

CONNECTING THE PAST TO THE PRESENT:
A PLANNING STRATEGY FOR URBAN NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARKS

by

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B. Arch., University of Cincinnati (1972)

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degrees of
MASTER OF CITY PLANNING, and
MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE IN ADVANCED STUDIES

of the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

January, 1976

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ABSTRACT

Increasingly over the past decade, the National Park Service has found itself confronted with proposals to develop major national historical parks in urban settings. These proposals have involved circumstances very different and more complex than those the Park Service has experienced in its traditional role of planning and managing wilderness parks. This thesis examines the difficulties the Park Service has encountered in attempting to plan for large-scale urban historical projects. An alternative planning strategy is proposed in which local needs and federal interests receive balanced consideration. Finally, ways this proposed strategy might be applied in the specific situation of planning and developing a national historical park in Lowell, Massachusetts are explored.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS Thanks is in order to the following people for their help and guidance in preparing this thesis. Their contributions have been far greater than they are aware: Elizabeth Frenchman, Tunney Lee, Kevin Lynch, Phillip Herr, Eileen Shapiro, William Southworth, Sandy Congleton, Kas Schwan, and Thomas Tucker.

INTRODUCTION

For most people, the idea of a national park evokes images of Old Faithful, Yosemite Falls, and the Grand Canyon, rather than an aging central city neighborhood. But increasingly over the past decade, the National Park Service has found itself confronted with proposals to develop major national historical parks in urban settings. These proposals have involved circumstances very different and more complex than those the Park Service has experienced in its traditional role of planning and managing the wilderness parks. Central to the problem of creating parks in urban areas are the differing viewpoints held by various local groups and the federal government concerning how historic resources should be handled. The recent experience of the Park Service in dealing with major urban projects points to the conclusion that the current national park planning process is inadequate to deal with the complexities of the urban scene, even though this process works well in rural situations. Problems and frustrations with recent projects have moved the Park Service to resist further large-scale involvement in urban areas in spite of the need for federal protection of nationally significant historic resources being threatened in cities across the nation.

The theme of this thesis is that for the Park Service to

successfully develop urban national historical parks, a planning strategy must be devised in which local needs and federal interests receive balanced consideration. To develop this strategy requires not only a new planning model, but a re-evaluation of what urban national parks should be. In carrying out that re-evaluation, three important questions surface: first, should national parks be wholly supported by the federal government and planned with no thought to their economic potential; or should national parks be designed to generate income that might defray park expenses or that might be captured by a city in an effort to improve its economy? Second, should national parks be places where the government presents its interpretation of history to the public; or should they be forums where various interest groups, scholars, visitors, and nearby residents discuss their own interpretation of historical events? Finally, should national parks be planned simply to protect certain historic resources and make them accessible to the public with a minimum of disruption to the surrounding community; or should they be planned with the co-equal goal of improving the quality of urban environments?

While each of these issues is considered in this thesis, the last is given special attention. This is because I

believe that the way historic resources are managed is becoming an increasingly important determinant of the environmental quality of our cities. In generations past, the built world was more permanent and fewer major changes in one's environment were witnessed during a lifetime. New structures were much like the old, and when major changes did occur -- like tearing down a city's walls or cutting a new boulevard -- time was available to heal the wounds. Today, time is not available. Not only is re-development occurring at an accelerating rate, but new constructions are often vastly different from those built even thirty years previously. The resulting discontinuities can no longer be absorbed into the urban fabric before the developments that created these scars are themselves replaced. Addressing the Senate on the subject of land use, Senator Henry Jackson outlined the magnitude of the problem:

Between now and the year 2000, we must build again all that we built before. We must build as many homes, schools, hospitals, and office buildings in the next three decades as we built in the previous three centuries.

Ref: 1

Enormous growth and change is nothing new to our society. For the last 25 years, our answer to these issues has been horizontal development. This strategy was efficient and tackled with amazing vigor. Since World War II, we have built more transportation, shopping, living, and working facilities than in any previous age, and we have invented

a whole new lifestyle to accompany this development. The shopping center, the industrial park, the interstate highway, and Levittown are all concepts which were employed over the last 25 years to meet the challenges of tremendous growth. But as limited land and energy resources begin to restrict us from horizontal solutions, new growth must be absorbed within the existing urban fabric. We can no longer look to outlying open lands to cushion the impact of environmental change. Pressures to redevelop what is now built will be felt everywhere. To keep urban environments from fragmenting, we must not only design new structures that plug into the past, but we must also insure that older pieces of the environment are responsibly managed so that they continue to play a vital role in the present. For the first time, the way we connect the past to the present will, to a large extent, determine the quality of environments in the future.

This situation places an exceptional responsibility on the National Park Service because it is the nation's leading manager of historic resources. Although historical parks may be developed in relatively few cities, they will almost certainly be looked to as prototypes by other cities struggling to manage their own historic environments. This implies that national historical parks can no longer be narrowly conceived as collections of restored buildings in

which Park Service activities end at the building line. Ways must be found for historical parks to play a positive role in the life of their communities in addition to the task of entertaining visitors. Also, ways must be found to protect historic resources and their surrounding neighborhoods from detrimental changes in their environments, including changes -- like tourist trap development -- that could be instigated by the existence of the park, itself. Finally, ways must be found to make use of the economic potential embodied in national park visitors to encourage those changes that will improve the quality of the local environment without detracting from historic resources.

In summary, this thesis has two objectives: to develop and propose a more effective strategy for the planning and managing of urban national historical parks; and to illustrate how those parks could be used to improve urban environments. I have concentrated on these areas because of my own fascination with managing historical environments and because I am convinced that such activities will occupy the Park Service increasingly in the future. It has been over 60 years since the National Park Service was established to protect natural and historical resources and to open up these resources for the education and enjoyment of the public. Although revolutionary in the early part of

this century, the planning and management policies that have guided the Park Service in accomplishing its mandate have remained substantially unaltered to the present day. These policies will continue to be relevant for some parks in the future, but as the setting for major new parks shifts to the city, some fundamental questions should be raised about the appropriateness of old planning and management models.

A number of Park Service officials are aware of this need and their insights and concerns gathered through many personal interviews have helped to ground my work in reality. The Park Service, itself, is experimenting with new approaches to park planning, but such new approaches have yet to become part of national park policy. Some concepts have been officially endorsed, but they are not being effectively implemented in the field. A secondary aim of this thesis is to aid the Park Service in these efforts by pointing out some possibilities that might not have been considered and by bringing to light some relevant experiences of other government agencies. The interstate highway experience, the Model Cities program, and recent coastal zone management efforts all hold lessons applicable to challenges now facing the Park Service.

In Part One of this thesis, the evolution of the Park Service as a manager of historic resources is traced. Next, the current status of Park Service activities in urban areas is analyzed by studying the case of Boston National Historical Park, a project now in the planning stages. Lastly, recommendations are made to guide the future development of urban national historical parks. Part Two explores how the recommendations generated in the preceding chapters might be applied in the specific situation of planning a national historical park in Lowell, Massachusetts. Lowell is now being considered by a federal commission as the site for such a project. After a brief description of the city's history, a management program for planning, implementing and operating an historical park in Lowell is advanced. A final chapter deals with the substance of the proposed project and how various aspects of it could be approached, given the recommended management program.

PART 1

ANALYSIS OF
THE CURRENT
SITUATION

From a single facility established just over 100 years ago, the National Park System has grown to include almost 300 parks of all kinds and sizes. Approximately 175 of these parks are classified as being "historical". This section analyzes the background and current status of national park planning for urban historical projects.

Chapter 1 begins by tracing the evolution of the role of the federal government as an historic resource manager: from its roots in the conservation of Indian ruins to the development of Independence National Historical Park, an early large scale urban project. Next in Chapter 1, three trends are explored that during the 1960's caused the Park Service to shift the focus of its attention from wilderness to urban areas.

Chapter 2 is a case study of the process presently being used to plan for Boston National Historical Park. First, the planning procedures being employed are explained. Second, the crucial issue of citizen participation is examined by focusing on a situation involving Bunker Hill Monument and its surrounding neighborhood, Charlestown. Finally, problems with current park planning procedures are analyzed, and an alternative planning model is proposed, followed by an alternative conception of what national parks in cities should be. Part 1 concludes with a set of general recommendations designed to guide the future development of urban national historical parks.

1.0 THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

1.1 Roots in the Conservation Ethic

When Yellowstone National Park was established in 1872, Congress institutionalized a conservation ethic that has guided federal management of historic resources up to the present day. Congress decreed that:

Ref: 3 The scenic, scientific, and natural wonders of our country have a value to the whole people to be kept free from exploitation and held in trust for the people by the government for the enjoyment of present and future generations.

Ref: 4 The Antiquities Act of 1906 extended this concept to include the nation's historic resources. It empowered the President to set aside national historic monuments on the public domain and was aimed mainly at protecting prehistoric Indian ruins in the southwest. The conservation ethic equated historic resources with natural resources. Since historic resources are a product of a past age and cannot be reproduced in the present, they were viewed as a fixed quantity capable of depletion. The federal government strove to protect these resources from further deterioration or other changes so that they would continue to exist as remnants of the past in the future.

Although many buildings were restored in Europe during the 19th century, the idea of a national government setting aside or purchasing historic resources with the specific

purpose of preserving them for the future was a relatively new concept. Also, unlike Europe, where attention was focused on the fate of urban architectural monuments, in this country the experience of the federal government with preservation began with historic resources located in the wilderness. Initially, these resources were managed by the Army, and their settings were preserved by acquiring huge tracts of land in their vicinity. The resources, themselves, had remained unchanged for centuries, preserved by the climate, and they were administered as though they were museums.

This early experience had a profound influence on the National Park Service, which was established in 1916 to manage the nation's national parks and historic monuments. In his charge to the first director of the Service, Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane established a national park policy epitomizing the conservation ethic:

First, the national parks and national monuments must be maintained untouched by the inroads of modern civilization in order that unspoiled bits of America may be preserved to be enjoyed by future generations as well as our own;

Second, that they are set aside for the use, pleasure, and education of all the people;

Third, that the national interest must take precedence in all decisions affecting public or private enterprise in the parks and monuments.

Ref: 5

This so-called "Magna Carta of the National Parks" has been reiterated by virtually every succeeding Secretary of the Interior.

Ref: 6

Until the Historic Preservation Act of 1935, almost all the historic sites under federal management were either prehistoric Indian ruins or battlefields. The Historic Preservation Act established a comprehensive national historic preservation program, and for the next thirty years, the Park Service expanded its stewardship to include many sites and buildings associated with prominent Americans and patriotic events. Historic parks developed during this period consisted mainly of isolated structures which the Park Service had purchased and restored to appear as they did at the time of the event or person related to them. Based on Park Service research, an interpretive story was presented to communicate the significance of the event or of the person to American life. Many of these sites were in cities, but as one Park Service official described them:

Ref: 7

They were little oases in the middle of the urban scene. They didn't have to worry about the outside, because anything the Service wanted to do it just did and was not concerned. Rather than a part of the community, they were tight little museums that everybody would walk into and be afraid to talk in.

The association of the Park Service with patriotic sites and natural wonders placed the Service in a position unique among government agencies. Public respect for the Service grew to reverence during these years, and the park ranger dressed in his impeccable uniform became part of a mystique which included the enduring symbols of everything that was great and good in America. The unusual dedication and clear

sense of purpose which characterized Park Service spokesmen of the time reinforced this mystique.

In spite of its involvement with historic sites after 1935, the focus of National Park Service activities during the 1930's, 40's, and 50's lay in the acquisition and development of natural areas. By 1960, the National Park System included virtually all of the nation's spectacular natural landscapes. Reflecting this bias, the only major national parks operating in urban areas by 1960 were the National Capital parks and Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia.

When Independence Park was authorized by Congress in 1948, it included a small group of buildings centering around Independence Hall. Major development of the project did not begin until the late 1950's. Authorized by an additional act of Congress, the Park Service at that time laid claim to four blocks of Philadelphia and proceeded to raze every building in the area not dating from the revolutionary period -- over 100 structures in all. Walter Muir Whitehill has characterized this action as being:

Ref: 8

. . . the greatest possible catastrophe for the city. The Park Service and the people who were responsible for all that were trying to turn the clock back in the manner of Williamsburg. They were eliminating everything that wasn't around at the moment that they were concentrating on. The result was they had Independence Hall, the American Philosophical Society, and a few things left in an absolute sea of open space. And Carpenter's Hall which was originally built at the end of an alley, now looks like a tasteful replica to be used at a World's Fair or as a gas station. It loses all of its urban quality, and a great many good buildings of the 19th century got demolished in the process.

Ref: 9

In many ways, what the Park Service did in Philadelphia was to apply the conservation ethic to an urban setting. Independence Park was developed like Mesa Verde (an Indian ruin in Colorado) and other prehistoric monuments. First, it was conceived as a single large tract of land controlled entirely by the Park Service (Independence Hall is actually owned by the City of Philadelphia). Other revolutionary sites in the city of equal importance but removed from this tract were not included in the park. Second, it was secured from "the inroads of modern civilization" by demolition and restoration. Third, the resulting park was presented to the public as a museum piece as if it had never changed from the time of the revolution and as if its significance could be interpreted from only one point of view.

1.2
From
Wilderness to
Urban Areas

Beginning with the establishment of Independence Park and increasingly throughout the 1960's, the Park Service shifted its attention from the wilderness to urban areas. The reasons for this shift lie somewhere in the convergence of 3 trends: (1) a movement within the Park Service to create a more balanced Park System which was less biased towards wilderness areas, (2) the growing financial difficulties of private entities that had traditionally maintained urban historical landmarks, and (3) a change in the political climate of the nation which increasingly directed federal at-

tentions to the problems of urban areas.

The first of these trends surfaced during the late 1950's. By that time, the Park Service had practically run out of great natural areas worthy of its stewardship. It became clear that the future of the Service would lie in expanding the National Park System to include the vast realm of American history beyond that represented by patriotic and pre-historic sites. Social, cultural, commercial, industrial, and other aspects of the American experience were poorly represented in the Park System in spite of their crucial significance to understanding contemporary life in the United States. But many of the sites exemplifying these aspects of history were part of old, deteriorating central city areas, that were being threatened everywhere by urban renewal projects and interstate highway proposals. Possibly realizing that its own future was at stake, the Park Service began to acquire additional sites in urban areas and to lobby for effective checks over federally sponsored projects threatening those sites.

Partially as a result of this effort, Congress passed three landmark pieces of legislation in 1966. The Department of Transportation Act required that transportation projects be planned to avoid negative impacts on historic resources unless there is no "feasible and prudent" alternative. The

Ref: 11

Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act (Model Cities) altered the concept of urban renewal so that activities financed under that program could include acquisition and restoration of historic properties either within or outside designated urban renewal areas. Lastly, the Historic Preservation Act intensified the role of the Park Service in encouraging preservation activities. The policy declarations of this act are especially significant:

Ref: 12

Congress finds and declares. . .that the historical and cultural foundations of the nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people. (emphasis added)

This policy statement challenged the Park Service to redefine its attitude towards historic resources. The act encouraged reintegration of historic resources into their environment by maintaining their viable life, rather than treating them as isolated museums oriented to nonlocal visitors.

The second trend leading to Park Service involvement in cities was an economic one. The private sector in this country has played a leading role in preservation activities since 1853 when George Washington's Virginia plantation was purchased by the Mount Vernon Ladies Association. During long years of government inaction, preservation groups struggled to maintain all types of structures that they considered to be historically significant. Most of these

buildings were in major cities where there was sufficient awareness and resources to support preservation societies. Increasingly during the 1960's, these societies began to fall on hard times due in part to sharply increasing maintenance costs and a growing scarcity of private benefactors. Consequently, a number of nationally known buildings began to deteriorate. Referring to the situation in Boston, Park Service official Dennis Galvin explained:

This is not a criticism of the people who have been running those sites in any way. But it is a fact that physically you look at those buildings and they need help. So who is financially able to help them? In recent times the only government entity that people could turn to was the federal government. There is no denying on the philosophical level that most of these structures have national significance as compared to other things that are already in the system . . . So there is a certain role because of national significance, magnitude, the amount of money involved that no other entity can take on except the federal government.

Ref: 13

In addition to preservation societies, many individuals and businesses through the years have recognized the historic value of the buildings they own. But during the 1960's, development pressures within many central cities rose dramatically. It became increasingly difficult for private owners to justify maintaining older buildings when their sites could be more intensively and more profitably used. In the Chicago loop, for example, many buildings significant to the development of the Chicago Style were suddenly threatened with demolition in the 1960's after they had functioned profitably for almost 100 years. Increasingly, the Park Service found

Ref: 14

itself as an agency of last resort to which concerned owners and the public turned for help and guidance in these situations.

The third trend acting to bring the Park Service into cities reflects general political changes that have occurred in our society since the late 1950's. These changes put pressure on the Park Service not only to expand its historical activities in cities but also to take on the new role of providing urban recreation. Dennis Galvin explained:

In line with the Supreme Court decision on redistricting, there is a great deal more representation for a place like New York City than there was before. And increasingly over the last decade, the liberal wing of Congress has said, "We want our share in the city. . . . We have the representation now and we want federal dollars spent for everything, historic preservation and recreation as well. We want some of it right here in our homes. . . ." Then you get the kind of conservative philosophy that says, "We only want a limited number of agencies in the federal government; don't create any new bureaucracies." You put those philosophies together and it's a force in Congress that has increasingly moved the National Park Service into cities (and into urban recreation).

Ref: 15

1.3

The Parks to People Dilemma

In 1969, these trends were formally acknowledged by the Nixon Administration with the announcement of an action program designed to bring "parks to the people." Walter Hickel outlined the program in a memorandum issued to the Park Service shortly after he became Secretary of the Interior:

We must bring PARKS TO PEOPLE. I wish you to initiate in cooperation with the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation a study of

what opportunities exist for an expanded program of federal acquisition of park and recreation lands in the large urban centers of our nation. . . .It is imperative that you inaugurate programs that will make existing (parks in urban) areas a more vital and meaningful part of the total environment of these urban centers. . . .You should take steps to broaden citizen participation, especially of our youth, in planning the National Park System. . . .New partnership relations involving federal, state, and local governments and private organizations should be explored and encouraged.

Ref: 16

High expectations and rhetoric aside, moving the Parks to People program from concept to reality became a difficult problem. Four major urban parks were authorized in the spirit of this program: Gateway in New York (1972) and Golden Gate in San Francisco (1972); Boston National Historical Park (1974); and most recently, Cuyahoga National Recreation Area outside of Cleveland.

The vision of their Park Service administrators notwithstanding, Park Service professionals had neither the expertise nor the desire to deal with the issues presented by major urban parks. In 1969, for example, planning services were dominated by landscape architects, reflecting the agency's rural bias. There were few architects, even fewer urban planners, no sociologists, and no urban designers.

Reflecting on this situation, Edward Peetz, Director of the National Capital Parks planning office, commented:

Landscape architects used to rule supreme in the Park Service. And very candidly, most people who joined the National Park Service joined it because they were interested in the natural jewels of the country. They wanted to be associated with the Yosemite and the Shenandoahs and the Acacias. To bring a place like Gateway into the National Park Service was altogether foreign to the thoughts of most

Ref: 17

people. And I would say when we did Gateway, 90% of the rank and file in the Service were just unalterably opposed to it.

The urban park program divided Park Service personnel along philosophical lines. The development of Gateway, for example, was originally entrusted to the National Capital Parks planning office because of its experience with an urban area. But midstream in the planning process the whole project was shifted to the North Atlantic Regional Office located in Boston. Edward Peetz explained the reason for this decision:

They took Gateway away from us because they did not like the way we were doing it. We knew too much about the area, I guess, and our philosophy about developing Gateway was different. . . (Park Service administrators) would like to turn Gateway into Yosemite. They're into urban areas and they don't want to manage them as urban areas. They manage them using old time 1930's Park Service thinking. . . Here are some of the problems that result. In New York City, Riis Park is an active Park that was included in Gateway. The New York Police force used to maintain order there and they never had any problems. OK, the Park Service moves in. Who should we have patrol the area? The North Atlantic Region would like to have park rangers in there. In the first place, they're going to have trouble getting the rangers because these guys didn't come into the Park Service to go to New York. And a Smokey Bear outfit running around in New York City on those beaches saying, "Hold it. You can't do that, it's against the rules" -- you try that in New York City and that guy's hat's going to be floating in the bay and he's going to be under it. . . This is a whole new ball game. The Park Service has to forget the traditional Park Service image and recruit people who come from that type of environment and know how to handle it.

