

# Western Women

Their Land, Their Lives

Edited by

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Schlissel, *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey*; Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail*.

39. For pregnancy, childbirth and miscarriage on de Anza's colonizing expedition to San Francisco of 1775–1776, see *Anza's Expeditions*, 3: 6–8, 21, 23–25, 33, 35–37, 69–70; *Font's Complete Diary: A Chronicle of the Founding of San Francisco*, Herbert Eugene Bolton, trans. and ed., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1931), 26–27, 47–48, 53, 62, 66, 147–51. In his *History of California* 1:259 Bancroft erroneously states that eight infants were born during de Anza's 1775–1776 expedition to San Francisco. According to de Anza's translated and published diary, only three infants were born on the journey north, plus five women suffered miscarriages. One of the miscarriages resulted in a stillborn infant, see *Anza's Expeditions*, 3:69–70. Historians who have relied primarily on Bancroft's discussions of the numbers of infants born on the de Anza expedition from San Miguel de Orcasitas to San Francisco have perpetuated the same error.

40. *Font's Complete Diary*, 424–28; Northrop, *Spanish-Mexican Families*.

41. See note 45.

42. *Font's Complete Diary*, 26–27.

43. *Ibid.*, 151.

44. Serra to Melchor de Peramas, Monterey, June 14, 1774, *Writings*, 2:67; Serra to Father Guardian, Monterey, July 18, 1774, *Writings*, 2:113; Culleton, *Indians and Pioneers*, 62.

45. Serra to Melchor de Peramas, Monterey, June 14, 1774, *Writings*, 2:67.

46. Morner, *Race Mixture in Latin America*; Hennessy, *The Frontier in Latin America*, 20, 45–46.

47. Morner, *Race Mixture in Latin America*; Hennessy, *The Frontier in Latin America*, 43–44.

48. *Ibid.*

49. Colonial Mexico's elaborate socio-racial terminology carried over into California and appeared in the census until the 1820s. The following definition of Mestizo, Mulato, and Coyote, based on biological parentage, are from Morner, *Race, Mixture in Latin America*, 58. The two major designations in the socio-racial structure were Mestizo and Mulato. Mestizo—the offspring of Spaniard and Amerindian; Mulato—the offspring of Spaniard and African. All other designations derived from the combinations thereof.

50. *Ibid.*

51. Bancroft, *California*, 1:390–93.

52. Entry No. 1106, *Mexican Archives*, 8:191.

53. I am indebted to Helen Lara Cea for the term “lay minister,” to describe women's religious services, particularly when in the capacity of midwives or nursing the sick, they performed baptisms and offered the last rites for persons in the throes of death. See Helen Lara Cea, “Notes on the Use of Parish Registers in the Reconstruction of Chicana History in California Prior to 1850,” 2.

54. Rosalia Vallejo de Leese, “History of the Bear Flag Party: Narrative of Mrs. Rosalia Leese,” Manuscript Collection Bancroft Library.

55. Bruce Walter Barton, *The Tree at the Center of the World: A Story of the California Missions* (Santa Barbara: Ross-Erickson Publishers, Inc. 1980), 184–85.

56. “Times Gone by in Alta California: Recollections of Doña Juana Machado Alipáz de Ridington,” *Historical Society of Southern California*, (Sept. 1959) 203, 204; see also, “Memorias de Doña Apolinaria Lorenzana,” Manuscript Collection, Bancroft Library.

57. “Times Gone by in Alta California,” 205–206.

## CHAPTER NINE

### Editors' Introduction

This chapter differs from the rest of those in the book in that, rather than focusing on the results of research, we are concerned with translating that research for a public forum. The National Park Service is charged not only with identifying and maintaining sites of national significance and natural beauty and resources; it is also charged with interpreting these sites. Viewed in this fashion, the Park Service may be the largest single institution in the nation providing public education. The Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, for example had over 500,000 visitors in 1982. The public learns much of its history at historic sites and museums through lectures, exhibits, and other interpretive programs. One crucial question is, what constitutes a historical site? As women look for their own history in the traditional locations of American history—the battlefields, the forts, the birthplaces of famous men—a new debate has arisen on how we determine which sites are noteworthy, and for what reasons. Huyck shows how even traditionally masculine sites reveal the unexpected presence of women. Forts and military outposts had kitchens and laundries and churches. Even birthplaces of famous men reveal much of family and of women. Interpreters today must start with the simple assumption that no matter what the site, *women were there*.

Huyck also points to the necessity for historical researchers and interpreters to work together to reveal the presence and the lives of women to the public. Diaries and letters, photographs, artifacts, and the structures and divisions of formal and informal housing and churches all reveal something of women's past. Lastly, she speaks of the urgency lest sites important to women be overlooked or ignored and lost, as in the site of the Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, and the Wesleyan Chapel, which became a laundromat.

The commentaries expand the direction of Huyck's presentation. Rothschild suggests that historians and interpreters working with historic sites consider the possibilities of using oral history as a tool for discovering the presence and the experiences of women in regional history. Long used to looking for artifacts and written evidence, even serious-minded researchers may not have considered the relevance of oral history in retrieving and enriching what we know of historical sites. Oral history is particularly effective in uncovering the "muted" or hidden lives of women. It is one of the ways in which we can learn to read their presence when that presence is not immediately palpable. In suggesting how oral history can become a useful tool in restoration of women's history, Rothschild suggests one of the more inventive avenues for future interpretation.

Martin asks us to consider that the national past is not only the record of Anglo-Americans. The past is the sum of the experience of all ethnic and racial groups. In this instance, she discusses the search of Chicanos for their place in public sites. She shows the need to revise conceptions of what constitutes a site in terms of the Mexican-American history. But clearly, the discussion must also be multiplied by all the diverse groups who affirm that their own past is part of the national heritage. That, after all, is one of the most powerful lessons interpreters of history for the public can teach.

## Beyond John Wayne: Using Historic Sites to Interpret Western Women's History

Heather Huyck\*

We try to tell visitors it wasn't just John Wayne and cavalymen riding through the frontier, but families as well.<sup>1</sup>

Stand on the hills above Fort Bowie, and look down on the now-ruined buildings once stables, quarters, mess halls, and laundry—part of the frontier fort. Visions of soldiers, Apaches, and Butterfield stagecoaches come easily. Less apparent are the post's laundresses, soldiers' and officers' wives, or the school children who lived here.

Walk onto the porch of LBJ's boyhood home in Johnson City, Texas, greeted by his father's law books, and try to link this house with the man who became president. His sisters' room and the parlor where his mother taught elocution with her favorite print still hanging on the wall, simultaneously showing a young woman preening herself and a skull—a warning against vanity—tell us of the women in the future president's life.<sup>2</sup>

Step into the church at San José de Tumacacori with its emphasis on the (all male) missionary priests and their converts. Here, the statue of St. Anthony of Padua, whose help was sought for finding husbands for single women or children for infertile women provides evidence of women's presence and lives.

Fort Bowie, Lyndon B. Johnson National Historical Park, Tumacacori National Historic Site are all historic sites—all places we can visit, all places where we can learn history.<sup>3</sup> History teaches who we are, and how we came to be that way. Historic sites teach that simple but critical sense of identity in particular ways to the public, that most general audience possible. They

\*The opinions expressed in this essay are those of the author alone.

inform people of the past in ways other sources cannot. Historic sites have two primary advantages: they possess a reality beyond other sources in their very physicality and they address many people unfortunately intimidated by other forms of historical scholarship.

