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Roy E. Appleman  
February 10, 1971

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ROY E. APPLEMAN

An interview conducted by

S. Herbert Evison

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for the

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## START OF TAPE

Herbert Evison: This is February 10, 1971. I'm Herb Evison. And this morning I'm in the studio on top of the Interior Building. With me is Roy Edgar Appleman, who is an associate of mine from long ago and one of the most valued and highly respected of them. Roy, I'm tickled to have you here today and I want to start this off with the vital statistics about yourself, when and where you were born and something about your parents, your family, and so on.

Roy Appleman: All right, Herb. I was born in Columbus, Ohio on April 10, 1904. My father's name was Lewis Arthur Appleman. He was born in Morgan County, Ohio. My mother's name was Anna Christina Ribble. She was also born in Morgan County, Ohio. My father's ancestry was about half German and about half Irish, the Irish name coming from Morgan O'Leary who came to this country at least in the mid-1820's.

Herbert Evison: You know, Roy, I always had you spotted as Pennsylvania Dutch.

Roy Appleman: Well, my father's German ancestry apparently came from near Northumberland, Pennsylvania. I've not been interested in genealogy and I haven't tried to trace that back. But I know that the German Appleman came from Northumberland, Pennsylvania, and must have been there about or before the Revolution. My mother's family, Ribble, is German, from Wurttemberg, the Rhine country. And they came later so far as I know. They were in Morgan County by about 1810-1820.

Herbert Evison: You've told about your father and mother. Were there brothers and sisters?

Roy Appleman: Yes. I had one brother and two sisters, four in the family.

Herbert Evison: Wonderfully nice division, two boys and two girls.

Roy Appleman: Yes, it came out even. I'm the eldest of the family.

Herbert Evison: You went to school where?

Roy Appleman: I was born in Columbus, Ohio, and went to a very fine grade school there until I was 10 years old. My family then moved back to what I always called the ancestral farm in Morgan County, Ohio. My ancestors were the first to occupy the land after it was sold by the Government. It was state school land and went for sale in 1828. Jonathan Zane, by the way, happened to be the land agent. And the Applemans bought land at that time and so did the Morgan O'Learys in the same place. So my ancestors have been in Ohio from about 1828 or '29.

Roy Appleman: The working conditions right on the eve of World War One seemed to be bad so far as my father's employment was concerned. He was out of work

part of the time. And conditions on the old farm were such that my grandmother was getting quite old and nobody was with her. And she moved to Zanesville to live with two sons, at different times, living with one son most of the time. And then the question came up to my father, "Do you want to go back to the farm for at least a period?" He decided he would and did. So I moved in that circumstance back to the old ancestral farm when I was 10 years old and grew up there from that time on until I went away to college.

Herbert Evison: What kind of school did you have there?

Roy Appleman: I went to a typical, frame, one-room country school. It was quite a change for me because the school I went to in Columbus was a very, very fine one. I was learning German. I was learning music, and I was learning manual training, everything. And I missed all these things.

Herbert Evison: I'm very interested in that because at two different periods of my life I went to one-room country schools.

Roy Appleman: I not only went to a one-room country school, finished from the fifth grade on, but I taught in a one-room country school later.

Herbert Evison: Oh, really?

Roy Appleman: Yes, in the same community. The school was built on a red clay bank that had the worst red clay mud you ever saw when it rained and snowed.

Herbert Evison: Well, when you finished grade school did you go to high school there too?

Roy Appleman: When I finished grade school I went to what was called a second-class high school that gave three years, that was five miles away from where I lived. It was at a little place called Sayre, Ohio. And I walked five miles there and five miles back every day. When I finished the three years there I went to the county seat, McConnelsville, Ohio, and finished at a first-grade high school. After that I had to find some way to finance going to the state university, which I wanted to do. So I went to a county teachers' normal training school for one year to qualify myself to teach in the county elementary schools. When I did that I got a teaching job at this one-room country school called Red Clay, about two miles from where I lived. So I walked there and taught, built the fires, swept out the school, et cetera for a year. And with \$800, which was my salary, I saved \$750 and entered Ohio State University in the fall of 1924. And I finished the four-year course there in 1928, working the last three years five hours a day to pay my expenses, because my initial little pile that I had made teaching had pretty well disappeared after the first year.

Herbert Evison: Your major was what?

- Roy Appleman: I went through the arts college at Ohio State University centering as much as I could on history and government, although I was greatly interested in science, too. I took zoology and geology. The languages I had to take in the liberal arts course were my bugbear. I had to work harder to get through the language courses than anything else.
- Herbert Evison: Well now out of that you got a bachelor of arts degree?
- Roy Appleman: Yes.
- Herbert Evison: And then did you immediately start on graduate study?
- Roy Appleman: No, again I was broke. And I wanted to go to law school. That was my idea at the time. So I had to go into teaching again. I applied for high school teaching. I secured a teaching job at Troy, Ohio, and taught there one year. And then it chanced that a very good teaching job opened up at Fremont, Ohio, one that had been held for almost a generation by a lady who was very much beloved in the community and who taught history and government. Through some good fortune I managed to land that job. And so the second year of teaching I went to Fremont, Ohio as head of the history and government department, teaching only seniors five classes a day. I was also the senior class faculty advisor.
- Roy Appleman: I stayed there three years. And then, with the money I'd been able to save, I entered law school. I made the mistake of buying an automobile, of course, which no young man can avoid it seems. And I dissipated part of my money. But I entered Yale Law School in the fall of 1932. I had been there only about six or seven weeks when I decided law was not for me, that I wouldn't be happy in it. I was disillusioned with it.
- Roy Appleman: I considered after I learned the language of it, and how things went, that it was an intellectual game of chess in which the pursuit of justice was a subordinate part. And nobody really could afford to go in pursuit of justice unless he was financially independent and socially fixed to make it his life's work without recourse to having to earn a living, which, of course, I would have to do. I decided that I would finish the year, however, and not quite immediately in justification to myself and to see what I really could do at law. So I finished out the year.
- Roy Appleman: I was 13th, I believe, in a class of 265. I was asked to be a member of the Yale law journal, "Board." For the next year I was given a scholarship. I turned them both down and, instead, I entered the Columbia University Graduate School in the fall of 1933 to take advance work in history and government, which I did in the next two years. I got a master's degree in the spring of '34 and went on for graduate work for a Ph.D. and finished

my residence requirements, my language requirements, and passed my orals. And at about that point along came the National Park Service.

Roy Appleman: I should mention perhaps, in connection with my later Park Service career, that after I had finished college at Ohio State University (where by the way I graduated with honors, Phi Beta, Kappa) that I borrowed \$100 from a bank and went on my first tour of the West in an open Chevrolet car with my brother. This was in the summer of 1928. We visited several national parks, including Yosemite and Yellowstone. At Yellowstone I encountered a big bear about two miles out in the woods when I went for a walk by myself. Fortunately, it happened to be a black bear and we both saw each other at the same moment about 30 feet apart. We stopped. The bear recovered its senses before I did mine, turned and went in the other direction. And I turned and went back to camp. That was my introduction to the Park Service.

Roy Appleman: I was fortunate enough to hear Ranger Martingale (I think that was his name), who sat on a horse and gave a lecture at Old Mammoth where we were camped, while the grizzlies came in and ate off the big platform that they had there in those days. And that was a wonderful experience. I also heard the 90-day wonders give talks there. One of them talked about John Colter. Later I learned a good bit about John Colter and found out this fellow's talk wasn't quite accurate, but it was fairly good. But at that time I had no concept that I would ever be working for this outfit.

Herbert Evison: Somewhere in your career, Roy, you got married. You weren't married while you were working on my staff in Richmond. When did this happen and who was it?

Roy Appleman: No, I didn't marry until late in life. There were several factors that are of no interest to this interview, I presume. But the war came along and then I had to make money to get a stake before I got married, too. The two things sort of interrupted matrimonial plans. I didn't get married until after World War II.

Roy Appleman: I came back from World War II to the Park Service in the late summer or fall of 1946 to the old Region One office in Richmond, Virginia. In Richmond I married a girl whose name was Irene White. And I married her on February 8, 1947. We have three children. The first, Anna Christina, was born November 18, 1947. Charlotte O'Leary, the second, was born May 6, 1950. And the third, William Minor, a boy fortunately, was born December 21, 1951. I say "fortunately" in the case of Minor because we both wanted a boy and I wasn't sure I was going to get another chance.

Herbert Evison: All three of your children are now grown then.

Roy Appleman: They are all grown. They were all born in Richmond, Virginia, before I left there. The eldest has been married four years and I expect to be a grandfather in July. She tells me that she expects her first child then. She helped her husband get through the University of Indiana after he got out of the Air Force, and for four years they didn't have children on that account, primarily. The second daughter, Charlotte, is in her third year of college. My son is in his first year of college at the University of Cincinnati in the college of engineering.

Herbert Evison: You didn't say where your daughter is in college.

Roy Appleman: My second daughter, Charlotte, finished two years at the Commonwealth University of Virginia in art school. For some reason, which I've never learned, they changed the schedule this past autumn into courses that didn't suit her, so she quit at the end of the semester this year. So I said, "Well, before I enter you in another art school I'm going to see that you get a practical education where you can earn your living, so you'll take a year out and you'll go to Strayer College." And that's where she is now, getting a training in secretarial work so she can take care of herself. You know, Herb, I'm getting at the age that I don't know how much longer I'll be around to help my children get set and I want her to be able to earn her living.