Ref: 18

Another dilemma arising out of the Parks to People program was that congresspeople took the program as a cue to propose parks for their urban constituencies. They perceived that

the Park Service could provide high quality regional facilities outside the hassles of regional politics. Also, national parks attract tourists and income to the areas that surround them. A flood of urban park proposals appeared in Congress. With the operating expenses of Gateway running higher than Yosemite, the Office of Management and Budget began to oppose the addition of any major urban park as a matter of routine. After Gateway and Golden Gate, the Park Service, itself, began to oppose new urban parks. The hostilities the Park Service encountered in its own ranks, plus the management difficulties in New York, had much to do with this change. But primary was the fact that the Service was not being authorized enough funds to adequately develop the parks being established by Congress:

One of our problems is, say, over the last 10 years we've gotten 50 new parks. We have some 300 now. We have not had an increase in the number of people to run them. In fact, there's been a decrease in the number of people in the Park Service, so we've had to spread our personnel thinner and thinner. It's to the point now that they may have to close up some parks for a few days a week. Even though these parks are authorized, we have not been given the appropriations to either buy the land or to open the park or develop them. The Interior Committee in the House and Senate recommend authorizing parks, but they have nothing to do with appropriations. They can authorize a million parks but if the Appropriations Committee says, "Tough, we're not giving you any money," then. . .

Ref: 19

The Park Service found itself in the awkward position of opposing projects like Boston National Historical Park, which included seven of the nation's most hallowed historic sites that desperately needed assistance. This park had been pro-

posed as far back as 1961, when a congressional commission recommended immediate federal action to secure these landmarks from impending damage. Hearing objections to the project:

Congress would not sit still for it. They felt that there was a great need, that the Park Service should be involved, and they passed it over the objections of Interior, the Administration, and the Office of Management and Budget. And we now have a park whether we want it or not.

Ref: 20

Cuyahoga was established over similar objections. Current difficulties aside, the Park Service seems destined to become increasingly involved in cities across the nation. What needs to be explored is the way in which the Service should approach its changing role. One thing is sure: experiences in Philadelphia, New York, and elsewhere, show that many of the old ideas about park planning and management don't make sense anymore.

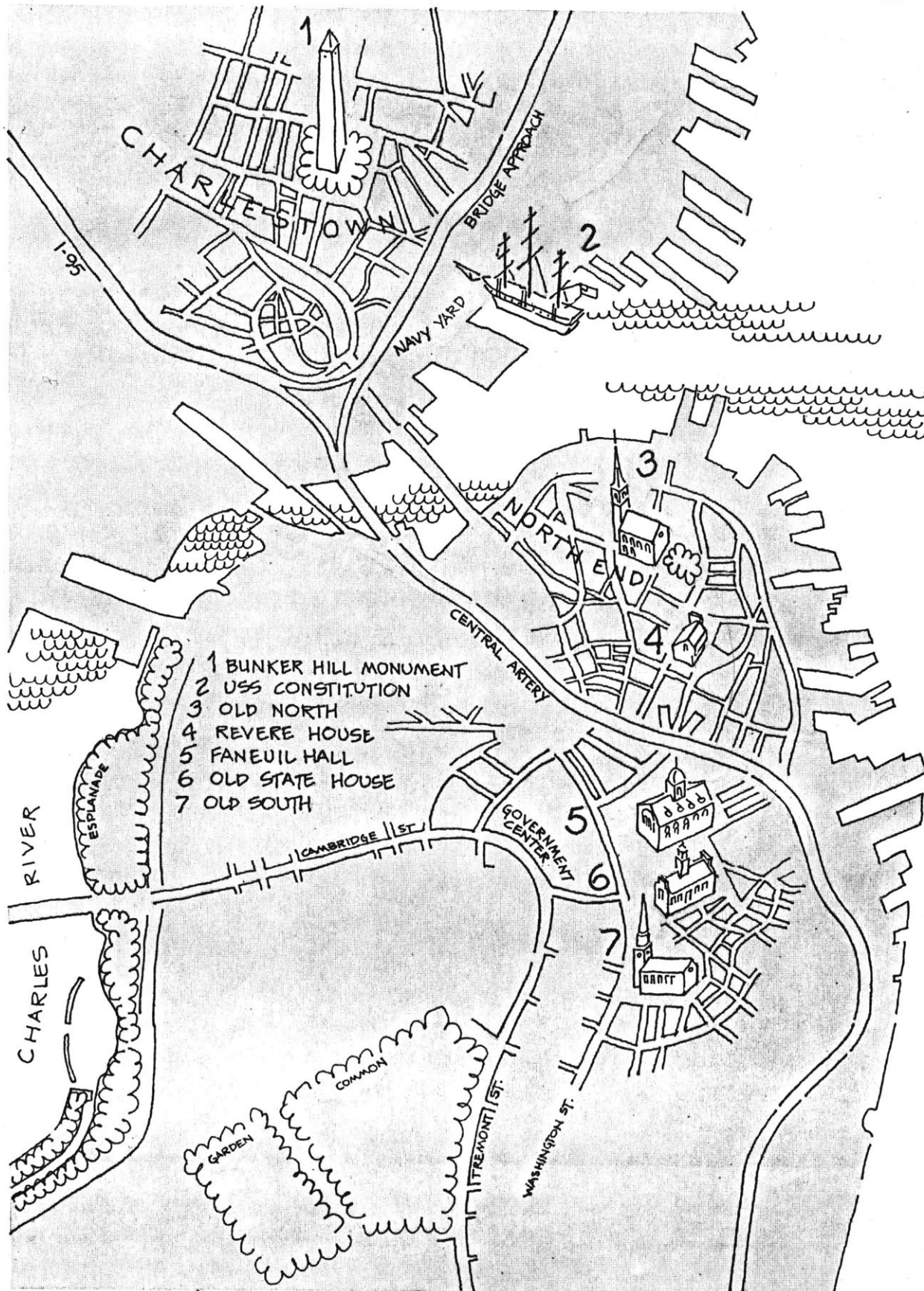
2.0
BOSTON
NATIONAL
HISTORICAL
PARK

It is a credit to the Park Service that once the Boston and Cuyahoga projects were authorized, objections were forgotten and these projects were vigorously pursued. Some new planning and management approaches are being tested at each park. Boston is especially interesting because it is the first major urban historical park to be planned since Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia. Differences between these two parks show how Park Service thinking has changed over the past ten years. The lessons that can be learned from the Boston experience will surely guide future projects.

Boston National Historical Park has two unique aspects. First, it consists of different sites scattered throughout central sections of the city. Within the central business district are the Old South Meeting House, the Old State House, and Faneuil Hall. The predominantly Italian North End contains Paul Revere's House and Old North Church. Across the Charles River in Charlestown are the Bunker Hill Monument and the Charlestown Navy Yard, where the U.S.S. Constitution is moored. A second unique aspect is that most of these sites are being managed cooperatively with the private groups who have owned them for years. David Richie, Deputy North Atlantic Regional Director of the Park

Fig: 1
page 23

1
Boston
National
Historical
Park



Service, stressed the importance of this approach:

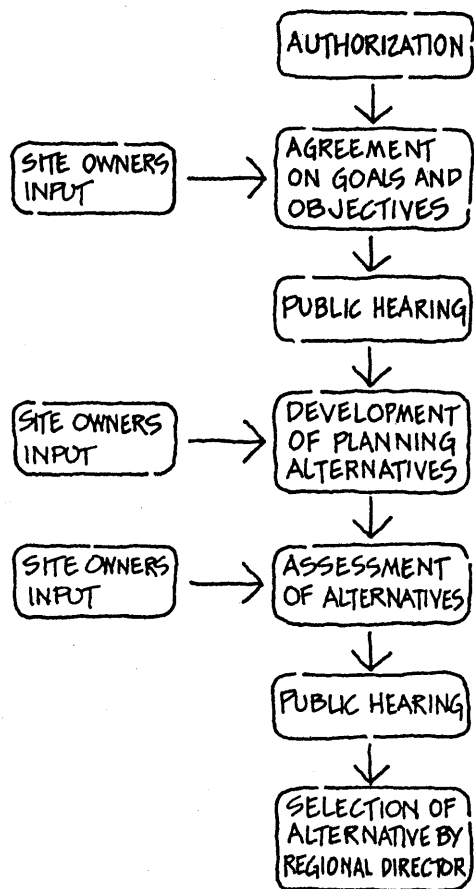
The federal government is going through a traumatic re-adjustment. Tax money is suddenly becoming a scarce commodity. Expenses of government are escalating, particularly in social welfare. And I think society is going to have to re-assess how much it wants the government to do for it. . . .I think that we are going to have to find new ways of getting things done. That is why I think the Boston park is so interesting. That instead of coming in as we do normally with the assumption that the Park Service is going to be taking over and operating and carrying the full expense, we are talking about starting a federation: keeping the present management and sharing the costs of operation, trying to preserve their present sources of income.

Ref: 21

2.1
Current
National
Park Planning
Process

The planning process being used in Boston is typical for national parks; it is a classic procedure termed an "environmental assessment of alternatives." This process can be diagrammed as shown on the page following.

Fig: 2
page 35



2
Present
Planning
Process

Although the regional office supervises the planning program, the focus of activity involves a group of professionals called the "master plan team," consisting, in this case, of an urban planner, two "interpretive planners," and a landscape architect, who is team captain. This group is based in Denver at a national service center where programming, designing, and construction supervision occurs for all national parks. The master plan team visits Boston infrequently to confer with the regional office and meet with site owners.

Note: 1

2.2
The Citizen
Participation
Issue

Even considering the unique aspects of the Boston project, the Park Service has yet to come to grips with some basic issues inherent in the development of major urban national historical parks. The location of the planning team in Denver makes meaningful interaction with local neighborhoods all but impossible. There is no on-site evidence in affected neighborhoods that a park planning process is even underway. In fact, the two-public-hearings procedure is the only contact between the Service and the public at large. David Richie is one Park Service official who is concerned about the citizen participation issue:

Until you find a mechanism for actually getting really interested parties sitting down with you in a problem solving type of setting with enough time to work on something, you're not really going to get effective involvement. People in a public meeting just don't have the time or opportunity to influence too much the thinking of the people who are working on the plan. That, to me, is the major weak link. Responsibility for planning is located in the Denver Service Center and this means that the team members with the principal job of writing the plan are what -- some 2,000 miles from here. And people come in for bits and pieces but they are not really well oriented and connected and integrated into the whole scene. That's not a good way of going about it. . . . Now you justify a centralized planning process on the basis that you can afford to assemble a group of competent professionals that you couldn't afford to do in each of the regional offices. But then, I see the quality of the competent professionals that they're offering us and I'm wondering whether or not that's a real factor or whether we're just kidding ourselves.

Ref: 22

Logistical difficulties can be cited as one reason for avoiding a comprehensive participatory process. Another is the rather common belief that participation is only

Ref: 23

appropriate on controversial projects. For example, one Park Service official commented that: "If the regional office feels that (the project) is controversial enough, they are the ones who develop the programs for public involvement." But the most important factor preventing people like David Richie from acting on their concerns appears to be a lack of support at higher echelons of the Park Service. In the final draft of Management Policies for the National Park Service, only one page of the 143 page document is devoted to "citizen participation", which is described as being necessary "to inform the public that a plan is being prepared, to solicit information, and to bring to light public concerns, particularly with regard to controversial issues." No ways of "getting really interested parties to sit down in a problem solving type of setting" are suggested, even though several planning programs have been brought to a standstill over the last two years by park users and surrounding communities demanding a more open and participatory process.

Ref: 24

In lieu of such a process in Boston, the Park Service has concentrated its efforts on involving the private societies that own the various sites. Master plan team captain Camden Hugie explained:

Ref: 25

A lot of the input from the people of Boston has been through the societies. . .so really, we're dealing with the people of Boston along with the owners of the sites, because in many cases they're the same.

But in most cases they are not the same. The preservation societies tend to be made up of a small interlocking group of wealthy people with a common set of objectives; but four of the sites are located in blue-collar neighborhoods. Preservation societies and the local neighborhoods have very different perceptions of what the park sites mean and how they should be developed. Charlestown is a good example. There are very few green areas in Charlestown and most residents feel that the Bunker Hill Monument site should continue as a local park. One resident expressed the following view:

You know what it is, it's a living thing up there; it's like our esplanade. And busloads -- in May, busloads of children start coming and you see them running out, and they're so happy with their little picnics. . . .And it's so nice in the winter, a few days after the snow falls; the children will coast. . . .I prefer to see people enjoying what they have, instead of saying, "It's sacred ground." What they're doing is making a sacred cow out of it, really, you know. "Don't touch."

Ref: 26

But the Bunker Hill Monument Society, which built the shrine in 1841, has a different view. President Vincent Strout pointed out:

We have never felt that Bunker Hill belongs just to the people of Charlestown, we think it belongs to the nation. . . .In my remarks commenting upon what this resident of the community, who lives on Monument Square, said, she said that she hoped it would be a vibrant place for the youth of the community. I had to inform the Park Service that the Monument Society opposed any use of those grounds other than for what they were intended. . . .We did not envision it as a playground for young children, or as a walking place for dogs, or as an after-hours trysting place for lovers. . . .We feel that we have a pretty strong proprietary interest in what happens at Bunker Hill and we feel that we would be faithless to the trust that

Ref: 27

we've received if we didn't take what we deemed to be appropriate action anytime anybody starts to do anything up there.

Since, in general, most members of Boston's preservation societies do not live in the neighborhoods where their sites are located, local residents seem especially bitter over the Park Service's approach. Referring to the Bunker Hill Monument Association, Charlestown resident Douglas Adams exclaimed:

This is a small group, largely out of town. I don't believe they have 20 members who live in Charlestown. Strout doesn't live here; hasn't for 15 years. Did you know that? These are out-of-towners. Sure, they were here once, but they are trying to preserve their power here now. . . . These guys get away with saying this is the point of view and I represent such-and-such. They don't represent anybody! That kind of searching investigation was never held. The Park doesn't get down to that level, no. There's no use kidding themselves that they do. So that these people can come in and say that they represent such-and-such and so-and-so and the Park Service can believe it if it wishes, but it will be fooling itself if it does.

Ref: 28

In addition to commenting on the Service, this statement reflects the common suspicion of Charlestown residents concerning any public project contemplated in their community. This attitude is the result of a long history of exploitation by government agencies of all types. As one resident explained:

We're an afterthought on the city. . . . We're the last ones to get the streets repaired and the last ones for trash pickup. We're kind of like a convenience. We're like a passageway between suburbia and Boston. They circle us with the expressway, I-93, and the Mystic River Bridge on this side. That's only because it was the most convenient way. It wasn't necessarily to preserve our

Ref: 29

streets or safety. It wasn't done for our benefit. . . . A lot of things that are done in Charlestown aren't done for the Charlestown people, they're done for outsiders.

By identifying itself so strongly with elite groups based outside the affected communities and by giving the general public such limited means to interact with the process, the Park Service has become part of the above tradition. This situation not only discourages individuals from becoming involved, it creates unwarranted fears and resentment based on negative past experiences. One resident compared the park planning process to her experience with urban renewal:

Ref: 30

I resented them telling me how to live and I would resent them telling me how to use my park. If they are going to involve six name organizations in the community and say, "Well, now we have our finger on the pulse of the community because we have the historical and this church and that group," I think most people would say, "The hell with it; they're going to do what they want and they don't care what I want, anyhow."

This feeling of helplessness is further aggravated by the fact that the final decision on which planning alternative will be implemented is the sole purview of the National Park Service Regional Director. In practice, in Boston this has resulted in the elimination by the regional director of a number of planning alternatives generated by the master plan team before those alternatives have even been presented to the public. As a result, only two alternative ways of approaching Boston National Historical Park will be presented at the final hearing.

Getting to the root of the citizen participation issue, Sherry Arnstein, in her article, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," points out:

There is a crucial difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process. . . .Participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. It allows the power-holders to claim that all sides were considered, but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit. It maintains the status quo.

Ref: 31

The approach of the Park Service in Boston has in many ways been an empty ritual. The irony of this is that not only does it deny crucial input to planning and decision-making, but also it undermines an important resource of the park: the support of the neighborhoods that surround it. Aspects of that loss might be hostility towards visitors or vandalism. More serious would be the loss of knowledge, skills, and enthusiasm that those neighborhoods could bring to the project. To avoid this situation in the future, the planning program should be restructured to include:

1. A mechanism for early and continuing interaction between planning professionals and all relevant interest groups: surrounding neighborhoods, site owners, potential park users, city officials, and others;
2. A decision-making partnership between the Park Service regional office and surrounding residents, who will be most impacted by the development of the park;

3. An on-site presence established by planning professionals early in the planning process.

2.3
An
Alternative
Planning
Model

The growing involvement of the Park Service in cities parallels the experience of some other federal agencies. The Federal Highway Administration is a good example because, like the Park Service, it dealt mainly with rural projects until the 1960's. Increasingly during those years, the plans for interstate highway construction in cities across the nation began to become apparent. Most of these plans were the product of a linear planning process, which was virtually identical to that now being used by the Park Service. Plans therefore evolved with little participation and understanding by the people who would be most critically impacted by the project. Resulting frustrations led to a "highway revolt" which continues even now and during which projects have been halted and some old ideas about transportation planning have been overturned. Reflecting on this experience, Steven Lockwood, a consultant to the Boston Transportation Planning Review, has concluded:

The traditional systems to project lineal planning approach do not work. The elegant simplicity of systems analysis, with its sequence of objectives identification, alternatives generation, simulation (assessment of impacts), and evaluation is not easily adaptable to urban systems. In Boston, as in other contexts, the objectives were multiple

and conflicting, and the alternatives were many. The paradigm of the planning process must shift from an optimizing process with an objective function to the search for consensus -- a search that is interactive, iterative, and adaptive and that can consider conflicting objectives and a wide range of qualitative concerns in a dynamic context.

Ref: 33

This statement is filled with implications for the Park Service. For one thing, it suggests that merely adding a participatory procedure to the present process is inadequate. To deal effectively in urban areas requires a different approach to planning and, perhaps, also requires a rethinking of the idea of what a national park is.

