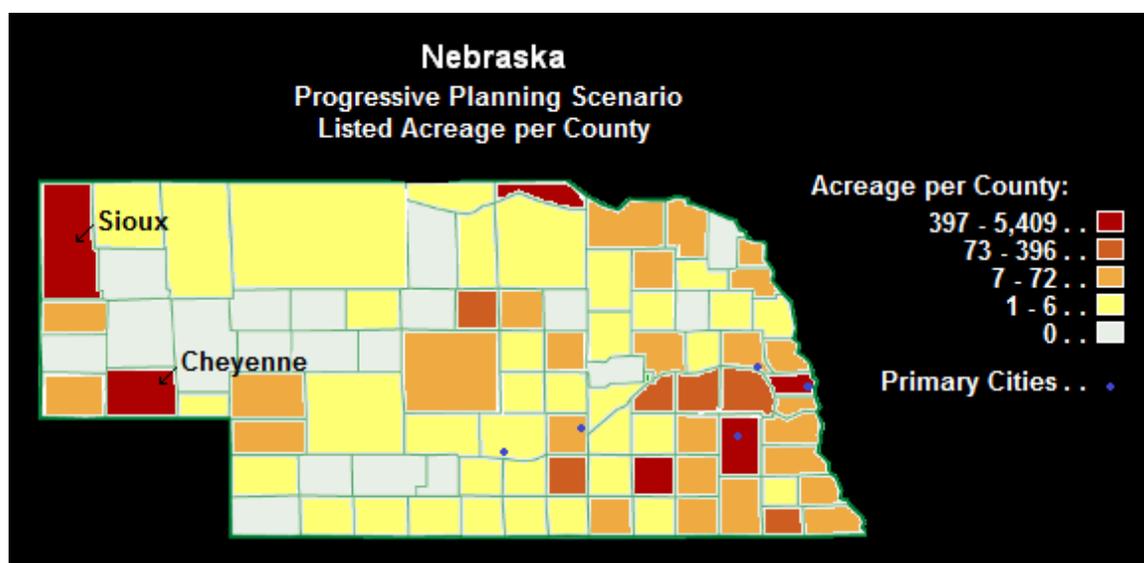


Figure 4.12: Progressive Planning Scenario Site-Acres per County

That is, the number of acres listed continued to remain at a low as contrasted to the Settlement Scenario (figure 2.11). During the Progressive Planning Era, the preservation ethic's focus continued to primarily remain on buildings with limited lot sizes. However, several counties (such as Cheyenne and Sioux counties) showed exceptions to this rule, and consequently the acreage for those counties skewed the data. In those particular counties, European-related archeological sites were selected and listed on the National Register. For example, the 1992 nomination of the 602-acre Deadwood Draw, Cheyenne

County; the year 2000 designation of the 3,626-acre Wind Springs Ranch Historic and Archeological District in Sioux County; and the 2006 selection of the 792-acre Wild Horse Draw/Leeman's Springs Archeological District in Cheyenne County display this European archeological focus; and the sites also produced a slight increase in the average number of acres listed per year during the Progressive Planning Scenario (see the subsequent table which was derived from the NRIS database's "UTM Coordinates/Acreages" column).

**Table 4. 3: Average Number of Acres
Listed per Year per Scenario**

	Average Acres per Year	Total Sites per Scenario
Settlement Scenario (1966-1975)	2447.5	153
Commercial Architecture Scenario (1976-1991)	636.2	478
Progressive Planning Scenario (1992-2010)	780.7	347

Because the preservation ethic's focus had shifted so far in favor of utilizing historic buildings as part of civic planning, federal agencies were becoming less involved with the Program. Thomas King (2000), who had written several books on the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), lamented that this trend was occurring when he commented on the 1999 amendments to the NHPA. King pointed out that the amendments had weakened the National Register Program, and that the 1999 "surgery" on the Act produced a lot of nice sounding but ineffectual language (such as "broad, effective, and multi-party consultation").

The amendments had provided loopholes for agencies which did not want to take steps to identify eligible properties, and had expanded the Act in both size and confusion. King went on to point out that the 1999 amendments failed to call for public participation in eligibility findings, as the Act had originally been designed to do. Section 800.8 especially disappointed King because it encouraged National Register staff members to generally coordinate their efforts with the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). This bothered King because, under a number of conditions, and as described in subsection 800.8(c), a federal agency could completely ignore the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) as long as the agency used the processes required by the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) for looking at possible environmental impacts.

Although King expressed his disappointment about the 1999 amendments, the very items which disappointed King the most also served to point out that a progressive planning ethic had grown (Rypkema 1992; and Conglese 2008). This progressive planning ethic had favored federal agencies and private entrepreneurs by streamlining and rewarding their projects while reducing red tape. With that understanding, the amendments to the NHPA can be seen to have only adjusted legislation to reflect contemporary realities. The amendments permitted what had already been going on – a general shirking of expensive federal agency proactive listing efforts. Other factors, including private citizens' involvement, the use of market forces to invigorate preservation activities, the focus on buildings, and the NEPA requirements, had already extensively changed expectations and reduced federal agencies' active historic preservation roles.

Why use the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) to amend the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA)? Congress wanted to eliminate redundancy by shifting many of the remnants of the NHPA's authority (to oversee federal agencies' care of historic sites) over to the more powerful Environmental Protection Agency (which included the Chair of the Council on Environmental Quality for advising the U.S. President) (Murtagh 1992; and Whitehouse 2009). Since both acts (the NEPA and the NHPA) required federal agencies to consider impacts upon historic sites, this made sense. Indeed, the NEPA had "a big enough umbrella" to cover both natural and human environments in all aspects, including cultural qualities. By amending the NHPA, Congress increased the government's efficiency.

The Connection between Environmental and Historical Preservation

Another indication that Congress had begun to mix natural resource management with built environmental management, comprehensively effecting preservation ethics, was its passage of the 1998 National Park Omnibus Management Act (Loader and Zink 1989; and Park Timeline 2008). The Omnibus Management Act revolutionized the Park Service's modus operandi by allowing for more free market activities within park boundaries, bringing in private entrepreneurial management practices. The introduction of free market forces as a tool for generating enough revenue to protect natural lands hearkened back to the earlier use of the market to preserve historical buildings. The Omnibus Management Act provided the Park Service with new regulations and guidelines for concessions contracts, commercial use authorization, and the use of franchise fees (Park Timeline 2008).

Concessions franchise fees were not sent back to the Park Service, but rather remained as a local source of revenue for national park maintenance and improvement. The passage of the Omnibus Management Act also showed that ethics were “communicable.” That is to say, such ethics spread from one division of government to another, influencing and transforming ethics elsewhere.

The Private Property Rights Issue Resurfaced

Private property rights became an issue again during the Progressive Planning Era because the courts made several controversial rulings (Murtagh 1992). A 1991 ruling contradicted the 1954 *Berman v. Parker* decision (which had stated that private property could be controlled for beauty’s sake). The 1991 ruling also opposed the 1978 New York City versus Grand Central Station Supreme Court decision (which had given the city permission to commercially “freeze” the station, a privately-owned asset, and to prohibit its sale).

This 1991 Pennsylvania State Supreme Court ruling unexpectedly favored private property owners who were putting Philadelphia’s Boyd Theater up for sale. In this Boyd Theater case, Justice Rolf Larsen voiced his opinion that the theater’s owner did have a right to engage in commercial activities, even if such activities destroyed the structure. The ruling differed from its predecessors in that it favored unregulated economic vigor rather than aesthetics (which is defined in terms of beauty, art, or good taste).

Even though Pennsylvania had sided with the private property owner, the U.S. Supreme Court reinforced its former preservationist sympathizing precedents when it ruled over the 1992 *Lucas v. South Carolina Coastal Council* case. In this case, the

Supreme Court decided that economic loss to private property owners was, rather, *not* a strong enough argument to stop certain preservational activities (Sax 1992). In spite of this U.S. Supreme Court ruling, ethical trends were clear. Generally, the Progressive Planning Era saw government entities adopting financial incentives, rather than mandates, for persuading private property owners to maintain or restore their historical places – keeping historical sites commercially buoyant and concordant with municipal government plans.

Native American Involvement Increased

Another characteristic of the Progressive Planning Era was that Native American Indian tribes gained state-like officers for listing their historic properties. Richard W. West (2000), a Southern Cheyenne chief who grew up in Oklahoma, explained that, although the social upheavals, protests, and movements of the 1960s allowed for greater sensitivity to Native Americans, it was not until the 1990s that such sensitivity materialized as federal legislation. Suagee (1992), an enrolled member of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, pointed out that the federal government started to pass Native American-sensitive legislation because it felt political pressure coming from the dominant society, which increasingly saw the need to incorporate Native Americans into the written story of American history. The best material expression of this new sensitivity could be seen in the passage of the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) (West 2000).

An incident occurred in 1988 which hastened the passage of the NAGPRA (Davis 1992). At Slack Farm, Kentucky, artifact hunters unprofessionally dug up an ancient Native American cemetery.

They tore up more than 400 graves and left ancestral bones exposed in the open air. The incident commanded the attention of archeologists, Indians, and the U.S. Congress. Not long after the disconcerting incident, in 1990, the federal government passed the NAGPRA, restricting and codifying the way all archeologists would be permitted to excavate burial sites (Tyler 1980). The NAGPRA also provided funds for tribal historical surveys and other preservational activities. Earlier legislation had expressly forbidden the excavation of Indian graves and the removal of human and ceremonial remains (Park Timeline 2008). NAGPRA went further, directing museums to return Indian remains to the direct descendants, or at least to the cultural descendants, for reburial (King 2000). Compliance created some difficulties for museums, including those in the National Park Service.

When Stupka-Burda was interviewed in 2006, she was asked whether or not the strictness of NAGPRA's requirements intimidated private property owners who happened to discover Native American remains on their own private properties, making it less likely for archeological sites to be reported and then listed on the National Register. Stupka-Burda (2006 A) explained that, "No, for the most part, farmers tend to accidentally discover something while they are working in their fields. That is, as the farmer is doing his usual plowing, something surfaces. The farmer might then collect it because he is interested, but he will not typically consider that the greater state-wide or national populous might be interested. Most of the time, he will not have uncovered human remains but rather some Central Plains Tradition artifact. So, the real issue is not that the farmer is aware of the NAGPRA laws, and is then afraid that he might be involved in something criminal.

Rather, the farmer does not know that he has made a significant find which others would like to know about. That reflects our ability, as SHPO staff members, to get out there and educate people.”

Two years after NAGPRA was passed, in 1992, amendments were made to the National Historic Preservation Act, bringing Indian tribes into the National Register Program (Suagee 1992). Native Americans were given the opportunity to have THPOs (tribal historic preservation officers) and to receive Historic Preservation Funds. Similar to working with SHPOs, the National Park Service set out to assist Indian tribes in preserving their historic properties and cultural traditions (King 2000: 30; and National Park Service 2009). In 1996, the first fourteen Indian tribes gained THPOs (National Park Service 2009). Pursuant to Section 101(d) of the newly amended National Historic Preservation Act, such THPOs began receiving funds to conduct historic property surveys, to maintain permanent inventories of historic properties, to submit properties to the Federal Keeper for approval, and to review potentially destructive federal agency activities.

Stupka-Burda (2008) explained that, although THPOs had been in place since the nineties, Native Americans in Nebraska had not aggressively pursued participation in the program. She continued by describing how Native Americans possessed a number of sites which could be potentially listed as traditional cultural properties (TCPs). Some TCPs are within reservation boundaries and some are not. TCPs were properties which had historically acted as religious or social hubs. TCPs could be such variable entities as mountain peaks or city districts. For example, in Arizona, the Hopi and Navajo Indians had traditionally gone to the San Francisco Peaks to conduct religious, ceremonial, and

daily living activities, making the peaks qualify as a TCP. Similarly, generations of Asians in Hawaii had made use of Honolulu's Chinatown as the pivotal center for their cultural and social activities. Such cultural and social activities had made it possible for them to list Honolulu's Chinatown as a TCP.