Herbert Evison: That's a very pious idea, too, I can assure you. Roy, some weeks ago you were good enough to loan me your copy of the transcript of a taping that you made with Dr. Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., who is a professor at Principia College in Illinois, and who is writing a second book about historic preservation. It's quite natural that he should have come to you, and apparently quite a flock of other National Park Service historians, to get their account of what the National Park Service did during the period that he's covering now which runs up to 1949.

Herbert Evison: When I read that, Roy – and I probably read it about as carefully as anybody except you and Dr. Hosmer – quite a number of thoughts came to me and several questions, which I sent on to you in the hope that we could do just what we are now doing, sit in front of this tape recorder and discuss some of them. Now I have my carbon copy in front of me and the first point that I marked in there is one that we have already covered. I remarked on the difficulty of getting personal histories of Park Service people. And much of this tape so far has been devoted to doing just that.

Herbert Evison: Now getting right down to brass tacks, I raised at least a question as to the accuracy of a statement that you made in this tape recording to the effect that Park Service concern with, or devotion to matters historic had been at its peak in the '30's and '40s and had sort of tended to diminish since that

time. And I raise several points such as recent legislation, grants for historic preservation, the reestablishment of the Historic Sites Survey and the Historic American Buildings Survey on a much sounder ground than back in the old days, which seem to indicate to me at least that the Park Service is still pretty deeply involved and deeply interested in history and historic preservation. Do you want to take issue with me on that?

Roy Appleman: No, I don't want to take issue, but I do need to make a statement that will clarify what I intended to say to Dr. Hosmer, and which was said in response to a question of his which possibly wasn't entirely clear to you when you read the transcript of my conversation.

Roy Appleman: What I was trying to say was that the influence of the professional people, the historians, in the preservation movement and in the administration of that by the National Park Service, was at its peak in the 1930's and the 1940's and has declined appreciably in my opinion since 1950. On the other hand, your criticism is valid, that the preservation movement itself has not diminished throughout the country but has increased. And the National Park Service as the federal agency administering the preservation movement for the United States Government naturally has had a constantly increased role to play from an administrative and management role. But, the historians, the professional people who I think have to be the backbone of any such program if it's to be administered properly and developed accurately, their role has diminished. And that is what I was trying to say. And this I think has been a misfortune. I've been critical of it. I've been critical of the National Park Service administration and I am still critical of it in that respect.

Herbert Evison: I'm very glad to get that statement on the record. I hope you are, too.

Roy Appleman: I'm very glad to make it. I've made it a thousand times in the past but I suppose not to most people to whom it may have meant most.

Herbert Evison: I was interested just this morning in looking through this letter that I wrote you and I would probably be the last person to claim that my memory is perfect. I find almost every day of my life something that I absolutely knew was so isn't so. But I made a statement in this letter about Verne Chatelain and the period after he left the Service and Ronnie Lee's coming. Well, I just taped Ronnie Lee a week ago Monday and I got his own story about how he came to be the chief historian of the Park Service. And, unfortunately for me, it doesn't agree with mine quite. Going back to a time when I first knew you, when you first went to Richmond you went there, as I remember it, at the time the Regional Office was set up for this whole vast sweep of the East and South. Now to whom were you immediately answerable there? Who was your superior officer?



Roy Appleman: Before I answer that I'd like to make this statement, which will pertain not only to this immediate answer but to other things I may say later. My memory is very fallible concerning details. And no one knows this better than I, because I've been aware of it all my life. I tend to forget things over the years. Some things I remember quite well. Other things I forget completely. Your question happens to be one that I cannot answer with any great degree of certainty, but I will say that I think that I answered to the Regional Officer, which was to you.

Roy Appleman: The background of that movement as I recall it, was that I was in Bronxville, New York, in the old district office there which had CCC activities for the three States of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. There was a reorganization in progress, I heard. At first I heard that Ronnie Lee was going to Richmond and that I was going to Cincinnati. In fact, I had expected to be employed only about three months. My initial purpose in taking employment was to get money to publish a dissertation for Columbia University. Columbia then happened to be one of the schools for which a dissertation actually had to be published. So it didn't make too much difference to me, but I heard all this with some mild interest. As it turned out, I was sent to Richmond and Mr. Lee stayed in Washington in the continuing role with the CCC historical work. Mr. Lee, by the way, took me down to Richmond from Washington. I entered on duty at Richmond. I had no superior to the best of my recollection except the Regional Officer.

Herbert Evison: You know, that question may surprise you somewhat, but as I look back on that time I can't remember any kind of a framework of organization in that office. And yet I think, at least I hope you'll agree with me, that the darn place ran. People worked and they didn't concern themselves too much about how many hours a day they worked. And there was generally speaking a pretty fine spirit in there, so that lines of authority didn't count for an awful lot. Would you agree or would you argue that point?

Roy Appleman: My impression of the Richmond Regional Office in 1936, when I went there, and in subsequent years, too, was that at first there were two or three groups working there side by side. I recall there was a CCC group and there was an ECW group that had some separation administratively. I recall that Mr. Lisle and Mr. Bahlman seemed to be the head of the ECW or some other –

Herbert Evison: No, ERA, Emergency Relief Administration. You see, ECW was simply Emergency Conservation Work, which is what the CCC performed.

Roy Appleman: I see.

- Herbert Evison: So they were not on CCC or ECW rolls, either Buck Lisle or Bill Bahlman, quite a considerable group in there.
- Roy Appleman: Well, I recall there was this somewhat of a separation, but nevertheless we were all engaged in similar work. And later, of course, it was merged. My work at the time was primarily CCC, but it expanded, too, as months passed. I found the group in Richmond an extremely enthusiastic, by and large a young group, and many, many talented people in it. Some were not talented as I recall, in my view, but preponderantly they were very energetic, they were young, and they were gifted and well trained, new perhaps in the work they were doing but willing and anxious to learn.
- Herbert Evison: I had another question right in that same paragraph, and that is about your participation, or the participation of Charlie Porter, or any other historian, in the master planning process which the Park Service insisted on for state parks.
- Roy Appleman: Yes, we were very active. Charlie Porter was there when I arrived. He had been the historian for the old Richmond District which covered Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia, and North and South Carolina I believe.
- Herbert Evison: That's right.
- Roy Appleman: Charlie Porter stayed there possibly a year or longer and we worked side by side. Charlie knew the areas in the old district quite well and, of course, he was leaned on heavily for work in those. He went to Washington a little bit later as a staff historian. But during this period when we were both there, one or the other or both of us did examine all state park master plans. We had a very active participation in all investigations and in all studies concerning historical work in any of the parks. We were consulted. We were not bypassed. Our views were sought. And we felt it was an extremely favorable working situation from our point of view and in light of our professional interests.
- Herbert Evison: Fine. Now I raised a rather minor point here but one that sort of amused me as indicative of the national park psychology you might call it, the national park viewpoint. And that was with regard to two words in the English language, both of which to me mean exactly the same thing. One of them is "grazing" and the other is "pasturing." And I wonder if you remember anything about the discussions as to whether or not it was good practice for the National Park Service to allow such foreign activities as grazing and the raising of crops and other things on the historical areas of the Park System.
- Roy Appleman: There is quite a lot that could be said about that. And I suppose if you don't stop me, I'll ramble on too long. So you stop me when you think you

have the answer. Again this question developed not so much, as I can remember it in those early years, as a controversy between those two words, but as an evolvement as to what would be the correct policy for the National Park Service to follow in historical areas concerning ground cover and the appearance of a park.

Roy Appleman: The historians in the Richmond office and the Washington Office and in the parks developed mutually between them the concept that there should be a base historical map for every historical area which, by research methods, would produce reports and maps which would show just as closely as possible what an area looked like at the time it had achieved its historical significance. This would include such things as buildings, fences, fortifications, woods, and fields. And this would all be documented, would be portrayed on a map. And then that having been done, in some degrees only partially successfully and others more so, the development program for that park would attempt to return that land to that physical appearance, so far as it could be done through available finances and the developing process.

Roy Appleman: So it wasn't a question of these two words primarily in historical areas. It was a philosophy, a principle of getting the land back to its historic appearance. Now that concept seemed to be accepted pretty well and we worked toward it. There were constant difficulties, I recall, with two other professional groups, the foresters and the landscape architects. The foresters didn't want trees cut where you once had a field condition and you now had forest. So there was a controversy there that finally, however, was solved. The Service policy was that trees would be cut without any question or any controversy where it was a matter of restoring the land to its historical appearance.

Roy Appleman: The landscape architects also didn't like some aspects of this philosophy because they, too, didn't want trees cut. They didn't want things done that they thought would not result in the area looking as "pretty" as it might otherwise be. Over the years we had numerous conflicts on this in detail and in various places, but again it was resolved finally that this was not a matter of controversy with the landscape architects. They would accept the historical base maps and the development would proceed toward the end of restoring the land to its historical appearance.

Roy Appleman: Now the other point, just to add one other thing, the concept that you speak of was primarily, I think, a Western concept and it came into controversy more with the recreational areas, I think, than it did with the historical. For instance, the practice in most of the military parks, if one may take Gettysburg as an example, under the Army and remains so under the Park Service was to keep fields open that were open at the time of the

battle there in 1863. And we still keep those fields open and we farm them as the best way to maintain approximately the physical appearance as of the time of the battle.