There are many similarities between the process which now results in a national park and the development of a product. Both are aimed at combining certain elements to create a finished entity that will perform a predetermined function if all the requirements for operation are present. As now conceived, a national park combines historic resources and visitors' services to create an identifiable entity in the city that will teach a particular story and that is dependent on federal support to keep it operating. As for most products, planning for a national park occurs in a highly coordinated manner: all elements of the project are developed to an equal degree of specificity at any stage of the planning process. The project normally cannot move to a new stage of the process until all elements have satisfactorily progressed through the previous

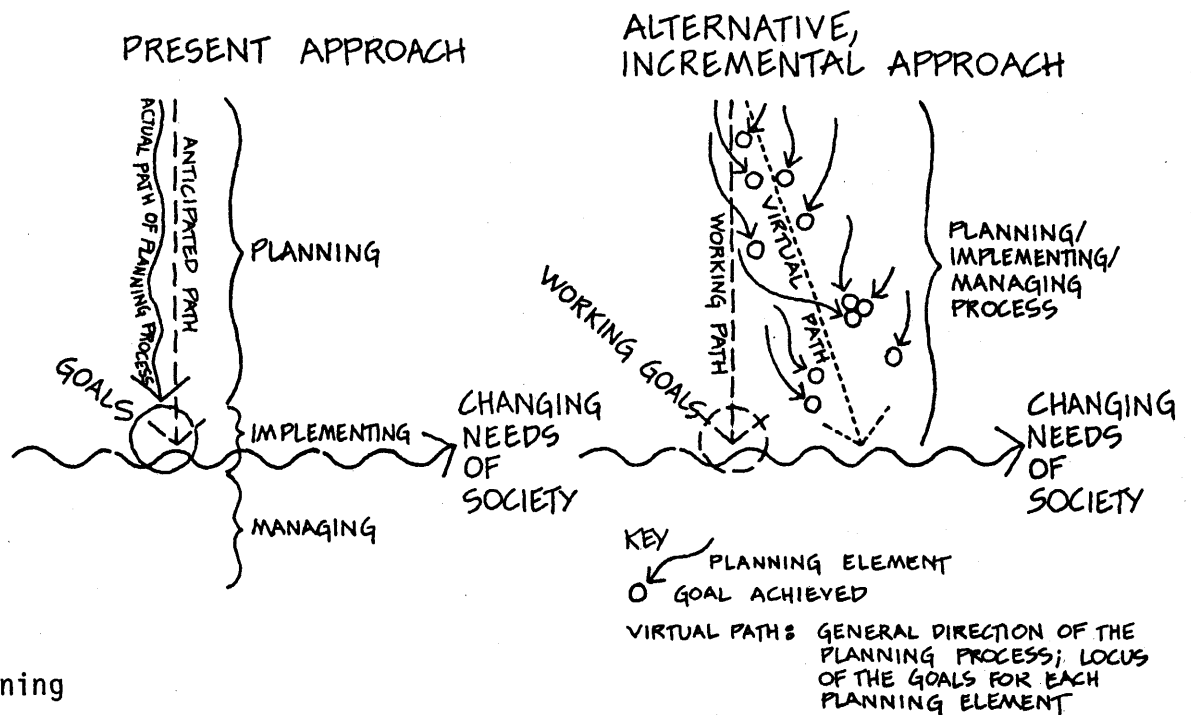
stage. This makes sense in the case of a building, for example, because before the architect and his client can do business, they must agree on (1) what a "building" is and (2) what functions the building in question should perform. This understanding allows the architect to proceed with a fair degree of certainty that as long as each element contributes towards reaching the final objectives and the total resembles what the client thinks is a building, the design process will proceed smoothly. The architect has the added luxury of being able to design a high degree of interdependence among elements because he knows they will be implemented at the same time. With respect to urban planning, this approach may have made sense perhaps 30 years ago, but during the 1960's it became inoperative for reasons explained by transportation administrator Gordon Fielding:

There has been a change in the political culture in America. . . .When I say, "political culture", I don't mean just one party; it is a way in which people think about democracy in America at the local level. Once there was a "public interest", and we agreed to it and it used to be identified fairly easily, but now there are many publics.

Ref: 33

The coordinated, linear planning process can be very ⁱⁿefficient when many different publics must be satisfied because in that case, if an impasse occurs over one element, the progress of other elements is hampered. If one element must be replanned, others may have to be also. Of

course, different groups will be dissatisfied with various aspects of almost any alternatives, making it almost impossible to agree on a plan. One way to approach this problem is to try to limit the number of groups able to effectively respond. Another approach is to develop a large number of alternatives, hoping one will satisfy everybody. A third and very different option is to structure elements as independently as possible and deal with each separately. This would allow planning for some elements to advance faster than others so that they could be implemented early, while other elements might be dropped entirely. But such an approach to planning is not product-oriented because ends cannot be defined from the beginning, nor can a meaningful sequence of coordinating actions be preplanned to reach that end-product. The diagrams in Figure 2 illustrate this third



approach and how it differs from what is presently being used. An explanation of each diagram is given in the following paragraphs.

The current planning approach illustrated on the left in Figure 2 calls for goals to be established in the present which will lead to an agreed upon product in the future. A process is designed to guide and coordinate the development of all elements necessary to move the product from ideas to implementation. There is an advantage to insulating the process from the input of groups who may not agree with the goals, since to accept their viewpoint would mean re-evaluation of the shape of the final product and of the process designed to create it. Often such planning processes will proceed smoothly as long as plans remain abstractions to which most of the public cannot relate. The average person has a difficult time understanding and comparing complex alternatives that cover a wide range of issues. The lack of public response can be misread by planners as a lack of concern which easily can be extended to mean tacit approval of the plans being made. Even in Charlestown, where concern for the future of Bunker Hill is obviously high, the fact that only a few residents attended the public hearing led the master plan team captain to reason that "we haven't had the people of Boston really involved too much; they haven't seemed to want to." This

attitude, in turn, has tended to legitimize the reliance on elite societies for planning input. But as a project nears implementation and the effects of the plan on the everyday lives of people becomes more evident, opposition often appears. Since by then most planning options have been closed, citizens often feel that the only viable alternatives are to kill the project or start over. Even if the project is implemented, another dilemma may occur: the goals it was planned to meet may no longer fit the changing needs of society; the product is obsolete. Then management is taxed to create programs which will make the facility more relevant. In Philadelphia, for example, attendance was rising even as buildings were being demolished. This later forced the Park Service to construct new buildings to handle visitors on the former sites of 19th century structures it had razed to "insure the historic integrity" of the park.

Fig: 3
page 35

The alternative, or "incremental", approach illustrated on the right in Figure ~~2~~³ also calls for goals to be framed in an attempt to anticipate the future needs of society. But the final shape of the product is not anticipated, and it is understood that the goals established are "working goals" that will probably change. Planning elements are limited in scope so that the problems to be solved can be understood by all parties and so that planning activities

are close enough in time to implementation to make the process consistently relevant to the general public. Elements are tackled independently but coordination between some of them may be necessary to meet certain objectives. Of course, not all elements can be completely independent and consensus reached on one might conflict with others, forcing reconsideration. But this is unlikely since the policies evolved for each element should be incorporated into the considerations for other elements still being planned. As indicated in the preceding diagram, the involvement of many groups in an incremental process constantly relates the project to the changing needs of society. Ends are continuously examined, reconsidered, and discovered rather than relatively fixed. Planning, implementation, and management are not segregated in time but occur simultaneously, allowing each activity to benefit from the experience of the other. Mistakes or needs left unfulfilled in the planning for early elements will become apparent and can be dealt with in the planning for later elements.

2.4
An
Alternative
Park
Conception

Incremental planning meets a number of the difficulties now being faced by the Park Service in urban areas, but can it be adapted to plan for national parks? Clearly, it

would be a difficult way to plan for national parks as they are presently understood. But a park may not have to be a product that stands out from the city around it, tells a particular story to the national public, and requires yearly federal support. In many ways, national historical parks in urban areas would make more sense if they were conceived as a force of which there were evidence in the city but no identifiable boundaries, which told many changing stories depending on the point of view, and which recovered from users at least some of the expenses required to operate it. This conception of a park lends itself to the incremental approach because there is no allusion to completeness. Congress would be called upon to fund not a product, but a process aimed at managing the future of certain historical resources judged to be nationally significant. What advantages are there to thinking about urban parks in the way suggested above? How would this conception affect what a park includes, what it communicates, and how it operates? The answers to some of these questions can be illustrated with the Boston project.

2.4.1 Managing resource settings

The legislation establishing Boston National Historical Park specifies boundaries that coincide with those of seven historic landmarks. The Park Service can only act and spend money on projects within those boundaries, which

means that adverse impacts on the surrounding community that may result from developing the park can only be ameliorated by manipulating variables within the boundaries of each site. Conversely, there is no way of controlling developments in the surrounding neighborhoods which might adversely affect historic resources. The consequences of this situation are already evident in Boston's North End, where the Paul Revere house on North Square has been open to visitors for over 80 years. Traditionally, North Square was a tiny residential enclave dominated by the Home for Retired Seamen, a church, and some neighborhood shops. Along with the Bicentennial and the announcement that the Revere house would be included in Boston National Historical Park, the character of the square has changed. Two new restaurants, the Minuteman Snack Spa, the Historic Freedom Trail Gift Shop, a souvenir store, and a gallery whose motto is "take a bit of Boston home with you" are now part of the visitor's experience. The changes in North Square perhaps are not disastrous, but does it make sense to preserve an historic resource when its setting might be ruined as a consequence? And how do local residents feel about these changes?

An historic resource cannot be considered as separate from its environment, yet it would be unrealistic to attempt to include an entire urban neighborhood within the boundaries

of a national park as it is presently conceived. The Park Service would have to acquire some kind of interest or arrange cooperative agreements with every property owner. Also, the policy that historic parks only include "resources of national significance" would foreclose this option. The need exists, then, for a type of planning mechanism which can exercise some degree of control over the environment of nationally significant historic resources -- short of acquisition. This is a very difficult thing to do, because the federal government cannot regulate the use of private property and because local citizens will demand full participation in any planning and decision-making process that involves their community. There are several ways this dilemma might be approached, and these will be explored later in this paper. But before any progress can be made towards resolving the dilemma, the idea that a national park can be a self-contained entity in the city must be dropped. Planning for national parks is a task of environmental management, not product development.

Taking a management approach would also discourage thinking about historical parks in terms of specific landmarks.

This type of thinking led to the inclusion in the park of Paul Revere's house, for instance, while places like the Blackstone block -- the last remaining 18th century streetscape in Boston -- were not even considered. Revere's

house is a mediocre restoration of the building as it looked when first built in the 17th century, not as Revere would have recognized it 100 years later. Paul Revere, himself, would probably be a far less famous figure if it were not for Longfellow's poem. Limiting the park to the seven most famous sites excludes places and things about Boston of equal importance to understanding the Revolutionary period. This limitation also makes it difficult for visitors to fit these sites into the stream of history that has produced the present city. Making that connection between the past and American life today should be an important function of national historical parks. Moving such parks away from their association with historic landmarks would encourage a more sophisticated approach to history by allowing the Service to deal with the interrelationships among everything that is nationally significant about Boston.

2.4.2
Opening up
interpretation

The Park Service places great emphasis on the quality of historical interpretation it presents to the American public. One publication boasts that "the Park Service is engaged in an unending search for truth -- and reality -- in its presentations." But there is more than one truth to the facts and significance of historical events. Of course, this is understood by Park Service interpretive planners; nevertheless, most national parks interpret

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history from only one viewpoint. One of the Service's most respected interpretive planners relates a story that illustrates why this is the case. As part of a new interpretive presentation at Custer National Battlefield, she specified that a plaque be placed on the grounds with the inscription:

Here fell an Indian chief defending the only way of life he ever knew.

But implementation of the project was carried out by another arm of the Park Service, and when she returned to Custer Battlefield several months later to inspect the completed presentation, the plaque, as installed, read:
Here fell an Indian chief.

Such occurrences are difficult to avoid in traditionally conceived parks because interpretation is the sole purview of the Park Service, which by its nature reflects an official bias shared by all federal agencies. In Boston, this situation deeply concerned members of the Old South Meeting House Association, as Walter Muir Whitehill explained:

The Old South Meeting House has been the scene for nearly a century of various activities that the Park Service could not readily carry on. It has traditionally been a place where anyone who can't get a hearing in Boston can speak his piece. And over the years there have been some very unpopular things said there of both left and right. Now, this would go by the board quite rapidly if it got mixed in federal bureaucracy.

Ref: 36

These fears have been dispelled by the cooperative nature of the Boston project. Since the Old South Association

will continue to own the meeting house, its program will continue as it always has. The Park Service will present its interpretation of the significance of Old South at a visitors' center located elsewhere in the city.

The treatment of Old South is an important case because it shows that when national parks are no longer conceived as products to be developed and operated by the Park Service, a more open approach to interpretation becomes possible. This is especially appropriate in urban areas where various groups are bound to have different historical perspectives. Acknowledging these perspectives would in no way minimize the need for the Park Service to present what it believes is an accurate interpretation of historical events, but it would make the total interpretive experience more relevant to local communities and to a broader range of the American public. National historical parks should not simply be placed where visitors go to have their patriotism re-affirmed, but they should also be places where visitors are challenged to question and test the values of our society. This requires an open dialogue which only can occur if various groups, scholars, and the visitors, themselves, can participate in formulating the interpretive program.

2.4.3
Recapturing
public
investment

As products wholly supported by the federal government, most national parks are like interstate highways: you can use them at no direct cost. But also like interstate highways, parks generate large markets which raise the prestige and value of nearby properties and increase the sales of goods and services in the surrounding community. This impact is presently considered to be a happy by-product of park development -- especially by adjacent property owners -- but no attempt is made to capture values generated on behalf of specific purposes. This failure is due in part to the federal government's tradition of providing services outside the private market, and in part to the inability of the park planning process to deal with issues beyond the boundaries of a park.

But as demands for participation increase, economic considerations in the community will undoubtedly become more central to park planning. The placement and programming of park facilities could bring new life to a declining retail center or provide the incentive for redevelopment. Also, as federal resources dwindle, the Park Service will have to re-evaluate its relationship with the private market. This market offers an opportunity to recover from users some of the expenses required to build and operate a park. Admission might be charged to some interpretive exhibits, for example; special tours could be run for a

fee; pay parking might be developed; or the Park Service could purchase properties surrounding historic resources and then lease them at a profit to concessioners providing visitor services. Alternatively, the investment in a park could be limited from the beginning by relinquishing to private enterprise some of the activities the Service would normally develop.

Some may argue that these are not appropriate actions for a government agency to take. But many facilities that are now provided free really go far beyond the simple mandate to preserve historic resources and to make them available to the public. Boston National Historical Park is already pioneering the involvement of the private sector. The Park Service has acted to limit its investment by cooperating with nonprofit corporations, which in turn are supported by contributions and admission charges to the sites they own. Even though these sites are "treasures of the highest quality of national significance," it is doubtful that Congress would have committed the vast sum which would have been necessary to purchase, renovate, and operate these buildings if they were not being sustained by private money. More important, there is reason to believe that some sites -- like the Revere house -- were included mainly because they had outside support, while other, more significant places in Boston were left out because they lacked it.

That is not a very good way of deciding what aspects of history should be presented to the public. To avoid having to lower its high standards in the future, and if additional historic resources are to be preserved, parks will have to be planned with an idea towards generating their own income.

2.5
Summary and
Recommendations

For much of its history, the Park Service based its approach to planning for national parks on a conservation ethic reflecting a long experience in wilderness areas. This ethic emphasized the uniqueness of national parks and strove to isolate and preserve their resources for the benefit of national visitors. During the 1960's, various trends within the Park Service and society led to a movement to develop national parks in urban areas. The Park Service at first supported this movement, but came to realize that the planning and management policies it had evolved for rural settings were not well suited to the city. In Boston National Historical Park and elsewhere, some new ideas are being tested. Based on an analysis of those experiences, the following recommendations are made to guide the future development of urban national historical parks:

1. Within a framework of working goals, planning should deal with issues of immediate concern which are nar-

row in scope, and which will result in projects that can be independently implemented, as opposed to concentrating on developing comprehensive long-range plans.

2. Decision-making on all aspects of the park should be entrusted to a partnership between representatives of the National Park Service regional office and representatives of surrounding residents who will be most impacted by the development of the park.

3. An on-site physical presence should be established by planning professionals early in the process.

4. The planning process should include a mechanism for early and continuing interaction between planning professionals and all relevant interest groups.

5. The planning process should include a mechanism which can exercise some degree of control over design and development in the environment of historic resources.

6. The Park Service should identify those aspects of the environment which have been judged to be nationally significant, but boundaries to the park planning process should not be predetermined.

7. Interpretation of historic resources should include ways for various interest groups, scholars, and individual visitors to exchange their views.

8. To the extent possible under the mandate of the Park Service, facilities should be designed and operated to generate income for the purposes of defraying park expen-

ses, expanding the program of the park, and compensating the surrounding community for any losses which may result from development of the park.

PART 2

SYNTHESIS OF
A NEW
DIRECTION:
A PROPOSED
NATIONAL
HISTORICAL
PARK FOR
LOWELL,
MASSACHUSETTS

The purpose of this section is to explore how the recommendations generated in the preceding chapters might be applied in a specific situation: the planning and development of a national historical park in Lowell, Massachusetts. Lowell was chosen as the subject of this case study for two overriding reasons. First, its historic resources are part of an urban situation containing many of the circumstances that have complicated planning for the Boston project. Second, the feasibility of developing a national park in Lowell is now being studied by a federal commission. Hopefully, this case study will reveal possibilities that otherwise might not have been apparent.

Chapter 3 begins with a brief description of Lowell's history followed by a discussion of the competing motivations for establishing a national park there: (1) the federal interest in protecting historical resources and making them accessible to the public, and (2) the city's desire to bolster its impaired economy, environment, and spirit. In Chapter 4, a strategy for planning, implementing, and operating the Lowell project is advanced which can accommodate both federal and local aspirations. First, a rationale is presented by which federal and local governments might share decision-making powers as the basis for a management program. Next, the advantages and disadvantages of establishing such a program on the local, federal, and state levels are explored.

Lastly, a management program is proposed which is modeled after a mechanism first developed to manage the environment of San Francisco Bay, and which takes into account all of the recommendations put forth in Part 1. Chapter 5 deals with the substance of the proposed Lowell project, and how various aspects could be approached given the management program outlined in Chapter 4. First, dual sets of "working goals" for planning are proposed which relate to local and federal desires for the project. Finally, some specific planning elements and related projects that could be dealt with under the management program are analyzed and specific recommendations are made regarding how each element could be handled.

3.0 LOWELL

3.1 Genesis in the Industrial Revolution

Lowell is a city of approximately 100,000 people located 30 miles north of Boston. It straddles a sharp bend in the Merrimack River where the water level drops more than 30 feet over a short distance. The combination of these two natural circumstances became significant in the early 1800's because it offered an ideal opportunity to harness the considerable power of the Merrimack for industrial purposes. Realizing this potential, in 1822 a group of Boston financiers purchased land between the two legs of the river and on this site they developed Lowell: the nation's first planned industrial city.

Ref: 37

For the next 70 years, Lowell remained at the leading edge of the Industrial Revolution. Clarisse Poirier, of the Lowell Museum, explains the significance of that position:

Lowell first pioneered on a large scale the innovations which made the Industrial Revolution (in the U.S.). The changes wrought in Lowell were imitated in other New England mill towns and eventually throughout the entire industrial sector of the American economy. To understand the growth and development of Lowell is to understand the forces which made modern America.

What was the Industrial Revolution and what did it entail? It was a series of interrelated developments which transformed the nature of production and the lives of Americans in the 19th century. It involved the application of external power to drive machinery, the use of machinery to perform operations normally done by hand, the re-organization of successive steps in the production process to in-

crease output, the large-scale application of science to solve practical problems, the recruitment and training of a new source of labor, and mass production of standardized goods for an enlarged domestic market. Together, these developments created the factory system of production which we recognize as the dominant mode of production today.

Ref: 38

The Industrial Revolution also created a new social order, lifestyle, and urban environment. Self-sufficient cottage craftsmen were replaced by a working class dependent on the factory system to provide goods and the money to purchase them. Life for working people became regulated by time and a moral tone conducive to the discipline required for factory employment. New forms of industrial finance and management -- like the corporation -- were developed, and a class of capitalists replaced the landed aristocracy. Lastly, the production process was facilitated by the development of the industrial city with its segregation of manufacturing, commercial and residential activities.

Ref: 37

3.2 Historical Development

While there is no need to describe here the many technological and social changes that originated in Lowell, it is important to sketch briefly the history of the city. Lowell was founded on the premise that an industrial environment which was both healthful and moral would be enticing to potential sources of labor. Historian Thomas Dublin explains:

From the beginning, Lowell mills recruited a factory workforce from among the single daughters of New England farmers. . . .In an era when many feared that mill employment would degrade the virtuous daughters of New England, the mills' owners did all they could to reassure parents and operatives that this would not happen.

Ref: 39

Dr. Patrick Malone, historian for the National Historic Engineering Record, describes the resulting environment:

Thousands of American and foreign visitors came to see 'the Lowell System of Manufacture' before the Civil War. They marveled at the utopian conception of a clean and orderly industrial city with attractive streets and glistening canals. The boarding houses near the canals housed the famous 'Lowell Girls', well-dressed operatives who ran the textile machines in the tall, water-powered mills. Here was little of urban squalor so prevalent in English manufacturing centers. Lowell made the factory system acceptable to the American public and even won the enthusiastic praise of foreign social critics like Charles Dickens and Michael Chevalier.