With regards to Native Americans getting TCPs nominated, complex personal, cultural, and religious reasons often discourage them from aggressively pursuing those types of property nominations. As a general rule, Native Americans want to keep tourists and commercial interests away from their TCPs. Indeed, THPOs do not very often try to list TCPs. Stupka-Burda (2008) said, "And, most of the time, they really would prefer that nobody knew about them." Instead, THPOs tend to be economically motivated to identify aging "European-types" of architectural structures which meet National Register criteria.

Nebraska does not have very much land that is owned by tribes (Stupka-Burda 2008). In addition, tribes often are not in a position to nominate their anciently held sacred sites because, usually, such tribes do not have ownership of those sites. Even so, the SHPO office continues to work with Nebraska's tribes so as to assist them in establishing THPO programs. As such, there is a continuous loop of information going back and forth between the State Historic Preservation Office and the tribes. To be more specific, SHPO staff members continue to set up informational meetings with reservation leaders, pointing out that there are benefits to being involved with the National Register Program.

Stupka-Burda (2008) further clarified that Indian sovereignty means that Congress and SHPO staff members cannot tell Native Americans what they need to do with their history.

Instead, SHPO staff members can only encourage them, and point out some of the lucrative tax benefits which the tribe could reap through involvement. Stupka-Burda explained that bigger issues (such as health care, economic development, and jobs) press harder upon Native Americans, rendering them less interested in historic preservation efforts. To date, Nebraska's tribes had been following the general pre-THPO program pattern, and had approached the SHPO's office with nominational paperwork rather than going to any tribal THPO.

For example, in 2003, SHPO staff members submitted tribal paperwork to the Keeper, and the Ponca Tribal Self-Help Community Building Historic District was then listed on the National Register (Nebraska State Historical Society 2009). Situated near the town of Niobrara, in Knox County, the Ponca Tribal Self-Help building was constructed in 1936 through a New Deal Era program known as the Indian Emergency Conservation Work (IECW) (National Park Service 2009).



Figure 4.13, Ponca Tribal Self-Help Building
(Nebraska State Historical Society 2009)

This listing, and its relationship with all of the New Deal Era programs mentioned previously, brings the progressive planning ethic full circle, and back into the realm of the Native American historical preservation experience.

Several insights have been presented in Chapter 4. One insight has been that the 50 year rule brought a comprehensive planning ethic to maturity by allowing for the celebration of former enterprises which increased public welfare, prosperity, and education. The maturation of these programs, such as the New Deal Era CCC, the PWA, the IECW, and the WPA, not to mention the older Andrew Carnegie Libraries, sparked a paradigm which admired far-reaching planning efforts. The chapter has also shown that, from 1992 through 2010, the government amended and implemented legislation so as to increasingly promote non-destructive city renewal, and to use market forces to pay for the maintenance of natural areas and man-made historical structures alike. Drawing from the findings in a field study, the next chapter continues by discussing the Native American experience, focusing on the way in which Native Americans have been historically represented.

CHAPTER 5: NATIVE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIONS

Representations as an Issue

Individuals who have selected Native American historical sites for listing on the National Register, and those who have proceeded to interpret the significance of those sites, have presented varying angles, points of view, and opinions about Native Americans (their lives, and their histories) to the public. A number of Native Americans, after seeing the ways in which their cultures had been historically selected and represented, disagreed with those representations, questioning the fairness, accuracy, and ethics of the selections and actions. Likewise, a number of scholars have recently looked into the matter of Native American representations and have come up with a number of attention-attracting findings.

For instance, Oko (2000) pointed out that, up until the 1970s, historic representations gave a one-sided perspective. Interpreters would not hesitate to retell of the bravery and gallantry of Lewis and Clark as they entered into uncharted territory. Hendrix (2001) explained that, conventionally, the expedition was seen as a major milestone in the exploration of, and the “winning” of, the American West. Into the 1970s, the expedition was also understood to consist of idealizable patriots who, in the service of the Founding Fathers, went a long way toward opening a new route to the West.

Oko (2000) pointed out that, from a Native American perspective, commemorating Lewis and Clark’s expedition from this exclusively European American perspective is laden with psychic and cultural risks. This is because Native Americans tend to remember their encounter with Lewis and Clark’s Corp of Discovery as the beginning of worse things to come (invasions, famines, diseases, and acts of oppression).

Wagner (2003) explained as an example that, in general, the people of the Blackfoot Tribe say the story Americans have been told about Lewis and Clark has been false. Egan (2003), writing on behalf of the Sioux, further explained that the people who descended from those early ancestors want mainstream America to know that they already had an advanced society when Lewis and Clark arrived. Burns (1997) clarified by citing the example of the Arikara Indians who lived in remarkably well-designed circular earth lodges and harvested agricultural products including corn, beans, squash, tobacco, watermelon and pumpkins. The Indians shared food and building tips. In addition, Lewis and Clark depended on several Native American peoples and cultures to survive their arduous journey into the West. For example, the Nez Perce provided Lewis and Clark with several weeks of critical respite before the explorers could continue their travels to the Pacific Ocean (Oko 2000).

What has gone wrong, and how can Native American representations be improved? Blake (2004) and Wagner (2003) have answered such questions by listing a number of ways in which Native Americans have been, and continue to be, faultily represented. Wagner (2003, 4), in a Native American representational fallacies study, observed that faulty means of representing Native Americans included the implication that Meriwether Lewis and William Clark created the trail. Lewis and Clark did not create the trail. Prior to Lewis and Clark, Native Americans had been using the Missouri River as part of a larger, and preexisting, trade and travel network. Both Blake (2004) and Wagner (2003) noticed that the Corps of Discovery has been represented as having been self-reliant. On the contrary, Native Americans repeatedly provided the vulnerable party with critical aid, accommodations, and geographical knowledge.

Another biased aspect of interpretation along the Lewis and Clark Trail consists of an unfair focus on the European American perspective. Blake (2004) discussed this unfair focus in terms of “speaking space” on memorials. As a researcher, he suggested that the ratio of European to Native American “perspective or attention space” (how much interpretive material was dedicated to the one versus the other) could be mathematically computed by counting words, or by using a ruler. This consideration raises the following question: are Native Americans being allotted their fair or deserved “quota of speaking space” at historic sites?

Along much of the Lewis and Clark Trail, interpretive designers have also implied that Native American societies were disorderly and uncivilized. This is untrue because Native Americans lived in structured and organized societies, some with permanent dwelling places, and some of them were practicing natural resource conservation. Moreover, faulty trail representations imply that Native Americans either lacked, or had nothing to offer, in terms of their spiritual and political structures. Blake (2004) advised interpreters to include both the physical and spiritual/behavioral information pertaining to government, religion, spirituality, and other types of social data.

Representations and Empowerment

Why do representations matter? One of the reasons why scholars work to correct faulty representations is that flawed representations detract from political and social power. In other words, when interpreters downplay the respectability of others, they socially and politically “handicap” them, reducing that particular agent’s ability to develop and function in the greater social world.

For example, speaking from the perspective of a Mexican American, Mayor Henry Cisneros, of San Antonio, Texas, bore witness to the usefulness of preserved historic sites. He pointed out that history can serve as an authoritative text from which minorities can quote, explain, and justify their political stances (Cisneros 1992: 89). Likewise Hill (2000, 8) explained that representations can play a role in mediating the legal, political, and property ownership claims of various groups. Indeed, Rainey (1997) noted that “traditional monuments” not only provide instruction about the past, but they also guide future social and political actions. As such, monuments have been called “vision places of souls.” Even further, Middleton (1980: 74) pointed out that preservationists, who handle the interpretations and representations at specific sites, can significantly impact or contribute to the characteristics, ideals, value systems, and political power balances of future societies. Historic sites are one category of the vehicles through which culture is reinforced and sustained (Hunter 1981, and Loader and Zink 1989). In turn, culture prescribes patterns of social power. This raises questions about how site interpreters have constructed the representations which may be encountered at current historical sites. Since a number of Native Americans have identified problematic historical and cultural representations, what remedial measures might be taken so as to diminish the problem of unacceptable representations?

A History of Problematic Native American Representations

Before going in to a field study about Native American representations, and prior to discussing solutions to the problem of unacceptable representations, a brief history of poorly done representations is offered. Problematic representations in the United States

can be traced all the way back to colonial history, and to the initial contacts between Europeans and Native Americans. At the time of those initial adventures into America, Europeans began spinning representations of Native Americans which, today, appear obsolete and offensive (Maurer 2000). Maurer discussed two extreme ways in which Native Americans have been portrayed. Regarding the first extreme, Maurer pointed out that, in 1505, a German book entitled *The People of the Islands Recently Discovered* depicted Native Americans engaged in cannibalism. In this case, Native Americans were being written-off as being barbaric, savage, and practically non-human.

Maurer went on to point out that, at the other extreme of early types of Native American representations, European Americans also chose to portray Native Americans as the superlative models of the highest European societal ideals. For example, in 1591 Theodore de Bry published his highly popular multi-volume work which was simply entitled *America* (Maurer 2000). In his book, de Bry framed Native Americans within the context of the late-Renaissance (an era when Europeans were remodeling themselves after ancient Greek and Roman fashions). Interestingly, as Europeans strove to achieve heightened levels of Greco-Roman styles of nobility, de Bry's *America* projected such strivings onto Native American faces. That is, in *America* one may observe the earliest "neoclassical" portrayal of the Native Americans in the romantic image of "the noble savage." In this extreme type of portrayal, Native Americans were seen as being "savage" in a positive way, as fierce promoters of late-Renaissance values. Neither the aforementioned barbaric extreme, nor the late-Renaissance representational extreme presented a clear picture of Native American cultures.

In addition, in 1735, Carl von Linné, otherwise known as Carolus Linnaeus, published his scheme of nomenclature, a system for grouping, ordering, and naming biological entities. Linnaeus' highly popular system for categorizing entities became so intellectually popular that scholars started to arrange all types of items and entities (including people) into categories ranging from primitive to advanced specimens, from inferior to superior examples. By 1839, Charles Darwin had published his popularly read *Journal and Remarks* (Maurer 2000). In this book, Darwin told of his world travels, and he referred to biological evolution and to changes in plant and animal species over vast eras of time. Darwin's emphasis on superior and inferior life forms contributed to the odious practice of fabricating unacceptable Native American representations.

Maurer (2000) pointed out that, as the Enlightenment Period replaced the late-Renaissance Period, European cultural pride had escalated. This pride popularized an assumption that the "same" scientists who were developing new technology (such as the steam engine, the telegraph, and the hot air balloon) were also quite capable of developing faultless geological, meteorological, cranial, and cultural classification systems. Such over-confidence promoted the perception that the dominating European American culture was better than Native American cultures. Maurer cited the representational displays which were set up at London's 1851 World's Fair as a prime example of this Euro-American centrism. In particular, interpreters had enclosed a number of Native American objects within a huge iron and glass exhibition hall known as the Crystal Palace. The main problem with the exhibition was that the daily living tools and objects which Native Americans used were compared to the daily living tools and objects which European Americans used. The comparisons implied that European society

had evolved the furthest. European tools and objects were clearly thought to be superior to those items made by indigenous peoples. Hence, the exhibition advocated what is currently being recognized as offensive cultural Darwinism. Like animals, cultures were being perceived of as being in the process of changing from inferior to superior states. West (2000) underscored the inherent injustice of depicting Native cultures according to an evolutionary narrative. The idea that human cultures move from states of savagery to civilization contradicts the respectful view which Native Americans have traditionally held toward their elders and predecessors.