For history happens in places—real, physical spaces that themselves affect the events and processes we call *history*. These spaces, whether rooms, river valleys, or entire continents, help us analyze past events even as they help us understand our predecessors' actions and decisions. They make the past real to us in special, particular, and important ways. Here American people (as well as American historians) learn our American history. Historic sites are accessible to many people who will never voluntarily pick up a book on the subjects they enclose. Their very tangible qualities, while giving curators nightmares, present visitors with greater senses of historical reality. Unlike historical fiction, commercial movies, and television shows that routinely take extensive liberties with past reality, historic sites have a commitment to presenting the past as accurately as is reasonable.

These "places of history" exist everywhere.<sup>4</sup> All of us have personal places important in our own history, marking private geographies—childhood haunts, accident sites, favorite family picnic spots, or cemeteries. All such locations commemorate significant events in our lives. Groups—ethnic, religious, generational (Pearl Harbor, Woodstock)—have places particularly meaningful to them, places they use to define themselves. Nations do as well. In this country, historic places are preserved by individuals, cities, counties, state and federal agencies as well as by private organizations. Historic sites range from the pathetic to the most sophisticated. No matter their condition, their professionalism (or lack of it) they are all places where we learn our history, where we learn who we are, and how we came to be that way.

Of the historic places saved so that we succeeding generations could seek to understand, and through that understanding share with those before us, very few were established to commemorate women's past. Battlefields abound, homes of famous men proliferate, and forts seem to be everywhere. The history of women also exists at such sites, sometimes interpreted; often ignored. We have to search for their presence because few sites exist that specifically mark female lives and contributions. Partly, this apparent lack of women's history sites results from changing definitions of history itself—from the strictly military and political to the more inclusive social, economic, technological, and cultural history. People preserve what they value. Miss Pamela Ann Cunningham worked to save Mount Vernon; Civil War veterans, who had previously fought each other, later fought together to save "their" battlefields. Women's history has not had such advocates. We must be careful

not to confuse lack of sites of women's history, marked and managed as such, for a genuine absence of such sites.

Professional historians have been doubly blinded. Women have too often been made invisible, to the extent that we have come to doubt their lives, contributions, and even presence. Historic sites have been too easily and erroneously dismissed by academic historians as so much mindless entertainment instead of as sources of, and communicators for, the past. Too often academic historians have been unaware of historic sites as resources, ignoring both the research that buttresses sites and their communicative abilities. Much has been done in the past few years to discover women's lives; much needs to be done to utilize historic sites in that effort. Women historians, long ingenious at uncovering women's past using traditional sources, have in historic sites rich new resources to be tapped, particularly in the historic house museums stuffed with feminine artifacts and domestic objects. Historic sites, established for so many reasons, incidentally incorporate many of the key themes identified in women's history. Foremost among these are domesticity and family, themes well portrayed—if ironically so—by the preservation of so many birthplaces and homes of famous men. Women in religion and education, while less thoroughly portrayed, still exist plentifully in restored schools and churches. Military forts, stereotypically considered strictly male bastions, tell of many kinds of women because such forts often served as key points of cross-cultural contact. Structures often tell more than we realize—the very physical arrangements of rooms displaying attitudes about family relationships, ideas of privacy, relative importance of various tasks. Consider the location, size, style, and arrangements of kitchens alone, and much of the differences among women's lives and the changes in those lives will quickly become apparent.

Historic sites in their rich diversity portray women's lives of all backgrounds and experiences, often without meaning to do so, sometimes without even realizing it. In our search for women's past, we must begin with the painfully simple assumption that *women were there*. From stone ruins, prints, statues, dishes, clothes, tools, games, diaries, whatever, we must find the women, on their own terms. We must discover how they perceived themselves and their world, how their contemporaries (of both sexes) viewed their lives and contributions, and, lastly, how we see them today in their historical context. We must expect that our own categories will shift into new patterns.

Scattered over the American landscape, these thousands of historic sites and museums preserve our history. Ranging from the simple metal signs recalling events we have just driven past, to the extensive and elaborate restorations and reconstructions of Colonial Williamsburg, Greenfield Vil-

lage, and Old Sturbridge Village, such sites both preserve and interpret our past.

Contrary to its popular image of managing only natural areas such as Yellowstone and Yosemite, some 60 percent of the National Park System's areas are cultural—historical and archeological. Western sites alone include Klondike Gold Rush, Grant-Kohrs Ranch, Custer Battlefield, Mesa Verde, Voyageurs, and Fort Laramie. The predominantly natural areas have significant cultural resources as well. In 1982 ninety-nine million people visited these cultural sites.<sup>5</sup> Ranging from the simple log cabins to the grand mansions, from forts to ruins, from ships to statues and including a vast array of artifacts, such sites document our past. Movie sets, California goldrush champagne, mastheads, swimming pools, cannons, pots, and huge archeological collections all receive National Park Service care.

If few sites specifically document women's history, many do have significant components of women's history. Fort Laramie, known for its role in the European settlement of the West, briefly sheltered Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spalding on their way to Oregon in 1843.<sup>6</sup> Many other immigrant families followed them, stopping at the fort to renew their supplies and energies. The fort has the quarters of Lt. Col. Andrew Burt and his family, the post surgeon and his family, and Col. Collins and his wife.<sup>7</sup> National Park Service interpreters have sometimes portrayed the roles of these women to visitors.<sup>8</sup>

National Park Service sites preserve a surprising diversity of women in their history. From women homesteaders at Homestead National Monument to Mormon honeymooners at Pipe Spring National Monument to American Indian traders' wives at Fort Union Trading Post to the temporarily incarcerated outlaw Belle Starr at Fort Smith—their history is under the stewardship of the National Park Service.<sup>9</sup>

Historic sites exist for two reasons—to preserve the past's remains and to make them understandable to present visitors. Cultural resources are the past's physical evidence, including landscapes, structures, and artifacts; interpretation provides the connection between the public and the cultural resources. Historic sites exist to preserve the past's evidence—the cultural resources—and to present that past to the public—the interpretation. Sites cannot exist without both these elements which simultaneously have supportive and contradictory effects on each other.

Interpretation takes many forms, including talks, tours, movies, signs, and demonstrations.<sup>10</sup> Many historians have experienced National Park Service walks, audio-visual productions, or purchased printed materials in parks without labeling their actions as being part of historical interpretation. Many have listened at evening campfires, watched electronic maps, or collected

site brochures as well. Historic sites, once theaters of actions, are now stages for evoking those pasts. Until explained, those stages remain mute, seeming to be so many old buildings, quilts, rockpiles, fields, or guns. Battlefields can seem solely grassy locations prime for frisbees until their significance is revealed; ruins appear as so much rubble until their story is told.

Historic sites show as well as tell; history books tell. Historic sites allow people to bring different backgrounds to them and to extract different experiences from them precisely because of these sites' multidimensionality. Such sites speak on many levels, from the child watching sheep grazing and smelling applebutter simmering to the scholar examining almost-extinct building methods. The visitor to Fort Point National Historic Site may find the construction of the masonry fort fascinating, or the cannon-firing drill or the location just under the Golden Gate Bridge intriguing. A person at Herbert Hoover National Historic Site may be intrigued by the Quaker Meetinghouse with its equal sections for women and men, by the childrens' desks in the schoolhouse, the blacksmith's hammering, or Huldah Hoover's summer kitchen.<sup>11</sup> All these dimensions help explain young Hoover's world; all respond to different visitors' varied interests. If academic history predominantly uses written sources to create written products for an initiated audience, public history as practiced at sites such as these employs many sources (emphasizing the tangible ones) and a variety of communicative methods (especially oral and visual) for a general audience that has any and all levels and interests of historical knowledge.