Ref: 40

But the devices that guaranteed a workforce in the first half of the century became increasingly less necessary after 1850, when Lowell began to experience successive waves of immigration. All of the immigrant groups were rural peasants forced from their native lands by economic disasters and attracted to Lowell by the availability of work. By the end of the Civil War, the 'mill girls' had been displaced as the chief source of labor, the system of corporate paternalism had all but vanished, and workers began looking to unions as a way of protecting their rights. In the decades that followed, increasing demands for industrial production motivated corporations to expand their mills into every inch of space available in the city.

Ref: 37

By the beginning of the 20th century, Lowell had become overcrowded, overbuilt, and very polluted. Yet it remained prosperous until the late 1920's, when technological changes in the textile industry and the availability of cheaper labor in the southern states began to erode the city's narrow economic base. Within 30 years, Lowell became a poor, backwater industrial community. Although a large portion of the city's huge stock of commercial and industrial buildings became obsolete, for the most part they remained standing. Uses that were profitable enough to cover the costs of demolishing these large brick structures could not be attracted to the Lowell area. Consequently, the city escaped the post World War II building boom, and Lowell's 19th century fabric survived almost completely intact through the 1950's. But it is no wonder that most residents viewed the half-vacant mills and other deteriorating structures with distaste. Their demolition became a symbol of progress for the city, and during the 1960's several mill complexes and much 19th century mill housing was removed via urban renewal. Nevertheless, the entire canal system has survived intact as well as many buildings from Lowell's earliest days. All of these historic resources continue to be threatened. Although their importance is acknowledged by local officials, these people are neither in the political position, nor is the city in the financial position, to refuse any reasonable proposal for new develop-

ment, even if it means destroying significant historic resources. In recent years, citizens, private groups, and some public agencies have begun to push for protection of these resources. Two historic districts have been established, and several landmarks have been placed on the National Register of Historic Places. A frequently mentioned idea is the possibility of establishing a national park in the city, and efforts are underway to convince the federal government that such a step should be taken.

3.3 The Federal Interest

From the perspective of the National Park Service, three conditions must be present before it makes sense to consider developing a national historical park. First, the history of the area, site, or building under speculation must be of conspicuous importance to the evolution of our national culture. Second, sufficient historic resources must remain intact to illustrate the important themes connected with the site. Finally, the themes to be illustrated should not be already well represented by other national parks.

Ref: 41

Lowell clearly meets the first two criteria. Whether it meets the third can be judged by referring to the National Park System Plan. First published in 1972 and updated periodically, this plan organizes American history into

nine general themes. Each theme contains a number of sub-themes, which are the basic study units of the plan. In turn, each sub-theme is broken into facets, which are defined as:

. . .important aspects of the subthemes that must be represented in the National Park System if it is to be truly representative of our national heritage. . . .When all major facets of all subthemes are represented in one or more parks, the National Park System may be regarded as well-rounded.

Ref: 42

Lowell's contribution to the Park System would fall primarily under two themes, "America at Work" and "Society and Social Conscience." Referring to the theme, "America at Work", the National Park System Plan states ". . .this theme is the most poorly represented of any in the National Park System." In a similar vein, "Society and Social Conscience" is characterized in the Plan as ". . .clearly one of the weak areas of the System's representation."

Ref: 43

Ref: 44

Lowell not only meets the three criteria mentioned above, it offers an opportunity to illustrate in one place almost every major aspect of the social and industrial changes that transformed American society in the 19th century. This consideration is important in a time of shrinking federal resources. The creation of a park in the city would provide a sensible addition to the National Park System because it would make unnecessary the more expensive approach of creating many smaller parks, each oriented to

a single facet of American History. Lowell could be developed into one of several major theme-oriented parks in the nation designed to illustrate the roots and development of a whole aspect of American culture.

There are at least two other reasons for the federal government to consider developing a major national park in Lowell. First, many opportunities exist for cooperation with the State of Massachusetts which has already committed a minimum of \$4 million to establish a State Heritage Park in the city. The Massachusetts Department of Natural Resources plans to restore sections of the canal system, and five small tracts adjacent to these waterways will be acquired and developed as nodes. The state park will be primarily oriented to recreation and a network of barge rides, bike paths, and boating facilities is planned. Second, a national park exists in Concord and another is being developed in Boston. These parks illustrate the beginning of the American Revolution and its roots in an agrarian and mercantile society. Lowell adds another chapter to the story by depicting the ensuing development of a 19th century industrial society. The intellectual and political revolution depicted in Boston and Concord are incomplete without a record of the subsequent industrial and social revolutions that began in Lowell.

Ref: 45

3.4 Local Considerations

Ref: 46

Although Lowell seems to meet all of the requirements for establishing a national park, there are other issues that must be faced before such a development can be seriously considered. For example, in a 1974 report to the Northern Middlesex Area Commission, David A. Crane and Partners estimated that if a national park were developed in Lowell during the 1970's, by 1985 it would draw up to 1,000,000 visitors per year. Most of these people would concentrate near the central business district, an area where many of the city's historic resources are located. On peak days, this influx could trample the area, creating traffic jams and adding to parking problems, and in the long run, it could encourage development that might destroy the delicate 19th century character that is the basis for the park. Heavy tourism could lead to another serious problem: A dual economy might develop in which a relatively small segment of the community benefits a great deal from the tourist trade while the entire community must suffer its negative consequences. Under such circumstances, the potential for conflict between those who benefit and those who do not is high -- especially in a generally depressed locality such as Lowell. Hostility towards tourists and tourist-related enterprises could be one consequence of this situation.

On the other hand, if the negative environmental impacts of a national park could be controlled, and if its benefits could be distributed equitably throughout the community, the establishment of a national park in Lowell would present an opportunity to address some of the city's more fundamental needs. These needs include:

1. Helping local residents and the ethnic groups they compose to appreciate the values that exist in their environments and the values of their respective cultures;
2. Providing jobs;
3. Revitalizing existing downtown businesses and the downtown shopping environment;
4. Recycling old industrial structures for modern uses (prototypes are needed to show the profitability and aesthetic advantages of such an approach);
5. New development to reverse the image of decline and to provide tax ratables for the city;
6. Strengthening the city's image to make its historic framework more apparent and to improve its visual quality;
7. Encouraging a maximum investment in the area by state and federal agencies.

The image and market created by a national park could be the catalyst for changes in Lowell that are necessary to

meet the above needs. This potential has been recognized for years by the same individuals and agencies pushing for protection of Lowell's historic resources. But dealing with these needs as primary objectives is beyond the interest or capabilities of the Park Service, and perhaps is even beyond its Congressional mandate. Also, as detailed in Chapter 2, there are certain inherent limitations to the Service's role because of its nature as a federal agency. Clearly, a mechanism with a wider base of power on the local level is required if local needs are to receive balanced consideration with federal interests during the course of the park planning process.

3.5
The Lowell
Historic Canal
District
Commission

In 1974, recognizing the need to bring together local and federal considerations with respect to Lowell's future, Representative Thomas P. O'Neill and Senator Edward Kennedy submitted legislation to establish a Congressional commission to explore the feasibility of developing a Lowell National Urban Cultural Park. As a result, the Lowell Historic Canal District Commission (LHCDC) came into being early in 1975 composed of local, state, and federal representatives. Its mandate is to ". . .prepare a plan for preservation, interpretation, development, and use by public and private entities of the historic, cultural, and

Ref: 47

architectural resources of Lowell." The Commission has no powers other than to prepare its recommendation, and a consultant has been hired to evaluate possible alternative courses of action. Although the National Park Service is only one of several federal agencies represented on the Commission, it almost surely would become the prime actor if a federal presence were to be established in the city.

It should be emphasized that the purpose of this case study is neither to prepare a plan for the park nor to present an alternative to the consultant's work, but rather to illustrate how the strategy presented in Part 1 might be applied in the Lowell situation -- irrespective of the LHCDC. Nevertheless, the observations and recommendations presented on the following pages should prove helpful to the Commission, at the very least by broadening its perspective to include the possibility of an approach to planning and developing the park which otherwise might not have been apparent.

4.0 PROPOSED MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

To create a management mechanism that balances local needs with federal desires in park planning, it is necessary to separate the concept of "national park" from its traditional congruence with the National Park Service. The Service can still fulfill its mandate "to preserve the outstanding historic resources of the nation" without controlling every aspect of the planning and developing of a national park. As an alternative, the Service could manage the activities of others to insure that certain standards are met, or it could simply delegate certain authority to some other administrative body. A strategy that combines both of these approaches will be developed in this chapter.

4.1 Shared Federal/Local Decision-making

Every national historical park consists of two parts: resources that have been judged to be nationally significant, and all of the related development and paraphernalia required to make those resources accessible to and understandable by the public but which are not vital to the preservation of the resources. Although historical resources are normally considered to be buildings, engineering works, or sites, they could also be certain traditional events, customs, or social arrangements. All of these resources are relatively fixed in the sense that their location is given and their identity with an age past must be

Note: 2

preserved. By contrast, all of the other components of a national park can be treated flexibly. Components in this second category may be defined as variable components and include such things as the decision of whether to have a visitors' center; the location and nature of the visitors' center; whether any structures should be demolished to enhance the park; how the environments of historical resources should be protected; how the significance of historical resources should be interpreted and presented to the public; what visitor transportation facilities should be provided; what concessions should be incorporated into the park; what events should be scheduled; hours of operation and other use regulations. How this second category of elements is handled determines the impact a park will have on its surrounding community. In situations like Lowell, where this impact could potentially change the character of a community, the Park Service should consider relinquishing some of its planning and management authority over the variable components of the park to the community. However, the Service should retain its prerogative to make physical planning and management decisions directly relating to fixed components of the park which are of national importance. In this approach, local residents are treated as full partners with the Park Service in a decision-making process that will affect the future of the city. If instituted in Lowell, participants in this process would be

charged with developing a national park plan which would use variable components as vehicles to help meet local needs, but a plan which does not inhibit Park Service objectives for the fixed resources that are the basis of the park.

4.2 Municipal, State, or Federal Level Processes?

What form should the decision-making process take and should it operate on the municipal, state, or federal level?

4.2.1 Municipal level

There are several advantages to a mechanism that operates on the municipal level. Municipalities are in a position to influence land use and development quality by a variety of means, for example. Also, they are directly affected by the establishment of a park and should have a good grasp of community needs and aspirations. Similar to the approach used by the Model Cities program, Congress could authorize the Park Service to provide grants to special agencies created for the purpose of planning certain national parks. Communities would be eligible to establish such agencies only following an evaluation by the Park Service that showed that such a step was appropriate in the light of the scope and potential impact of the proposed park. Such agencies might include representatives of impacted neighborhoods, the Park Service, the city government, the regional planning authority, and perhaps, a local member of Congress. The

Park Service could provide funds to hire outside consultants and staff, or the Service might provide staff for the agency directly. The experience of Model Cities with this type of operation was mixed. The most successful City Demonstration Agencies, as they were called, were those in which representatives from impacted neighborhoods were in the majority or near majority on governing boards. In most instances, however, mayors and city councils used these agencies to placate neighborhood residents rather than allowing any real participation for fear that it would tilt the existing balance of power. Repetition of this scenario would be a real possibility in Lowell, where the city government and self-reliant ethnic groups have long distrusted each other. The fact that local agencies would have to rely on the cooperation of the city council to pass recommended ordinances for the protection of the environments of historical resources is in itself a strong argument against a planning mechanism on the local level. The park planning process could become -- as did many Model Cities Agencies -- a bone of contention among various power groups in the city. The desire of a small but powerful minority to capture a large share of the potential market or to avoid government interference regarding its freedom to demolish buildings or develop property could stymie a local planning process by preventing the full use of local power. This could jeopardize both local and federal goals for the park.

Ref: 48

In fact, in Boston, where many Charlestown and North End residents are critical of the Park Service for not involving them in the planning process, most of these same people expressed relief that the process was at least being carried out by the federal government, above the political hassles, delays, and "corruption" they have come to expect at the local level.

There are other arguments why a local planning process is particularly unsuited to Lowell. As the city declined from industrial prominence, demolition of mills and older structures became a symbol of progress. Many Lowellians are skeptical of the urban park concept because they continue to view the city's historic resources as a liability, associated with high unemployment and decay. For example, the former city manager, the school committee, a local bank, and a prominent neighborhood leader each recently proposed different projects that would unnecessarily demolish important historic resources. In addition to this prejudice against older structures, a municipal level planning process would also be handicapped by an inability to work at the regional level. This is an especially important consideration in Lowell because the Merrimack and Concord Rivers should be an important part of any national park developed in the city. Lastly, at some point in the planning process, after a set of policies and a preliminary plan for the park

Ref: 49

is available, a bill containing these items and establishing the park must be submitted to Congress. Passage of such a bill would require some hard politicking, and on this count a municipal level planning process is handicapped in two ways: First, it may lack the prestige to capture the attention of area congresspeople during the initial planning phase. Second, even with the support of such individuals, recommendations originating from a local body would probably not carry sufficient weight in Congress to encourage passage of the bill.

4.2.2

Federal level

Several of these problems might be answered by a process wholly operated by the federal government. Currently, planning for national parks occurs mainly at the federal level: witness the Lowell Historic Canal District Commission. But a federal commission could play a much more productive role than one mainly concerned with hiring a consultant, as in the case with the LHDC. For example, it could include representatives from those neighborhoods likely to be impacted by the park, and it could be supplied with a staff capable of coordinating citizen participation in the programming process. The LHDC contains neither of these crucial elements. Also, a commission could be charged with conducting an open, policy-making process, rather than evolving policy recommendations behind closed

doors with the advice of a consultant. Lastly, should a park be established, the process could continue to manage subsequent phases of planning, implementation and operation. By contrast, the LHCDC will go out of existence following submission of its recommendations to Congress. If the park is authorized, the Park Service will then begin its own planning process from scratch, presumably with all of the problems and inadequacies of the Boston experience.

Operating at the federal level has the advantage of placing park planning above local politics and prejudices. A federal commission can also legitimately consider regional as well as local issues. The attention and support of local members of Congress would be a matter of fact because the federal commission must itself be established by Congress. Finally, the recommendations of a federal commission would certainly carry more weight in Congress than a local body when the time comes to consider authorizing the park.

But no matter how it is structured, the fact cannot be changed that a federal commission has no power on the local level. It can neither move by itself to protect historic resources during the planning process, nor can it effectively manage the setting of a resource once the park has been established. The commission may encourage the local

government to take action in these areas, but to rely heavily on local politics would weaken an important advantage of establishing a federal commission in the first place. Another argument against a federal approach is that such mechanisms tend to be too clumsy for the job required. The attention that a high-powered commission generates is a political asset in Congress but a liability on the operational level: The non-local representatives appointed to such commissions usually are prominent people who are difficult to reach, impossible to get together, and in no position to take part in the type of ongoing, participatory process required by a project of this sort.

4.2.3

State level:
the BCDC
experience

The remaining option, to establish a planning process on the state level, would avoid many of the disadvantages of municipal and federal mechanisms. At the same time, such an approach would incorporate advantages not possible at other levels of government. A number of these advantages will be outlined on the following pages. They point to the conclusion that in Lowell, the creation of a state level mechanism seems to be the most viable alternative to the present planning system.

With increasing frequency over the past decade, state governments have established commissions to deal with en-

vironmental management problems of state-wide concern. One of the earliest and most successful of these has been the San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission. The BCDC was established by the State of California in 1965 on a temporary, three-year basis with the mandate to prepare a "comprehensive and enforceable plan for the conservation of the Bay and the development of its shoreline." The Commission consists of 27 members who represent federal, state, and county governments and the general public. During the interim planning period, the Commission was given the power to protect the Bay's resources through the granting of permits for filling and dredging. As guidelines for the exercise of this control power, the BCDC legislation gave the Commission two standards. Before it could issue a permit, the Commission had to find that a proposed project was either: (1) necessary to the health, safety, or welfare of the public in the entire Bay Area, or (2) of such a nature that the project would not adversely affect the comprehensive plan being prepared. In 1969, the BCDC presented its plan to the California legislature, which proceeded to establish the Commission on a permanent basis with the increased power to control all development within 100 feet of the Bay shoreline. Permits can now be issued only if a proposed development conforms to the BCDC's policies as they are spelled out in the Bay Plan.

Ref: 50

Ref: 51

E. Jack Schoop, former Chief Planner for the BCDC, describes the evolution of the planning process:

The most crucial decision on how to prepare the Commission's plan was whether to prepare it openly as a series of elements to be consolidated at the end of the planning and decision-making process, or behind closed doors as a complete plan to be presented and "sold" publicly.

Ref: 52

This second approach is the one now being followed by the Lowell Historic Canal District Commission. For the BCDC, Jack Schoop continues:

The decision was fraught with difficulties. On one hand, dealing with the plan openly as a series of elements invited public conflict and raised the spectre that the whole process would get out of control and never be brought back to a comprehensive whole. On the other hand, the usual process of preparing a complete and comprehensive plan before releasing it for review and discussion too often results in a document that is too complicated to be understood readily, invites suspicion, ignores important interest group positions, and does not afford affected parties any real sense of participation. It became evident that to involve decision-makers and other affected parties in the process and to develop wide public understanding of the problem and its solution, the plan had to be prepared gradually and openly.

Ref: 53

The incremental process dealt with a series of 25 planning elements, each receiving equal attention and consideration. Many different consultants were engaged to work on one or more of these elements, and, based on their reports, the staff prepared a summary of tentative findings and recommended policies for each element. These summaries were distributed widely -- but on a confidential basis -- to local governments, private interest groups, and other concerned parties. After revising the summary reports to reflect input from these groups, the proposed findings and

policies were presented to the BCDC for action. Jack

Schoop explained:

The Commission posed questions, heard public opinion in informal hearings, debated the precise wording of "possible conclusions", and then voted their adoption, often with amendments and clarifications. . . .The set of 25 "possible conclusions" adopted by the Commission were subsequently assembled into a comprehensive statement of policies which constituted the Bay Plan.

Ref: 54

After three public hearings on the total plan were held, it was adopted by the Commission and submitted to the legislature.

Commenting on the effectiveness of this process, John Hirten, former director of the San Francisco Planning and Urban Renewal Association, points out:

Perhaps the strength of the BCDC and by comparison, the weakness of many city and county plans, can be traced to the availability of clearly specified and useable police power. It was, and is, crucial not only to implementation of the plan, but also to the generation of any real interest and concern on the part of the citizenry and private developers. . . .Another observation which might be made concerns the interplay between long-range planning objectives and short-range decisions. Current decisions (on permits) were used as input into long-range policy goals and objectives. At the same time, the process of developing policy and goals helped to educate the Commission in current decisions. The point is: neither could wait for the other but had to run concurrently.

Ref: 55

In summary, the success of the BCDC and its plan can be linked to: (1) the availability of state-granted police powers for permit approval; (2) the existence of a body in which decision-making power was shared among various levels

of government but which was accountable only to the state legislature; (3) the open planning process which was responsive to a broad spectrum of the public; (4) the incremental production of the plan as a series of policies that were released throughout the study period; and (5) the use of many professional consultants who worked closely with the staff, legislators, and civic leaders.

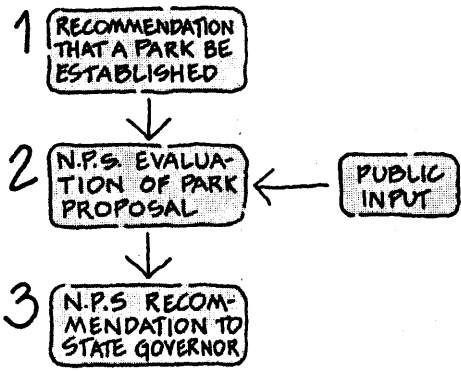
4.3
Proposed
Management
Program for
Lowell

The BCDC experience could serve as the model for an alternative planning process for urban national historical parks like that being contemplated for Lowell. Although the scale of the Lowell project is smaller, there is a striking parallel between San Francisco Bay as it was in 1965 and the historic resources of Lowell today. Both are resources of state-wide and national significance that have been mismanaged by the whims of the private market and short-sighted local governments. On an intellectual level, the filling of San Francisco Bay and the demolition of Lowell's industrial past are at least comparable losses to our culture. The need to conserve the resource while at the same time encouraging development and directing its quality are two fundamental objectives shared in both instances.