When the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 was first written, legislators did not express any concern about the way in which Native Americans were to be represented. Indian Tribes were not mentioned (Suagee 1992). According to Suagee, Native Americans were not mentioned because the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 was enacted during the waning years of the “termination” era in federal Indian policy. During the “termination” era, the federal government abruptly stripped over 100 tribes of their independent sovereignty status. Such insensitivity toward Native Americans reveals an attitude which spilled over into the way in which Native Americans were represented at historic sites. However, in 1992, Native Americans were given the opportunity to have THPOs (tribal historic preservation officers). The gaining of THPOs signaled other selectional and representational changes which started to occur in the program, and revealed that it was becoming more sensitive to Native American’s needs.

A Field Study of Native American Representations

In order to further evaluate the manner in which Native Americans are currently being represented at historic sites, a study was conducted involving travel to Nebraska's publicly accessible and nationally registered Native American sites (figure 5.1). The results of this case study showed that Nebraska displays certain regional/representational divisions. Such divisions include what might be termed a region of reverence for Indians, a region of distrust toward Indians, a region of assimilation, and a region of interaction with settlers. Each of these regions is characterized by certain views about Native Americans, though the level of generalization is high.

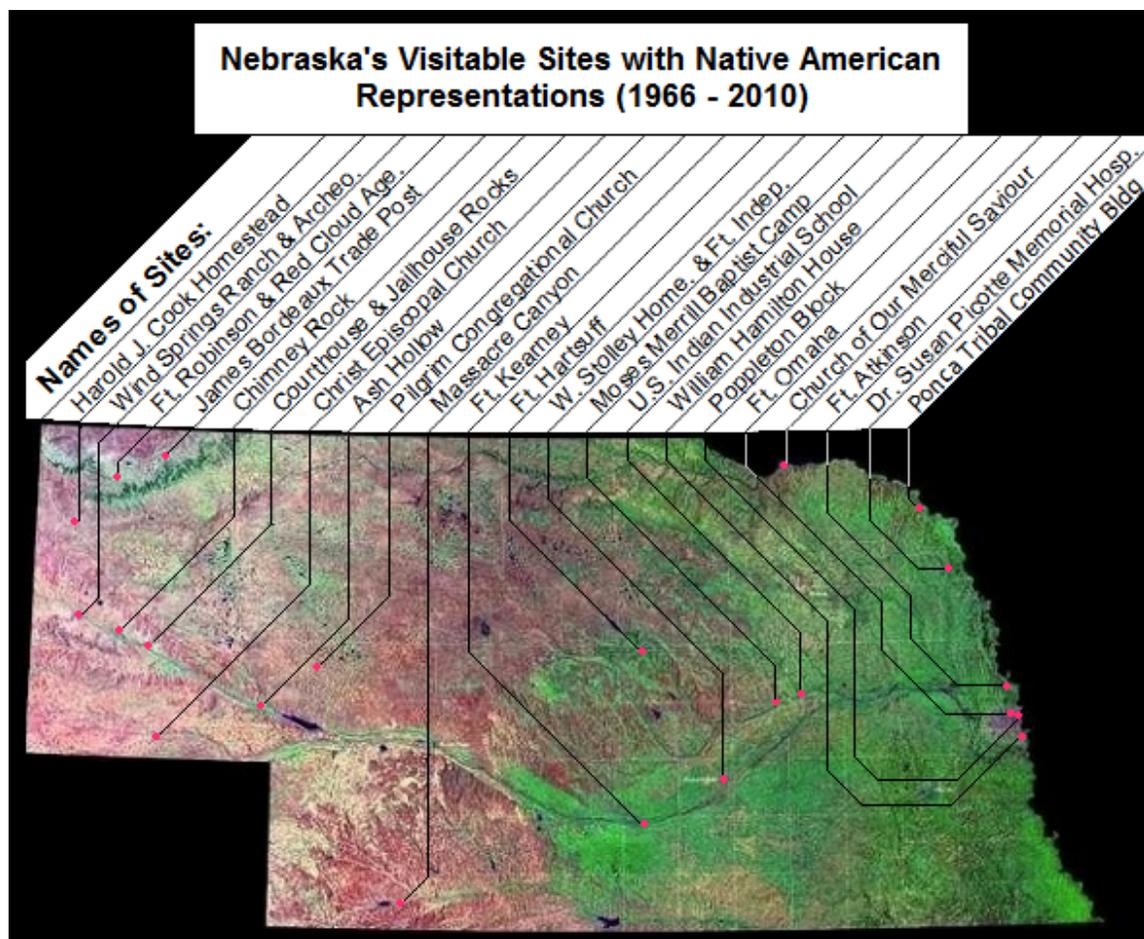


Figure 5.1: Nebraska's Visitable Native American Sites

For instance, one area highlighted the assimilation experience; another recalled wars or conflicts; and still other areas referred to Native Americans in a positive and reverential way. In addition, western Nebraska features an area which primarily depicts wagon trains and migrating Europeans interacting with Native Americans. Variations in signs, paintings, information placards, and modeled renditions expose distinctions between one region and another. Natural and man-made structures also reveal regional differences. For example, one encounters forts, primarily, in one area. Churches, schools, and mission homes dominate another area.

Hence, a “Region of Assimilation” exists in eastern Nebraska which is centered on the U.S. Indian Industrial School historic site (figure 5.2). At this site, in Genoa, teachers used to drill as many as 600 Native American children per year in blacksmithing, carpentry, tailoring, harness-making, and other “useful” skills.

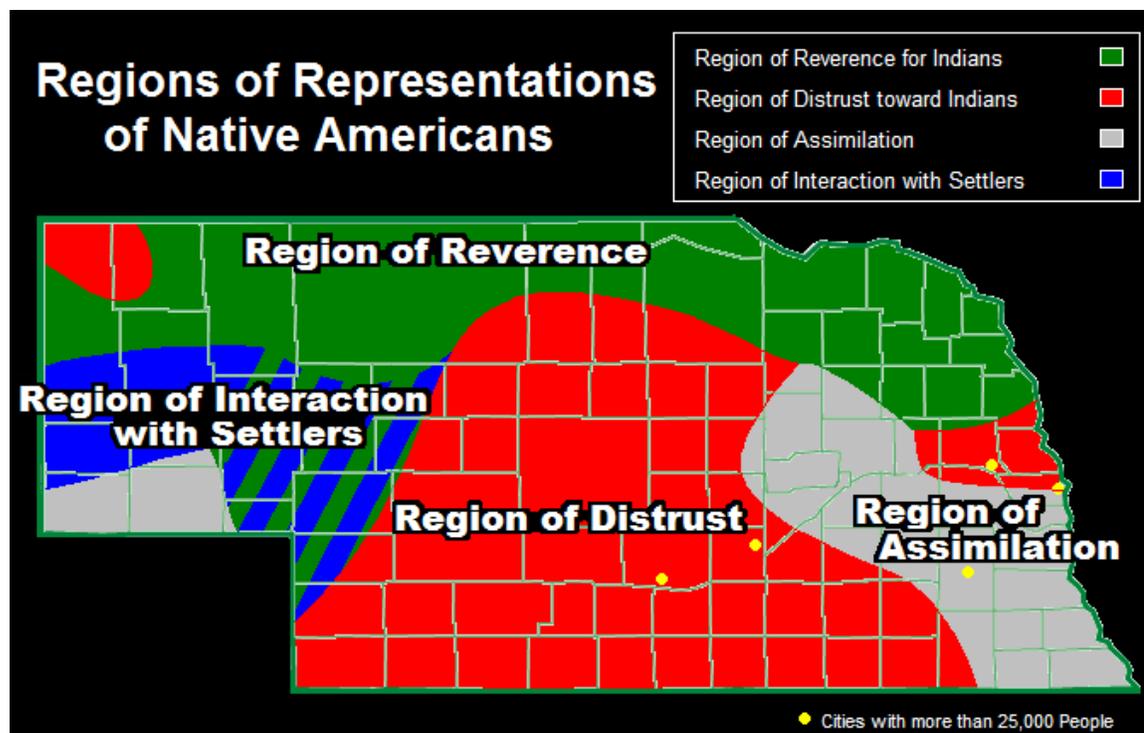


Figure 5.2: Regions of Native American Representations

Boys were taught commercial trades while girls were trained to be housewives, sewing, cooking, and cleaning. Unhappily, those same teachers punished the youths for speaking their native languages (Tyler 2000). The U.S. Indian Industrial School is a historical site where Native Americans were “transformed into” European Americans.

The above-mentioned “Region of Assimilation” extends eastward from the U.S. Indian Industrial School until it reaches the William Hamilton House, of Bellevue, Nebraska. This is because William Hamilton lived in the house while he directed the Presbyterian Indian Mission to the Omaha Tribe (figure 5.3).



Figure 5.3: the William Hamilton House

The site memorializes the conversion from indigenous life-ways to Christian manners of conduct, a process of assimilation. Likewise, the Moses Merrill Baptist Camp, situated near the Cedar River in Nance County, Nebraska, tells the story of early Christians converting Native Americans to mainstream religious orthodoxies. Interestingly, these three sites comprise the only non-funerary, and the only visitable, Native American sites within that area, and hence suggest a zone, or region, of assimilation, though granted, with a small number of cases.

The field study also uncovered a region of warfare and hostility, characterized by the preservation of forts which are implicit monuments to conflicts between settlers and the indigenous populations. In this “Region of Distrust,” visitors encounter military memorabilia (guns, knives, soldier’s lodging places, stories of battles, and accounts of cooks and caretakers’ everyday lives). While walking the grounds of such fortifications, one naturally senses that Native Americans were viewed with suspicion. Even though some paintings and placards portray Native Americans as worthwhile human beings, the Region of Distrust mostly expresses European American misgivings about Native Americans.

The furthest southwestern border of the Region of Distrust is marked by Massacre Canyon, near Trenton, Nebraska. The Massacre Canyon historic site memorializes a violent encounter between two opposing Native American tribes, the Pawnees and Lakotas (or Sioux), in early August of 1873. During this violent action, which took place approximately one mile further into the basin shown subsequently in figure 5.4, Pawnee hunters were unexpectedly ambushed by over 1,000 Oglala and Brule Sioux during their annual bison hunt along the Republican River.

After comprehending the tragedy which occurred at Massacre Canyon, an individual is prepared to understand the story of voluntary assimilation which subsequently occurred in Sidney, Nebraska (the focal city for a western Nebraskan Region of Assimilation).



Figure 5.4: Massacre Canyon

That is, partly as a response to the events which occurred at Massacre Canyon, Pawnee warriors chose to join with U.S. forces; and they became known as Company 1 of the Twenty-first Infantry. Such Pawnee warriors were trained and stationed at Fort Sidney. During the weekends these Native Americans attended Christ Episcopal Church, which continues to function as a place of worship. Such military service and church attendance powerfully promoted assimilation into the European American community.

Reverence in Representations

Traveling further north, one gains a new appreciation for the Sioux (which, as just described, were represented as enemies in southwestern Nebraska). With the exception of Fort Robinson (where the Sioux Chief Crazy Horse was killed in 1877, and from whence aggressions were launched against South Dakota's Pine Ridge Sioux Tribe at Wounded Knee in 1890) travelers and visitors to the nationally registered sites can expect to find increasingly respectful representations of Sioux and other indigenous people. For instance, at the Harold J. Cook Homestead historical site one learns that Cook (a settler and a paleontologist) enjoyed a personal friendship with the Lakota Sioux Chief Red Cloud. Cook had an open door policy for Native Americans, and Chief Red Cloud along with his Pine Ridge Sioux tribal followers periodically stopped at Cook's ranch to leave gifts, camp, hunt, work cattle, socialize, and counsel (Meade 1994). Currently, a visitor to the Harold J. Cook Homestead will encounter the gifts which the Sioux gave to Cook, and which are being reverently displayed in a warmly lit and shrine-like inner room with accompanying ethereal indigenous-like music. The site is located rather closely to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. It can be guessed, therefore, that nearness to a reservation can impact the quality of Native American representations. For these reasons, the Cook Homestead serves as the measure for the furthest western edge of the "Region of Reverence," as shown in figure 5.2, *Regions of Native American Representations*, which then extends eastward across all of northern Nebraska.