Historic sites use their properties of being tangible, visual, vivid, and real to convey history to the public. From San Francisco Bay's smells at Golden Gate National Recreation Area to Hubbell Trading Post's dust to John Muir's plums, Fort Bowie's heat, or Fort Point's fog, these properties provide superb introductions to history.<sup>12</sup> Because the realness and the ever-present fascination with "old things" are links between now and then, they impart history to visitors.

Interpreting history at historic sites also has disadvantages. Although there are many ways to tell the story, there is seldom much time to do it. Subtleties are difficult to communicate, and particular artifacts often assume symbolic values, so that a single object "stands for" a lifestyle. These properties make countering stereotypes that much more difficult. Distinguishing between the particular people of a site and representative people from that place and era also poses problems; by definition most sites commemorate the great and famous. Although vast amounts of research support the furnishings, restorations, and interpretation of the National Park Service, visitors do not receive such documentation—no footnotes are given them. Finally, some modern compromises must be made for reasons of health, safety,

security, and handicapped accessibility. Although these compromises sometimes lessen a site's validity, few visitors or managers would prefer that such realism include cholera, smallpox, or other similar scourges.

Historic sites serve as both evidence of the past and as communicators of that past. In assessing the potential for presenting women's history at such sites, both aspects must be considered. At Fort Laramie the technique of living history had National Park Service interpreters assume the roles of women in that period. Tours of LBJ's boyhood home include descriptions of all his family. Talks in the Quaker Meetinghouse at Herbert Hoover National Historic Site note Quaker women's different roles. Such interpretation has a flexibility that the tangible resources at sites do not, although interpretation must reinforce resources. Historic sites' tangible resources are generally given. They cannot be greatly altered for the convenience of interpretation even though the historical scholarship underlying them has changed, posing a serious dilemma when they do not match. Particularly missing from cultural resources are utilitarian and non-elite structures and artifacts. Interpretation must be used to compensate for these missing resources. Interpretation, by including women and their history at historic sites, can enrich the history being taught. To do this, the cultural resources themselves must be reassessed for their relevance to women's history.

Cultural resources, the material elements of historic sites which are interpreted to make up our heritage, have three aspects: cultural significance, knowledge base, and tangible resources. This division reflects the varied preservation needs of cultural resources. Nitrate photographs require different care from census records, mission ruins, or "antique" crops. Protecting cultural significance is both the most subtle and difficult part of cultural resource management. The cultural significance denotes the reason a site is, or was, considered important either by us or by previous generations. As such, cultural significance can be affected by changing definitions of history. The knowledge base includes information, both primary and secondary, about a site, and is quite similar to academic history's sources except that it focuses on the site and its elements, and includes various management documents generated for the site. The knowledge base can also consist of diaries by women at forts, census and voting records, insurance maps, correspondence or fieldnotes from archeological digs, or oral history. The tangible resources provide the greatest distinction from academic history. They are the physical remains of the past—its cultural landscapes, structures, and artifacts. Usually, tangible resources are visible but they may be submerged—USS Arizona—or difficult to detect—Chaco Canyon's ancient road system. Natural features such as trees, rivers, or major geological formations such as Chimney Rock can be tangible resources because of their historical

significance. Photographs are tangible resources, although analysis of their data is part of the knowledge base. All three aspects intermingle and are interdependent, although sometimes there is incongruity among them. Tangible evidence of adobe walls or of defensive earthworks may be slight while documentary evidence in the knowledge base is high. Conversely, tangible evidence may be high but the knowledge base faulty. If cultural significance is low, the other elements' relatively high level may be irrelevant; if cultural significance is high but the others low (especially tangible), hard choices must be made.<sup>13</sup>

The cultural significance of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site in Vancouver, Washington, is its place in the history of European exploration and settling of the Pacific Northwest.<sup>14</sup> The Fort's tangible resources include its setting—even with such intrusions as an airport and the Columbia River bridge—its reconstructed structures and stockade, and its archaeological collection of some million objects. Its knowledge base includes the obvious primary sources generated by those involved with the fort, the secondary syntheses, and the data from the archaeological digs. The knowledge base also includes plans for the reconstructions and the multitude of management documents generated by the National Park Service—furnishing plans, statements for interpretation, general management plans, and budgets. Interpretation—exhibits, audiovisual programs, and living history demonstrations—use these cultural resources to tell the story of the fort and the people associated with it.

Traditional scholarly history focuses on the knowledge base, which documents the past. Both scholarly history and historical site history incorporate ideas of cultural significance as they decide which questions and research methods are valid and important. Historians' recognition of women's history as significant has resulted in the phenomenal growth of that knowledge base. Tangible resources—landscapes, structures, and artifacts—differentiate scholarly history from public history as practiced at historic sites. For tangible resources, no matter how altered, are implicit in the definition of a place or locale. Without cultural significance, a site deemed inconsequential is allowed to deteriorate, be drastically altered, or even abandoned. The fate of the site of the 1848 Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, shows too well how lack of cultural significance can damage resources.<sup>15</sup> The Wesleyan Chapel, not recognized as historically important, underwent a series of major alterations, becoming a laundromat before it was acquired by the Park Service. Changing understandings of cultural significance have resulted in the establishment of Women's Rights National Historic Park and the chapel will be part of it. Without a solid knowledge base, history at sites becomes distorted or even sheer fantasy. Without tangible



resources, historic sites are no longer definable or unique places. Professionally managed historic sites receive considerable protection for all three of these aspects; other sites do not necessarily have such good fortune. Each of these three elements has its own vulnerabilities. Floods, wind, rust, fire, theft, and vandalism challenge the tangible resources; lost, incomplete, biased, or inaccurate information, the knowledge base; changing attitudes, the cultural significance. All three affect what and how women's history is preserved and interpreted to the public, just as historians affect all three.

The knowledge bases of sites differ dramatically in the kinds of sources available. Oldest sites have strictly archaeological information as sources, later sites have additional written sources, more recent sites gain from the invaluable contributions of photography and oral history. Research in material culture assists the knowledge bases of sites by dating objects, evaluating them, and placing them in their cultural context.<sup>16</sup> Material culture research offers much to both historic sites and women's history. Photographs provide especially important information for historic sites because they show room arrangements, as well as lost or now-dramatically altered buildings or landscapes. They provide more specific information about tangible resources than do verbal descriptions, which seldom give detailed descriptions or exact locations of artifacts or structural components. Often photographs capture details otherwise considered too minor to be discussed, although these same details distinguish authenticity from approximation. Photographs can be used to refurbish rooms rather successfully, or to document change in rooms. An 1891 photograph of a parlor at the Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site in Montana allows for an almost exact duplication in a 1978 photograph of the same now-restored room, including the paintings, furnishings and general atmosphere.<sup>17</sup> Photographs can also be used to show how sites used to look where only ruins now exist, as at Fort Union in New Mexico or Fort Bowie in Arizona.<sup>18</sup> Oral history can be used to ask both new questions and to query new informants.<sup>19</sup> Because of its interactive nature, oral history allows access to new sources—individuals not easily or substantially present in the two dimensional record (written, photographic). Oral history can also ask new questions.