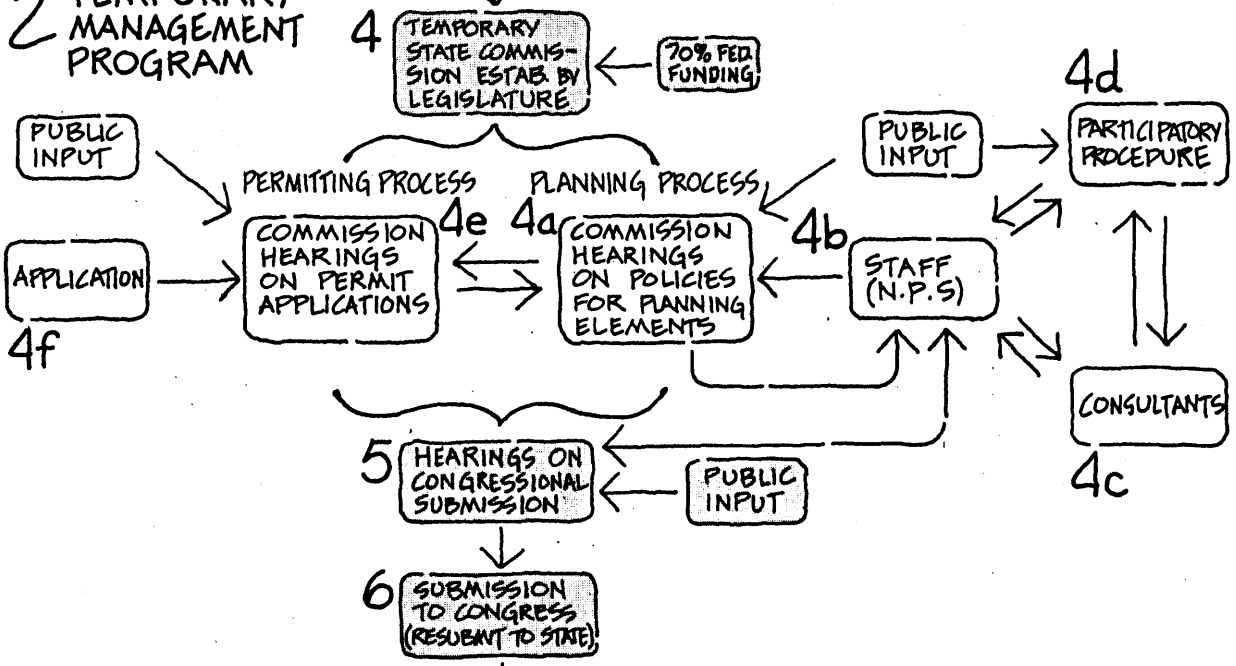
The following diagram illustrates a sequence of events that

could be used to create a national historical park of the type being considered in Lowell. During the inception stage (at the top of the diagram), a potential project is evaluated and recommended, if worthy, to become part of the Park System. If recommended, a planning program is proposed. In the scenario of a major urban project, this proposal might well advise the establishment of a state commission to superintend a large-scale, participatory management program. Such a program is illustrated in stages two and three of the diagram. This program includes planning and permitting processes based on a changed version of the BCDC model. The planning process is incremental but requires that the elements be pulled together (step 6) so that a package can be presented to Congress for its decision on whether to establish the park in question. The aim of stage two, then, is to test the operation of the management process, to confirm a set of working goals and objectives, and to reach consensus on enough policies for key planning elements to allow Congress to judge the viability and merit of the undertaking. Elements could not be implemented until after Congress established the park. If that occurred, the management process would continue on a more or less permanent basis in stage three. Planning, implementation, and operation of each element would then occur as necessary, and feedback from implemented elements would be used to propose new planning objectives.

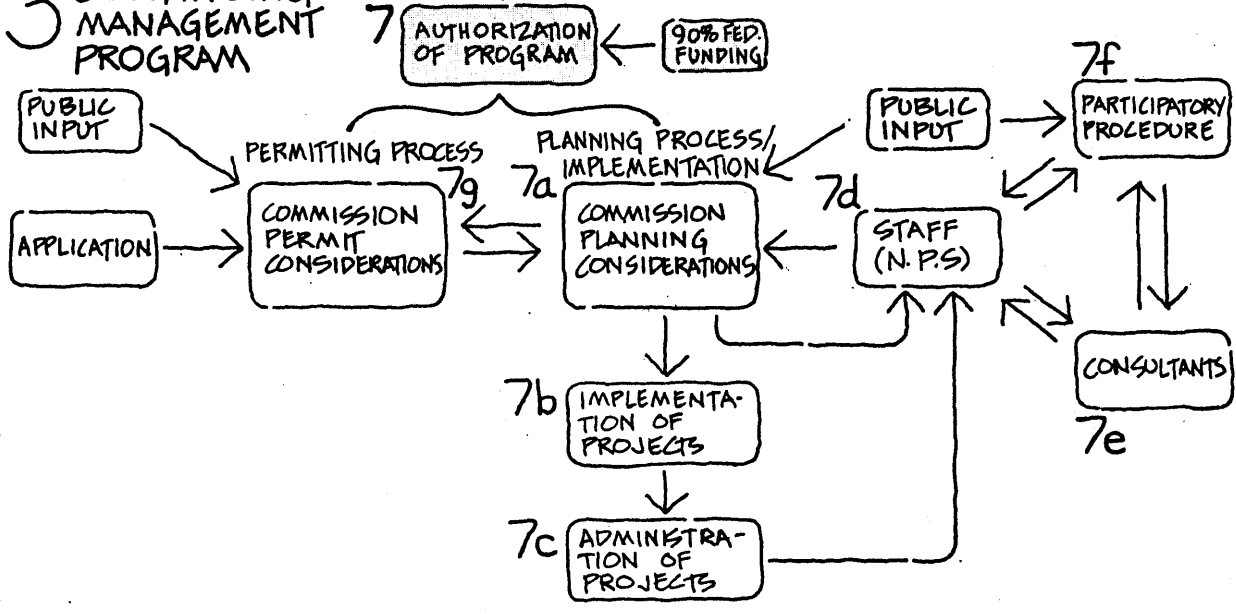
1 INCEPTION



2 TEMPORARY MANAGEMENT PROGRAM



3 CONTINUING MANAGEMENT PROGRAM



Notes to Figure 3

STAGE 1: INCEPTION

1. Recommendation that a Park be Established.

Under the procedure being proposed, recommendations to establish a park might come from several sources: a state's congressional delegation, a governor, or from the Park Service, itself.

2. National Park Service Evaluation of Park Proposal.

Before submitting a bill to establish a park, members of Congress would be expected to submit each idea to the Park Service for a preliminary evaluation. This would be necessary because the Service, based on its evaluation, might urge that a temporary state level planning process be undertaken, or it might urge that one of several other approaches be taken that do not require immediate congressional action. Evaluation of each park idea should include full input from the public that might be affected by the project. If the Service concluded that a park should not be established, a member of Congress could still submit a bill and attempt to pass it over administration objections.

3. National Park Service Recommendation to State Governor.

In this schematic representation, the Park Service reacts positively and recommends that a state commission be set up on an interim basis (1-2 years) to manage preliminary planning and to develop a proposal to Congress. The recommendation should include certain requirements for the management program, such as the need to protect resources during the interim period and the need for neighborhood representation on any decision-making body that is established.

STAGE 2: TEMPORARY MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

4. Temporary State Commission Established by State Legislature.

Under the procedure being proposed, if a program is put into effect that meets the basic requirements of the Park Service, the state would be eligible for federal support on, say, a 70-30 basis. This would require a prior act of Congress establishing a pool of money available for such purposes to be administered by the Park Service. In the case of Lowell, the commission should include representatives from impacted neighborhoods, the city, the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, and the Park Service. Representatives of communities along the Concord and Merrimack Rivers might also be involved. Although the commission should probably restrict its efforts

to the Lowell area in the beginning, a way should be included in the legislation to extend its jurisdiction in the future. Eventually, the Merrimack River and its banks from Manchester, N.H. to Lawrence, Mass. and all historical resources related to the region's industrial past might come under the commission's protection. Of course, the participation of New Hampshire would require an act of the state legislature.

The various activities that would be occurring simultaneously under the temporary management program are described below.

.....
 Planning Process:

4a. Commission Hearing on Proposed Policies for Each Planning Element. The planning process being proposed is incremental. (For reasons why and a more detailed explanation, see Chapter 2 and the discussion on the BCDC, section 4.2.3.) A few working goals for the process should be outlined by the state legislature and the remainder should be formulated by the commission, itself.

One of the commission's first tasks would be to consider what increments, or "planning elements" it should deal with and the priority of each element. Planning elements could be formulated in any number of ways. For example, many planning considerations for one area of the city might be subsumed under one planning element and dealt with together. Or a single planning consideration that might affect several areas of the city could be defined as one planning element. But no matter how the commission decides to split up or group its considerations into elements, it would be dealing with topics such as: how and where in the city its permit authority should be used to manage environments; how the historic resources of the park should be interpreted to the public; how visitors should be oriented, informed, and moved around the city; and other variable components of the park as discussed in section 4.1.

At a regularly scheduled meeting, the commission would discuss the proposed policies for each element presented to it by the staff, hear public comment, and adopt the policies or return them to the staff for further study. The planning with respect to some elements would result in regulatory policies. Other elements would yield policies that call for the implementation of specific projects through one of several mechanisms that will be explained in Stage 3 (7b). The Park Service would retain the prerogative to designate fixed components of the park and to formulate related planning and management policies. Except for permitting as described be-

low (4e), no element could be implemented during this temporary stage.

4b. Staff. Part of the federal share would be to pay for a staff provided by the Park Service. One important function of this staff would be to set up a visible presence of the process within the community. The staff would also coordinate the day-to-day planning activities carried on among the consultants, the community, and the staff, itself. The aim of these activities would be to identify various planning elements that need to be considered and to generate a recommended set of policies for each element. The staff would then present these conclusions to the commission for consideration and action. In an ideal case, planning for the State Heritage Park would also be subsumed under this process. As an alternative, the Department of Environmental Management should be required to receive commission approval of its policies. Finally, the staff would directly represent the Park Service in any dealings having to do with the fixed resources of the park. Specific planning for these resources might be done by the staff, itself, or in conjunction with the Denver Service Center.

4c. Consultants. Consultants should be hired who are experts in the element or elements with which they are dealing. A blanket consultant to cover all elements being considered should be avoided since no firm can claim such a wide area of expertise. The staff may feel that it is competent enough to deal with certain elements without the aid of a consultant.

4c. Participatory Procedure. There are a number of models for a successful participatory procedure and a large literature exists on this subject. The purpose of the participatory procedure in this instance is twofold: to surface local needs, concerns, and ideas about the project and to react to the work of the consultants and staff. To accomplish these tasks, the procedure must be multi-faceted, that is, it must involve all groups who will be substantially affected by the park: local neighborhoods, the business community, and other special interest groups. The use of a participatory procedure at this stage is a distinct departure from the BCDC process, in which policies were developed by consultants, refined by the staff, and then distributed on a confidential basis to key groups.

.....
Permitting Process:

4e. Commission Hearing on Permit Applications.
At its regular meetings, the commission would

also consider applications for permits to develop new structures or alter resources within its jurisdiction. To guide the issuance of permits in the beginning, a few basic guidelines should be spelled out in the state legislation. For example, before the temporary BCDC could issue a permit, it was required to find that a proposed project was either: (1) necessary to the health, safety, or welfare of the general public, or (2) of such a nature that the project had little possibility of conflicting with policies that might be adopted by the temporary commission during the interim planning period (see section 4.2.3). Such a simple approach could also be taken in Lowell. As policies emerge from the planning process, they, too should be applied to permit considerations; however, the legislature might require that these policies be approved by a designated agency like the Office of State Planning before they are applied. Conversely, knowledge and insight gained from the permitting experience should influence the formulation of policy. Finally, the commission should be able to issue conditional permits, whereby the applicant would be allowed to proceed provided his project were altered in some way, or provided he were willing to compensate in some way for the negative impacts his project would cause.

4f. Application. All private and public agencies, including state level agencies, should be required to apply for a permit.

.....

5,6. Hearings on What is to be Submitted to Congress; Submission to Congress. The submission to Congress should include: an evaluation of the performance of the program by all groups involved and a description of how the program will be improved or otherwise changed if established on a permanent basis; working goals and objectives for the program; identification of the fixed components of the proposed park (as determined by the Park Service); a description of planning elements being pursued under the category of variable components of the park; policies which have been formulated to date and a description of those projects ready to be implemented; a proposed budget to cover planning costs and an initial request for capital funds to cover the anticipated projects.

A submission to the state legislature would also be necessary to establish the commission on a continuing basis.

CONTINUING MANAGEMENT PROGRAM

7. Authorization of Program. The program diagram-

med in this stage differs markedly from the BCDC experience. The BCDC operated solely as a regulatory agency after it was permanently established: granting or rejecting permits on the basis of policies detailed in the Bay Plan. The Plan, itself, was included within the legislation establishing the BCDC on a permanent basis and therefore, its policies could be changed only with great difficulty. By contrast, in the management program diagrammed, the commission would continue to plan after it had been established on a permanent basis. Policies might be adopted for new planning elements and old policies might be re-evaluated and changed or dropped entirely. No plan in the sense of a fixed document would exist. Also differing from the BCDC, the proposed commission would not only regulate projects but also cause projects to be implemented and oversee their subsequent operation.

Under the scheme being proposed, authorization by Congress would up the federal share of planning costs to 90%. These funds would be automatically dispersed to the commission by the Park Service from a pool of money available for such purposes. Capital funds for implementing projects could be handled in one of two ways: funds to carry out an initial set of projects could be appropriated to the Park Service with the stipulation that those funds not earmarked for fixed resources should be dispersed under the commission's direction. Requests for subsequent funds would become part of the Park Service's annual request for an appropriation to cover improvements in a number of national parks. An alternative approach would be for Congress to appropriate a sum of money directly to the commission for the purpose of implementing projects. When these funds were exhausted, the commission would have to return to Congress, or it might be required to submit additional funding requests through the Park Service in the manner above.

The various activities that would be occurring simultaneously under this stage of the management program are described below.

.....
 Planning Process / Implementation

7a. Commission Planning Considerations. In addition to its planning functions, the commission would also monitor the implementation of its policies.

7b,c. Implementation of Projects; Administration of Projects. Some planning elements would result in regulatory policies such as those to be implemented through the application of the permitting power. Other elements would yield policies that call for the implementation of specific projects. These projects could be affected

in one of three ways: first, the staff should be expected to implement a number of the commission's plans for variable components of the park in addition to implementing the plans of the Park Service for the fixed components of the park. In doing this, the staff will be able to coordinate projects where necessary and draw on the expertise of the Park Service in supervising design and construction, preparing presentations and graphics, and handling visitors. As indicated in 7 above, these projects would be funded either (1) directly, by the Service out of its annual appropriation for park improvements, or (2) by the commission, out of funds appropriated to it by Congress specifically for such purposes. Second, the commission may wish to sponsor a non-profit development corporation to implement certain projects not appropriate to the Park Service. For example, this corporation could build a retail center designed to capture the tourist market. Funds to implement such a development would, of course, be borrowed from private sources to be repaid out of the operation of the project. Surplus income to the corporation could be used to further the goals of the management program by improving the environment of the city, for instance, or by supporting educational activities, festivals, or events. Third, some projects might be implemented by private, profit-making entities under the supervision and guidance of the commission and its staff.

7d. Staff. The staff should form the basis of a park headquarters operation after the park is authorized. In addition to continuing its planning role, the staff would implement variable components of the park as requested by the commission and administer them under the commission's policies and review. As the park evolves, management experience and public reaction would guide the staff in proposing revised policies and new goals to the commission. In addition, the staff would carry out Park Service plans for the fixed components of the park.

7e. Consultants. Consultants would continue to function as they did in Stage 2.

7f. Participatory Procedure. Participatory procedures would continue to function as part of the planning process in the way specified in Stage 2.

.....
Permitting Process:

7g. Commission Permit Considerations. Permits would be granted on the basis of policies adopted by the commission.

5.0
PROPOSED PARK:
WORKING GOALS
AND POTENTIAL
PROJECTS

The purpose of this chapter is to explore ways that the Lowell park could be approached, given the environmental management scheme outlined in Chapter 4. In the first part of the chapter, some "working goals" for the program are proposed; in the second part, several projects that the commission might undertake in its efforts to deal with those goals are described. The fact that the proposed management process would be incremental would make pointless the preparation of a "plan" in the traditional sense of a design document that describes a finished product. The only plan would be the record of goals and policy decisions made by the participants in the process. This record would change with time, but it should gradually evolve to describe a system of overlapping public and private sites, local and regional settings, activities, and legal mechanisms designed to (1) help visitors and local people understand what happened in Lowell and to exchange views on its significance to contemporary life, and (2) capture monetary values to support park-related activities and to help revitalize the city's economy and environment.

5.1
Community
Goals

In order to achieve the above, the proposed commission must balance two sets of working goals which embody community needs and federal interests in the city. Community needs

were described in Chapter 4, and they are restated below as one set of working goals for the management process:

1. Help local residents and the ethnic groups they compose to appreciate the values that exist in their environment and the values of their respective cultures;
2. Provide jobs;
3. Revitalize existing downtown businesses and the downtown shopping environment;
4. Recycle old industrial structures for modern uses;
5. Encourage new development to reverse the image of decline and to provide tax ratables for the city;
6. Strengthen the city's image to make its historic framework more apparent and to improve its visual quality.
7. Encourage maximum investment in the area by state and federal agencies.

5.2

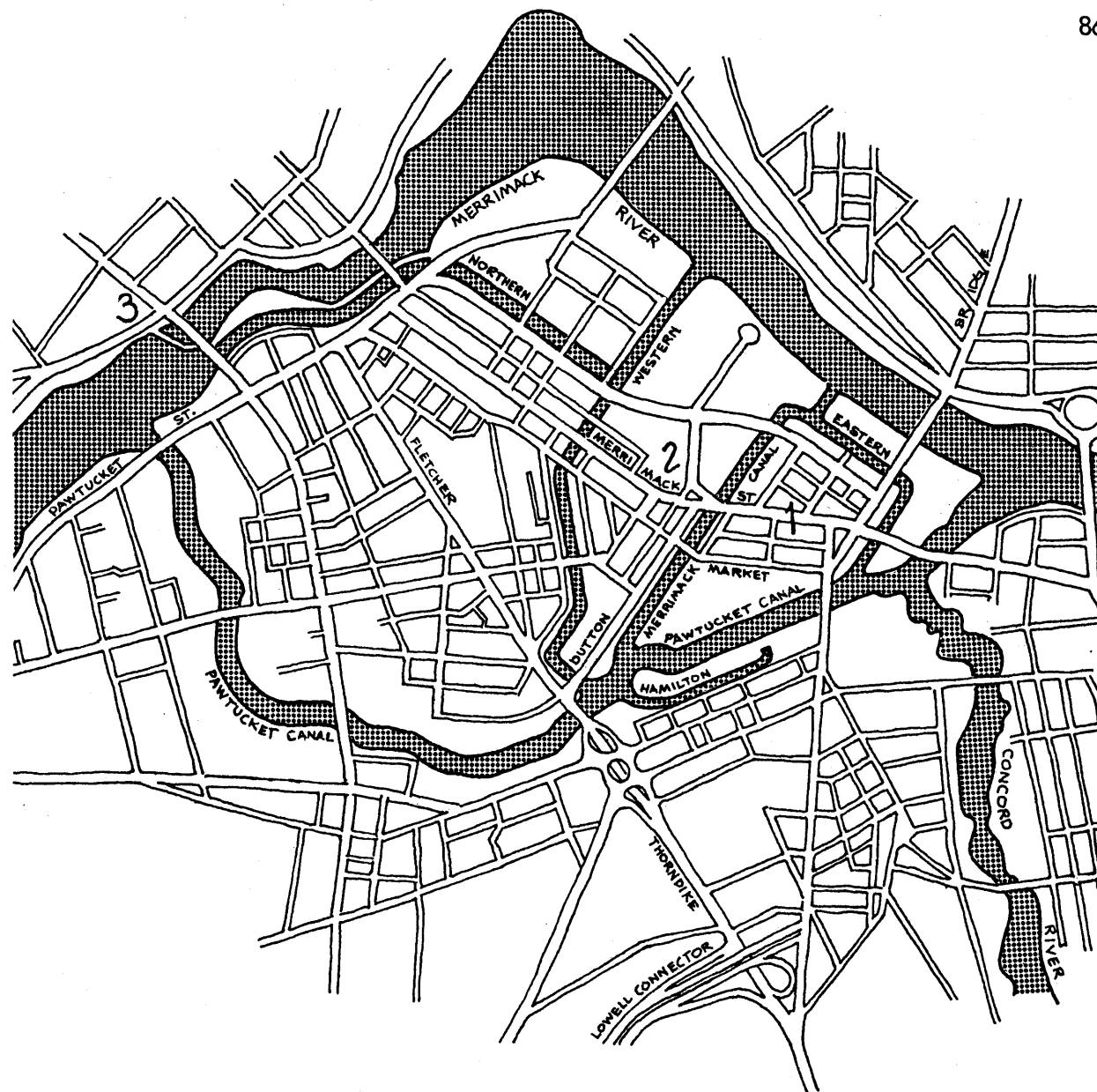
Federal Goals

The national interest in Lowell centers on the city's historic resources. Presumably, these resources hold sufficient meaning for contemporary Americans to justify federal support for a process that will responsibly manage their future. But what is the nature of these resources? Unlike Boston National Historical Park, there are no specific

buildings in Lowell that are associated with a famous person or stirring patriotic event. Lowell's significance lies in the fact that it brought together many different ideas to create a new system of production and a new industrial society, and by doing so it became the first modern industrial city. Thus, the whole is more important than any specific piece. Each element of the Industrial Revolution became an aspect of Lowell's social structure and physical environment, creating an ecology unique in its time. Unlike other industrial cities that evolved later, many of those aspects have survived in Lowell in their original and purest form. Federal goals for the management program should be aimed at making it possible for the public to experience each of these aspects so that the whole can be appreciated. But it is important to bear in mind that many of the so-called advances of the Industrial Revolution were paralleled by social and environmental ills. Lowell was first and foremost an industrial city in which corporate profits were the prime consideration. The city's negative characteristics are part of its story and they must somehow be communicated although certainly not preserved. Aspects of Lowell significant to the nation and some recommended working goals are discussed below.