Herbert Evison: Specifically of Gettysburg, for instance, weren't there corn fields, fields of growing corn or of other crops that were fought over?

Roy Appleman: Yes, indeed. Two of the fiercest actions of the battle took place in a wheat field and in a peach orchard on the second day's battle. We have restored the peach orchard, but we have not restored the wheat field. It's just left open. There are compromises of this sort made, but the land is open. And it's true, of course, most of the battlefields of the Civil War were fought in farming communities.

Herbert Evison: With notable exceptions like The Wilderness, huh?

Roy Appleman: Yes, The Wilderness in Spotsylvania County, Virginia, would be an example of a distinction and to some extent Shiloh, too, in Tennessee. These were sort of woodland, primitive and not good farming areas, by and large.

Herbert Evison: Another of my questions here, and I don't remember whether it refers specifically to anything in your previous transcript, has to do with the historical archeology project, which was undertaken at Jamestown. And I am wondering what connection, if any of importance, you had with that, either the earlier attempt at it under Flickinger's direction, or the later program under Pinky Harrington.

Roy Appleman: Yes, I had a connection in both periods you mentioned. When I went to Richmond in 1936, the archeological program of the National Park Service was in its infancy. The work was done largely through CCC activities because there they had the manpower to do the work and they had foremen or supervisors to carry it out. They did not have adequate professional personnel. And this led to some problems, which I'll mention later in connection with Mr. Floyd Flickinger's superintendency. But I'll leave that aside for the moment and answer more generally right now.

Roy Appleman: The work at Jamestown Island was very extensive. They used part of a CCC camp there constantly. The archeological work at Yorktown Battlefield, which was somewhat different, for a different purpose, and a different type of archeology, was also extensive. At Jamestown the purpose was to uncover fence lines, house foundations, roads, and other physical evidences that would be left in the ground of that early settlement. And they did uncover a great amount of such information, plus vast quantities of physical artifacts such as glass, nails, ironwork, clay,

tile, et cetera, used in the building work there, as well as utensils, domestic, and some military.

Roy Appleman: Now in the case of Yorktown Battlefield, the problem there was just as great but somewhat different. They had to locate fortifications, uncover them, and also such things as roads and certain places as headquarters sites that were fields but where there were headquarters establishments of the two armies. In other words, it was a military-type layout which they had to locate in order that they could undertake a restoration program which was then contemplated, and which has been partially carried out, but not completely.

Roy Appleman: The work got into difficulties from time to time because of inadequate supervision. There weren't as many trained archeologists then as there are now, certainly not historical archeologists. The archeologists of those times were largely related to the Indian type of archeology in the Southwest. The classical historical archeology in the country was centered in a few institutions such as the University of Pennsylvania, but they were interested in archeology in the Near East and the Holy Land and in Egypt, not in our type of work. This led to some problems.

Herbert Evison: What they did was historical archeology in the sense that they were dealing with physical remains from a period for which there were also extensive written records. Isn't that correct?

Roy Appleman: That's correct in the case of both Jamestown and Yorktown, although there were gaps in particulars. And archeology, of course, could supply a great deal.

Roy Appleman: Now to return to my participation, I knew nothing about archeology when I came into the Park Service. But in my job in Richmond I had to get acquainted with it. And I had to observe. I went and visited the places. I talked with persons who were in charge. I looked at the objects and artifacts. I began to read. Charlie Porter was a great help at this time to me because he had always been interested in archeology. And he knew a great deal more about it than I did and he had always taken a keen interest when he was in Richmond.

Roy Appleman: The Jamestown archeology finally got into trouble because it didn't have adequate supervision. Well partially it did, partially it didn't. This comes into the question of Floyd Flickinger's superintendency. And perhaps I'd better mention this now because it led eventually to Mr. Harrington's employment to upgrade the professional supervision there. Mr. Flickinger had a brother whose first name I can't remember, but he was in charge of the CCC archeological crew working at Jamestown and at Yorktown at different times, I think. He may have worked at Yorktown mostly. I can't

remember this. Reports began sifting up that his work was not properly supervised. He was not an archeologist. He was not a historian. He was just an ordinary person who was a supervisor of men doing this work. He may have done the best he could, but it wasn't adequate. And the superintendent began to try to cover up for him. This and some other irregularities had begun to filter up through word-of-mouth from the professional people and others working at Colonial, both Yorktown and Jamestown, and led eventually to Mr. Demaray ordering an investigation. This was about 1937 possibly.

Roy Appleman: It turned out that two people were sent to the park to inquire into this situation. Dr. Arthur Kelly, who was then the chief archeologist in the Washington Office, was to go down and represent the archeological interest. And they asked me to go from Richmond to inquire into the historical work. This led to quite a rhubarb eventually. We were met by Superintendent Flickinger with the statement, "Well I hear you've come down to get me, but I'll get you." That the light that burst on us when reported to him as superintendent.

Roy Appleman: We were down there about two weeks inquiring into the situation. We prepared a report. We found the situation to be about as stated, that there were lapses, there were irregularities. I don't think I need to get into the report in detail, but I was able to document, not a matter of hearsay, certain irregularities of the superintendent that violated not only park administration in that park, but involved the good name of the Service nationwide and in written correspondence. Dr. Kelly prepared a report from the archeological point of view and I from the historical, and this went to the Director. Mr. Demaray had a discussion with Mr. Lee about it and the superintendent was to be removed. He was given the option of going to Saint Augustine or of resigning.

Roy Appleman: Saint Augustine was a pretty good superintendency. It administered Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas. But Mr. Flickinger was a very proud, active man and he wouldn't accept that. He had ambitions at the time to be the next chief historian, I think. Mr. Chatelain had been removed. He had very close, personal ties with Mr. Bryan, then president of William and Mary College, with Archibald McCrea, owner of Carter's Grove, and with the two Virginia senators, Senator Carter Glass and Senator Byrd. He went to all of these people and they all went to the Secretary of the Interior in his behalf.

Roy Appleman: The Secretary sent his own investigators from the Department down and they produced a whitewash for Mr. Flickinger in conflict with Kelly's and my report. Well, it's an interesting thing and reflects some light on both Mr. Demaray and Mr. Ickes, that when this whitewash report came in

from the Department, Mr. Ickes did not accept it, but he chose to believe Mr. Demaray, who supported our report and said the facts were as we had represented. And Mr. Flickinger was given the choice by the Secretary of resigning or going to Saint Augustine. He resigned.

Roy Appleman: That led to a reorganization, professionally, of the group at Colonial. And as an aftermath of that, Mr. Tolson personally, I think, was put in charge of getting a competent man to head up the archeological work at Colonial. He sought to get the best man he could, and it turned out that he brought in Mr. Jean C. Harrington. I forget if at the time he was working in New Mexico in some archeological work or whether he was still at the University of Chicago. I think he was at the University of Chicago graduate school in anthropology at the time.

Roy Appleman: Mr. Harrington had initially been trained as an architect. And I think he had gone to practice as an architect in New Mexico. And somehow his interest shifted to archeology and he came back to the University of Chicago and started his graduate work in anthropology. And I believe it was from there that he was recruited. His training in architecture previously, plus his more recent graduate work in archeology, seemed to fit him very well for the type of historical archeology that was needed at Jamestown particularly. And he did turn out to be a fine choice.

Herbert Evison: I never think about that that I don't think about a CCC project that came through to me for clearance, and which I cleared very happily, and that was for the building of a temporary laboratory and storehouse to be built at Jamestown of reinforced concrete. I always loved that conjunction of reinforced concrete and temporary. Of course, the fact of the matter is that it was temporary. It's long since been torn down and the ground restored so that nobody would ever guess where that reinforced concrete laboratory stood for so many years.

Roy Appleman: I remember that very well and it served its purpose admirably. It was designed to preserve the extremely valuable and very large quantity of historical objects that were being dug up at Jamestown. And it did just that.

Herbert Evison: Yes. It was not a handsome building as I remember it.

Roy Appleman: Functional completely. It was very functional.

Herbert Evison: Yes. You feel that the job, once it was put under expert supervision, that it was then well conducted, do you?

Roy Appleman: Yes, I think so, after Mr. Harrington got down there. And by the way, his future wife, Virginia, was also there as a junior archeologist about this time. Thor Borreson was over at Yorktown Battlefield. He was a

Norwegian, a sort of self-educated man who specialized in military construction. Thor Borreson was more or less in charge of the restoration work going on at the Yorktown Battlefield as a result of the archeological work there. This was, of course, to locate, define the military fortifications.

Roy Appleman: Although he was somewhat self-educated, Thor Borreson was in every sense, I think, at heart a scientist and with some practical supervision in methods of research he performed very well and very admirably. Yorktown Battlefield restoration work owes a tremendous lot to Thor Borreson. He's long been dead now, but I do want to pay respect to him and his work in those early days. And Mr. Harrington was a professional primarily concerned with Jamestown.

Herbert Evison: Did I hear you say that Thor Borreson was dead?

Roy Appleman: Thor Borreson died in the 1950's. He was the first superintendent, I think, at Fort Laramie. He died out there.

Herbert Evison: Oh, yes. I don't remember even having heard his name for 15 or 20 years.