Tangible resources make historic sites *places* to visit and provide dimensionality to them. Tangible resources are wildly diverse as are their preservation and conservation needs, and their communicative potentials. In the National Park System, tangible resources include the gallows of Fort Smith National Historic Site, the sacred quarry of Pipestone National Monument, the telecommunications tower and Lincoln Continentals of Lyndon B. Johnson National Historical Park, and the orchards at Pipe Spring National Monument. At least ten million objects are in Park Service collections; many



21. Parlor of Dr. Beaumont's quarters, Fort Bowie Historic Site, Arizona. (Courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona, neg. no. 25607.)

thousands of structures have been documented and catalogued. The primary distinction between the three kinds of tangible resources is that of scale, as all three comprise aspects of sites that reflect human impact.

Cultural landscapes, the largest scale resources, encompass structures and artifacts, setting the stage for them.<sup>20</sup> Here the natural forces of the environment are most obvious. Rivers, hills, beaches, mountains, fields, passes, and forests, while subject to human influence, also affect human lives. Cultural patterns—the patchwork quilt of the Old Northwest Territories, the ranchscape of Grant-Kohrs Ranch—show influences and interactions as do land use patterns and preferences. Of the three aspects of tangible resources, cultural landscapes continue to be the least studied and documented by scholars and managers, much less interpreted to the public. Much of the research currently available has focused on formal manicured gardens rather than on the vernacular landscapes so often found around historic sites.<sup>21</sup> The research, growing in complexity and scope, shows the potential of using the landscape to interpret history.

Sometimes, as at Buffalo River in Arkansas or Ebey's Landing in Washington, the landscape is the site's primary significance. A careful inventory of cultural and natural elements—the river, the locations of remaining structures, the plowing methods—is needed as well as finding ways to preserve those elements.<sup>22</sup> Women's history in such landscapes needs to map female presence, location, contribution, and sense-of-place in ways both obvious and subtle. In performing research on women's history, examination of both

initial and subsequent impressions, especially in frontier situations, should yield further information about gender roles. Wives of military officers provide good comparative information because they often moved from post to post.<sup>23</sup> Given that so many Park Service sites document military forts, these accounts are especially important. Travelers, whether on the Oregon Trail, the Santa Fe Trail, or among the Voyageur's lakes and portages, provide further information.<sup>24</sup> Some of the best visual sources of the fur trade come from the paintings of Frances Ann Hopkins, a woman who traveled with her trader husband and the voyageurs.<sup>25</sup> Not all women noticed their surroundings well enough to be useful observers. For instance, Elizabeth Cady Stanton visited Yosemite in 1871, leaving an amusing description of her tribulations in reaching the valley floor. She admitted that she had spent all her effort getting there: "I have been in no mood for scenery. I have been constantly watching my hands and feet lest I should come to grief."<sup>26</sup>

Much more research will be needed until we know how women affected various cultural landscapes, from the placement of structures, the development of domestic and commercial agriculture, the layout of towns to other elements that comprise such landscapes. Factors such as seasonality, ethnicity, population density, and economic bases will need to be considered as well.

Structures, the second element of tangible resources, entail issues similar to landscapes. Again, it is much easier to document their effect upon women than women's effect upon them. Because most architects—whether professional or amateur, of formal or vernacular structures—were male, examining female contributions to structures will probably be less useful than considering how the women and buildings interacted, and what assumptions builders made about the women using their structures.<sup>27</sup> Feminist architectural theory has long recognized that buildings themselves help structure women's lives.<sup>28</sup> A 1900 photograph of the Sutro Baths in San Francisco, now a ruin in Golden Gate National Recreation Area, shows clearly sex-segregated pools—one pool marked "For Ladies' Only."<sup>29</sup> Kitchen design, whether seemingly non-existent, for servants only at Grant-Kohrs, or for the family at Lyndon B. Johnson National Historical Park indicates female roles and their variations. The schoolteacher's platform at the Freeman School at Homestead National Monument or the equally-divided Quaker Meetinghouse at Herbert Hoover National Historic Site also serve as tangible evidence of women's lives and of the different roles they played. On the *C. A. Thayer*, a fishing schooner that once plied the west coast, a small parlor served the captain's wife and family. Frontier forts also show the various buildings that housed women, from the officers' wives to laundresses. Photographs showing the buildings and their interiors provide interesting infor-

mation on how women modified these spaces to suit their own purposes and preferences.

Structures have four levels of integrity which affect their validity as evidence. Occasionally, structures survive relatively unscathed by time and alterations, still containing a high percentage of their original, historic, fabric. Many more structures have been modified with time, losing some original elements but still providing useful evidence. Other structures, such as Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site in Colorado, are modern reconstructions. Reconstructions have very low evidentiary value, as complete documentation to rebuild them cannot exist, but they can still be useful in communicating the past to visitors.<sup>30</sup> Ruins and fragmentary sites comprise a fourth category of integrity. Their fabric may be all original, but so much has been lost that visualizing their former condition becomes quite difficult. Even relatively intact structures can suffer certain editing by their donors or managers who remove or replace elements of them, often to upgrade their general appearance and make them look "nicer."<sup>31</sup> Each of the four levels of integrity depends upon the knowledge base to authenticate its tangible evidence.

As with landscapes, research in women's history and structures needs to consider women's effect on them, their effect on women, and the interaction between women and particular structures. Interest in buildings and parts of buildings women used frequently will yield both research material and interpretive programs. Areas generally forbidden to women, such as kivas or whaling ships, provide comparisons. Female alterations to structures, and means of changing from intended use to actual use, also need exploration.

Artifacts, the third element, provide cultural resources still more amenable to studying and interpreting women's history. Recent research in material culture offers much promise for the knowledge bases of historic sites. This research, anxious to avoid any taint of antiquarianism, links objects, their uses, users, and users' needs together.<sup>32</sup> Female influence and use patterns are much more obvious in artifacts, particularly the domestic ones that fill furnished historic house museums. Such artifacts range from agricultural implements to shawls, baskets, looms, trinkets, books, applepeelers, and weapons. Women often helped design and produce artifacts; some were almost strictly their province. Such objects clearly show the use women gave them—spoons worn on one side from stirring or books opening to particular passages. Needlework and quilts, in particular, are now receiving more attention as objects of art, use, and, cultural transmission.<sup>33</sup>

Objects also show how women modified male-designed spaces to their own definitions—the decorations in the ship's parlor, the officer's quarters at Fort Laramie, the large lamp poised over LBJ's boyhood dining room table. Artifacts can be used to study differences in distribution patterns by race,

ethnic group, economic class, and distance to dispersion points. They can document lives otherwise difficult to unravel from lack of other kinds of sources.<sup>34</sup> Artifacts designed as "special" and either made particularly durably or used infrequently, survive in disproportion to their original numbers, giving rise to the fallacy that "everything was made better back then" and endowing refurbished sites with greater elegance than warranted.<sup>35</sup> Fancy gowns and wedding dresses are more easily located today than are the more common gingham aprons and calico shirts which were literally worn out. Objects associated with a particular individual often carry additional meaning for us. Such personal artifacts give great insight into people, by their simple presence and by their use.

Artifacts—in contrast to manuscripts and archives—can be shown to the public because they can usually be safely displayed and because they can easily be made visible. Artifacts reveal many different levels of experience, as simply pretty, or "wied," or "just like my grandmother's," or as complex evidence remaining from earlier times and places. Ordinary objects of the past, especially domestic ones, serve as gates into historic periods because such objects are simultaneously familiar and unusual. Flatirons, aprons, stoves, and washboards open past worlds for visitors, although there is the ever-present danger that people will not go beyond the basic recognition of vague familiarity into the past itself. Good interpretation uses these physical remains to understand the meaning of the artifacts to the women and men who used them, thereby providing better understanding of the users' lives. Such an approach consciously examines disjunctions between past and present, not to avoid the present but to understand the past on its own terms, and to place the specific past into its larger context.