Fig: 5
page 86

1. Urban fabric organized by canals. The skeleton of Lowell's urban fabric was its canal system. Not



5
Inner
Lowell

- 1 CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT
- 2 CITY HALL/KENNEDY PLAZA
- 3 PAWTUCKET DAM

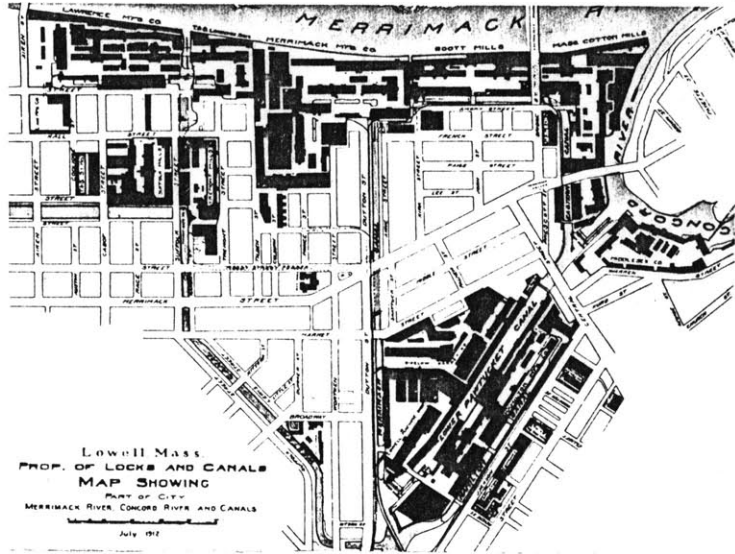
only did this system determine the location of industry, it also created physical and social boundaries that separated land uses, segregated ethnic neighborhoods, and oriented streets. The result was a patchwork of small districts, each with its own character. The canal system provided an underlying logic to the environment and organized incongruous districts into a coherent whole. Today, these districts are still evident, but the canal system has been camouflaged by the growth of the city around it and by the loss of structures once associated with its operation. Thus, the city's present fabric seems to be an incoherent jumble even to old time residents. The canal system should be restored to the city's consciousness by re-opening views to the water, making concealed connections understandable, emphasizing important control points, constructing walkways along the water, encouraging water-oriented activities, and other means.

Fig: 6
page 88

2. Urban form defined by industry. Early Lowell was a city organized by the production of power. The location of canals with respect to each other and the rivers strictly defined where factories could be built. The resulting mills stretched continuously along the banks of both rivers and on either side of the Pawtucket Canal, almost encircling the center of the city. This spine clearly showed where power was being generated and emphasized the

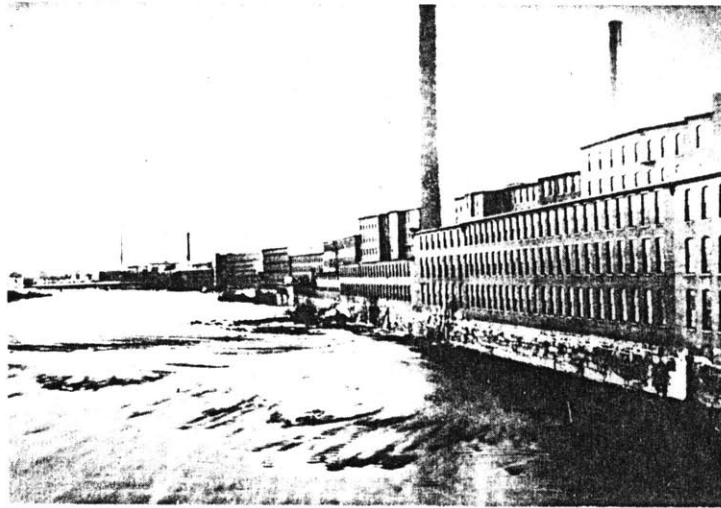
Fig: 7
page 89

6
Industrial
Spine, 1912

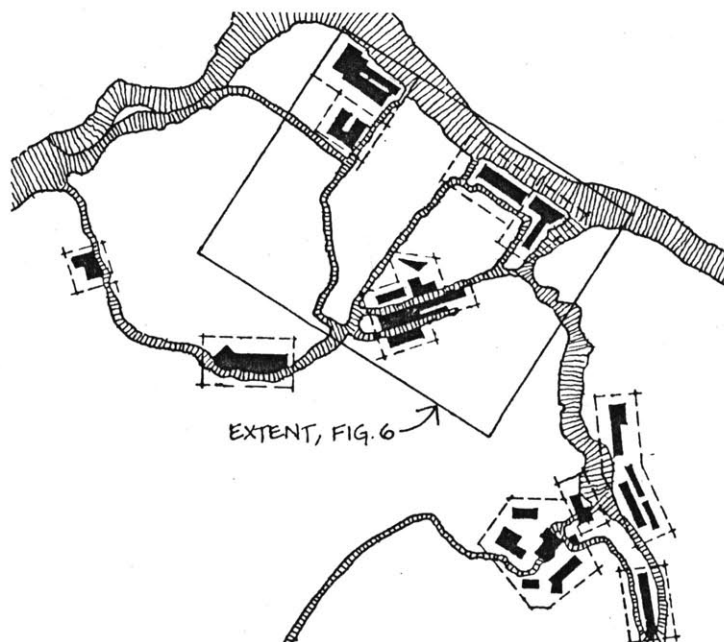


88

7
"Mile of Mills"
on the
Merrimack



8
Remaining
Mills, 1975



relationship between Lowell and its rivers. Later, this spine also became an environmental liability, pouring smoke into inner-city neighborhoods and cutting the population off from the water. Today, many mills have been removed so that only fragments of this form remain. Efforts should be made to conserve these fragments and to guide the re-development of former mill sites so as to re-establish this basic feature of the cityscape -- with one difference. Public access and views to the water should be provided and designed so as to emphasize by contrast how oppressive this industrial spine must have been.

Fig: 8
page 88

3. Evolution of the factory as a building type.

In early Lowell, each mill was a complete unit of production. Power was generated by water in the basement and distributed to machinery by shafts and leather belts. To minimize the distribution distance, production was integrated vertically, and each floor held one step in the production process. The resulting buildings were tall but very narrow with many windows. Mills were grouped along with printworks, storehouses, and countinghouses to form a mill yard, the unified corporate whole that was the basic unit of Lowell's industrial matrix. Not only did the mill yard increase production efficiency, but also its fences, gatehouses, and enclosed spaces helped to exert social control over the workforce. The system of producing finished

Fig: 9, 10
page 94

Ref: 37

products from raw materials at one location was perfected in Lowell and improved there throughout the 19th century. As new technologies were evolved and applied, building forms changed to accommodate them, and elements from each stage of this evolution are still visible throughout the city. The completeness of this collection should be maintained for its educational value and because it lends a unique depth and meaning to Lowell's environment.

Ref: 37

4. Juxtapositions of scale. The early mills were among the largest buildings in the country at that time. As early as 1822, for example, the Merrimack Manufacturing Company boasted one of the tallest structures in the world, a 283 foot chimney. By 1836, the company's buildings covered 24 acres. These constructions must have appeared enormous, set as they were in the Middlesex fields and juxtaposed to the small frame dwellings that predominated in Lowell and most New England towns of the period. This sudden and radical shift in scale was a harbinger of the profound changes the Industrial Revolution would bring to urban environments. It also indicated the wealth and power being accumulated by capitalists at the expense of the working population. Today in Lowell, such contrasts in scale have been largely eliminated due to the partial destruction of many mill yards, the loss of most small 19th century frame structures, and the placement of several

high-rise buildings that dwarf mills located nearby. But here and there, it is still possible to appreciate scale relationships that once dominated the city. Such instances should be protected from change, and the opportunity should be seized to restore these relationships by sensitively scaling new development.

5. Prominence of institutions. An important social by-product of the Industrial Revolution was the growth of institutions which performed functions formerly the duty of the family. The evolution of such institutions was a reflection of the social and economic fragmentation necessary for large-scale industrial production to occur. This process was accelerated in Lowell because the early work force consisted almost entirely of single women split from their families and brought to the city under the paternal care of the corporations. This increased dependency on the corporations gave them greater control over their employees. In fact, schools were consciously programmed to encourage the discipline needed for factory employment. From the corporations' viewpoint, support of paternal institutions was evidence of their enlightened concern for the work force, and they saw to it that institutional buildings occupied prominent locations in the community. Early Lowell had a fine hospital, library, New England's first boarding school for women, and an excellent high

Ref: 37

school. Under the heading, "paternal institutions", one would have to include the corporation boarding houses, which closely supervised the lives of female operatives; St. Anne's Church, the first church in Lowell and known as the "corporation church"; the Lowell Institution for Savings, where women workers were encouraged to deposit their wages; and the city government, itself, which depended heavily on the corporations for money and sanction. Many of the structures that first housed these institutions remain today. Except for the boarding houses, virtually all of the institutions, as organizational entities, continue to flourish. Their early role in the social structure is not generally known, however, and a way should be found to make it apparent to the community.

6. Symbols unique to an industrial society. One of the more profound changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution was a new lifestyle regulated by the demands of production. In Lowell in 1845, over 30,000 people were beginning work at 5:00 A.M., taking a half-hour lunch break at noon, and ending work at 7:30 P.M., six days a week. "Mill girls" were required to be in bed by 10:00 sharp. The clock became a pervasive symbol in that atmosphere, and every mill yard was dominated by clocktowers whose chimes regulated the pace of life. Marking the passage of time became especially important under these circumstances,

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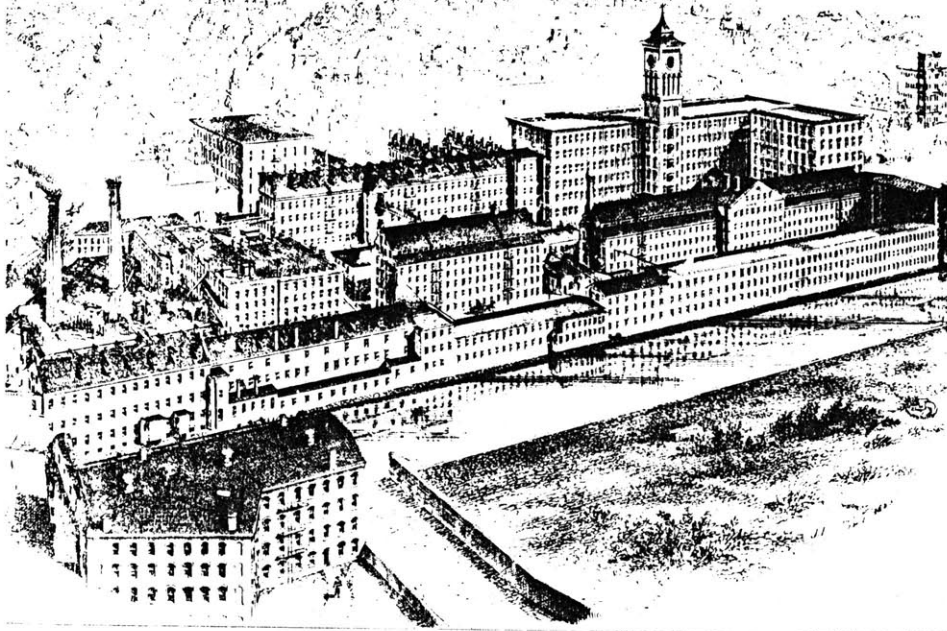
Fig: 11
page 95

and even the smallest structure was emblazoned with the year of its construction. There were other types of symbols. The corporation was an entity pioneered in Lowell, and as each strove to achieve its own identity, the search for symbols began. Most important was the name, of course, which was normally chiseled into granite and proudly mounted at visible locations in the yards. Later, as advertising became prevalent, the mill yards, themselves, became corporate images. Etchings, exaggerating their size and showing every detail, appeared in magazines and in Chamber of Commerce publications. These and other symbols like the cog and the smoke-belching chimney were familiar in Lowell and later became integrated into the American culture. Today, many of these symbols can still be seen in their original settings. Other symbols exist as artifacts which were rescued from demolished buildings. The opportunity should be taken to incorporate these artifacts into new construction and in this way return them to the cityscape.

Fig: 9
page 94

7. Ethnic character of the city. Although Irish laborers were part of the Lowell scene from its beginning, after the Civil War, immigrants of many nationalities began flooding into the city. Many were recruited by the corporations which were enjoying the post-war boom and which took advantage of poor economic conditions elsewhere in the

9
Hamilton
Manufacturing
Company, 1880's



10
Massachusetts
Cotton Mills,
Millyard, late
19th Century



11(next page)
Boott Mill
Clock Tower



world. Irish, British, French Canadians, and later, Greeks, Poles, and Portuguese people replaced yankee mill girls as the chief source of labor. By 1900, only 20% of the city's 100,000 inhabitants were native born of native parents. Different groups resided in segregated areas and developed distinct cultures that enabled them to adjust to urban, industrial life. These working class, ethnic neighborhoods still flourish in Lowell despite the tendency to equate disassociation with one's cultural background with social progress. Just as it is important to preserve physical evidence of the past, cultural traditions should also be supported. The park should help local residents and visitors to understand and appreciate their cultural roots and the importance of immigration to the evolution of American society. Ethnic groups of all kinds should be recruited to participate in national park activities and physical symbols of the various cultures should be included within the fabric of the park.

8. Regional connections. From its beginnings, Lowell was a regional phenomenon. The Pawtucket Canal was constructed in 1792 by a group of Newburyport merchants to facilitate the flow of goods down the Merrimack River from New Hampshire by providing a by-pass around the falls of the Merrimack. Ten years later, a group of Boston financiers built the Middlesex Canal, which connected the Merri-

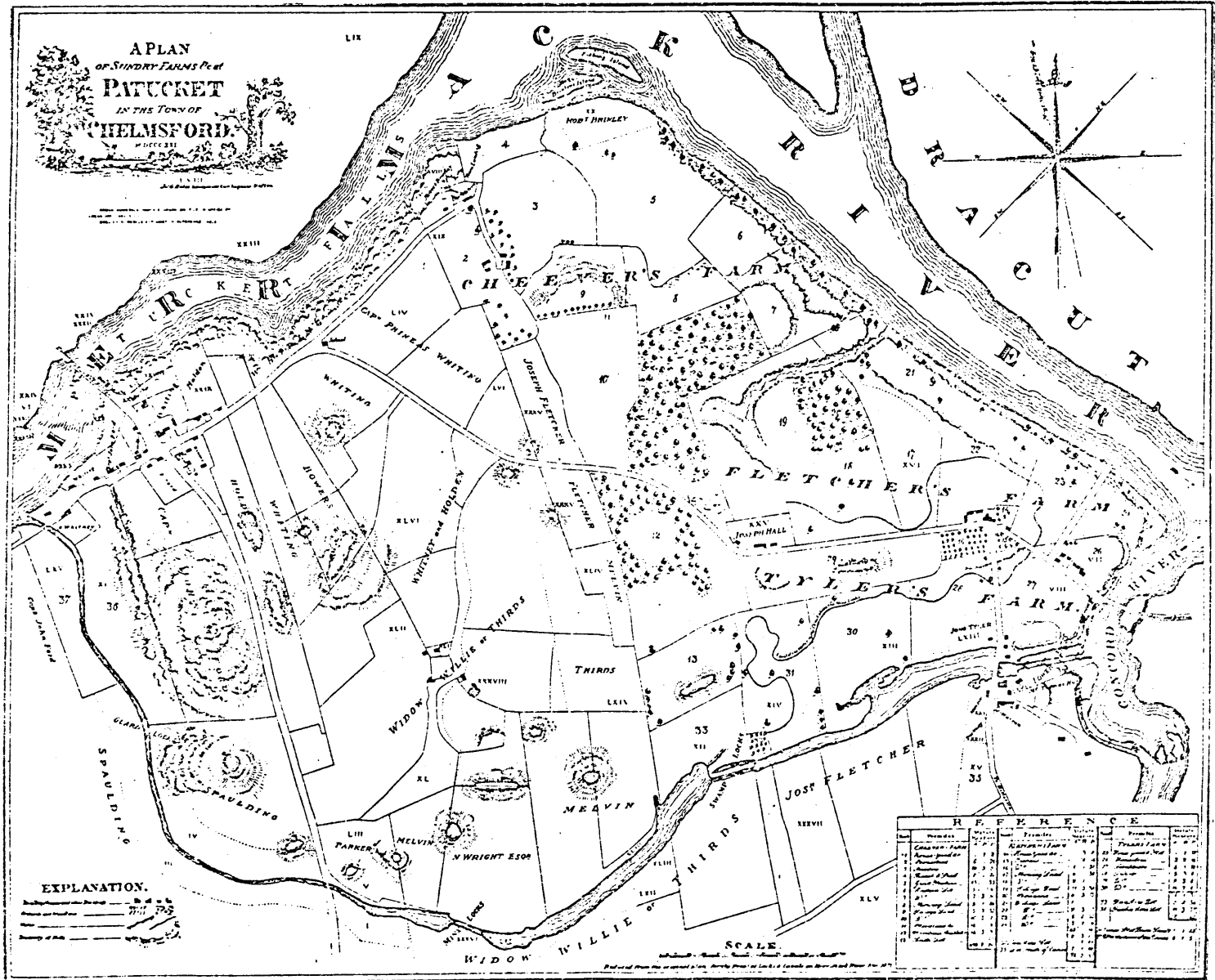
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Fig: 12
page 98

mack and Charles Rivers, in order to divert the New Hampshire trade into Boston. Lowell, itself, was developed as a capital venture by an absentee group known as the Boston Associates who in 1822 purchased the Pawtucket Canal and the corporation that had built it: the Proprietors of Locks and Canals on the Merrimack River. Lowell became the centerpiece of a regional economy that was based on the power of water and that included Manchester and Nashua in New Hampshire and Lowell, Lawrence, and Haverhill in Massachusetts. Boston prospered as the port city for the region handling the raw materials and finished goods that traveled by canal and rail to and from the textile cities on the Merrimack. The position of the Boston Associates in this arrangement was preeminent. Their corporation, the Proprietors of Locks and Canals, actually regulated the flow of the Merrimack by purchasing rights to the lakes and major streams which fed the river. The corporation gained control of the Middlesex Canal and in 1835, opened the Boston and Lowell railroad, which was later extended into New Hampshire and eventually became part of the "Great Northern Route" between Boston and Canada. Located at the head of the Middlesex Canal and a major rail center, virtually all raw materials and finished goods processed in the Merrimack Valley were collected in Lowell on their way to and from Boston. Today, evidence of these old regional connections still exists. The railroad still follows the