Roy Appleman: Well, Thor Borreson left the Service when World War Two broke out. I knew Thor Borreson very, very well. He was the son of a shipping-firm owner in Norway. And he went to Africa first when he was 13 years old on an old sailing ship that his family owned. They ran a trading post on the East Coast of Africa. He was in all sorts of storms and was almost lost at sea several times. He came to this country as a young man and began building so-called restoration lodges up in the Adirondacks for wealthy New Yorkers and New Englanders. Then he was put in charge of the restoration at Fort Niagara for the State of New York. And he came from there to the Park Service at Yorktown.

Roy Appleman: Thor left, as I mentioned, at the time of World War Two. I think in World War One he was here and he was in that, too. He was a counterespionage agent working on the waterfronts. And he was left for dead a time or two. He was a very tough man, hugely muscled. He looked like a sailor and walked like one. In World War Two he wasn't able to do this kind of work anymore, but he went to the Todd ship building yards, I think, in Brooklyn, at least some ship building firm. And while he was supervising repair of ships damaged by submarine action a whole load, tons of lumber, fell down on him. He chose to try to divert the blow to save some men below him and he was literally crushed. He had a whole series of operations. But he was pretty well physically wrecked. And when the war was over he came back to the Park Service and was sent out to Fort Laramie because the rationale was that there would be some preservation work out there in those old buildings that were falling to pieces, and he



would probably be as good as anyone to try to save them and do some preservation work with limited money and means that would be at hand. And he died out there.

Herbert Evison: You know, I am delighted, Roy, that you mentioned him and got something on the record about him. I shall be surprised if anybody else that I tape even mentions him. But there was decidedly an individual who made his contribution to the Park Service.

Roy Appleman: Yes, he did.

Herbert Evison: I'm just glad to have something about him. I raised a kind of a minor question here. And that was about historians as administrators. You remember, of course, we had Branch Spaulding, a historian, as the superintendent of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County parks. We had a number of historians as administrators. Herb Kahler, for instance, was the first man in charge of Fort Marion (as it was then). And years after I often thought about whether or not it was a good idea to pick fellows simply because they knew something about history to administer historic areas. Have you any thoughts about that, or am I just indulging a quirk?

Roy Appleman: I have thoughts about it. I've had thoughts about it all through my career and I still have thoughts. The question can cut both ways. It's obvious that every historian wouldn't be suited by temperament or capabilities to be an administrator or to run a park. Some would. Some wouldn't. The other side of the coin is that some ranger you might bring in to run a park might be so unsympathetic to the subjects of interest in the park that he'd be an awfully poor man for the job even though he might be an excellent park administrator in a natural type area. So this is the question. You have to balance one against the other.

Roy Appleman: I think in the case of historical areas you can do so much damage if you have an unsympathetic or an unknowledgeable superintendent, that I would lean more toward trying to get a superintendent who had some training in, or knowledge of, or sympathy with, historical preservation and cultural matters. Even though he might not be the best administrator in the world, I would lean more in that direction than in the other because, in my own experience, I know of a good many cases where the superintendent really (let me add parenthetically, I think my own experience is that regardless of the regional offices and the Washington Office, a superintendent, particularly if he is some distance away from these offices and is somewhat isolated, he really runs that place and he can do as he damn pleases and he usually does) did serious damage to historical values. And no amount of protest by professional people is going to change it much. And if somebody does protest, it's going to be whitewashed and

overlooked in higher offices because they don't want to rock the boat. They don't want to get into a conflict with the superintendent. And they don't.

Roy Appleman: To get back a moment to this question – I have known of several cases where things went pretty bad. And actually there was serious destruction in historical areas because of this type of poor superintendency. And in my own knowledge and in fact, I, myself, protested these things many times. And in no instance, excepting at Hopewell, did I ever get a fair and speedy administrative action to correct what had happened. There was always a whitewash and a cover-up. And I'm sorry to say that a good part of it occurred with my own historian supervisors, within my own professional group. They wouldn't let it get up higher because they didn't want to get into a situation where they were causing a problem for their superiors. So it was killed usually at a fairly low level. So I don't blame just the top management. I blame the top in the professional group too. I don't think they had the guts they needed to have at different times.

Herbert Evison: Of course, I have been struck with the way that some fellows who were thoroughly trained historians have also developed into darn good administrators. Take Elbert Cox as probably the outstanding example in my book. But there have been several others who have administered great natural parks and apparently have done a very good job at it too.

Roy Appleman: I would say that Elbert Cox probably is the best example I know in the historian group who did well as an administrator. He did well at Morristown. He did well at Colonial, and he did well as a Regional Director, I think. I served directly under him when he was a Regional Director. I'll never forget one comment he made to me just before I left the office to enter the Army in World War II in October 1942. I was having lunch with Elbert. And I said, "Elbert, we don't know whether we're going to see each other again, or where, or how. And I just want to comment to you that you have one characteristic that's always struck me as being outstanding and I want to ask you about it. You seem always to be so cautious and never to get excited about anything and you always delay action until you can think about it. You don't say too much at a time when something is happening." He said, "Yes, I know about that. Every night I go home and ask myself, have I been a mouse or have I been a man today?"

Herbert Evison: That's wonderful. It sounds just like Elbert, too.

Herbert Evison: Of course, Ed Hummel is another one of your historian group, another one who incidentally came into the Park Service by the CCC route, who has handled pretty extensive administrative responsibilities, too.

Roy Appleman: Yes. I didn't know Ed very well. He was working in another region. He came in as a historian out in the Omaha office. And then he came East, I think, first, about the time of World War II just when I was leaving. He came as Superintendent of Fredericksburg. Later he went to Colonial. Then he went into the Navy and he came back and went to the West Coast. And I know that the reputation always was that he was very diplomatic. He's very cheerful and a good public relations man, I think. And this probably has been his forte. He does have that reputation. I never myself worked with or under him except in a very minor way after he came to the Washington Office as Assistant Director.

Herbert Evison: While we're talking about it, you just spoke about one of the Regional Directors under whom you served. Now I'm talking about Regional Directors and not Regional Officers. But you served under Carl Russell, under Tillotson, nominally under Cammerer, but actually during that period under Fred Johnson. And I don't know whether you served under Oliver G. Taylor. I imagine you were in the Armed Forces by that time. But I would be glad to have you reminisce a little and perhaps characterize some of these Regional Directors under whom you served.

Roy Appleman: Well, I'll try to go back and list the Regional Directors under whom I served in order. When I came to Richmond you were the Regional Officer, which in effect was Regional Director. Then you were in charge until Carl Russell came from the Museum Branch. Carl Russell was succeeded by Miner Tillotson, I believe. And Tillotson was then transferred back to Santa Fe against his wishes, but it was necessary because in Washington they had to find a technical vacancy position for Mr. Cammerer. And he was technically the Regional Director, but actually he was not. He came down maybe one day a week. Then when that situation cleared up they brought in Tom Allen as I recall. And he was there until I went into the Army in '42. Then Elbert Cox was there also I think as Associate Regional Director. And that's about the situation. Fred Johnson acted from time to time.

Roy Appleman: The way I would rate these people is that I found three of them very sympathetic to historical and cultural problems – yourself, Carl Russell, and Miner Tillotson. Tillotson, by the way, was very much interested in archeology. He had been in the Southwest, and I think that was his most obvious entree. But he was extremely fair and open-minded and sympathetic for an old-time Western superintendent. I would say that Mr. Cammerer was too, to the degree I had an acquaintance with him. I made a couple of trips with him and got acquainted with him in that fashion.

Roy Appleman: And, if I may digress just a moment, I'd like to tell an anecdote that probably isn't known but to myself and a few others to whom I may have

told it, but it reflects a great deal on the man. Mr. Cammerer had some friends up in Charlottesville in connection with the Blue Ridge Parkway with whom he had worked as Director for a long time. He was very, very friendly. Now I was practically a stranger to him, but he treated me as if he had known me all my life. He told me about his boyhood and growing up in a sod house out in Nebraska. I'll tell two stories if I'm not taking too much time.

Herbert Evison: No. Wonderful!

Roy Appleman: He told me about a little episode that happened when he was Director here in Washington. He had an old colored man (we shouldn't call him that in today's parlance, but that's what he said and I'll say it) whom he liked very much and who had cleaned his office for him and had brought water and things like this from time to time when he needed it. He got along very well with him. And one day Mr. Carson, I think, was coming up from Charlottesville, or Richmond, in connection with a Blue Ridge Parkway problem. Mr. Cammerer happened to look out the window and he saw some bird droppings on the window there. So he called this man. I don't know his name, so I'll say Jim. He asked him, "Jim, would you get a little water please and remove those stains? Mr. Carson's coming here pretty soon and I'd like it to look a bit better." And Jim said, "Well, really that isn't my job is it?"

Roy Appleman: That was the first time he'd ever said anything like this to Mr. Cammerer. Mr. Cammerer said, "No, it really isn't, Jim. Just bring me a little water." So Jim brought the water and while he was standing there with his mouth open, Mr. Cammerer cleaned up the bird droppings. And he said, "Here Jim, you can take the water away now."

Roy Appleman: The other story happened when I was on this trip with Mr. Cammerer to Charlottesville and back. Joseph Mills Hanson is now dead, but he was one of our early very competent historians working in battlefield studies. He had an appendectomy and he was in the hospital in Petersburg quite ill. As we were coming back to Richmond from Charlottesville we came through Appomattox. Mr. Cammerer wanted to see that place. And this was in the early days of the Appomattox development. He had a friend there, Mr. Flood, whom he wanted to see that night. So we got there that night and he spent the evening with Mr. Flood.