John Muir National Historic Site in Martinez, California, provides an example. A formidable Victorian home—complete with cupola—a now-small orchard, and various outbuildings with a nearby freeway document Muir's life. At first, the house's elegance contradicts our image of the man who repeatedly trekked off to the Sierra Nevadas with only the barest of necessities in his flour bag. The rather well-to-do house seems a study in domesticity, from the parlor's elegant red drapery to the Chinese cook's kitchen to the daughters' bedrooms upstairs. Ironically, the evidence here tells us more of his wife, Louie Wanda Strentzel Muir and his family, than of the scruffily bearded conservationist. In actuality, John Muir was a successful businessman as well as a wanderer; "his" house was his wife's. Louie Strentzel Muir encouraged John Muir to be the conservationist he was; both parlor and mountain meadow were part of him.<sup>36</sup> While the site's interpretation focuses on John Muir, his life and accomplishments, his family's life remains better portrayed than his own, although his study strewn with books,

papers, and rocks reminds us that he returned home to write the books which brought him such influence and fame.

Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site in Ganado, Arizona, combines commercial and domestic spaces and illustrates cross-cultural interactions of Anglos and Navajos. Here Dorothy Hubbell ran the trading post after her husband's death. A tour of the house shows the dining room as Mrs. Hubbell wished it presented, with crystal on the table and elegant furnishings—her statement about how she and her family lived. A slide taken a few years ago shows another aspect of the site: a Navajo woman weaving a rug as she sits on an upended 7-Up carton with the Virgin of Guadalupe nearby.<sup>37</sup> Dorothy Hubbell's life and those of the Navajo women she traded with must be considered together; at Hubbell Trading Post they can well be. The artifacts there—baskets, magnificent rugs, crystal, 7-Up cartons—all provide information and all convey that history to the public.

Examples of the potential for using artifacts to tell of past women's lives abound, from the furniture chosen by Augusta Kohrs at Grant-Kohrs Ranch, the potsherds at Hohokam Pima, to the milk pitcher at Pipe Spring National Monument. Like the landscapes and structures, artifacts need to be examined and interpreted for their economic, social, and symbolic functions.

Although many National Park Service sites portray military forts and battlefields, or the homes of famous men—reflecting ideas of history when these sites were established—these sites present many possibilities for interpreting women's history to the public. Use of the knowledge base and tangible resources already extant interprets history effectively to the public. From the goldrushers at Skagway at Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park and the laundresses at Fort Union who lived on "Suds Row" to Susan Magoffin who had quarters at Bent's Old Fort, many women come alive.<sup>38</sup> Mrs. Magoffin, who miscarried during her stay at the fort, "nevertheless, managed to keep a meticulous diary that stands as one of the most complete descriptions we have of the 1846 fort."<sup>39</sup> A more permanent resident of Bent's Old Fort was "Black Charlotte," a cook known for her proficiency.<sup>40</sup> Black women were also part of the history at Homestead National Monument, where freed slaves staked their claims.<sup>41</sup> Here women lived both traditional and non-traditional lives, adapting to the frontier even as they helped to shape it.

The history is there, as are the audiences and cultural resources. As the significance of women's history continues to be recognized, sites specifically documenting women's history, as well as appropriate aspects of other sites will receive greater attention. Existing sites will be reevaluated, and new sites may be added eventually.<sup>42</sup>

There are problems, however. During the past decade, scholars have

uncovered a wealth of manuscript and archival sources for women's history.<sup>43</sup> These sources, often subsumed in collections bearing fathers' and husbands' names, or under record groups or organizations not obviously pertinent to women, have greatly enriched our understanding of women's past. A similar approach to historic sites is needed. Many historic sites have cultural resources documenting women's history but lack recognition of their importance. The preponderance of military and "great men" sites adds to this situation, although even this can be misleading. Alcatraz Prison illustrates well the principle that we must assume women's presence at sites, rather than expect their absence. Women lived on the island, that bastion of male culture, as families of the wardens.<sup>44</sup> Custer Battlefield National Monument's interpretation is complete only if the American Indian story is fully told, as well as that of the soldiers' wives as they awaited news of their husbands' fates. Elizabeth Custer's poignant description of the women learning of their now-dead husbands at the Battle of the Little Big Horn infuses this predominately military story with women's history.<sup>45</sup>

American Indian women's history poses additional problems. Many of the National Park Service sites, including Mesa Verde, Canyon de Chelly, and Bandelier as well as Chaco Canyon and Casa Grande are archeological ones, making separation by gender that much more difficult. Too often, women's presence has been defined to mean that of Anglo-American women, rather than of any and all women—an image both racist and inaccurate. American Indian women lived in the communities that inhabited these sites and their surrounding areas for centuries before Europeans came either from the south or the east. Women were present and active at more recent sites, particularly forts and missions such as Fort Vancouver, Fort Union Trading Post (North Dakota) or Grand Portage (Minnesota) or the mission at Tumacacori. American Indian women played key parts in the cross-cultural contact, both as members of their tribes and as wives and daughters of European-American men.<sup>46</sup>

Although their history is found throughout the Southwest, the lives of Hispanic women are best told at the missions of San Antonio Missions National Historical Park in Texas, Pecos in New Mexico, and Tumacacori in Arizona. Recent historical research at Salinas National Monument using court documents has uncovered new evidence of women and their lives there.<sup>47</sup>

Separating women who were the flamboyant exceptions from those more representative of their time and place adds another challenge. Many of the women discussed in this essay were wives of military men, missionaries, settlers, or trappers rather than women noted for their individual accomplishments, although such women are occasionally mentioned—Luella Stewart, the first telegraph operator at Pipe Spring, being an example.<sup>48</sup> Most of the women mentioned at the National Park Service sites had such derived

status—as did many of the women who lived in those areas. While a few women, such as Isabella Bird, travelled singly, or set off to marry only later, as Elinore Pruitt (Stewart) did, most seem to have been part of family groups.<sup>49</sup> Women who travelled alone or were prostitutes receive particularly little interpretation at historic sites, partially from lack of sources and partially from concern that visitors may be offended.<sup>50</sup>

One of the most interesting challenges for presenting women's history at historic sites comes from the more chronic and private pace and location of so many of our female forebears' lives. The female public figures were the exceptions; most women's lives were spent in relative privacy and anonymity. Such history consists of long sweeps of events as "small" as they were important, rather than great and dramatic moments. Ironically, historic sites have great difficulty portraying change-over-time. Living history demonstrations of skills such as spinning, churning butter, cooking over open fires, or preserving food show domestic chores but are hardly capable of realistically portraying the full range of duties and responsibilities demanded of earlier women. Historic sites easily become snapshots of time rather than its evolution. They can also portray idealized, or romanticized, versions of the past.

Perhaps the greatest challenge for incorporating women's history to the fullest extent appropriate comes from the split between research historians and interpreters wishing to apply that work to specific sites. Academic historians are gradually coming to recognize the potential of these sites as either evidence or communicators of the past. Interpreters often have relatively little access to latest research, especially in some of the more remote sites.