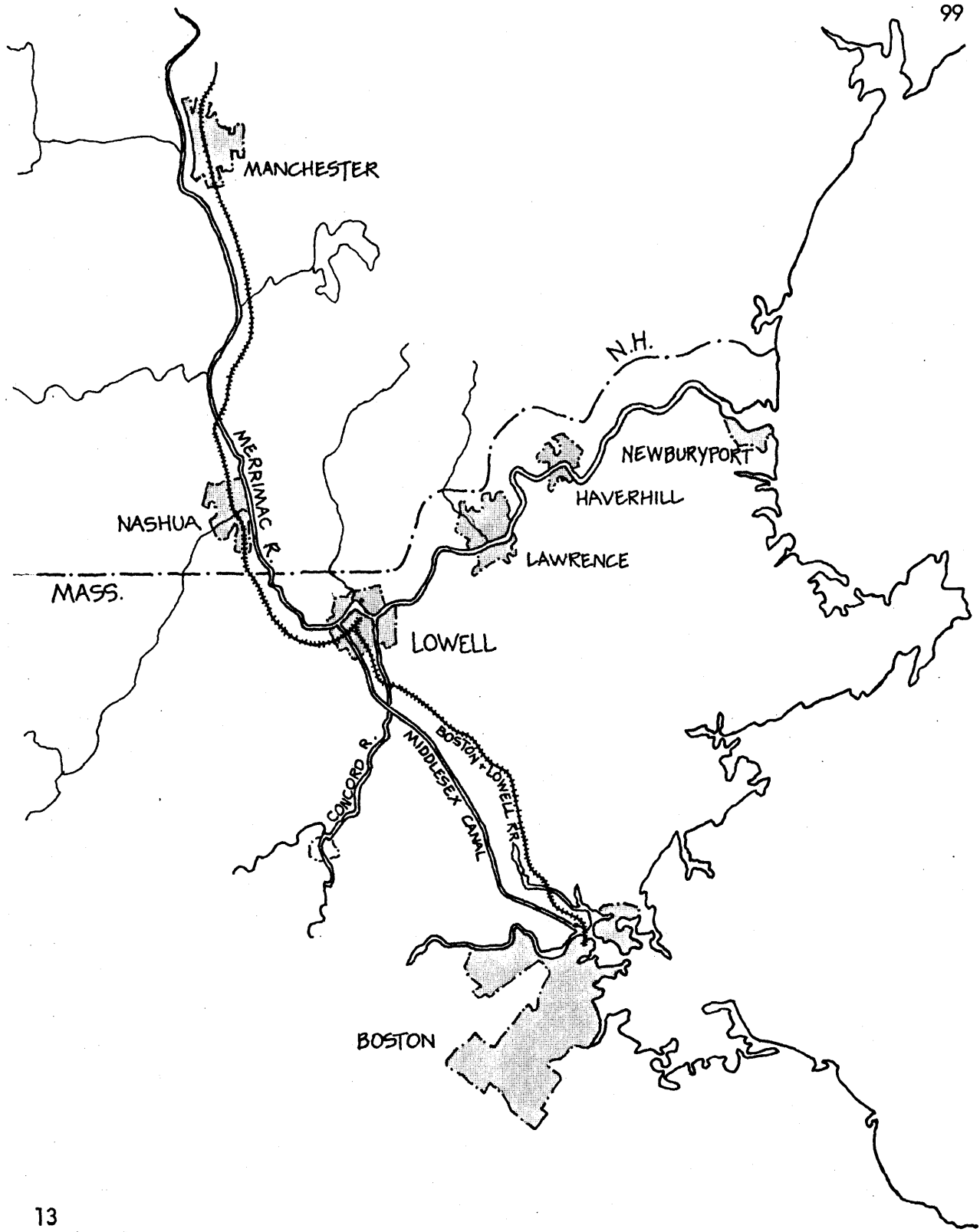
Fig: 13
page 99

Ref: 37



1 Pawtucket Farms - 1822 - by G. H. Hays

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13
Regional
Connections

same route into the city; the Middlesex Canal has been partially filled, but many pieces are still visible on the route to Boston; and, of course, there is the Merrimack River and its mill cities.

Re-emphasizing and explaining these regional connections would help people to understand Lowell's past and, more importantly, give meaning to its present. That Lowell is a depressed city today can be explained by the fact that it was virtually a colony in the past: the city's livelihood was rooted in a single industry and the life of its people and the quality of its environment came second to the financial gain of absentee capitalists. Although the Proprietors of Locks and Canals centered its operations in Lowell, all of the profits generated by that gigantic venture flowed into Boston. When, during the 1930's it became more profitable to produce textiles in southern states, these same capitalists moved their investments out of Lowell and out of other New England mill cities. With no other economic base, these cities were left destitute and their recovery has been handicapped by weak financial institutions. To make apparent the relationships between Lowell, the Merrimack Valley, and Boston and to show how transportation improvements made this relationship possible should be an important aspect of the Lowell project. Successfully presented, it would provide an insight into the way the

capitalist system has shaped urban growth in this country.

5.3
Potential
Projects
Resulting
from Planning
Elements

In the remaining pages, we will explore some of the ways the proposed commission and the Park Service might act in their combined efforts to reach the goals recommended above. If the management program being proposed were enacted, the Park Service would retain its traditional power to protect fixed historical resources but would relinquish to the commission the power to decide how variable park elements should be handled. A second power would be granted to the commission by the state: the ability to enforce environmental controls for the setting of the park through the permitting process. The way in which these three forces would be brought to bear in Lowell and how they would interact would determine the changes which would occur in the city and the ultimate nature of the national park developed there.

To illustrate what is possible, five projects that could be undertaken are explored on the following pages. True to the incremental process, each project could be planned for and then implemented independently of the others. The first project embodies an approach the Park Service could take to preserve physical remnants of Lowell's past is

presented. The second recommends a way that the commission could apply its permit power to manage environments. In the third project, the planning and implementation of a variable park element, a visitors' center, is explored. The fourth illustrates a way the values of the park could be captured by encouraging new development. In the last project, an approach to interpretation based on involving visitors with the city and its residents is discussed. This is by no means a complete set of projects the proposed commission might handle, nor is it a description of the only way these projects might be structured.

5.3.1 Preserving remnants of the past

Buildings and other structures that have survived from previous times communicate much about the changing life of a city. In the management scheme being proposed in this thesis, the Park Service retains the right to designate those structures in the community that it feels are significant enough to the nation to justify either federal ownership or federal support and protection under cooperative agreements. Current National Park policy is to restore such fixed resources to their original appearance. The Park Service will probably limit itself to restoring structures dating from Lowell's formative period (1820-1850) because it was mainly during that time that events in Lowell made original and lasting contributions to our culture. Where-

ever possible, restored structures should be in the same vicinity so that scale and other relationships among them can be appreciated. They should not become museums but should house activities that relate to their former uses and that are also valuable to today's community. Lastly, opportunities should be seized to recoup some of the expenses required to restore and operate these structures or to share the expenses under a cooperative arrangement.

Fig: 14
page 108

With these guidelines in mind, the following are recommended for restoration:

1. The canal system and all related control mechanisms, locks, and buildings. Easements containing these resources are being acquired by Massachusetts as part of the Heritage State Park. The Service should concentrate its efforts on expanding and complementing the state's efforts. For instance, it could work to make obscured connections in the system more visible, or construct a large working model to show how the system works. Wherever possible, activities and development should be planned which increase awareness of and involvement with the water.

Fig: 15, 16,
17, 18
pages 109,
110

2. The Boott Mill Yard (1839). Although other mill complexes in the city are equally historic, the Boott Mill is suggested because (1) the original buildings and all subsequent additions are completely intact; (2) it is located close to the central business district and other fixed resources of the proposed park; (3) the mill's place-

ment between the Eastern Canal and the Merrimack River dramatically illustrates how power was produced -- raceway intakes and outflows can be clearly seen; (4) the completely enclosed mill yard with its single entrance is a classic example of this industrial form; (5) most of the mill's symbolic details are intact. The Boott mill complex is a good example of how cooperative management can limit Park Service investment. Containing eight buildings and 465,000 square feet of useable floor space, the mill is far too large to be acquired and restored by the Park Service. As an alternative, the current proprietor could continue to own the building, but agree to cooperate with the Park Service to incorporate the complex as a fixed resource of the park. This arrangement has already been tried in Boston. The owner might agree, for example, not to demolish any part of the complex, to obtain the approval of the Park Service before any changes in the structures are made, and to give the Park Service (and visitors) access to the buildings and grounds. In return, the Service might agree to restore certain portions of the buildings -- like the clocktowers, contribute towards maintaining the complex, and guarantee that the existing tenants (which occupy 80% of the buildings) could remain undisturbed. The Park Service might also lease an unoccupied section to house an interpretive exhibit about the history of the mill, and incorporate the complex as a key stop along an interpretive

trail. These actions would insure the mill's future and relieve the Park Service of the burden of operating the complex. These actions would also tend to raise the value of the buildings because of the prestige gained by being part of a national park and because of the thousands of tourists who would be drawn there daily. Although to maintain the mill's industrial use would be most desirable, if that is impossible the Park Service should encourage the owner to recycle his property for entirely different uses. The object is to preserve the structure by making every effort to maintain its productive life.

Fig: 15, 19
pages 109,
110

3. Boott Mill boarding house for female operatives, Bridge Street (1836). This building should be purchased by the Park Service. One section of the three-part structure could be furnished and interpreted to illustrate the life of women operatives. Another section might be devoted to the literary accomplishments of this group and include a lending library. The third section could be leased to help pay for the upkeep of the building and would make an excellent location for a women's counseling and referral center.

Fig: 20
page 111

4. Merrimack Manufacturing Company overseer's house (1835), Merrimack Canal gatehouse (1848), St. Anne's Church and Rectory (1825), Welles Block (1840), the first Lowell High School (1840), Old Town Hall (1837), Lowell Institution for Savings (1845). Centered on St. Anne's

Fig: 21
page 111

Church, this ensemble formed a focal point for Lowell's early civic life and for this reason includes the original homes of several prominent institutions. This grouping also straddles the Merrimack Canal and Lucy Larcom Park, one of the few remaining areas of the city where a graceful relationship exists between a canal and the urban fabric. Cooperative agreements should be made with the owners of St. Anne's Church and the overseer's house (home of the

Fig: 22
page 112

Yorrik men's club since 1884) to insure the preservation of these buildings and the continuation of their traditional uses. Easements should be purchased over the facade of

Fig: 23
page 112

the Welles Block and the facade of the Lowell Institution for Savings, and the first floor of the Welles Block might be restored to operate as a retail store of the 1840's.

Fig: 24
page 112

Lastly, the Service should purchase the first high school and Old Town Hall. The exterior of the school has been well preserved. Its interior could be restored to help illustrate, among other things, how 19th century schools were used to instill the discipline necessary for factory employment. Larger spaces in the Town Hall could be used for public meetings and offices could be rented to community organizations. In fact, this building would make an excellent home for the proposed commission, itself.

Fig: 25
page 113

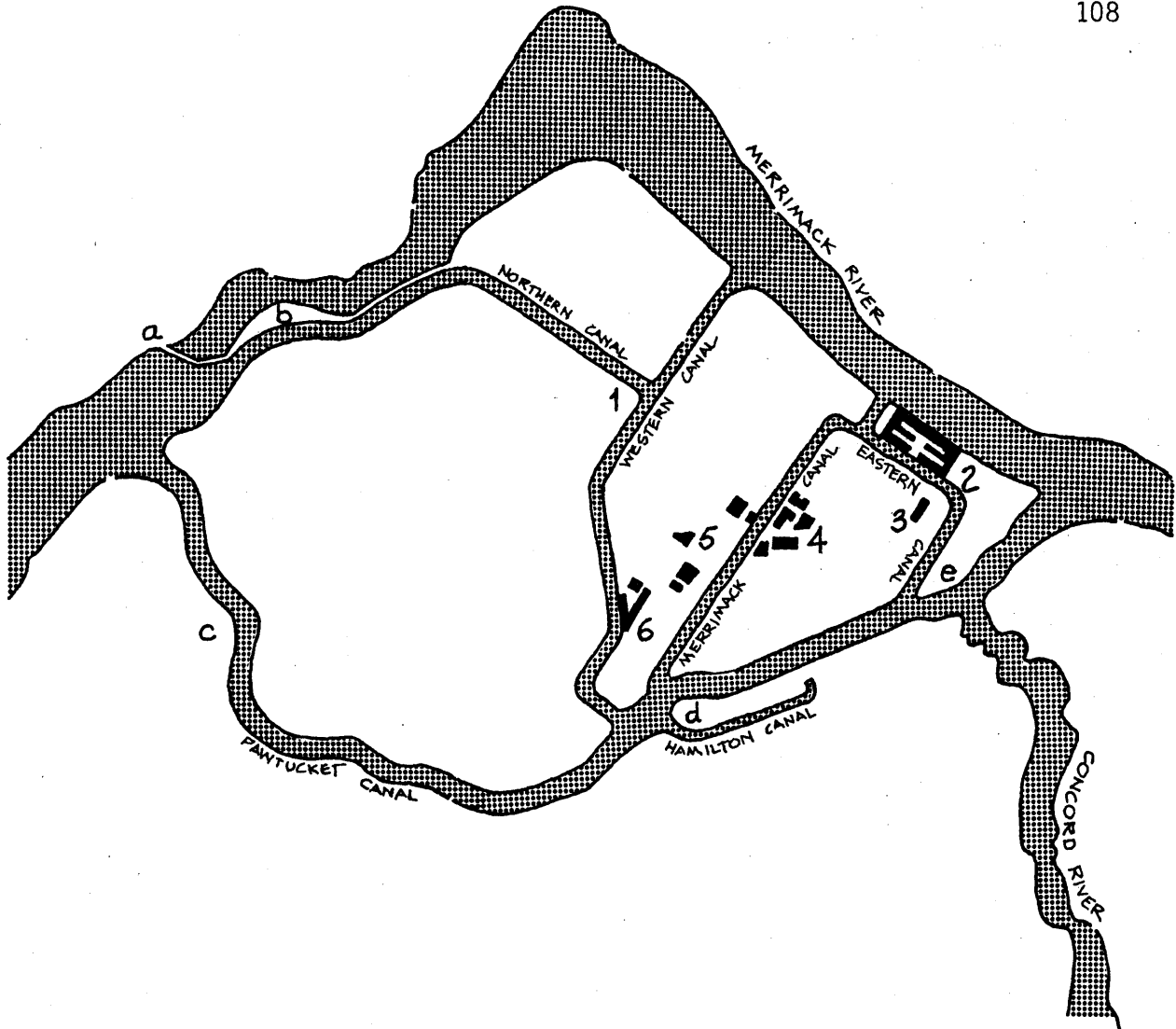
5. The Old Worthen Tavern (1841), the Worthen Street Methodist Church (1842) and adjacent double frame house (1840). This grouping includes elements of a typical

19th century middle-class residential street. The fact that these buildings are modestly scaled and of frame construction rather than brick or stone is significant. The Old Worthen is still a tavern and the Park Service should arrange a cooperative agreement with the owner, encouraging him to serve modest meals as well as drinks and, perhaps, to let rooms in the manner of the 19th century. The church presently houses a Girl's Club, but may soon be vacated. After restoration, the Service might entice a local congregation to inhabit the building and could encourage its members to revive some old time community-oriented church activities. In a similar vein, families might be found who would like to live for a short time in the double frame house in a manner reminiscent of the 19th century -- no electric lights or central heating, for example. In fact, since Worthen Street contains a number of buildings dating from the 1840's, it might become an enclave in the city where the ambience of that period is recalled. People wishing to get a taste of what life was once like, might stop over for an evening at the Old Worthen, or stroll for an afternoon along a nearby canal, or even arrange to live in one of the old homes. No exhibits or visitors' services need be provided, just the opportunity to experience a slower, more simple urban lifestyle.

Fig: 26
page 113

Fig: 25, 27,
28
pages 113, 114

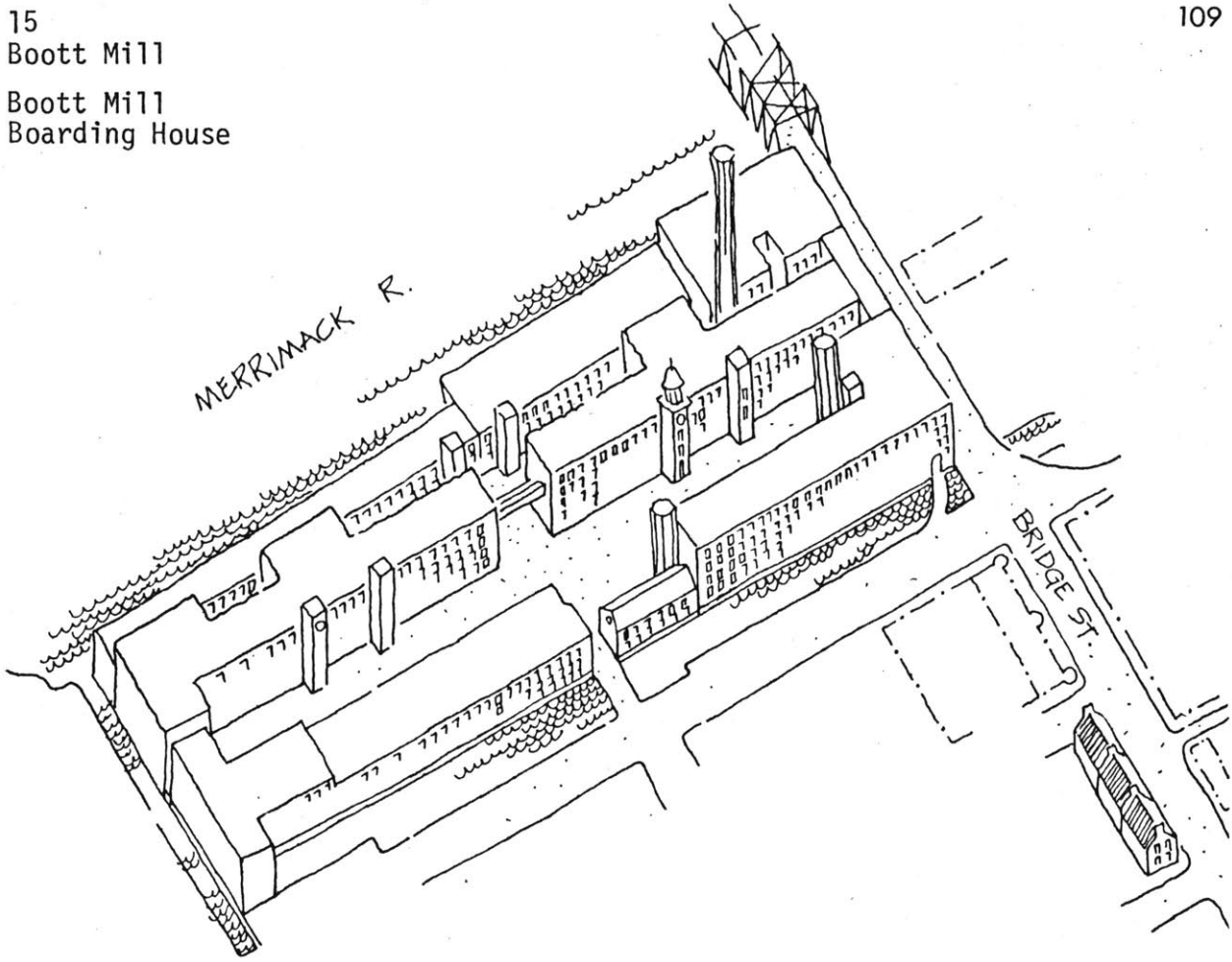
6. Former headquarters of the Proprietors of Locks and Canals on the Merrimack River (1840). Originally