Roy Appleman: Well, the next day in starting I asked Mr. Cammerer, "How do you want to go back to Richmond? Do you want to go back by Petersburg or take the straight road?" He said, "Well it doesn't make any difference." He said, "What's going on at Petersburg?" I said, "Well there isn't very much going on there now. But we have a historian there, Joseph Mills Hanson, a

very distinguished member of our group, who is very critically ill. I guess he's in the hospital.”

Roy Appleman: I knew Mr. Cammerer had never met Major Hanson, as we called him, from World War One rank. And I doubt that he had even heard the name, but he immediately said, “Well, what about him? What's happened?” I told him what little I knew, that I thought he had had an appendicitis operation. He said, “Well, we’ve got to go through Petersburg and see Mr. Hanson.” I said, “Well, if you want to, fine.” I was rather surprised at this reaction.

Roy Appleman: So we went to Petersburg. And before we went to the hospital Mr. Cammerer said, “I want to take him a box of cigars. Does he smoke?” I said, “Yes, he smokes.” So we stopped to get a box of cigars and we went to the hospital. We saw Major Hanson. And here was a man that Mr. Cammerer, I think, had never seen and I doubt that he’d even heard his name except maybe casually, but he made it a point, of his own volition, to go there and see Hanson and to take him a box of cigars. Well, this was very astonishing to me. It revealed a great deal about Mr. Cammerer, and I must say very favorably in my view.

Roy Appleman: So we went on to Richmond then. But I'd like to add just a word about Major Hanson. He died a number of years ago. When I first knew him he was known as Major Hanson. He had that rank from World War One. He had been one of the first writers for, and I think one of the starters or initiators of, the Stars and Stripes in Europe. He had a literary past of some note. He published two or three volumes of poems. He published a volume on the Missouri River that is still consulted a great deal – the biography of Captain Grant Marsh, who was the pilot of the “Far West,” the steamboat that brought Custer's survivors back from the Little Big Horn to Bismarck.

Roy Appleman: Major Hanson was the son of an Indian agent at Yankton, South Dakota. He grew up on the Dakota frontier. He was a man of considerable sensitivity. He had great interest in military matters and in the Park Service. He was already in the Park Service when I joined. He was a specialist in the study of battlefields. He worked on historic base maps. He was assigned to several studies of new battlefield parks that were coming into the Service. I know he made the initial study of Manassas, the initial study of Manassas, the initial study of Saratoga, pointing out by documented studies and with maps the location of places and things that we should have within the parks.

Roy Appleman: Now there were other studies made later which amplified some of the things he did, but he was our first important specialist, I would say, in the history field in the study of base historical maps of battlefield areas. He was used in that capacity throughout his career. He eventually went to

Manassas as, I think, the first full superintendent. He retired there. At the time of his retirement he was working on three or four different books, to my knowledge. I don't know whether he completed them, because I was gone later. Major Hanson was a man who was greatly beloved by, I think, almost everybody who knew him. And he made a very solid contribution in the early days too, particularly in the studies of battlefield areas.

Roy Appleman: My first two years were under your directorship at Richmond. And this was a very favorable thing because you gave me pretty much free rein and listened sympathetically to everything I had to report.

Roy Appleman: Fred Johnson always struck me as being amiable but pretty ineffective, not thoroughly incompetent, but not really competent either. He was too much a "yes" man, too much putty and not fully in grasp of situations.

Roy Appleman: Carl Russell came down with his background in museum work and as a scientist. He had been trained as a biologist. I eventually became very well acquainted with Carl. And as he grew older, year by year, and even when he was in Richmond in the later '30s, I could discern that his real interest was history. And as everyone I think in the Park Service knows now, he had published two fine works, Guns on the Early Frontier and Firearms, Traps, and Tools of the Mountain Men. He had a third book in progress when he died.

Roy Appleman: Carl was delightful to work with. I felt that he was perhaps a little overbalanced in the field of my own interest in history and cultural things and possibly wasn't giving as much time or the knowledge and management that were really required to other things. But certainly this could not be any complaint of mine. Mr. Tillotson was a pretty broad-gauged fellow, I thought, and tried to administer the Region in a fair manner. I've forgotten, Herb, when you left. I can't remember what year it was.

Herbert Evison: I left on the first day of February 1940, right after the big snow, in which you were one of the rare employees of the Regional Office who plowed his way through that snow on that Monday morning.

Roy Appleman: I remember that morning. There was about 14 inches of snow. I recall that. I walked down from where I lived, about three miles out.

Roy Appleman: Well Mr. Tillotson I've mentioned favorably. And I was sorry to see him leave. The next Regional Director was Tom Allen who arrived from the Midwest. He was very hostile at first to cultural and historical subjects. In fact, he told me at the first interview I had with him the day he arrived that he understood that Ronnie Lee, and I as his agent in the Region, were running the Eastern region. I said, "Well, you've been misinformed. That

isn't true. We try to represent the interests that we're charged with looking after. And we do make recommendations to the Regional Director, but I have to report to the Regional Director. And he's the one who makes decisions." He said, "Nevertheless, this is what I understand and it's going to stop." I said, "You're the Regional Director, just like others have been, and that will be your prerogative."

Roy Appleman: So in the years that followed he was extremely hostile to these interests and I had a pretty hard row to hoe in trying to represent them adequately and I went down to many defeats with him. But over the years Tom mellowed and he learned a good deal, I think. And in the end he tried to be fair and I think he was fair. And I think he did represent the Park Service rather broadly in the old Region One. I think part of the process was that, as Regional Director, there was so much cultural and historical activity going on, headed by very prominent people in the East, in Boston and New York and in Philadelphia and elsewhere, that Tom had to meet them and talk with them. And this impressed him. They took him to their big clubs and they wine and dined him. And he gradually learned that there were a lot of important influences that work for this type of thing. So he swung around. And before he left I would say that Tom and I had developed a mutual respect for each other. And I still have that respect for him.

Herbert Evison: I think that's a very interesting and very fine collection of characterizations. Unfortunately for you, you didn't work at any time under Oliver Taylor. Of course, he was down there only as an acting Regional Director, but he was a wonderful man in that position.

Roy Appleman: No, I never worked for Oliver Taylor. He came to Richmond when I was in the Army. I knew him, of course, as an engineer.

Herbert Evison: You and I had some correspondence quite a few years ago about the areas that came over to the Park Service from the Army.

Herbert Evison: And I remember, in something that I was writing, I quoted you at considerable length in the favorable way in which you commented on a lot of the things that the Army had done in the battlefields. I don't remember whether you put anything of that kind into the Hosmer tape or not. Yes, you did, you had some comment. But I would like you to discourse a little bit on the good points and the bad points, if you find any bad points, in the way in which the Army had handled their battlefields and other historical areas.

Roy Appleman: I'll be glad to. The military areas came into the Service in 1933 by President Roosevelt's Executive Order. I came into the Park Service in '35 and I moved down to Richmond, where I came actively into contact with

them for the first time, in 1936 and later. So this was very close to the beginning of National Park Service administration of these areas. And I recall very clearly in those early years there was a great amount of discussion among, well, everyone, administrators and particularly, however, among the professional people with whom I was thrown into contact a great deal, such as landscape architects, engineers and foresters, about the changes that needed to be made in these battlefield parks.

Roy Appleman: The general tenor was very critical of the Army's administration and development, how awful it was. And one heard frequently about, "Oh, those terrible graveyard landscapes," with Gettysburg being cited as the worst. Well, I listened to this, but I didn't agree with it. And gradually as I got around to the battlefields and saw them myself, I formed my own ideas. And by and large I became a strong admirer of what the Army and the veterans groups had done in the preservation and in the developing of these battlefields. They were largely Civil War because the veterans groups then living in the 1880's, 1901 s and 1900 and right after that, were the ones who were very active in getting the necessary legislation through Congress to set aside and preserve these battlefields.

Roy Appleman: The Army, of course, had to define the boundaries. And they were, of course, under pressure from the various veterans groups, primarily Northern Army veterans groups. And then the veterans groups and regiments, divisions, companies, battalions, and so on and so on, began to put up monuments marking specific sites where their units had been engaged. So one finds generally in the major battlefield parks such as Vicksburg, Shiloh, Gettysburg, to a lesser extent at Antietam, some very durable markings of sites that would have forever been lost had they not done it during their own lifetime. The records really do not disclose precise locations to this degree.

Roy Appleman: Now their memorials were in durable form. They were in metal, iron, bronze, stone, granite usually, sometimes marble. And where there was marble it's now beginning to disintegrate. The War Department put up a vast system of iron and sometimes bronze tablets with rather detailed, voluminous texts. A lot of people don't like to read them. They don't have to if they don't want to, but it's there. It's a permanent record. And I think it's fine that they did this. They have done a far better system of marking than we in the Park Service have ever done and probably ever will do. And they've done it in a more permanent way.

Roy Appleman: The War Department did not develop museums as such as we have since. And we have made this addition. They did not have guided service and we don't either in many places. There were veterans groups at Gettysburg that provided guided service for a fee. But I think by and large the Army and



its building of roads got the visitor around to the key places. And I think that if the visitor would take the time to stop and read their tablets and to read something about the battle, the action, before he got there, that the Army development would do its job.