Historians of women who want to see that history incorporated into site interpretation face other issues. Most sites were established for reasons quite separate from any female role in them. Legislation creating such sites defines and directs them, no matter how many decades ago the site was established. The history may have changed but the legislation has not. Further, many sites have constituency groups interested in that particular site or kinds of sites that, through their conferences, watchdog activities, and congressional lobbying, often exert impressive pressure on a site and the way its resources are managed. A few well-devised letters from these groups written to congressional delegations or to the Director of the National Park Service have affected Park Service policy. Over the years, some of these groups have developed very close ties to particular National Park Service sites and historians. Organizations such as the Council on America's Military Past, the Civil War Roundtables, the Order of Indian Wars, and the Sons of Confederate Veterans, have lobbied hard for protection of our historical resources, as well as for their own versions of history. Historians of women, however, have seldom undertaken such activity, either critical or supportive.

Some very basic research is also needed. The 1976 *American Woman's*

*Gazetteer* does an admirable job of identifying many sites in women's history.<sup>51</sup> But no national effort of identifying, marking, and protecting women's history sites has ever been done. Such a study would systematically identify the sites of women's history, using the comparative method and solid scholarship, and encourage their preservation and interpretation. It would link women's history with the physical evidence remaining from that history and find those sites most important to save as a legacy to future generations of daughters and sons. It would determine sites of national significance and assure them greater protection. In the process, it would train all of us how to find such sites, including those of lesser significance, so that we would come to understand better that our foremothers' past is all around us. While few historic sites are managed—preserved and interpreted—as such, many other places exist to interpret women's history.

Some people would argue that we must identify, preserve, and interpret the places of women's history to give women pride in their past. Such an argument, while emotionally appealing, is inadequate. We need to know these sites to come closer to telling "what really happened" so that accuracy can beget better understanding. We need them so that people of both sexes can take pride, sorrow, and knowledge in them. Women have long taken pride in, and learned from, men's achievements; the reverse should also happen. An incomplete history hinders full understanding of our cultural identity.

Historians, like anyone else, see what we have been taught to look for, find what we are taught to search for. We focus on the soldier, forgetting the wife left behind to keep the farm; the voyageur, ignoring the American Indian woman beside him. In the past few years, historians seeking to learn of women's past (thereby reaffirming that past as an important one) have asked new questions and consequently have seen new things. The search has changed the questions themselves, as well as the sources used to answer them.

Women's history at historic sites offers both new sources of historical data in their tangible resources and new means to communicate in their access to the larger audience of the general public. Historic sites can help redress the incomplete history long taught in schools. The majority of the American public who learned their history before the mid-1970s learned very little women's history. They will not be going back to the classroom and so retain their concept of the past as so many names (male), dates (political), and battles. Historic sites, with so much women's history inherent in them, need the same revisions textbooks needed a few years ago, for such sites have omitted women's past even as they contain great potential for preserving and interpreting it. Scholars of women's history need to help revise such

sites, to encourage women to uncover their full past, and to share that with the public. Unlike textbooks, women's history is integral to historic sites; even when that presence was not directly noticed, it was there. The sites give a sense of the past obtainable in no other way, for they can be experienced by anyone willing to visit them and can speak to each visitor directly but individually. Such sites reach audiences not easily found by historians of women, audiences whose own historical identity has not included women's past lives and actions.

The resources for using historic sites to interpret women's history exist; the recent scholarship on women's history has extended the knowledge base greatly. (A bibliographic review of this scholarship appears at the end of this chapter.) But a greater number of links between the (usually academic) historians who write women's history and the public historians (interpreters and managers) who present women's history to the general public are needed. Such an effort will begin to remedy the losses sustained previously. A further effort to identify sites not currently preserved and interpreted will provide more opportunities to expand our understanding of history, and to endow future generations with greater historical riches.

Stand on the heat-drenched hills above Fort Bowie, or in the cool darkness of San José de Tumacacori's church, or in Louie Muir's parlor and see the women who were there. Armed with the knowledge that women were there, look for them, make them visible, share our history. Interpreting women's history at historic sites is a new frontier. Let us go beyond John Wayne.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

The American Association for State and Local History publishes a guide to historic societies, listing some ten thousand which range from the simplest operation to the most sophisticated. The *Woman's Gazetteer* gives some direction, as does the *Index of the National Park System and Related Areas* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1987) which lists and briefly describes National Park Service units. Almost every N. P. S. site has a brochure describing its history and resources. These are particularly valuable as they include specifics on the tangible aspects of sites. Some sites have published handbooks such as *Fort Vancouver* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1981), as well, books describing the sites in some detail. In addition to site-related literature, there are several major kinds of literature useful in linking women's history and historic sites. Several journals and magazines cover large portions of the scope of historic sites; *The Winterthur Portfolio* and *History News* (American Association for State and Local History)

are both excellent. The Association for Living History Farms and Agricultural Museums publishes a *Bulletin* with quite useful information. The American Association for State and Local History also publishes a variety of technical leaflets and books dealing with interpretation and resources of historic sites. An often dated but sometimes useful source are the WPA state guides as they are site-based.

Researching women's history at historic sites needs to be divided into its various components of cultural resource management, interpretation, and women's history before being considered together again.

Beginning at a specific historic site by visiting it, talking with its staff in some depth, and examining its resources, both in its library and archives and its landscapes, structures, and artifacts, will provide more riches than usually suspected. Interpreters are people who like to share their information with others—implicit in the definition of their trade. They generally are most willing to talk with interested people for generous amounts of time.

During the past decade various scholarly and serious journals and magazines have had special articles or issues on western women although they seldom are concerned with the tangible past of landscapes, structures or artifacts. Still, these writings provide frameworks for understanding the tangible resources and women's past. State-oriented research has resulted in publications such as Virginia Culin Robert's article in *The Journal of Arizona History*, "Heroines on the Arizona Frontier: The First Anglo-American Women" 23 (Spring 1982): 11–34, which takes a much more traditional and limited view. *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 24 (Summer 1974) produced a special issue on women's history as did *The Journal of the West* 21:2 (April 1982). The latter publication has published various other articles on women and their history, as has *The American West*.

An article which specifically mentions parks is Darlis Miller's "Foragers, Army Women, and Prostitutes" in *New Mexico Women: Intercultural Perspectives*, ed. Joan M. Jensen and Darlis A. Miller (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986): 141–68, which includes accounts of Fort Union, New Mexico, now a National Park Service site. Anne Woodhouse presented a paper to the 1984 meeting of the Organization of American Historians, "Incorporating Women's History into the Museum: The Wisconsin Example," which examined the various ways women's history has been interpreted in that context. Obviously, here is a field quite open for more research.

Although it does not intend to document women's tangible past, and does not do so at historic sites currently preserved as such, the photographs found in Cathy Luchetti's *Women of the West* (St. George: Antelope Island Press, 1982) contain much information about women and their relationships with landscapes, structures, and artifacts. The book also has the strong advantage of including a great variety of women.

Few people realize how much research and how many reports exist for each and every National Park Service site. The variety and depth surprises many people, for they include detailed documentation of the sites, their history, evidence and interpretation for that history, planning documents of all kinds, and management documents as well.