It may be noted that Native Americans live by a very different preservation ethic than non-Native Americans do (Suagee 1992).

Non-Native Americans tend to want to treat historic entities as things of the past, as relics like one would expect to see displayed, yet confined, in a museum. Other than in religious texts (such as the Bible), most Anglo-Americans do not holistically seek to draw wisdom from an ideal era characterized by exemplary models for thinking and living. To most Americans, there was never an ideal age or era from which one might systematically draw wisdom. Native Americans, on the other hand, refer back to a perfect era from which to derive instructions for daily living. Native Americans tend to recoil at the Anglo perception that historic sites and entities strictly chronicle what *did* happen and what will *never* happen again. Native Americans want to renew, revitalize, and more deeply know the best of their culture, and then incorporate that into today's world. They consider their cultural fabric to embody the wisdom accumulated over countless ancestral generations, and to be very currently relevant. Whereas preservationists from the dominant society would seek to preserve historic sites and entities for the greater educational good of the larger society, Native Americans seek to preserve historic entities, firstly, in order to honor their ancestors by keeping sacred traditions alive. Secondly, Native Americans justify acts of preservation so they can deliver those sacred traditions to future generations.

Hill (2000) likewise wrote that, in recognition that they are the current "holders" of ancestral wisdom, Native Americans prefer to gratefully honor their predecessors. This preference toward honoring their elders can be seen in Native Americans' approval of respectful interpretive sites. At the Dickson Mound site in Illinois, for example, exhibition designers did not disturb the bones of those who were buried in a large earth-covered tomb.

Instead, they ordered construction workers to encircle the mound with a large theatre-like room. Within this circular room, visitors can now reverently watch images, and hear voices and nature sounds, such as wind, in order to achieve a sense of the Native American world view. After the fifteen-minute ethereal movie-like presentation, visitors go through an area which illustrates how the wisdom of the ancients is still being put into practice during the current generation. Hill commended the Dickson Mound site visitor's center for setting a leading example of how Native Americans should be represented.

During the field study, several site types were identified as displaying ancestral reverence. One reverential site, located near the town of Niobrara, on Ponca Indian lands in northeastern Nebraska, is the Ponca Tribal Self-Help Community site. The Ponca Tribal Self-Help Community site is one of the most interesting and reverential sites listed on the National Register, because it currently serves as an up-to-date meeting place for socializing, ceremonies, and for tribal government meetings. The site particularly fulfills Native Americans' desires to be understood as alive, dynamic, capable of adapting, and unconflicted about using readily available artistic means and craft materials. For instance, the blue hoodie and the ceremonial outfits pictured in figure 5.5, which are mostly sewn from large-scale commercially available manufactured fabrics, reflect the way in which Native Americans have responded to new conditions and challenges while maintaining cultural traditions. This particular nationally registered site primarily displays reverence for Native Americans because it promotes the specific kind of tribal unity and endurance (through mingling, feasting, artistry, stories, singing, dancing, competitions, providing opportunities to show respect for elders, and life-skill councils) which a number of Native Americans have complained is non-existent at most other historic sites.



Figure 5.5: Contemporary Ponca Tribal Gatherings, Artistry, and Ceremonies (Tidball 2009; and Robinette 2010)

Loether (2010) has pointed out that Native Americans from the Omaha, Winnebago, Santee Sioux, as well as the Ponca have been meeting together at the Ponca Community Building to take part in dances and celebrations since the building's 1936 construction.

The furthest eastern border of Nebraska's Region of Reverence is marked by the Susan Picotte Memorial Hospital. Dr. Susan Picotte was the daughter of Joseph La Flesche, or Iron Eye, an Omaha chief. Having determined that the best way to serve her people was through the use of modern medicine, Picotte attended the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia in 1886 (Hastings 1991). After graduating, Picotte served the Omaha Indians as a traveling doctor, and was appreciated as a counselor and educator. She fulfilled a life-time dream when she started practicing medicine in the Susan Picotte Memorial Hospital, which was completed in 1913. As one approaches this Omaha tribal hospital site, one senses respectfulness for the memory of this special woman. Although the representational emphasis is upon Dr. Picotte's Western education and her capabilities as a medical practitioner (as shown in figure 5.6), one will also find Native American culturally-affirming imagery, quotations, and symbols (such as a traditional

hide-sewn bison symbol) within the building, making the site suitable as a border marker for Nebraska's Region of Reverence.



Figure 5.6: the Picotte Memorial Hospital's Interior (Loether 2010)

A Region of Distrust

As one nears the City of Omaha from the north, one enters a zone, or a small region, of distrust. This becomes apparent as one gains sight of Fort Atkinson's ramparts. Fort Atkinson was originally intended to be used for several purposes. In 1804, William Clark wrote to U.S. authorities and pointed out that the site, near the present day town of Fort Calhoun, Nebraska, commanded an advantageous view of the Missouri River Valley (Fort Atkinson State Historical Park 2009). Fifteen years later, when President Monroe dispatched a military expedition to build the fort, the President mostly expressed distrust toward English fur trading ambitions rather than against Native Americans.

Even so, in 1823, members of the Arikara Tribe attacked William Ashley's trading party. Fort Atkinson's commanding officers then retaliated, sending soldiers into South Dakota.

At the Fort Atkinson site, visitors can currently view the rather considerate Native American representations which dot the grounds of the citadel, and which refer to the life-ways of the indigenous people. However, a mannequin-like representation located audaciously in the central atrium of the visitor's center would probably offend some Native American visitors.



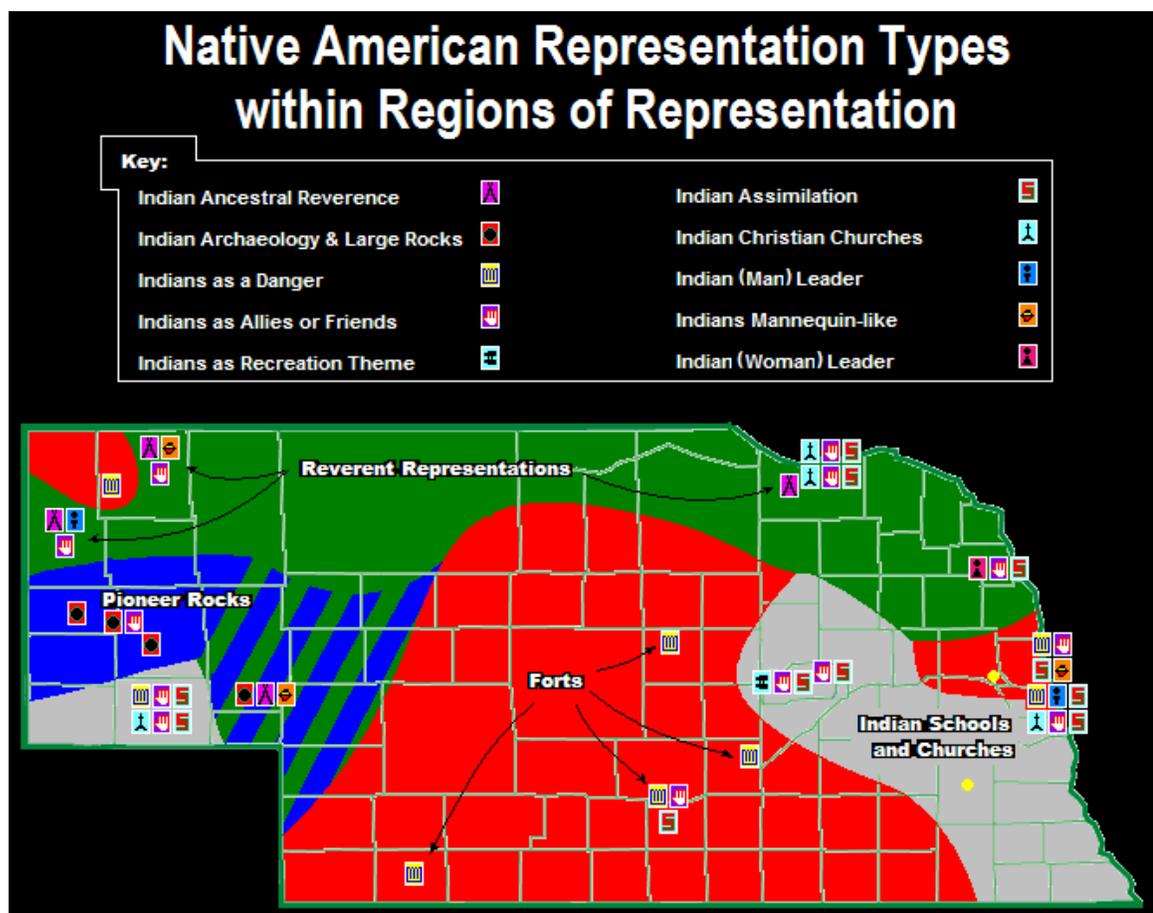
Figure 5.7: Fort Kearney, part of the Region of Distrust

Ten Types of Native American Representations

One might ask, “What are mannequin-like representations, and why would they offend some Native Americans?” Such questions lead into a description of ten specific types of representations which were encountered while conducting this field study of Nebraska’s nationally registered Native American sites. These ten specific types of site representations are Indian ancestral reverence, Indian archeology and large rocks, Indians

as a danger, Indians as allies or friends, Indians as a recreation theme, Indian assimilation, Indian Christian churches, Indian (man) leader, Indians (mannequin-like), and Indian (woman) leader.

As may be observed in figure 5.8, all forts have been treated as general symbols of representing Native Americans as a danger. However, in a couple of the forts (as in the case of Fort Sidney, described earlier) Native Americans received military training.



**Figure 5.8: Ten Native American
Representation Types**

As such, the “Indians as a danger” category is multifaceted, and consequently the representational divisions are not perfectly neat.

Moreover, since at Fort Sidney certain tribes are being depicted as having been a threat, while another tribe (the Pawnee) is shown to have been trained, assimilated, and viewed as allies, figure 5.8 depicts both a danger symbol and also an assimilation symbol for that particular site.

Another notable way of representing Native Americans occurs at “places of Indian archeology and large rocks.” As may be noted in figure 5.8, these sites appear in western Nebraska at the locations of a series of large rocks which used to play significant orientational roles in Oregon Trail migrations. Because of their well known Settlement Era significance, the SHPO listed these large rocks at the outset of the National Register program. The rocks included Ash Hollow Cave Rock, Courthouse and Jailhouse Rocks, Chimney Rock, and Scotts Bluff National Monument.

At Chimney Rock (which is a natural stone spire ascending 300 feet above its conical base), Native Americans are being represented as having served settlers primarily as a kind of entertainment side-show.



Figure 5.9: Chimney Rock and Tepees (Ard 2010)

Museum procurators have dispelled the notion that pioneers found Native Americans to be hostile. Instead, the Chimney Rock site (administered by the Nebraska State Historical Society) presents a sometimes comical history which depicts Native Americans as having approached wagon trains for paltry trade deals, and as having occasionally solicited cheers and applause for performing circus-like tricks. Also, and more respectfully, the site presents Native Americans as skillful archers, and as having provided archery lessons and bowmanship demonstrations for passersby. The above-mentioned imagery certainly differentiates Nebraska's large rocks from its forts – its curiosity-laden view from its distrustful perspective.

Even so, at Ash Hollow Rock, visitors receive a more divided history. In one wing of the complex, the Nebraska Game and Parks Commission has built an interpretive center which allows visitors to gain access directly into an archeologically-rich cave. Inside this cave, the commission has set up placards which respectfully recount how Native Americans historically used this chamber as a base camp for hunting and food gathering. A shrine-like atmosphere permeates this hollow where 1,500 years of archeological strata have been evaluated. Visitors are allowed to sit in the silence of the cave, respectfully pondering Native American lives.