Roy Appleman: There was a tendency on the part of the Park Service, as I remember very distinctly, because I engaged in controversy over it with these partisans for another viewpoint, to change the roads, to eliminate a lot of the roads, to change their alignment in places, to change the landscape, to remove some cannon, there were too many, or to remove this marker or that marker, it wasn't needed. I always opposed this for two reasons which I'd like to mention.

Roy Appleman: First of all, I thought that they did a good job and a useful job and they shouldn't be removed for that reason. Secondly, philosophically, I felt that the markers, the memorials, had been put there by an earlier generation, by people who were far closer to the subject than we were and are, that the art forms they put up reflected not only the amount of money that they expended and the sentiments that they felt about the sacrifices that these people made in that war, but it also reflected a cultural form of expression, an art form that was a realistic type which isn't in vogue very much anymore but which I, myself like.

Roy Appleman: But that's beside the point. It reflected an art form that told a good bit about the cultural history of that period. And I don't think that the National Park Service, or any other group, has any right to destroy, to remove, or tamper with, memorials that a previous generation has erected. Now we've done it in a few cases. And in some of these cases I have had these controversies I mentioned earlier, and I have always found the Park Service carried out a whitewash of it. I know some senators have protested on the part of constituents and I have seen the correspondence. But always they did not get a straightforward answer. There was a whitewash.

Roy Appleman: And this has always greatly disturbed me. And I have talked a great deal in memoranda and orally about the need for the Park Service, at the highest levels, to recognize that memorials should not be tampered with that have been erected by a previous generation. It's just the same as if we would spend a lot of money and time erecting a memorial now and a generation or two later somebody comes along and some authority doesn't like it for personal reasons and he wants something else to replace it. And he replaces it. Well, that I think is a great miscarriage and shouldn't be tolerated. And the Park Service should be the first to have an unswerving doctrine that we will not alter, or remove, or tamper with, memorials of a cultural and historical nature that have been erected by previous

generations. There might be overriding considerations occasionally, but they would be very, very few in my view.

Herbert Evison: Roy, you were one of the founding fathers of the Eastern National Park and Monument Association. One of the people that I taped on this program a little bit earlier was the guy who presently runs that, which has become a million-dollar-a-year business now. I hope that growth has been of a kind that makes you feel proud that you were one of the guys that gave the initial push to it. I would like any comment that occurs to you about the value of the Association, or the value of your experience with it, your experience with its publications program. As I remember it, you were on the publications committee for quite a while weren't you?

Roy Appleman: Yes, later. Well I'll be glad to tell you, Herb, something about this because as it happens I did have a place in it that enables me to make some comments about the early period. Right after World War II, when those of us who were away came back, we picked up our work. And in 1947 we had a meeting at Gettysburg which the historians from the East came. And we talked over several things that were of interest to us in developing the interpretation of the parks. One of them was the need to find some way of getting money to do some things that ought to be done that could not be done with appropriated funds.

Roy Appleman: I don't remember who initially proposed it – I may have or somebody else may have – the forming of an association patterned after the one in the Southwest, to do this type of thing and get money. It was viewed favorably and I was given the task of looking into it and trying to do something about it. So I busied myself with it as I could from other duties in Richmond. And I wrote a series of articles of incorporation to incorporate the group as a non-profit organization under the laws of the State of Virginia. I wrote a series of bylaws under which the organization, if incorporated and established, would subsequently operate. I consulted with the State corporation authorities as to what the requirements would be before I wrote the articles of incorporation because obviously I had to meet their requirements.

Roy Appleman: I sent the drafts to Washington for review. And they were reviewed up here, I don't know by whom, probably Mr. Lee and Mr. Kahler and I think Mr. Demaray and maybe Mr. Tolson. And they were sent back with some minor suggestions for change which were incorporated. So then I incorporated down in Richmond. Under the State law there had to be three signatures on the articles of incorporation. Mr. Cox happened to be there then and Mr. Hummel was at Yorktown and they both consented to go with me and sign the papers, which they did.

- Roy Appleman: Mr. Allen was then Regional Director. There had been a period of about four or five months in which these drafts were being prepared. And I had always circulated them through the Regional Director. And there had been some correspondence with Washington when I sent them up here, so I assumed that Mr. Allen knew all about it. In fact, I had mentioned it and discussed this subject several times in the Regional Director's weekly staff meeting with Mr. Allen present.
- Roy Appleman: Mr. Allen had been on a trip, I guess, at the time of actual incorporation. He came back and he saw something in his "In" box about it. And he called me in. This is a digression, but I want to put it in the record to show just one of the difficulties we had. He called me in and Mr. Cox in. And I never saw Tom Allen madder in my life. He was so mad he was white and he could hardly talk. He accused me of going behind his back and incorporating this group without his knowledge and he was adamantly opposed to it, he said. Well he got through, and Mr. Cox didn't say anything. So I said, "Well Tom, this surprises me, because you have been informed. I've talked about it in staff meetings several times and I've circulated every piece of correspondence, drafts that went to Washington, through your office. And if you didn't know about it, it's because you didn't even read it. This went through the Washington Office before it was incorporated and I understood it had Mr. Demaray's approval. And if you don't like what's happened you can take it up with the Washington Office. And we will just simply have to stop at this point without implementing it, if that's your desire and if it's the desire of the Washington Office."
- Roy Appleman: So I left the room at that point. I heard nothing further. We went ahead after a week or two. Of course, I paid for the incorporation, but we had to raise a little money to get started. And we did that by circulating the historians mostly and other persons who might be interested for membership in the organization at \$4.00 each. And we got somewhere in the neighborhood of \$60.00 or \$70.00, as I recall, and that was our initial working capital. And with that we bought government publications.\
- Roy Appleman: We had at that time a few government publications, historical handbooks that were published for about 25 cents. And we were allowed a 20 percent discount from the Government Printing Office, so we made a 20 percent profit on all of those things we could handle and sell. We established agents in a rather limited number of parks to begin with, because our capital was very limited and we were just beginning. We started in the historical parks, of course. It was a question then of each year growing and expanding a little further. I was the executive secretary and did practically all the work in this respect until I left to go back into the Army.

- Roy Appleman: I was called back into the Army in early 1951 in the Korean War. At that time the Association got another executive secretary. The articles of incorporation and the bylaws particularly centered on doing things to help in the interpretive development of the parks. And all the money was to be used for that purpose. When I came back into the National Park Service in the fall of 1954, some of the people, I guess as a recognition of my early efforts in behalf of the organization, wanted to elect me to the board of directors, which they did. And I then became a member of the board of directors from '54 to '57 I think.
- Roy Appleman: During that period a development began to occur that bothered me a great deal and led to a rather serious controversy within the board of directors. I want to mention this because probably it won't surface in any other way. Mr. Wirth, at that time Director of the National Park Service, wanted some money that he could use freely without having to abide by government regulations on appropriated funds. This was primarily, to be quite frank, for entertainment purposes, buying whiskey and buying other things that could be used in parties, and so on. He came to Mr. Lee and said, "What about a certain percentage of the income of the Eastern National Park and Monument Association?"
- Roy Appleman: Now Mr. Lee didn't tell me this, but it had to be that way because Mr. Kahler presented the thing at the meetings of the board of directors, Mr. Kahler at this time was the chairman of the board of directors of the Eastern National Park and Monument Association. I myself adamantly opposed this. I said, "We didn't organize this to provide the Director with entertainment money." I said, "Our purpose is to do a public service in the parks and to do things that appropriated money wouldn't be available for. And we need all the money we have for that purpose. And that's what the articles of incorporation say and that's what the bylaws say and that's what I think we should do." I said, "I realize that there's an intramural relationship here between Mr. Lee and Mr. Kahler. And they would like to please the Director, but I feel it's not the proper thing to do and I oppose it."
- Roy Appleman: Well the members of the board were caught between two viewpoints there, Mr. Kahler as chairman of the board urging it and I felt sure he was speaking for Mr. Lee – and myself. Now this thing came up at every meeting. At first I had very strong support, but after a while it got to be embarrassing to the other members. I felt that I would fight it bitterly to the very end. But I said to myself I thought I should get off the board of directors so that this particular controversy would end. And when the next election came up, I think it was a three-year term, I declined to run. And I left the board. And right after that the practice began of giving a certain

amount of money to the Director for his purposes. And now I think Mr. Hartzog has pressed it still further in recent years until he gets a percentage cut of the gross income. I've forgotten whether it's 10 or 20 percent.

Herbert Evison: No, not anything like that, not of the gross income.

Roy Appleman: The net income I meant.

Herbert Evison: I think it has been converted from one percent of the gross now to one and one-half percent of the gross. Well, you can see with the Eastern National Park and Monument Association grossing over a million dollars, that means \$15,000 plus, right to the Director's fund from that one source.

Roy Appleman: Well I didn't mean the gross income. If I said that I want to correct it. I meant the net income, the profit income. I think it amounts to something like that or did when I first heard about it, which would be four or five years ago – I don't know what it is now, but I think Mr. Kahler, whom I talked to about it, I think he said it came out to about 10 percent of the net income, but I'm not positive about this.

Roy Appleman: Well that was one controversy that developed. So I left the board of directors at that time. And subsequently I was again elected by a very large vote of the membership, and I refused to serve.