Most of this research is available primarily within the National Park Service. The research and reports are available at the respective sites and can usually be examined there. Historic Furnishing Reports, Historic Structure Reports, and Historic Base Maps are examples of these kinds of research. One example of such historical research is Robert L. S. Spude's *Skagway, District of Alaska, 1884–1912: Building the Gateway to the Klondike* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1983); another similar study (although published under the auspices of the State Historical Society of Colorado) is *Bent's Old Fort* (Colorado Springs: Williams Printing, 1979). Another site-oriented published history written for the National Park Service is John L. Kessell's *Kiva, Cross and Crown: The Pecos Indians and New Mexico, 1540–1840* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), focusing on the history of Pecos National Monument. In summary, historic sites are like many archives and manuscript collections: both the original "documents" and the finding aids are located together. It is also possible to write sites and request a copy of their site brochure and list of the publications offered by their cooperating associations. The cooperating associations, non-profit and independent, work closely with parks and sell some \$9 million in books annually. Their stock includes the most academic tome to quite useful publications such as the Southwest Parks and Monuments Association's *Trail Guide to Fort Bowie* (Globe: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, 1981), P. J. Ryan's "The Muir Home Tour" (Point Reyes: Coastal Parks Association, 1977), "LBJ Country" (Fredericksburg, Texas: The Awani Press, 1982), or *An Army Wife's Cookbook with Household Hints and Home Remedies* containing Alice Kirk Grierson's treasured recipes as she moved in the western frontier forts, compiled by Mary L. Williams at Fort Davis National Historic Site (Globe: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, 1972). Carl P. Russell's *One Hundred Years in Yosemite: The Story of a Great National Park* (1931; reprint Yosemite National Park: Yosemite Natural History Association, 1968) describes life in Yosemite Valley, including women.

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*Historic Sites* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1976) and Barbara G. and Cary Carson, "Things Unspoken: Learning Social History from Artifacts," in *Ordinary People and Everyday Life: Perspectives on the New Social History*, ed. James B. Gardner and George Rollie Adams (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1983), 181–204. The National Park Service also issues NPS-6, the official policy on Interpretation. *History News* publishes articles on interpretation. For a sampling of the diverse world of interpretation of greatly varying attraction to professional historians, see Jay Anderson, *Time Machines: The World of Living History* (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1984).

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#### Artifacts

See Ruth Schwartz Cowan, "The 'Industrial Revolution' in the Home: Household Technology and Social Change in the Twentieth Century" and Lizabeth A. Cohen, "Embellishing a Life of Labor: An Interpretation of the Material Culture of American Working-Class Homes, 1885-1915," both in *Material Culture Studies in America*, ed. Thomas J. Schlereth (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1982), 222-36 and 289-305, respectively, and Harvey Green, *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), Kenneth Ames, "Meaning of Artifacts: Hall Furnishings in Victorian America" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 9 (Summer 1978): 19-46. See also Mary Johnson, "Women and their Material Universe: A Bibliographical Essay" (unpublished, August 1981). Several books which discuss material culture include Thomas J. Schlereth, *Artifacts and the American Past* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1980); Ian M. G. Quimby, *Material Culture and the Study of American Life* (New York: W. W.

Norton & Company, 1978). David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty, *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You* (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1982) and Fay D. Metcalf and Matthew T. Downey, *Using Local History in the Classroom* (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1982) also include significant discussions on material culture and history. For the archaeological perspective, see Leland Ferguson (ed.), *Historical Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things*, Special Publications Series, Number 2, (Bethlehem, PA: The Society for Historical Archaeology, 1975) or James Deetz's classic *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Everyday Life* (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1976). Various essays in *The Fabric of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*, ed. Justine M. Cordwell and Ronald A. Schwarz (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1979) analyze the roles clothing plays in our cultural presentation of selves, including historical considerations of gender.

#### NOTES

1. Thomas Crowson, National Park Service interpreter, Fort Smith National Historic Site, Fort Smith, Arkansas, November 1983. Special thanks to James May, Laura Feller, Sharon Brown, Dwight Pitcaithley, Richard Sellars, Barbara Consolo, and the National Park Service, National Capital Parks-Central, for their various kinds of assistance.
2. Personal visits, Fort Bowie (January 1984), Lyndon B. Johnson National Historical Park (June 1982) Tumacacori National Monument (January 1984). There is a real paucity of reviews of historic sites, an exception being William Woodward's paper delivered to the 1983 meeting of the Popular Culture Association, "Popular History as Popular Culture: Sites and Shrines of the Pioneer Experience." This paper was consequently based on extensive travel to historic sites, work in the Washington office of the National Park Service, Division of Interpretation (1980-1983), site informational folders, and interviews with National Park Service personnel. National Park Service parks and historic sites have been used as examples here because they include diverse and significant sites which also constitute a professionally run system.
3. See "National Parks Lead in History Teaching," by Heather Huyck, *Organization of American Historians Newsletter*, January 1982.
4. The American Association for State and Local History (AASLH) maintains a list of some ten thousand sites.
5. Figure derived by adding visitation for 1982 to all cultural areas, including National Historical Parks, National Historic Sites, appropriate National Monuments, National Battlefields, etc.
6. Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Fort Laramie, Wyoming, site brochure, 1981.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Barbara Consolo, National Park Service interpreter, Jefferson National Expansion Monument, St. Louis, Missouri, September 1983.



9. Site brochures from Homestead National Monument, Beatrice, Nebraska, 1978; Pipe Spring National Monument, Moccasin, Arizona, 1983; Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, Medora, North Dakota, 1982; Thomas Crowson, Fort Smith National Historic Site, Fort Smith, Arkansas, November 1983; Richard Sellars, Southwest Regional Office, National Park Service, Santa Fe, New Mexico, November 1983.

10. See Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957) and William Lewis, *Interpreting for Park Visitors* (Philadelphia: The Acorn Press, 1980). See also William T. Alderson and Shirley Payne Low, *Interpretation of Historic Sites* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1976).

11. Personal visit to Fort Point National Historic Site, December 1981; employment, Herbert Hoover National Historic Site, West Branch, Iowa, 1973 and 1974.

12. Personal visit to Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California, December 1981; to Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Ganado, Arizona, August 1963; and to John Muir National Historic Site, Martinez, California, December 1981.

13. See Sharon Timmons (ed.), *Preservation and Conservation: Principles and Practices* (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1976).

14. *Fort Vancouver*, Handbook 113 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1981).

15. Personal visit, Seneca Falls, New York, July 1982.

16. For a published case study, see Sarah M. Olson, "Furnishing a Frontier Outpost" in *Bent's Old Fort*, The State Historical Society of Colorado (Colorado Springs: Williams Printing, 1979).

17. William Seale, *Recreating the Historic House Interior* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1979), 188–89. Seale has also written the quite useful *The Tasteful Interlude: American Interiors through the Camera's Eye 1860–1917*, 2nd ed. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1981). Historic photographs are used extensively when they are available. For another helpful book, and an example of Chilkoot Trail in its glory (now part of Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park), see Robert A. Weinstein and Larry Booth, *Collection, Use, and Care of Historical Photographs* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1977), 44. See also Klondike Gold Rush N. H. P. site brochure, Skagway, Alaska, 1983.

18. Patricia Y. Stallard, *Glittering Misery: Dependents of the Indian Fighting Army* (San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1978) includes many such photographs. See also site brochure for Fort Union, Watrous, New Mexico, 1982.

19. An outstanding example of this use of oral history, although not at a National Park Service site, comes in an article by Sue Armitage, Theresa Banfield, and Sarah Jacobus, "Black Women and their Communities in Colorado," *Frontiers*, 2 (Summer 1977): 36–40.

20. For example, see John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *American Space: The Centennial Years, 1865–1876* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1972) and John Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580–1845* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

21. John Brinckerhoff Jackson's work, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), is a partial remedy to this situation. See also Rudy L. Favretti and Joy Putnam Favretti, *Landscapes and Gardens for Historic Buildings: A Handbook for Reproducing and Creating Authentic Landscape Settings* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1978) and Robert Z.