This reverential sense does not extend into the other wing of the complex, nor onto the grounds outside of the complex. Outside of the cave, the mood changes dramatically, and a focus on the plights of European Americans (engaged in varying degrees of “humans versus nature” conflicts) prevails. For instance, a makeshift graveyard, bearing witness to a cholera outbreak among European Americans who had been pressing westward toward the California gold fields, shifts visitor's attention away from the shrine-like cave.

In addition, there are remnants of a military supply depot and a fur trading post at the site. Indeed, cans, utensils, and other settler camp debris uncover and bring out the European American story.

Representational material at the Ash Hollow Rock Visitors Center scarcely bridges the gap between the two themes: European settlement and Indian ancestral reverence. Other than a brief interval of conflict, wherein U.S. troops under the command of General William S. Harney fought against a group of Oglala and Brule Sioux, one gets the feeling that two culturally separate peoples used the landscape, hardly aware of, or interacting with, one another.

In northwestern Nebraska, at the James Bordeaux Trading Post, mannequins are being used to represent Native Americans. Hill (2000) explained that when interpreters use mannequins, plaster casts, or wax figures to furnish visitors with three-dimensional information about ancient or modern Indian life-ways, Native Americans often feel subordinated and alienated. This apparently relates to the use of Native American mascots by sports teams, from high school to professional, as reported by Zietler (2008). They feel that their ancestors are not being venerated suitably, and are not being handled with due respect. Even so, Hill pointed out that Native Americans will occasionally ignore this “representational rule” and enjoy a plaster scene of Native American life (such as the Milwaukee Public Museum diorama of Plains Indians chasing buffalo). While looking at the preceding map, figure 5.8, *Ten Native American Representation Types*, one may see that, because of the use of mannequins, three of Nebraska’s nationally registered sites fall short of ideal Native American representations. These three sites are: the upstairs wing of the Ash Hollow Cave complex, the James Bordeaux

Trading Post, and Fort Atkinson. These three mannequin-like representations need to be removed if Nebraska is to achieve what Native Americans consider to be legitimate representations.



**Figure 5.10: James Bordeaux Trading Post
(Nebraska State Historical Society 2010)**

Native American Sites Changed over Time

Regarding the case study of Nebraska's visitable Native American historical sites, the field study revealed ethical transformations pertaining to site selections. For instance, beginning in 1966, fortifications (which mainly alienate Native Americans) were sought out for listing. Also, the large rocks (associated with migrations along the Oregon Trail) were designated. At that time, the sites tended to suggest that Native Americans were interesting, but not trustworthy and not central to the story. In 1969, sites depicting assimilation processes began to be listed.

Assimilation sites include Indian schools, Native American churches, and an Omaha building known as the Poppleton Block where Ponca Chief Standing Bear gained a historic court victory. In the court case, *Standing Bear v. Crook* (1879), Standing Bear won “personhood” for all Native Americans, especially the right to leave reservations. Changes then occurred in 1975, when some of the first reverential sites started to be listed. The Harold J. Cook Farmstead exemplifies reverential representations through its sacred presentations of relics and its emphasis on friendship between Cook and Red Cloud.

Continuing into 1988, the increased need for both respectful representations of women and of Native Americans materialized when the Susan Picotte site was nominated in Walthill, Thurston County. Not only did the site show a renewed respect for Native Americans and woman, but the site also displayed characteristics which pertain to Blake’s (2004) research. Blake spatially evaluated monuments which were designed and positioned in memory of Sacagawea, a guide and translator for the historical Lewis and Clark party. The Dr. Susan Picotte site displays characteristics which fit into one of the categories which Blake found. In order to understand how the Susan Picotte site fits with Blake’s study, one must begin by viewing Susan Picotte as a Sacagawea-like woman in the context of a “capable woman worker” (one of Blake’s monument categories). Blake identified two types of Sacagawea-like representations, finding that such representations were highly spatially separated into subregions.

To be specific, one Sacagawea “expression” can be found on the easternmost and westernmost peripheries of the Great Plains, within a circular ring (or edge) of the Plains, reflecting the ideal “woman worker,” which is a recognizably European American

feminine ambition. Blake has pointed out that within this ring, or edge, covering the easternmost and westernmost sections of the Great Plains, historic site interpreters have crafted depictions of Sacagawea as a capable worker into varying forms of monuments.

A second Sacagawea “expression” shows up in the central Great Plains subregion. This second “expression” reflects the older, and frankly outmoded, European American political agenda that “women are qualified to vote.” Both “expressions” are the projections of the popular and contemporary culture’s ideals, values, political ambitions, and agendas, printed on paper, carved into stone, molded in concrete, and forged into metal monuments. In his analysis, Blake observed that the more up-to-date “expression” of feminine aspirations are to be found at the easternmost and westernmost periphery of the Great Plains, and are slowly being adopted into the middle of the region. The Susan Picotte site, as a Sacagawea-like memorial, increases Blake’s peripheral Great Plains region, representing one adoption of the “woman worker” representational type further into the middle of the region, and agreeing with prognostications that the “woman worker” subregion will eventually expand in toto.

Another kind of Native American representation type appears in Colfax County. In this particular field study observation, it was noticed that Native American representations have been influenced by the innovative and commercial approaches which, through time, increasingly dominated National Register listing activities. To be specific, in Colfax County, the Moses Merrill Baptist Camp (also known as Broken Arrow Wilderness Camp), which was first listed in 1972, uses Native American symbols to attract customers to the site. This demonstrates the growing preservation ethic which sees business, nature, and Native Americans as compatible.

In summary, Nebraska's landscapes initially referred to Native Americans with regard to European American settlement, then assimilation, and then commercial activities. In addition, gentler and more sensitive reverential Native American representations came in during the 1970s, and have become the favored way of representing Native Americans. Even so, a challenge remains for those who select sites and for those who proceed to develop onsite interpretations. The question remains: "What is the best way to represent Native Americans at historical sites?" Because various components of the answer to that question have not been put into print, the next section delves into current Native American representational issues, and then prescribes acceptable Native American representations.

Ideal Native American Representations

To begin, how do Native Americans want their cultures to be represented at historical sites? This dissertation starts by discussing some of the errant "lenses" through which the dominant society has tried to understand Native American culture. Penney (2000) referred to Arnold Krupat's (1991) work *Ethnocriticism: Ethnography, History, and Literature* as correctly having pointed out that contemporary Americans believe they must choose one of only two ways to think or talk about Native Americans. Krupat referred to an assimilationist's view, wherein Americans remorselessly see Native Americans as having acted as temporary obstacles, comparable to speed bumps. From this perspective, Native Americans temporarily barred the progress of the dominant society; but, having been dominated and defeated, Native Americans became engaged in a gradual and seamless process of assimilation into that larger society, becoming a practically invisible part of it.

Krupat used the term “tragedy” in reference to a second view which most members of the prevailing society consider to be the only other way to think or talk about Native Americans (Penney 2000). From the tragic perspective, society acknowledges Native American suffering at the hands of the dominant society. This second view sees Native Americans as victims of injustice, and it laments the inevitable downfall and “extinction” of indigenous peoples.

From the Native American perspective, however, both the first and the second commonly held views are faulty (Penney 2000). This is because these popular views imply that Native American peoples have been essentially defeated, disempowered, and disassembled. They hint that true Native Americans no longer exist, and perhaps never did, beyond the imposed representations of Americans.

Penney (2000) pointed out that there is actually a third and more appropriate way to understand, to think about, and to talk about, Native Americans. This tertiary view holds that Native Americans were essentially never defeated. Their cultural values are still intact. Many of their traditions remain. Their sense of tribal unity has survived. Their arts and skills have evolved, but continue to reflect pre-European craftsmanship. They are using modern technology while maintaining cultural values. Most importantly, their spiritual and religious life remains as a vital ingredient of their Indianness. Native Americans wish to honor their ancestors, and to pass ancestral respect, wisdom, love, and encouragement to successive generations. From this third, albeit less popular but certainly more sensitive perspective, Native Americans have not been thrust out of existence. Native Americans want to be known as worthwhile components of living, dynamic, healthful, and productive modern Native American societies.

Native Americans also invite members of the dominant society to visit their commercial table of arts, crafts, apparel, and other goods and services. In addition, Native Americans often enjoy sharing their existent cultural traits, their religion, and their spirituality with respectful non-Indian seekers.

Indeed, although they come from different tribes, Native Americans generally agree among themselves about how they want to maintain Native American culture; and that agreement can be seen in their historic site self-representations. For example, Ames (2000) referred to a situation which occurred some years ago, and which exemplified how Native Americans view themselves differently than the dominant society does. Ames indicated, in reference to a small Montreal art gallery, that a critic had stated that the presence of less polished works, done by younger and more contemporary Native American artists, detracted from the perceived value of adjacent, more “authentic,” works. In response to this criticism, the Native American gallery owners pointed out that, while non-Natives typically want to fit works of art into “frozen” styles, and to date the categories (implying that “real” Indianness and culture is a thing of the past, and that it no longer exists), Native Americans view their art as dynamic expressions of continuously unfolding “familial sagas” (figure 5.11). In the abovementioned Montreal gallery case, the Native American overseers stated that they were especially hoping to encourage younger members of their communities by including them in the exhibition.

Another case demonstrates how indigenous people prefer to be represented. In 1960, the Minnesota Historical Society and the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe formed a partnership and an advisory committee while constructing the Mille Lacs Indian Museum (Wedll 2000).

While developing the exhibition, this advisory committee agreed to follow two guidelines in order to appropriately represent Native Americans. The first of these two guidelines was to design Native American representations so as to demonstrate that Native American people and their stories are not merely parts of the ancient past, but that they are parts of the present as well (Wedll 2000, 92).



**Figure 5.11: Colville Indian Basketry
Teacher (Emerson 2010)**

For instance, a Native American occupations section exhibits their appreciation for Indianness in current times. At a visual and listening station, visitors can learn how Native Americans have participated in the economy since the 1970s. This section of the museum describes the range of specific trades, including tourism, agriculture, gaming, and a variety of other up-to-date businesses.

In addition, the museum contains a room called the Four Seasons Room where visitors may encounter present-day stories of the Mille Lacs Band (Wedll 2000, 92). The most popular and meaningful present-day stories Mille Lacs Band members tell and display are about tribal members who have struggled against upheaval, dislocation, and assimilation pressures. Such stories also provide an outlet for emotional expression, as well as encouragement for those who have labored to keep families, homes, and cultural values intact.

Moreover, for increased understanding of how Native Americans want to be known, one can visit Nebraska's Ponca Tribal Self-Help Community Building where Native Americans continue to have powwows. Powwows are reunion festivals which include singing, dancing, and speeches (Wedll 2000). Tribal elders give speeches on themes such as dignity, community identity, and self-determination. In addition, craftspeople bring and display examples of their contemporary, as well as antecedent, styles of goods without feeling conflicted or disorganized. West (2000) reasserted that Native American cultures are not dead cultures. Rather, they are dynamic, changing, and adaptive.

Consensus among Tribes

One of the challenges Native Americans have had to face, while memorializing their cultures, pertains to consensus reaching among different types of tribes. Indeed, there is a tremendous amount of diversity from one tribe to another (Locke 1977). Some of such diversity includes the following: more than 300 tribes exist; Native Americans together speak 252 different languages; tribes vary tremendously in regards to their ceremonial activities, their arts, their music, and their dance.

Even neighboring tribes may possess totally different world views (Locke 1977, 90). Tribal belief systems differ. Social structures, governance and political systems, oral histories, gender and age behavior expectations also differ significantly between tribes. Locke went on to compare the differences between Native American tribal groups to the differences one might expect to find between European Laplanders (from northern Scandinavia) and European Sicilians (from the Mediterranean area). West (2000), a member of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, agreed with Nason (2000) that groups of tribes should agree to focus on several key concepts which include consensus, accommodation, trust, and common purpose while undertaking cooperative representations.