Roy Appleman: While I was still on the board of directors and chairman of the publications committee back in the mid- '50's, I proposed that we get out a book on the U. S. flag to sell at Fort McHenry. That was agreed to and I was asked to get it going. An amount was made available that I could use for artwork and other necessary things. And out of that did grow The History of the United States Flag that was published by Harper and Row, and has since become established as the standard work on the subject throughout the country, I understand. And it still has a sizable sale year after year.

Herbert Evison: Now, wasn't the preparation of that book a two or three-man job?

Roy Appleman: Yes. We initially did not have in mind a book. We had in mind a decent publication on the flag. As we got into it, it rather expanded in scope. Melvin Weig and George Emery were on a committee with me. George Emery left after a while, when he became superintendent of Gettysburg. Melvin Weig and I did most of the work.

Roy Appleman: We got in touch with Milo M. Quaife, a very distinguished historian and author who was then secretary of the Burton Historical Society in Detroit. He had published a book some years earlier on the flag which was the best we thought available. We asked him if he would adapt that to our needs,

cutting out certain things that we specified and add anything new that he could, basically, on the story of the flag. He agreed to this and we gave him \$2,000.

Roy Appleman: In the meantime I had started looking for illustrations and I carried that work forward and all the other special things beyond the initial text of the history of the flag itself. You have lots of things there now about the seal and about practices and procedures and the Confederate flag and the flag of Texas and the Hawaiian flag. All of this work I did myself excepting for a section that Mr. Shedd did on the Confederate flag, one that George MacKenzie did on the flag at Fort McHenry itself, the old flag that flew over that, and a section on the Bear Flag of California by Dr. John A. Hussey. Melvin Weig carried on considerable editorial work and was, of course, a great help all the way through. Melvin and I finally saw it to press.

Roy Appleman: I had initially made the contact with Mr. M. S. Wyeth, Jr., of Harper and Row. He was interested in it. And when we had the manuscript finished I took it to him and he said, yes, they would publish it and they did. They sell the hardback commercially. We had an arrangement by which they would publish a soft-bound version at a very minimal cost, and that has been on sale throughout the country, of course, in National Park Service areas now for a good many years. Herb, let me add one thing that I forgot a moment ago. The manuscript which we obtained from Dr. Quaife was greatly revised and added to, particularly from the source materials at Yorktown Battlefield which showed the use of the American flag there. This had never been the subject of publication, so we added that. Quaife, by the way, died very shortly after this. He was killed in an automobile accident and didn't live to see the published book.

Herbert Evison: Now that was Q-u-a-i-f-e?

Roy Appleman: Yes. He was a famous scholar, editor of the Lakeside Classics.

Herbert Evison: I made some comment on your comment about Newton Drury's attitude about historic areas, or at least about his very great unreadiness, you might say, to add historic areas to the National Park System. The point that I made was that it seemed to me like at least some degree of caution was pretty well advised, particularly when you were not very well supplied with money to take care of new acquisitions. I wonder if you have any comment to add on that.

- Roy Appleman: Yes, I will speak briefly. I want to say that I never was close to Mr. Drury myself. I was in Richmond and he was here. I met him from time to time. He was greatly admired as a literate man and as an educated man. I heard about him from some of my associates. And he did seem to be very much interested in cultural subjects but not particularly so in reference to building up the National Park Service. I think his philosophy was that the National Park Service should be primarily an organization dealing with scenic areas, not even recreational. And I think historical really didn't enter into his thoughts much either.
- Roy Appleman: I recall that during World War II while I was away (I heard this after I came back), that at the end of World War II the White House offered the NPS for administration the American Battle Monuments Commission properties, which dated from the mid -1920's and had originated in cemeteries and memorials overseas relating to World War One in France and Belgium, but which were greatly expanded as a result of World War Two into the Pacific, and of course, also in Europe, in Italy. This had been sort of a little adjunct to the White House. They were looking for a place to put it in the Government bureaucracy for permanent administration. They approached the National Park Service to take it over. And Mr. Drury refused it.
- Roy Appleman: At this point, the White House began having some other thoughts. It turned out, as you know, that legislation was enacted to set up the American Battle Monuments Commission, which is right across the street on Constitution Avenue and administered by a group of Army officers. The old Navy Building is where it is located.
- Roy Appleman: This could have been in the National Park Service at the end of World War II. And I think it should have been, because it deals with American memorials and the National Park Service is the bureau that by and large is charged with that work. There's no reason philosophically why it shouldn't be charged with these American memorials overseas as well as those here at home. Mr. Drury turned that down, however. Twenty-five years have passed, and it's a question now of what will be the future of that organization. I know there are groups actively working in Congress to have it transferred to the Veterans Administration, which I think would be a mistake. I cite that as one example which I think was shortsighted on Mr. Drury's part.
- Herbert Evison: I'm glad you mentioned that. I think that's an interesting sidelight that probably actually very few Park Service people would know ever happened. I had never heard until now that the suggestion had been made that the Park Service take over that responsibility. And I was at that time, I

think, at least trying to keep pretty current of what was going on in the National Park Service.

Roy Appleman: There is correspondence on it too, Herb.

Herbert Evison: Oh, yes, I'm sure there would be. I am very interested in getting the kind of independent opinion and independent judgment that a guy can expect from you, on the great Williamsburg Restoration. I read in the "New York Times," greatly to my surprise, three or four years ago a rather harsh criticism of Williamsburg. I don't know how they referred to it exactly, but I think you might use the phrase, "gilded historic restoration." I wonder how Williamsburg appeals to you, as I think you would be called a purist on restoration.

Roy Appleman: Well, I'm not a purist. I would be willing to make certain compromises in certain situations but only if information wasn't available to carry out fully what would be called a purist concept, I guess. No, I'm not a purist, but perhaps I'm 90 percent purist. The question poses difficulties for me because I really don't know that much about Williamsburg. I've been there a number of times and I've had associations with members of the Williamsburg staff going back to 1936. I've heard a lot of talk about what went on. Some people on the Williamsburg staff later came to the National Park Service, such as Orin Bullock and Fred Parris. My view will have to be considered sort of an uninformed and perhaps inadequate one, but I would say for what it's worth that Williamsburg Restoration has tended, I think, to become more commercial as years have passed. It has a very large superstructure of administrative personnel at big salaries. Mr. Rockefeller left them a 50-million-dollar endowment which brings in four percent I believe. They get two million dollars in income a year. And John D. Rockefeller, Jr., made it clear before he died, I think, that they'd have to live on that. Well, they want to do things that exceed that and they have to make the money from profits in admission fees and in sales and other activities that they have tended more and more to carry on.

Herbert Evison: In hotels.

Roy Appleman: Yes, lodges, hotels, etcetera. The talk that I heard from people who knew more than I knew directly about their research and about the way they applied their research and architectural reconstruction was that they did cut corners. They did ignore some facts. They did several things, perhaps a multitude of small things, that ended in a development, both landscape-wise and in buildings, that would be short of really authentic restoration. So I think if one were to pry into the subject carefully and spend a lot of time you'd find that its standards perhaps are not as good now as the National Park Service's are. I think there was a time when Williamsburg



started that their standards might have been as good as or better than ours. They had more money. They had more trained personnel to work with. And I think their influence in the early years was tremendous and it may still be tremendous generally over the country in historical preservation and restoration. I think now that probably the National Park Service has standards and procedures which surpass those of Williamsburg.

Herbert Evison: And you would make as one corollary point perhaps that you would consider what they do at Jamestown and at Yorktown a little closer to the realities of history?

Roy Appleman: Yes, I think so. I think our interpretive programs at Yorktown and Jamestown are pretty reliable. I'm really not in a position to say they're more reliable than those at Williamsburg, but I think they are perhaps a little better and stick to the real facts perhaps closer without as great a degree of folderol and playacting and something that on occasion approaches a carnival.

Herbert Evison: I was extremely interested in your comments on reconstruction of such places as the McLean House. And I remember that there was considerable opposition in the National Park Service to undertaking that project. As a matter of fact, there was a remark that went the rounds for a long time about Ronnie Lee having gone down to argue, I guess with Mr. Flood, or anyway with advocates of the restoration, and having come home licked. And there was reference to it as "Lee's second defeat at Appomattox." I imagine you heard that many times.

Roy Appleman: Yes, I heard that. I was in a position to know what was going on at least from the Regional Office side. And I knew something that went on up here but not all. But what happened there essentially at the McLean House also was repeated later at the courthouse as a restoration matter of controversy. The studies went forth initially in response to congressional and local interest as to whether the McLean House should be restored. Well, we first said we'll have to find out what we can learn about it, whether it's feasible.

Roy Appleman: We carried out those studies. Archeologically, Preston Holter did the job. Historically, there were a number of people who worked on it, primarily Hubert Gurney. Charlie Porter and I had a hand in it throughout. And architecturally, Al Higgins, who was in the Regional Office there at the time as regional architect, was very much interested. Between Higgins and me, we followed it very closely from the Regional Office. And I know it was followed very closely in Washington by Charlie Porter, and I think Mr. Lee. We got the reports out, and from every point of view it showed the reconstruction was feasible. I think it should be called reconstruction,

because even though the foundations were intact, everything above ground would have had to be rebuilt.