Melnick, *Cultural Landscapes: Rural Historic Districts in the National Park System* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1984).

22. Melnick, *Cultural Landscapes*.

23. On the frontier, see Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840–1880* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979); Sandra Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800–1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); Lillian Schlissel, *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey* (New York: Schocken Books, 1982). Robert V. Hine's *Community on the American Frontier, Separate but Not Alone* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980) discusses gender-specific experiences on the frontier. Particularly vivid accounts by western women which provide background information for historic sites, although they do not directly deal with N. P. S. sites to any great extent, are Sarah Royce, *A Frontier Lady, Recollections of the Gold Rush and Early California* (1932; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977) and Martha Summerhayes, *Vanished Arizona: Recollections of the Army Life of a New England Woman* (1911; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979). Agnes Morley Cleveland, *No Life for a Lady* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977). For further information on military wives, see Stallard, *Glittering Misery*, Elizabeth Custer, "Boots and Saddles", or *Life in Dakota with General Custer* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1885), and Sandra L. Myres, "Romance and Reality on the American Frontier: Views of Army Wives," *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 13 (October 1982): 409–29. *Montana: the Magazine of Western History*, 24 (Summer 1974) did a special issue on women's history, as did *Journal of the West*, 21 (April 1982). Robert M. Utley's *Indian, Soldier, and Settler: Experiences in the Struggle for the American West* (St. Louis: Jefferson National Expansion Historical Association, 1929) provides context.

25. Susan Magoffin wrote of Bent's Old Fort. Site brochure, Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site, La Junta, Colorado, 1982.

26. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years & More: Reminiscences, 1815–1897* (1898; reprint, New York: Schocken Books, 1971), 293.

27. For an introduction to the history of American Architecture, see David P. Handlin, *American Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985).

28. Catharine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home* (1869; reprint, Hartford: Stowe-Day Foundation, 1975); Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1981). More recent research is uncovering female architects of some park structures.

29. *The American Image: Photographs from the National Archives, 1860–1960* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), 78, Henry G. Peabody (photographer), "Sutro Baths, San Francisco."

30. The National Park Service avoids building reconstructions, believing that existing cultural resources need financial and personnel resources and that reconstructions necessarily involve conjecture, thus making them less useful as evidence for the past.

31. The yard in front of Lyndon Baines Johnson's reconstructed birthplace cottage is now planted in grass and flowers, in contradiction to a historic photograph of the place.

32. See Ruth Schwartz Cowan, "The 'Industrial Revolution' in the Home: Household Technology and Social Change in the Twentieth Century" and Elizabeth A. Cohen, "Embellishing a Life of Labor: An Interpretation of the Material Culture of American Working-Class Homes, 1885–1915," both in *Material Culture Studies in America*, ed.

Thomas J. Schlereth (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1982), 222–36 and 289–305, respectively, and Harvey Green, *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983). See also Mary Johnson, "Women and their Material Universe: A Bibliographical Essay" (unpublished, August 1981). Several books which discuss material culture include Thomas J. Schlereth, *Artifacts and the American Past* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1980), Ian M. G. Quimby, *Material Culture and the Study of American Life* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978). David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty, *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You* (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1982) and Fay D. Metcalf and Matthew T. Downey, *Using Local History in the Classroom* (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1982) also include significant discussions on material culture and history. For the archaeological perspective, see Leland Ferguson (ed.), *Historical Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things*, Special Publication Series, Number 2 (Bethlehem, PA: The Society for Historical Archaeology, 1975).

33. See Imelda G. DeGraw *Quilts and Coverlets* (Denver: The Denver Art Museum, 1974). Patricia Cooper and Norma Bradley Buford explicitly make the connection in *The Quilters: Women and Domestic Art, An Oral History* (Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1978).

34. See George W. McDaniel, *Hearth & Home: Preserving a People's Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982).

35. The National Park Service works to counter this tendency in the preparation of its Furnishing Plans. For further discussion of such plans, see Ralph H. Lewis, *Manual for Museums* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1976).

36. Richard F. Fleck in his Foreword to a reprinting of John Muir's 1901 *Our National Parks*, states "It would have been difficult to find any woman more ideally suited to the wandering Muir. She (Louie Strentzel Muir) encouraged him to continue his travels and writing, rather than spending his time working with fruit production on the Strentzel Ranch." John Muir, *Our National Parks* (1901; reprint, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), xi.

37. Laura Feller, curator and historian, National Park Service; Dwight Pitcaithley, Regional Historian, North Atlantic Region, Boston; National Park Service photographic collection, Springfield, Virginia.

38. Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico site brochure, 1982; Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site, La Junta, Colorado, site brochure, 1982. See also Robert L. S. Spude, *Skagway District of Alaska, 1884–1912: Building the Gateway to the Klondike* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1983).

39. Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site, La Junta, Colorado, site brochure, 1982.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Homestead National Monument, Beatrice, Nebraska, site brochure, 1978.

42. As of 1985, sites specifically relating to women in the National Park System are as follows: Women's Rights National Historical Park in Seneca Falls, New York; Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site in Hyde Park, New York; Maggie Walker National Historic Site in Richmond, Virginia; Clara Barton National Historic Site in Glen Echo, Maryland. Affiliated sites are the Mary McLeod Bethune National Historic Site and the Selwall-Belmont National Historic Site, both in Washington, D.C.

43. The Women's History Sources Survey which produced *Women's History Sources: A Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections in the United States*, ed. Andrea Hinding, Ames Sheldon Bower, and Clarke A. Chambers (New York: Bowker, 1979) is the outstanding example of such discoveries.

44. Personal visit, December 1981. Alcatraz also illustrates another facet of such sites relative to women's history—the women "left behind" by the men who were imprisoned.

45. Custer, "Boots and Saddles," 222: "This battle wrecked the lives of twenty-six women at Fort Lincoln, and orphaned children of officers and soldiers joined the cry to that of their bereaved mothers."

46. Sacagawea's feat in guiding Lewis and Clark is recognized at Fort Clatsop National Memorial, Astoria, Oregon, site brochure, 1983; Quarra Grant, wife of Johnny Grant, founder of the Grant-Kohrs ranch, was a member of the Bannock tribe, site brochure, Grant-Kohrs Ranch National Historic Site, Deer Lodge, Montana, 1983. The *Fort Vancouver* handbook details John McLoughlin's family. McLoughlin, Chief Factor at the fort and recognized now as "Father of Oregon" married Marguerite Wadin McKay, a woman who was half-Cree (p. 47). Sylvia Van Kirk in "Many Tender Ties": *Women in the Fur-Trade Society, 1670–1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983) explodes any ideas that women were not crucial in the west before the coming of the European American women.

47. Personal communication with N. P. S. historian Dr. Joseph Sanchez, February 1986.

48. Pipe Spring National Monument, Moccasin, Arizona, site brochure, 1983.

49. Isabella Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960); Elinore Pruitt Stewart, *Letters of a Woman Homesteader* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1961).

50. The Pioneer Museum in Woodward, Oklahoma, does display gloves, fans and other artifacts from Mary Eliza (Dolly) Kezer, a later-reformed madam. John James at Golden Spike National Historic Site, Brigham City, Utah, has not found sufficient documentation to warrant interpretation of women in such roles. Faced with the difficulty of interpreting women at Golden Spike, interpreters have focused on the roles of women as travellers on the trains. John James, interview, November 1983.

51. Lynn Sherr and Jurate Kazickas, *The American Woman's Gazetteer* (New York: Bantam Books, 1976).