Components of Acceptable Native American Representations

Ames explained that representations should be providing aboriginal communities with a sense of self-knowing, self-worth, and self-determination (Ames 2000, 76). Like Ames, West (2000) also emphasized the importance of doing preservational work so as to equip Native Americans with dignity, and knowledge about their heritage. West pointed out that, in 1993, the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation opened a museum in order “to help preserve and strengthen cultural traditions,” and so that their children could “go to the museum, learn about themselves, and follow in the ways of their people.” The Tribes not only displayed an artifact collection, but also provided for the exhibition of traditional songs, tribal histories, and native languages. At the site, visitors are invited to practice and learn some words and phrases in the Sahaptin, Chinookian, and Wasco dialects. West went on to assert that the Warm Springs Museum serves as an exemplary pattern for how Native American representations should be done.

Wedll (2000) pointed out that, in 1960, the Minnesota Historical Society and the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe formed a partnership and an advisory committee to achieve similar ends. While constructing the Mille Lacs Indian Museum, the partnership and advisory committee agreed to follow two guidelines in order to appropriately represent Native Americans. The first of these two guidelines was to design Native American representations so as to demonstrate that Native American people and their stories are not merely parts of the ancient past, but that they are parts of the present as well (Wedll 2000, 92). The second guideline, or goal, was to correct unfair stereotypes of Native American people and their cultures by infusing the exhibition with the Native American voice. This Native American voice consisted of first-person perspectives on historical events. Members of the joint advisory committee gathered such perspectives from archives, and they also conducted interviews. In addition, the Mille Lacs Museum gave visitors an opportunity to become acquainted with the Ojibwe language. In doing so, the museum offered listening booths and bilingual texts throughout the exhibition.

Ames (2000, 74) referred to another example of how Native Americans want to be represented. In January 1992, the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museum Association joined together to form a task force which loosely agreed that, although more members of the dominant society would likely see the representations, Native American-related memorials should still be designed so that First Peoples were the focal audience. This principle played out successfully when, in 1995, the task force began consulting with curators from the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology. As a result of the consultations, curators made a number of changes in regards to wording, background color, types of artifacts displayed, and their mounting style. Curators also

followed Native American advice by posting a statement which informed visitors of the need to leave certain still-buried artifacts in their undisturbed condition, and of the need to take respectful care of already excavated materials (Ames 2000, 82).

Concluding Remarks

Essentially, Native Americans want to see historic sites respectfully memorializing ancestral relics and wisdom. They shun ideas about cultural extinction through assimilation and military defeat. Furthermore, they want to see cultural attributes honored and taught as adaptive, living, and dynamic – useful into the coming generations.

In 1992, Suagee, an enrolled member of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, made a statement which epitomizes where Native American site representation ethics are going: “As the American people become more adept at listening to the voices of native people retelling our own histories, and as we all become better at preserving the places that are important in tribal histories, the entire country will be greatly enriched, and future generations, Indian and non-Indian alike, will share in this enrichment” (Suagee 1992, 190).

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This research investigated the geographies of Nebraska's nationally registered historic places; identified, described, and mapped preservation scenarios; and included a field investigation of minority representations. Generally, the study looked into the possibility that noteworthy changes had been occurring in the National Register Program's site selection processes, as evidenced by historic site geographies. Findings showed that such selection processes had indeed been changing over time. This concluding chapter briefly reviews the evidence for that general research finding, summarizes the Program's ethical changes, extrapolates future ethical transformations, and suggests additional research.

Summary

The main findings of this study are as follows:

- 1) Changing preservation ethics, or, in other words, differing habits of historic site selection behaviors, can be physically traced on Nebraska's geography. This study identified, in the case of Nebraska's nationally registered historic sites, three unique preservation ethic scenarios. The first scenario (that is, the Settlement Scenario, spanning 1966 – 1975) displayed the following unique characteristics:
 - State historic preservation officers (SHPOs) were given relatively extensive powers to choose which historic sites should be listed. This relative autonomy affected the types of historic properties being listed on the National Register.
 - Within the first scenario, Lincoln, Nebraska's, nominated historic sites were highly concentrated at the core of the oldest central business district,

suggesting that other large cities probably displayed similar initial concentrations.

- Strict standards for the rehabilitation of properties were set by the government so that historic buildings would retain many of their original historic qualities after renovations.
- A large number of federally significant historic sites pertaining to Nebraska's prehistory, Native American, and European American settlement eras were initiated and listed.
- Such sites often encompassed large acreages in eastern Nebraska and included forts, migration and navigation-relevant rocks, and Native American archeological sites.
- The sheer abundance of Native American archeological sites listed sets the Settlement Scenario apart from other scenarios.
- Such Native American archeological sites typically consisted of village remains, lining banks of primary streams.
- Federal land-management agencies were expected to identify and pursue the nominations of historic properties.
- SHPOs were asked to list Native American archeological sites, historical buildings, and other significant sites quickly so as to protect them from potentially destructive federal projects.
- When the National Register Program first began, road and bridge construction projects were especially viewed with suspicion (see table 6.1).

Table 6. 1: Three Scenarios Compared

Mutually Exclusive Divisions of the Entire List of Sites	Number of Sites			Percent of Given Scenario		
	Settlement Scenario (153 Total)	Commer. Architect. (478 Total)	Progress. Planning (347 Total)	Settlement Scenario	Commer. Architect.	Progress. Planning
Archeology	66	8	20	43%	2%	6%
Bridges and Roads	0	3	75	0%	1%	22%
Burial	3	4	2	2%	1%	1%
Farmsteads	2	16	15	1%	3%	4%
High-style commercial	16	72	30	10%	15%	9%
High-style homes	17	81	30	11%	17%	9%
Historic Districts	4	18	23	3%	4%	7%
Landscapes	5	5	5	3%	1%	1%
Military	10	6	4	7%	1%	1%
Non-Military Government	8	118	63	5%	25%	18%
Religious or Philosophical Buildings	8	69	28	5%	14%	8%
Vernacular Commercial	7	59	30	5%	12%	9%
Vernacular Homes	7	19	22	5%	4%	6%
Nationally Significant	101	68	4	66%	14%	1%
Significant at the State Level	52	237	191	34%	49%	48%
Locally Significant	1	176	207	1%	37%	51%
Eligible b/c of a Historic Event	63	262	275	30%	35%	51%
Eligible b/c of a Historic Person	21	109	15	10%	15%	3%
" " Architecture or Engineering	50	360	237	24%	49%	44%
" " Source of Information	75	10	17	36%	1%	3%
A Subcategory of a Mutually Exclusive Division (Military)						
Forts	6	3	0	4%	1%	0%
Separate Categories which Overlap Other Categories						
Federal Agency Selected Sites	12	11	15	8%	2%	4%
Multiple Properties	3	121	113	2%	25%	33%
Native American Sites	66	6	15	43%	1%	4%
Willa Cather Sites	1	28	0	1%	6%	0%

- 2) This study revealed a second scenario (that is, the Commercial Architecture Scenario, spanning 1976 – 1991) which displayed the following distinct elements:
- Private citizens played an increasing role in site selection processes.
 - Citizen involvement increased because the government provided tax incentives to those who became involved in historic site nominations and restorations.

- The public gained access to historic site selection criteria.
- Because private property owners needed to make commercial profits from renovated properties in order to qualify for tax advantages, historic commercial building selections increased.
- Commercial buildings stand on top of limited-sized lots, and, consequently, site acreage totals decreased during the Commercial Architecture Era.
- Historic commercial buildings usually displayed high-style characteristics, and were more often found in larger cities.
- Historic building rehabilitation standards were relaxed in order to make private sector restorations more affordable, and to increase historic site nomination and restoration activities.
- In 1981, SHPO staff members were required to gain owner consent before listing any private property on the National Register. This requirement slowed down state initiated survey and nomination efforts, further delegating selection authority to private citizens.
- The effects of a “fifty-year rule” appeared geographically. That is, in the case of Lincoln, Nebraska, historic sites which had been nominated in a tightly clustered arrangement at the core of the oldest central business district (within the Settlement Scenario) began to appear less clustered throughout the Commercial Architecture Scenario. This occurred because the fifty-year rule (which stipulated that historic sites needed to be at least fifty years old to qualify for listing) continued to bring younger sites to “maturity” at a

predictable rate. This allowed new historic sites to be nominated in dispersed linear patterns along transportation lines, which reflected former city growth.

- Within this Commercial Architecture Era, the SHPO office identified historic regions within Nebraska so as to be able to identify what was significant according to Nebraska's regional histories. This provided assistance to SHPO officials in balancing the regional importance of historic sites with structural integrity and market forces. As an aside, the federal government had been acknowledging, since the inception of the program, differences between national regions, and had been listing properties accordingly. That is, certain types of historical sites could be nominated from one state but would not be considered worth nominating from another state.
- 3) This dissertation revealed a third scenario embodied within the time frame of 1992 – 2010 (the Progressive Planning Era). This third scenario exhibited the following unique characteristics.
- Encouraged by upgraded federal tax incentives, a community planning ethic had developed which was characterized by heightened levels of cooperation between planning, historic preservation, and housing governmental departments (Hayden 1997).
 - Roads and bridges matured into desirable historical sites as embodied in the *Highway Bridges in Nebraska 1870 – 1942* multiple property submission. The unanticipated and newfound appreciation for roads and bridges unmistakably differentiated the Progressive Planning Scenario from the initial Settlement Scenario which regarded road and bridge projects suspiciously.

Even so, the recently nominated bridges straddled Nebraska's streams, which was positionally similar to the Settlement Scenario's predominating Native American archeological site locations. However, the Native American sites emphasized the use of the rivers as transportational assets. The roads and bridges of the Progressive Planning Scenario, on the other hand, implied that rivers were transportational impediments.

- New Deal Era sites and Carnegie libraries had reached "maturity" according to the "fifty-year rule," and consequently a new emphasis on historically relevant comprehensive welfare and assistance programs began.
- In 1999, amendments were made to the National Historic Preservation Act which officially reduced federal agencies' proactive historic site identification responsibilities. The amendments asked agencies to cooperate more fully with the National Environmental Protection Agency.
- Within the Progressive Planning Scenario, the focus on locally important historical sites had virtually completely overshadowed the federally significant spotlight. This occurred for several reasons. The "stocks" of nationally significant sites had been selected, and opportunities for finding such entities had been reduced. Because of upgraded tax incentives, SHPO employees became harried with citizen-initiated nominational paperwork and did not have time to thoroughly examine the histories of sites so as to determine whether or not such sites were of national importance. The use of multiple property documentation increased, and such documentation increasingly accommodated the selections of locally valued sites. Additionally, certified local governments

exerted increasing programmatic influences in larger cities. As such, locally significant and valued sites gained ascendancy.

- Vernacular structures, rather than high-styled buildings, came to the forefront of the preservation ethic. Vernacular structures came to the forefront for several reasons. These reasons included: the reduction in the number of high-style buildings and pioneer-related historical sites available for listing. In addition, a general acceptance of local history increased (as described by Tuan 1974, Lowenthal 1981, and Boasberg 1992); certified local governments (CLGs) played an expanding role in site selection processes; and historical periods (when numerous vernacular buildings had been constructed) reached “maturity” according to the fifty-year rule. This study has cited the Omaha warehouses, the comprehensive welfare and assistance program sites, and the housing units associated with Offut Airforce Base as cases in point.
 - Native American tribes were given the opportunity to hire tribal historic preservation officers (THPOs).
- 4) In order to further evaluate the manner in which Native Americans are currently being represented at historic sites, a field study was conducted involving travel to Nebraska’s publicly accessible and nationally registered Native American sites. The main findings of this field study were as follows:
- Several regions of representation were identified and described. These included a region of reverence for Indians, regions of distrust toward Native Americans, two regions of assimilation, and a region of interaction with settlers.