Roy Appleman: We reached a conclusion it could be authentically reconstructed. I favored it from the beginning. Higgins favored it from the beginning. As a matter of top policy and cost and philosophy it ran into trouble here in Washington. I don't know the full story, but I think Mr. Lee was sort of opposed to it. Mr. Lee and Mr. Vint were always very close. I do not know to what degree Mr. Vint and Mr. Lee individually and jointly favored or didn't favor it. But I think as things worked out and after conversation probably with the Director, they seemed to be opposed to it. And the thing went along and went along with action deferred.

Roy Appleman: You referred to Mr. Lee's defeat down there with Mr. Flood. Yes, I think that took place. I think that actually what happened was that the thing was done because of political influence, and not because the Park Service wanted to do it. But I always favored it myself. I've always favored, in principle, reconstruction and restoration of structures. And when I say structures I don't mean just a building. I would include fortifications and maybe fences and other things of this type that will result in a landscape picture that reproduces the past for the benefit of visitors. I think this is by far the best means for the great bulk of visitors to conceive a setting and what happened in that setting.

Roy Appleman: However, my viewpoint has not been favored very greatly, not only in the Park Service generally but among many historians. I think Mr. Lee had a lot of doubts about this. When I came back from the Korean War in 1954 and entered on duty here in the Washington Office, I recall there had been a great controversy on the Whitman Mission and what should be done. There had been a lot of trouble out there. Well, I interested myself in it. And the planning and the decision at that point was to build a visitor center someplace there and not to do any restoration or reconstruction at all.

Roy Appleman: I felt this was a great mistake. I read all the archeological reports. I read all the historical reports. And I believed that they could rebuild those four or five simple structures without any great deviation from what they had actually been and restore the old Oregon Trail past there, and the pond and the dike, and so on, and you'd have a pretty good living example. I talked this and argued it with Mr. Kahler and Mr. Lee. They finally let me go out there and look at the ground. I talked with Mr. Kennedy, the superintendent. He seemed to favor it. He did not favor, so he told me, the plan that was then being concocted in the Western Regional Office.

Roy Appleman: I went to that office and talked to various people. I got sort of the cold shoulder. They said, "Oh, plans are too far along. We can't change it now." There had been a matter of getting land from the State to make a new entrance road for instance. But anyway, I wrote up my report and my proposal. I never knew whether Mr. Kahler or Mr. Lee favored it. I got noncommittal responses from them. They did send the proposal out to the Western Region, which said "no." And so they went ahead with the development that is there. I think that was a great mistake. So when you ask me my views on this subject I'm glad to give them.

Roy Appleman: I know that Dr. Connally, when he came in as the head of the new Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, was almost 100 percent against any kind of reconstruction. However, both I and Bob Utley, and Mr. Judd, didn't agree with him fully. We made our viewpoints known and that there ought to be exceptions. So he finally did relent and there is a policy now written into Park Service policy documents that reconstructions may be considered when you have the original site on which a structure stood, when you have enough information that you can make a reasonably authentic reconstruction, and thirdly, if it would serve a good, obvious educational purpose.

Roy Appleman: But there still are a lot of feet dragging, reluctance in the Park Service to engage in reconstruction. And this goes back, I would say, to the ghost of maybe Violett-le-Duc, the great French Gothic architect specialist who was responsible for the restoration of Notre Dame and of Carcassonne, and other medieval fortresses of Gothic character. His philosophy was it's better to restore than to reconstruct, preserve first, then maybe restore as a last resort. But reconstruction should be the very last thing and not really to be considered in many cases. Well, I think that the ghosts of the past have influenced us too much in the present day.

Herbert Evison: I'm interested in one so-called reconstruction and that's Fort Caroline, which I mentioned in my letter to you. It would seem to me to have been undertaken with probably about as little authentic information as to what the structure actually looked like as any that the Park Service has ever done and also built on a quite different site because if I remember rightly the original site of it had been washed down the river. I wonder what your opinion, or your feeling is about the Fort Caroline job.

Roy Appleman: Yes, I'll be glad to tell you. I've never seen Fort Caroline. This got under way and was settled while I was off in the Korean War, as I recall. And it was one of the projects of Congressman Bennett of Florida. It's true the original site of Fort Caroline has long since been destroyed by the Saint Johns River, so you don't have the first prerequisite. You do not have the original site. Secondly, there was the flimsiest of evidence of what it

looked like. They don't know really. But they built this. The whole project should have been denied from the beginning. The Park Service should have been stronger in standing up to what was strictly purely political pressure and a local project for one man. I think it's a very reprehensible type of development.

Herbert Evison: It has always seemed to me to be one of the most dubious undertakings of the Park Service.

Roy Appleman: It can't be justified from any professional point of view.

Herbert Evison: I offered some comment, in commenting on your taping, about the early and recent character of the Advisory Board. And I was reminded of a letter that I was shown last week when I was up in Alfred Knopf's home, and which I think had appeared in the "New York Times" and which had been signed by both Alfred and his wife, protesting the appointment of an Oregonian to the Advisory Board on the basis that he was completely unqualified for it. Now while this tape wasn't running you offered some comment on the early Board and recent developments in connection with it that I'm ashamed to have missed but that I hope you won't mind repeating.

Roy Appleman: Gladly. I want to make sure that you understand I'm not in a position to answer very certainly about the Advisory Board in recent years because I haven't been that close to it. In the early years I was fairly close to the Board at different times and in different ways. And I have very distinct impressions about the people who made up the Board from 1936 through the '30's and on into the '40's. Often I'd be driving a car for them for a week or two when they would visit places of interest and which they were to consider in some way in their meetings. I recall Clark Wissler and Herman Bumpus, for instance, whom I had the pleasure to drive around for a couple of weeks. And this has always been a very high spot in my memory. The History Division at first seemed to be the only group really interested in the Board, and their work concerned mostly historical and archeological areas. As years passed, the Director's office, and the Secretary's Office, too, began to see that they could use the Board for their own interests. And they took more of a hand in the Board appointments, I think, and what the Board did. The keeping of the records for instance, of the Board, had always been done by the History Division until finally this was lifted from them and put in the Director's office, in the '50's as I recall it. The appointments more and more were dictated at the Secretarial Office level. And I'm speaking now as an observer, not as a participant who has any inside knowledge. And I heard talk, too, from other people that the members of the Board began to become less distinguished professional people, with a real interest and a real knowledge, and more of

the business-type person who had some political influence, or who had contributed to a party's campaign committee and who wanted some recognition of an honorary sort and who maybe had some interest in some form of conservation. So there have been a number of appointments, in my view, of men who really had no contribution to make. It became an honorary sort of thing and a political payoff.

Herbert Evison: I don't know whether it's even sensible to put anything on the record about it and yet it's something that interests me very greatly. I don't remember what your comment on it was, but I offered some comment or a little tale of the efforts that I have made from time to time to get rid of the name "Colonial" as indicating an area of the National Park Service and to substitute for it names that would create an image in the minds of Americans when they hear it, such as Jamestown and Yorktown. I'd like very much to have your opinion on the advisability of having a Jamestown National Historical Park and a Yorktown National Historical Park. And my suggestion was a Virginia Colonial National Parkway connecting the two. I have always objected to use of the word "Colonial" of one or two areas in one state as though there was all our colonial history.

Roy Appleman: I think your criticism is correct and I agree with it. It's a misnomer. And beyond that, it isn't a logical way to administer those parks because they are so unrelated in their content and the type of administration that they should have, that they require two different staffs and two different administrations, in my view. Jamestown is an early 17th Century settlement site. It's entirely archeological, almost nothing above ground. Yorktown is a late 18th Century battlefield site with some colonial architecture involved. By colonial, I mean of the Revolutionary Period. And its problems are quite different. I think that administration of an area should be governed primarily by the type of problem and the interest that it presents. And these two are so unrelated that there's no sense in having them together. And it is a misleading name to call them "Colonial." I much prefer that there be two parks, Yorktown Battlefield and Jamestown Island. I'm not sure how the Parkway best could be administered.

Herbert Evison: Of course, I've tacked in the word "Virginia" there in my proposed designation of it, the Virginia Colonial Parkway. It's very funny. One time the Region actually recommended it to Washington and it got killed there. Then a couple of years ago I reopened the subject, first by writing to Senator Spong. Well, of course, what happened was that he referred the question right away to the National Park Service and it was killed on what never seemed to me to be very compelling reasons.

Roy Appleman: Just the mere work of doing it would be enough.

Herbert Evison: Well, that's a little cynical comment I'm afraid.

Roy Appleman: Yes, I'm pretty cynical about a lot of things.

Herbert Evison: You know, we have spent this morning doing almost nothing except discussing points that that wonderful tape recording of yours raised in me and that I raised in turn with you. I haven't even started on what you busied yourself in in the years after the war, really, except for casual mentions of them. I really think that two straight hours of taping is about all that anybody should be submitted to at one time. You'll be interested in knowing that this afternoon I have Dr. Charles W. Porter, III coming in here for taping.

Roy Appleman: Oh good. What time is he due?

Herbert Evison: At two o'clock.

Roy Appleman: We better knock this off then.

Herbert Evison: I'm putting you on notice as we reach the end of this that I'm not really through with you, but I hope to have another session in here sometime, at a decent interval, to go into some of the other interesting phases of your career.

Roy Appleman: I'll be glad to do that, Herb. You just let me know when it's convenient and I'll try to meet it.

Herbert Evison: Well that's fine. And I am immensely obliged to you for coming in this cold, winter morning for this wonderful session.

Roy Appleman: Well, it's been a pleasure to be here with you.

END OF TAPE