- Onsite Native American representation types were recognized and explained, including Indian ancestral reverence, Indian archeology and large rocks, Indians as a danger, Indians as allies or friends, Indians as a recreation theme, Indian assimilation, Indian Christian churches, Indian (man) leader, Indians mannequin-like, and Indian (woman) leader.
- Throughout the various ethical eras, Native American site selections, and onsite representations, changed. That is, in the Settlement Scenario, Native Americans were closely associated with the European American settlement of Nebraska.

Later on, Native American sites and representations typically pertained to assimilation, commercial recreational activities, and the reverential treatment of Native American culture.
- Many of the most offensive Native American historical site representations imply that cultures evolve from inferior to superior forms (especially as evidenced by technological advances). Even more offensive to Native Americans are sites which depict cultural defeat or annihilation.
- Suggestions for Native American historical site representational improvements call for ancestral respect, especially with regard to inherited wisdom, knowledge, and success stories (of Native Americans being able to endure their varying circumstances). Other suggestions include the desire to see representations depicting Native American culture as living, dynamic, and capable of transforming without losing Indianness.

General Observations

The data gathered for this dissertation revealed several overall factors that influenced preservation ethics, National Register geographies, and site representations. One of these overall factors is that public views about history transform over the course of time. Changing public sentiments promote changing governmental historic preservation actions, influencing acts of legislation. Public sentiments tend to grow stronger or weaker over time, to treat certain histories admiringly, and to neglect others. Often specific events (such as the end of the frontier lands, or the concern that federal projects would undermine significant historical sites) have prompted the exertion of social pressure to protect specific kinds of historical sites. The study has indicated that such enlivened public sentiments preceded the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act, which was the initial basis for the National Register Program. When public sentiment calls for a program to continue, the government will often maintain such a program. When the public does not insist that a particular program continue, and especially if the program causes undue governmental redundancy, or inefficiency, that particular program will eventually be eliminated or consolidated under the umbrella of another program. Such variable public sentiments have played a background role in program transformations, and have indirectly affected the types of historic sites which have come “into demand,” and which have proceeded to be listed on the National Register.

Another factor which has influenced preservation ethics and the geographies of the National Register Program has to do with changes in the Program’s authority structure. For instance, by the end of the first scenario, the SHPO’s personal interests no longer figured into the site selection “equation.” Whereas Marvin Kivett, the first SHPO, had

obtained archeological training and field experience, and had used that training while selecting the initial Native American archeological sites, for example, later SHPOs did not have that kind of impact upon site selection processes.

As the program became increasingly bureaucratized, and systematized, site selection responsibilities were first delegated outward toward staff members and then primarily to the general public. With the aid of financial incentives, the members of the general public began to select a large number of historic sites which could be put to commercial uses. Initially, these were high-style commercial buildings, typically located in urban areas. The spatial and decisional implications inherent in mixing market forces with historic preservation processes were several fold. Property owners needed to take supply distance costs and also patron profile and location factors into consideration. In theory, then, some historic sites were not listed because they were too far removed from the marketplace. Even so, during the late 1980s, SHPO staff members mitigated the market-driven impetus for listing properties by identifying historical regions and assessing the registration application forms (NPS 10-900s) and site conditions accordingly.

Still another far-reaching factor which influenced preservation ethics and the geographies of the National Register Program pertained to a planning ethic (characterized by cooperation between community planners, preservationists, and housing offices). This planning ethical attribute went beyond merely harnessing market forces to promote historic site listings. The planning ethic (which had become a subcomponent of the preservation ethic) included the zoning and partitioning of cityscapes so as to promote the renewal of economically challenged neighborhoods by providing incentives to private individuals and companies. Geographically, the planning component introduced

rigorously delineated zones, and community-specific financial incentives, thus harnessing historic preservation impulses so as to deliberately transform precisely identified dilapidated town segments and landscapes. Consequently, the number of historic sites situated within highly prescribed neighborhoods increased, producing changes in historic site geographies.

If the time ever arrives when the federal Historic Preservation Program transforms to such an extent that it scarcely bears a resemblance to its initial form and function, then it will need a new name. In the mean time, the National Register still resembles its initial self in many ways, and continues to provide protection for valued historic sites. However, market and planning elements which have been grafted into the program are blurring the program's original mission and purpose. Consequently, it is safe to predict that, at some point in the future, an official will have to decide to either overhaul the program so as to commit it strictly to historic preservational concerns, or to simply merge the program with other governmental entities. Either way, the National Register itself, as a list of specific types of maturing properties, will endure. It has proven to be such a successful instrument for preventing the demolition of significant properties, for strengthening the unique senses of places, for increasing tourism, and for renovating untidy cityscapes that it is likely to continue to play a role in the government's repertoire for some time into the future.

Recommended Research

A Spatial Analysis of the Fifty-Year Rule

An initial suggestion for further research would be to delve into the implications of the fifty-year rule. Several times within this dissertation, the fifty-year rule was taken into

consideration and used as a means for explaining the spatial transformations taking place in historic site scenarios. Very little room remains to doubt that the fifty-year rule brings new types of sites into historical significance, and into maturity, at predictable time intervals. The fifty-year rule has been shown to be such a powerful concept for predicting site designation processes that it warrants additional research.

As such, a study could be conducted to further explore how the fifty-year rule brings new sites to maturity in urban and rural areas. Considering the observations made about Lincoln, Nebraska, in Chapter 4, research questions could include: how does Lincoln compare to other cities? What do the patterns of vernacular homes in other cities look like? Have they been selected in similar patterns, approximately 1.7 miles from original central business districts? Will a series of urban area scenario maps show that railroads, early supply routes, and initial paved roads correspond to the newest locations of “maturing” historical sites? Do the nomination patterns, in other urban areas (besides Lincoln), reflect original patterns in city expansion? If so, does the shape of such city growth point to strong ties with other “supply source” communities which, at one time, met the town’s food and basic material resource needs (as this dissertation indicated in the case of Lincoln receiving supplies from Nebraska City, as shown in figure 4.8)? To what extent does the pattern of recently selected historic sites reflect changes in the means of used transportation (e.g., foot traffic, locomotive, trolley, and automobile)? Which kinds of historic sites are likely to “reach maturity?” Where will such sites probably be located? Do the historical site location selections reflect stages in the invention of and implementation of new types of transportation technology for each fifty year interval? Which types of historic sites are likely to “come into maturity?” Will some

kinds of unique, unexpected data, be uncovered such as indications that certain parts of town have been destroyed by fires, other natural disasters, or human initiated demolitions? Such findings would affect how the fifty-year rule could bring new history to maturity. Were aging sections of an urban area still standing, but too dilapidated to be listed? Were there education vacuums (areas where private property owners were unaware of the benefits of listing their properties on the National Register) effecting site selection behavior? The discovery of the reasons why historic sites have not been nominated in certain sections of urban areas could be as interesting as the reasons why historic sites are found to be plenteous in other areas.

In order to find answers to the questions posed above, researchers could interview private property owners; develop a series of urban historic site maps (using, e.g., ten year intervals, or by making use of the preservation eras described in this dissertation); refer to local archives to determine whether or not natural disasters have transformed a given cityscape; and communicate with the National Park Service to determine which histories and architectural styles are starting to be incorporated into the National Register eligibility criteria. In the end, a researcher could offer predictions about future listing activities.

An Intra-National Historic Regions Study

A second and final recommendation for further research would be to delineate the boundaries of and to explain intra-national historical regions. Although this has been a study of preservation ethics in the case of Nebraska's Nationally Registered Historic sites, the study unexpectedly uncovered variations in preservation ethics at the national level. National variations in the preservation ethic are especially the result of the unique

differences in U.S. regional histories. For instance, certain regions within the country encompass unique stores of European American historical sites. That is, for example, New England's eastern coastal communities can trace their European American ancestry back in time to the 16th and 17th centuries, but many of the western states can only trace those histories as far back as the 19th century. Such regional differences in recorded European American history have produced a condition where specific states possess a wider range of historical architectural types.

The research question being proposed is: "What sort of regional 'mental map' does the Keeper and his staff members refer to in order to evaluate which historic sites may be accepted from which states, or jurisdictional entities, to the exclusion of other states or jurisdictions? Or, what kinds of historic sites can be accepted from one intra-national region but not from another?" No one has undertaken a systematic geographical study so as to produce a regional map depicting such differences. However, Nebraska's SHPO staff members have confirmed that such regions do exist.

A study designed to uncover such regions could begin with semi-structured interviews and email exchanges with state and federal preservation gatekeepers to gain insights about regional site selection behavioral differences. The primary researcher could find out where intra-national regional boundaries lie by first asking which kinds of sites would be accepted for listing from one part of the nation, but not from some other part of the nation (some other grouping of states or intra-state regions). Intra-state regions, such as the ten historic regions described in Chapter 3, could serve as the smallest spatial subdivisions for the delineation of a number of larger, nationally delineated, regional boundaries. Data gathered by email, over the phone, or through personal interviews with

the Keeper of the National Register and his Washington, DC, staff members would be especially applicable to such a study. A researcher could also contact SHPO staff members who can talk about the regions within their own states. Also, some staff members have been transferred from one state office to another. Such staff members have experienced the regional differences first-hand, and probably would enjoy describing those differences.

Using the data gathered in this manner, the primary researcher could generate a list of uniquely regional historic site types. After downloading the official list of registered properties from the National Park Service's web site, the researcher could compare web site datum numbers with the information gathered during interviews so as to refine and analyze the data. With the use of quantitative spatial analyses and the narrative descriptive approach (in consideration of the physical terrain and the nation's historical stages of expansion), the researcher could uncover unexpected spatial/historical patterns. The resultant nation-wide regional map would provide insights into the relationships between terrain, history, and regionally unique historic site selection behaviors.

Recommendations to State Historic Preservation Officers and Historic Site Interpreters

For anyone who plans to add Native American sites to the National Register of Historic Places, and especially for anyone who plans to offer public access to interpretive material, I would recommend the development of a shrine-like atmosphere to surround the artifacts and archeology. Avoid using mannequins, plaster models, or anything else Native Americans would not feel comfortable "putting flowers" on so to speak.

Such courtesies meet Native American's needs to honor, learn from, and celebrate their culture. In addition, avoid presenting conflicting mythologies (e.g., about the earth's origins) into the shrine-like artifact area, provoking confusion, and doubt.

If convenient, and in a different location, away from the shrine-like artifact area, a site designer could set up an activity center where visitors could gain hands on experiences pertaining to ancient Native American crafts and pastimes, such as basketry, jewelry, pottery, food preparation, dancing, and children's games. In addition to the ancient crafts and pastimes provided in this less formal area, such an activity center could give visitors opportunities for hands-on exercises and experimentation with mainstream and commonly encountered entities, including current types of work environments, technology, art mediums, and machines, especially spotlighting modern Native American workers and their success stories. This less formal area could serve as a sort of "cultural continuation area," showing that Native American life continues to thrive and adapt.

A separate recommendation goes out to the federal leaders of the Department of the Interior and pertains to observed incremental National Register Program changes. The National Register Program has digressed somewhat from its original goal to protect top-priority historic sites from intentional and unintentional destruction. The Program has increasingly become an effective land use planning and urban renewal tool. Although it is commendable to use such tools to wisely plan land uses, and to delineate city urban renewal polygons, such activities were not initially the core purposes for creating the National Register Program. Rather, planning and urban renewal "fruits" grew unanticipatedly out of the initial program. In addition, SHPO employees have become so harried that, in general, they lack the time to research the histories of significant sites.

Therefore, some of the tax incentives and historic site identification responsibilities (which most pertain to planning and urban renewal) should be “clipped off” of the National Register Program and “grafted” into more appropriate municipal planning departments and federal agencies, effectively reducing SHPO employee’s burdens, and making clearly historical treasures the Program’s ascendant priority.

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APPENDIX

Table A.1 is a pithy view of the structure of the National Register Information System (NRIS), which served as a primary source of dissertation data. It does not include each and every one of Nebraska's database entries. As such, table A.1 can not provide information for each individual site, but rather, it promotes an understanding of how a considerable amount of research data has been gathered, organized, and categorized for this dissertation. The reason why the original data have been so reduced is that, if table A.1 were to show a complete listing, and relisting, of every historic site name, the table would add somewhere between ten and fifty pages to this volume. For this reason, table A.1 serves as a reduction of the data, and fits into three pages. The purpose of table A.1 is to show the names of the columns, and to display all of the "tags" under those columns. Each "tag" attached to a listed site provides a specific type of information about that site. The kind of information which a "tag" delivers to a researcher is comparable to the sort of information a tag, attached to some entity for sale in the marketplace, delivers to a patron (e.g., the place where it was manufactured).

The National Park Service has arranged each datum column in a particular way. For example, some columns, such as the "level of significance" column, only applies one "tag" of information per site. Consequently the column is only 986 rows long. Other columns, such as the "materials applied/parts of structure," often include multiple tags of information for a single property. Since this is the case, the column has reached 4,132 rows in length, much longer than the "levels of significance" column. Because it would be too wearisome to list all of the historic properties repeatedly, table A.1 reduces inconvenience by showing simply the framework behind the NRIS data.

**Table A. 1: National Register Information System
(NRIS) Data Columns Tag Options**

NRIS Data Supporting Thirteen Mapped Categories			
Burial.....	Commercial Buildings or Homes.....	Landscapes.....	
Military.....	Non-Military Government.....	Religious or Philosophical Bldgs.....	
Applicable Criterion	Areas of Significance	European	Upper Republic
Architecture/Engineering	Agriculture	European American	Upper Republican
Historical Events	Architecture	German American	Upper Republican Aspect
Historical People	Art	Grand	Valley focus
Source of Information	Commerce	Grand Pawnee	Volga-German
	Communications	Historic Oto	Woodland
	Education	Historic Oto, Lower-Loup	Woodland Sterns' Creek
Applicable Historical Periods	Exploration/Settlement	Historic Pawnee	
Year "A" - Year "B"	Historic Aboriginal	Itskari Phase	
	Historic Non-Aboriginal	Late Archaic	Current Functions
Architects	Industry	Late Ceramic	Agriculture/Subsistence
Blank Spaces	Landscape Architecture	Late Woodland	Commerce/Trade
Architect's Names	Literature	Loseke Creek Focus	Domestic
	Military	Loup River Phase	Education
Architectural Styles	Native American	Lower Loup	Funerary
Blank Spaces	Politics/Government	Lower Loup Complex	Government
Art Deco	Prehistoric	Lower Loup Phase	Industry/Processing/Extraction
Beaux Arts	Religion	Middle Archaic	Landscape
Bungalow/Craftsman	Social History	Middle Woodland Valley Phase	Other
Chicago	Transportation	Military, American	Recreation and Culture
Classical Revival		Native American	Religion
Colonial Revival	Body which Selected the Sites	Nebraska	Social
Early Commercial	Blank Space	Nebraska Culture	Transportation
Exotic Revival	Federal Agency	Nebraska Phase	Unknown
Gothic	Other	Ogallala	Vacant/Not in Use
Gothic Revival	State Government	Omaha	Work in Progress
Greek Revival		Oneonta	
Italianate	Cities	Oneota	Dates Listed
Late 19th & 20th Century Revivals	Cities	Oneota, Central Plains	Dates Listed
Late 19th & Early 20th Century American Movements	Counties	Oto	Dates of Events
Late Gothic Revival	Counties	Pahuk Aspect, Lower Loup	Blank Spaces
Late Victorian		Paleo-Indian	Single Year Entries
Mission/Spanish Revival	Cultural Affiliations	Paloma Apache	
Mixed (More than Two Styles from Different Periods)	Blank Spaces	Pawnee	Federal Agencies which Selected Sites
Modern Movement	Alberta culture	Plains	Blank Spaces
Moderne	American Military	Plains Apache	Air Force
No Style Listed	Archaic	Plains Archaic	Bureau of Land Management
Octagon Mode	Brule Sioux	Plains Village	Department of the Army
Other	Caddoan (Pawnee)	Plains Woodland	Department of the Navy
Prairie School	Central Plains	Plains Woodland, Plains Archaic	Federal Communications Commission
Pueblo	Central Plains Villagers	Ponca	Fish and Wildlife Service
Queen Anne	Tradition	Pre-Contact Villager	General Services Administration
Renaissance	Ceramic	Prehistoric Farmer	National Park Service
Romanesque	Chouteau Aspect	Redbird Focus	U.S. Department of Agriculture
Second Empire	Coalescent or Caddoan Tradition	Republican	U.S. Postal Service
Shingle Style	Coalescent Villagers	Scottsbluff Culture	
Stick/Eastlake	Czech-American	Sioux	
Tudor Revival	Czechoslovakian	Skidi	
	Dismal River	Skidi Pawnee	
	Dismal River Apache	St. Helena Aspect	
	Eagle Creek Component	Tappage	
	Euro American	U.S. Army	

NRIS Data Continued			
Burial.....■	Commercial Buildings or Homes.....■	Bridges and Roads.....■	
Military.....■	Non-Military Government.....■	Landscapes.....■	
		Religious or Philosophical Bldgs.....■	
Historic People	Iron/Roof	Wood/Roof	Health Care
Blank Spaces	Iron/Wall	Wood/Wall	Industry/Processing/ Extraction
Historic People's Names	Limestone/Foundation		Landscapes
	Limestone/Other	Multiple Properties	Other
Level of Significance	Limestone/Wall	Blank Spaces	Recreation and Culture
International	Log/Other	African American Historic and Architectural	Religion
Local	Log/Wall	Resources in Lincoln, Nebraska	Social
National	Marble/Other	Carnegie Libraries in Nebraska	Transportation
State	Marble/Wall	Chadron State College Historic Buildings	
	Metal/Other	County Courthouses of Nebraska	Original/Historic Sub-Functions
Materials Applied/ Parts of Structures	Metal/Roof	Highway Bridges in Nebraska	Agricultural Fields
Blank Spaces	Metal/Wall	Lincoln Highway in Nebraska	Agricultural Outbuildings
Adobe/Other	None Listed/Foundation	Nebraska Post Offices which Contain	Air Facility
Adobe/Roof	None Listed/Other	Section Artwork	Air-Related
Adobe/Wall	None Listed/Roof	Nebraska-Kansas Public Land Survey	Animal Facility
Aluminum/Other	None Listed/Wall	Nineteenth Century Terrace Houses	Arms Storage
Aluminum/Wall	Other/Other	Opera House Buildings in Nebraska 1867-1917	Auditorium
Asbestos/Roof	Other/Roof	Petroleum Marketing by the Standard Oil Company (Nebraska)	Battle Site
Asbestos/Wall	Other/Wall	School Buildings in Nebraska	Business
Asphalt/Other	Rubber/Roof	Significant Relic Components of US Army Air Fields in Nebraska	Camp
Asphalt/Roof	Rubber/Wall	Warehouses in Omaha	Capitol
Asphalt/Wall	Sandstone/Foundation	Willa Cather	Cemetery
Brick/Foundation	Sandstone/Other		Ceremonial Site
Brick/Other	Sandstone/Wall	National Landmarks/ Monuments	Church Related
Brick/Wall	Shake/Roof	Blank Spaces	Residence
Brick/Other	Shingle/Other	National Historic Landmarks	Church School
Bronze/Other	Shingle/Roof	National Monuments	City Hall
Bronze/Wall	Shingle/Wall	Original/Historic Functions	Civic
Cast Iron/Other	Slate/Other	Agriculture/Subsistence	Clinic
Ceramic Tile/Foundation	Slate/Roof	Commerce/Trade	Clubhouse
Ceramic Tile/Other	Slate/Wall	Defense	College
Ceramic Tile/Roof	Steel/Foundation	Domestic	Communications Facility
Ceramic Tile/Wall	Steel/Other	Education	Conservation Area
Concrete/Foundation	Steel/Roof	Funerary	Correctional Facility
Concrete/Other	Steel/Wall	Government	Courthouse
Concrete/Roof	Stone/Foundation		Department Store
Concrete/Wall	Stone/Other		Educational Related
Copper/Other	Stone/Wall		Housing
Copper/Roof	Stucco/Foundation		Energy Facility
Copper/Wall	Stucco/Other		Extractive Facility
Earth/Foundation	Stucco/Wall		Fair
Earth/Other	Synthetics/Roof		Financial Institution
Earth/Roof	Terra Cotta/Foundation		Fire Station
Earth/Wall	Terra Cotta/Other		Forest
Glass/Other	Terra Cotta/Roof		Fortification
Glass/Roof	Terra Cotta/Wall		Government Office
Glass/Wall	Tin/Other		Graves/Burials
Granite/Foundation	Tin/Roof		Hospitals
Granite/Other	Tin/Wall		Hotel
Granite/Wall	Vinyl/Other		Institutional Housing
Inapplicable/Foundation	Vinyl/Wall		Irrigation Facility
Inapplicable/Other	Weatherboard/Other		Library
Inapplicable/Roof	Weatherboard/Roof		Manufacturing Facility
Inapplicable/Wall	Weatherboard/Wall		
Iron/Foundation	Wood/Foundation		
Iron/Other	Wood/Other		

NRIS Data Cont.			
Burial.....■	Historic Districts.....■	Archeology.....■	
Military.....■	Commercial Buildings or Homes.....■	Landscapes.....■	
	Non-Military Government.....■	Religious or Philosophical Bldgs.....■	
Original/Historic Sub-Functions (Continued)	Secondary Structure	Titles of Projects	Pacer Crk. Flood Control
Medical Business/Office	Single Dwelling	Blank Spaces	Project No. N.C. R-107
Meeting Hall	Specialty Store	Alabama Project	Project Upgrade
Military Facility	Sport Facility	RF-95 (7)	Project: L.R.
Monument/Marker	Storage	Box Elder Watershed Project	202 Corridor
Mortuary	Street Furniture/Object	BRF-65-2 (3)	RC & D Project Measure
Multiple Dwelling	Theater	Chief Joseph Dam Project	Russell Dam and Lake
Museum	Trade (Archeology)	Falls Lake Project	Simpsonville Project
Music Facility	Underwater	Granite Reef Aqueduct Transmission System Project	Strategic Petroleum Preserve Project
Natural Feature	Village Site	Granite Reef Aqueduct, Reach 5b	The Vapco Bath County Pumped Storage Project
Naval Facility	Warehouse	Granite Reef Aqueduct, Reach 9, Completion	Waste Isolation Pilot Plant Project
Organizational	Water Works	Granite Reef Aqueduct, Central Arizona	Wastewater Treatment Facility Expansion Project
Outdoor Recreation	Water-Related	Grove-Shafter Freeway	
Park	Work of Art (Sculpture,	Highway 8 Project	Types of Resources
Pedestrian Related	Ownership	I.D. 5181-07-00	Blank Spaces
Post Office	Blank Space	Kingsway Center Historic District	Building
Processing	Federal	L.R. 202 Corridor	District
Processing Site	Local	Longview Lake Project	Site
Professional	Private	Metropolitan Transit Authority (IA-03-0016)	Structure
Public Works	State	Middle Chattahoochee	
Rail-Related	Property Restrictions		UTM Coordinates/Acreages
Religious Structure	No		Blank Spaces
Research Facility	Yes		Edge Points/
Restaurant	Site Addresses		Middle Points/Acreages
Road-Related	Approximate Addresses		
Sanatorium	Precise Addresses		
School			

Anyone who wants to look directly at the expanded database can do so by navigating to the National Register website (<http://www.nr.nps.gov/>). While the website offers the long version of the NRIS data, table A.1 displays the core organizational framework, and reveals the “machinery” behind datum classifications. To further assist readers, the researcher highlighted specific “tags,” in table A.1, so as to indicate which rows of information served as a basis for the thirteen most complicated and mutually exclusive categories (as described in Chapter 1).