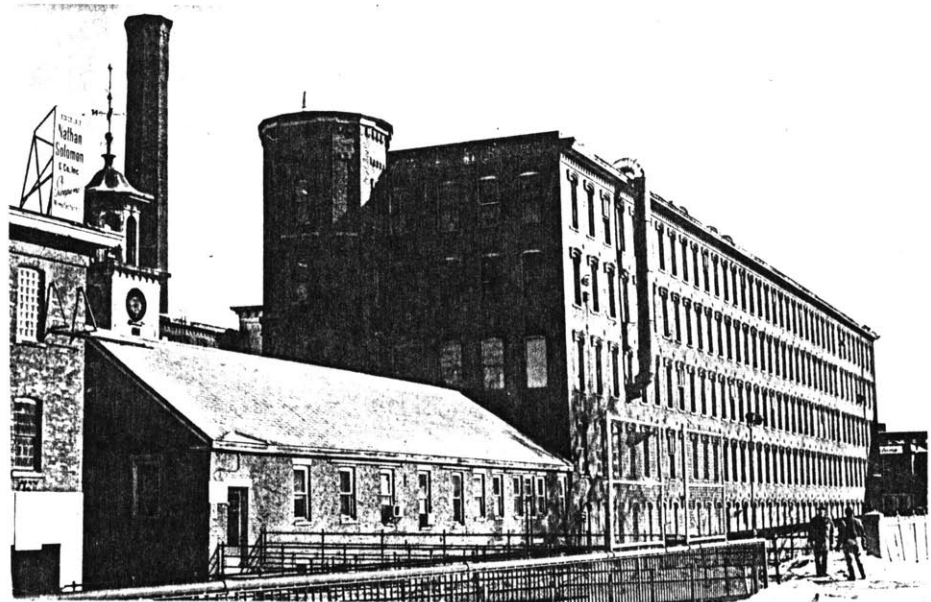
14
Fixed Resources
to be Restored

- 1 HYDROPOWER SYSTEM
 - a PAWTUCKET DAM
 - b NORTHERN CANAL WALK
 - c FRANCIS GATE / GUARD LOCKS
 - d SWAMP LOCKS
 - e REX LOT / OUTLET LOCKS
- 2 BOOT MILL
- 3 BOOT MILL BOARDING HOUSE
- 4 INSTITUTIONAL ENSEMBLE
- 5 WORTHEN STREET BUILDINGS
- 6 FORMER HEADQUARTERS OF THE PROPRIETORS OF LOCKS AND CANALS

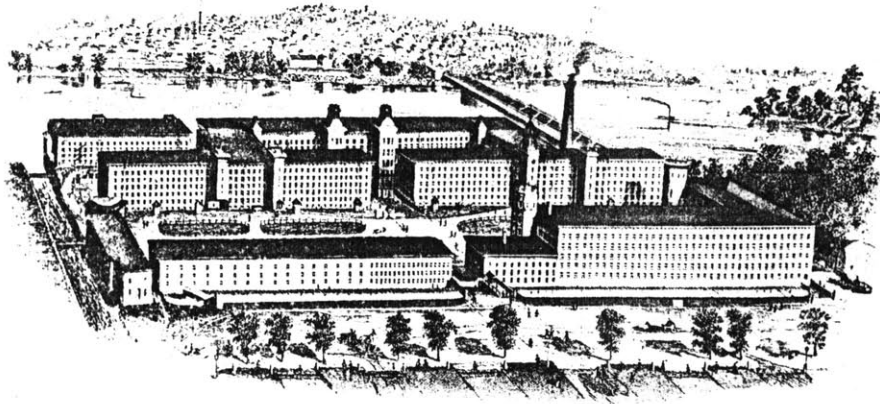
15
Boott Mill
Boott Mill
Boarding House



16
Boott Mill,
Yard Entrance



17
Boott Mill,
1850's

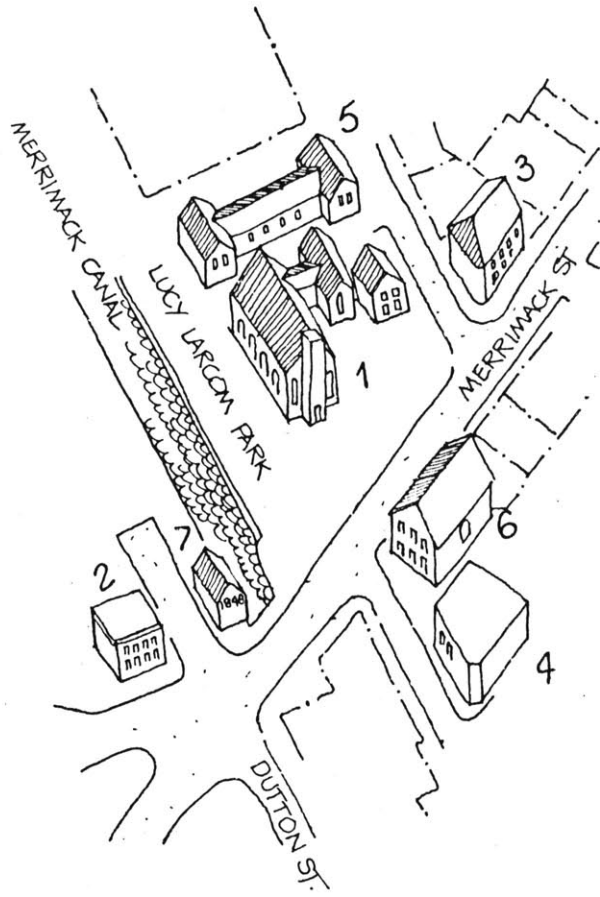


18
Boott
Mill Yard



19
Boott Mill
Boarding House

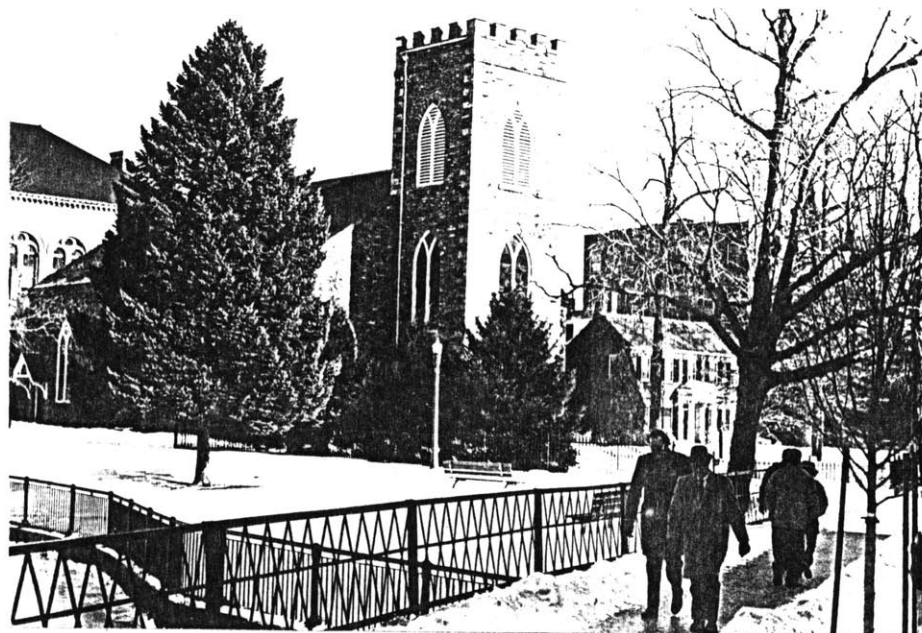




- 1 ST ANNE'S CHURCH+RECTORY
- 2 OVERSEER'S HOUSE
- 3 WELLES BLOCK
- 4 LOWELL INSTITUTION FOR SAVINGS
- 5 HIGH SCHOOL
- 6 OLD TOWN HALL
- 7 GATEHOUSE

20
Institutional
Ensemble

21
St. Anne's
Church and
Rectory



22
Merrimack
Manufacturing
Company
Overseer's
House

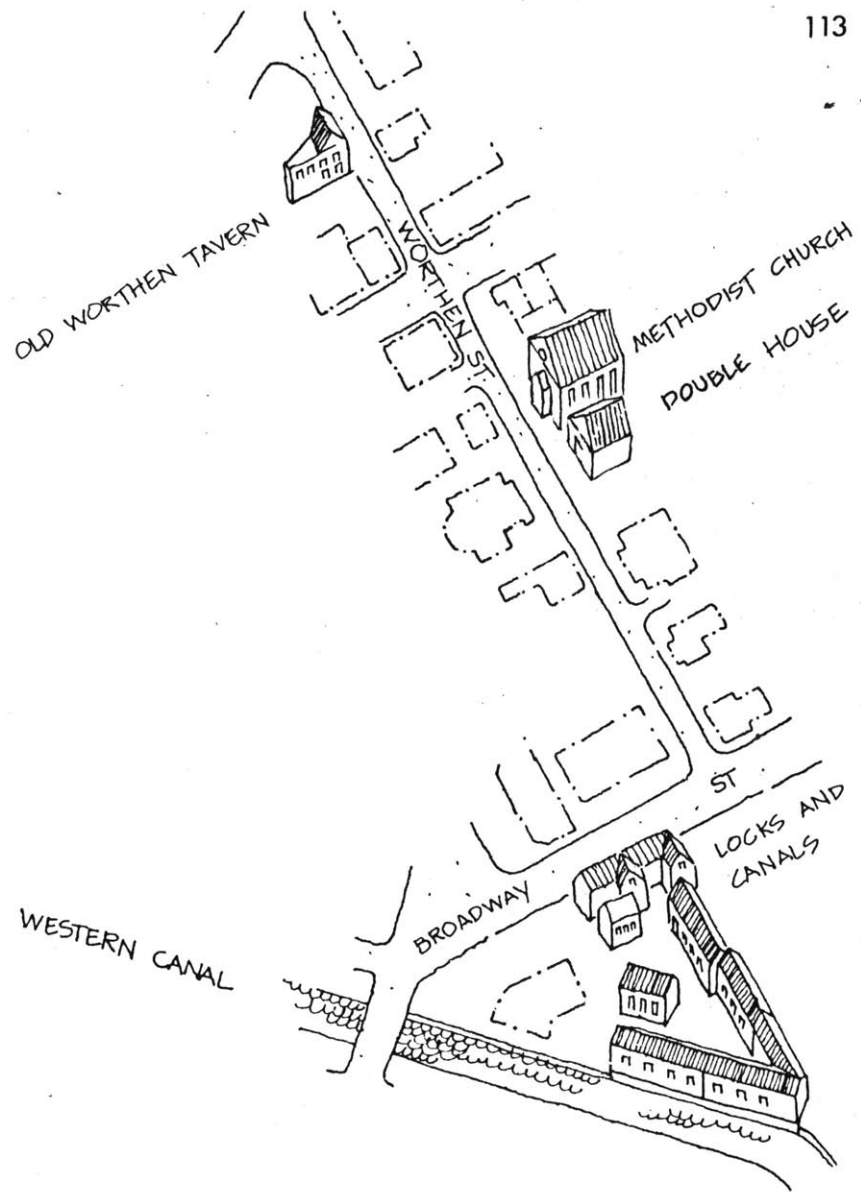


23
Welles Block,
Merrimack Street



24
Old Town Hall



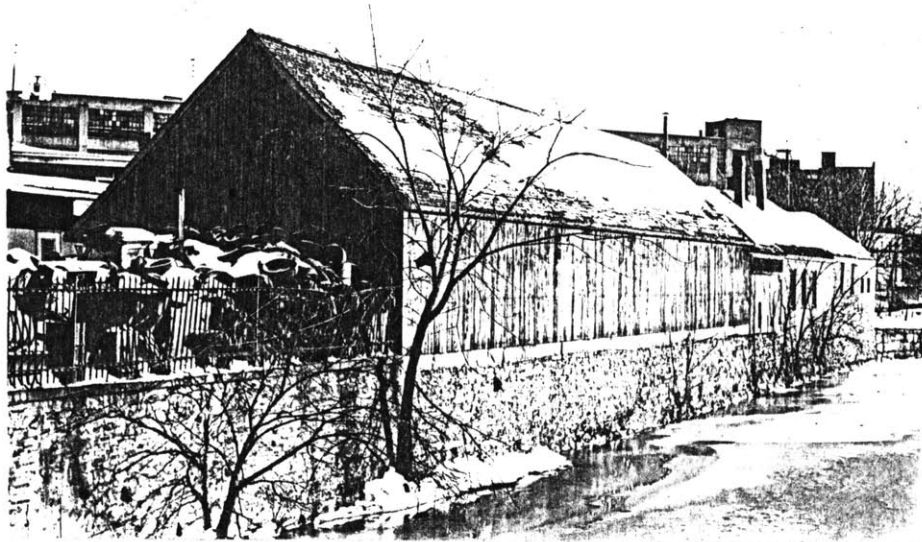


25
Worthen Street
Former
Headquarters
of the
Proprietors
of Locks and
Canals

26
Methodist
Church
Double
House



27
Locks and
Canals
Headquarters,
Western
Canal



28
Locks and
Canals
Headquarters,
Broadway
Street



chartered in 1792 to build the Pawtucket Canal, this company remained until the 1930's the most powerful entity in Lowell. Under the control of the Boston Associates, the Proprietors built and operated the Lowell canal system and leased its power. This corporation also owned the Middlesex Canal, the Boston and Lowell Railroad, and the Merrimack Manufacturing Company and its large textile mill complex. Lastly, the Proprietors engaged 1,200 people in the world's largest machine shop, which manufactured textile machinery, railroad engines, and cars. For almost a century, the Proprietors ran this huge operation from a group of small frame buildings now part of an auto service business. These buildings should be purchased by the Park Service. The Proprietors of Locks and Canals now operates from a small office on the Merrimack and is considered to be the oldest surviving chartered manufacturing corporation in the United States. Perhaps the Park Service could entice the company to re-inhabit its old quarters along with an exhibit on the early development of corporations.

5.3.2 Managing environments

Simply to restore individual buildings leaves unfulfilled most of the federal and local working goals for the Lowell park. As separate buildings unrelated to a specific event or person, the significance of the structures restored by the Park Service lies mainly in the context of their envi-

ronment. For example, it would be difficult to grasp the meaning of Lowell's canal system or justify its continued existence if the Boott Mill were the only mill to remain standing, or if the canal system were further obscured by poorly planned development. But the adjacent environments of restored buildings and canals are not the only parts of the city that need management with respect to the park. The following might also be included: soft, potentially developable sites in the vicinity of park resources; state park recreation sites; an ethnic neighborhood of historic value; and even those portions of the city that once made up the industrial spine. These areas have been mapped in Figure 29 to illustrate their respective locations in the city. The proposed commission could solicit the nomination of additional "critical areas" from the public. In all cases, management would occur through regulation: the application of the commission's permit powers according to a set of policies. Policies referring to each type of area would be tuned to match the needs of that situation. Where critical areas overlap, proposed developments would be required to meet the policies for each area.

Fig: 29
page 122

To illustrate the commission's environmental management responsibilities and capabilities, let's take a closer look at two of the areas mentioned above: the ethnic neighborhood of historic value and the industrial spine. The ethnic

Fig: 30
page 123

neighborhood indicated in Figure 29 is a small district stretching along the Western Canal opposite the former Locks and Canals headquarters. This is the site of the original immigrant settlement in Lowell, an Irish shantytown alternatively known as "Paddycamp" or "the Acre". (Today "the Acre" is still a well-known term in Lowell but refers to the entire neighborhood between the Western and Pawtucket Canals.) The Irish came to Lowell early in its history and were employed as day laborers to construct the canal system. But unlike other workers in Lowell, they received no benefits from the corporations and were relegated to this small plot on what was then the outskirts of the city. Nevertheless, the Irish flourished and gradually moved to more prestigious parts of the city. By 1910, the area was known as a Greek section, and more recently, the home of Spanish-speaking people. Today a number of early frame houses remain in this district and St. Patrick's Church, built in 1854, is still a prominent landmark. Another landmark is Holy Trinity Church, the first building built in this nation designed for orthodox worship. Many of the buildings are in disrepair, however, and there is pressure to raze the entire section for a retail shopping center and garden apartments. Also threatened are the nearby city stables, built in 1877. By placing all these resources under the jurisdiction of the proposed commission, a more rational approach to their future could be taken,

Ref: 37

Fig: 32, 33
pages 123, 124

Fig: 31
page 123

Ref: 49

Fig: 34, 35
page 125

while at the same time conserving an aspect of the city's environment important to understanding Lowell's history. As an alternative to demolishing the neighborhood, the following actions could be taken by the proposed commission:

1. Environmental criteria could be established to guide the issuance of permits for all demolition, exterior alterations and new construction. The aim would be to maintain the neighborhood as a low rent reception area for incoming ethnic groups and to emphasize some of its traditional characteristics such as the tight grouping of small homes around shared spaces.

2. A revolving loan program could be established to rehabilitate homes in the area. Under such a program, the commission could borrow a sum of money from the Park Service -- \$250,000 might be enough -- in order to set up a revolving fund from which money could be drawn for the purpose of buying and restoring homes for resale to private individuals. As a building was resold and permanent financing obtained, money would return to the fund to be used in subsequent undertakings. To enable moderate-income families to repurchase these homes, subsidies would be needed. For example, the Park Service might agree to lend its funds at little or no interest on the justification that the program would enhance resources of the park; the Federal Housing Administration could make repossessed homes in the neighborhood available at a discount; the Massachusetts Housing

Finance Agency could agree to take a number of mortgages at its slightly lower interest rate; and lastly, the City of Lowell could apply some of its Community Development Revenue Sharing funds to the program. To free the commission and its staff from having to supervise many small transactions, the entire program could be managed by a non-profit sponsor, either one which already exists in the community, like St. Patrick's Church, for instance, or one set up by the commission to handle the project. Non-profit sponsors are an efficient intermediary because they can devote their full attention to the housing program: to find suitable houses, to work deals with the FHA to purchase repossessed buildings, to find a reliable contractor, to purchase materials in quantity, to maintain design quality in keeping with the historic nature of the community, to recruit the MHFA or local banks to provide permanent mortgages, to negotiate with the city, to tap foundations and other sources for additional money. Eventually, the entire \$250,000 should be returned to the Park Service. Variations of this mechanism have worked well to encourage rehabilitation in cities like Camden, New Jersey and Charleston, South Carolina, where the initial funds were provided by private sources.

Note: 3

3. The city could selectively demolish those buildings that pose fire or safety hazards.

4. The commission could work with the commercial

developer who is interested in the neighborhood to recycle the city stables as an ethnic marketplace designed to celebrate the heritage of the area. This proposal will be described in more detail later, see page 148 .

The industrial spine poses different environmental problems. The goal in that area is to re-establish this historic feature of the cityscape while providing for public access and views to canals and rivers. Included in this area are most of the remaining mill complexes adjacent to Lowell's main canal system and a number of sites where mills formerly stood. The environmental damage that can occur in the absence of management is clearly illustrated by the only major redevelopment project so far undertaken on a former mill site. The mill complex of the Merrimack Manufacturing company once occupied a prominent site on the Merrimack River between the Boott and Suffolk Mills. The demolition of this complex in the 1960's via urban renewal left a gaping hole in the famed "mile of mills" -- a hole crying to be filled by sympathetically scaled development. Instead, the following were built: a sprawling one-story post office, a small branch bank, and a high-rise apartment tower. These buildings do not relate among themselves or acknowledge the mills beside them; they are separated by large parking lots; and they do not allow access to the Merrimack River. The loss to Lowell's environment is

Fig: 36
page 126

Fig: 37
page 126

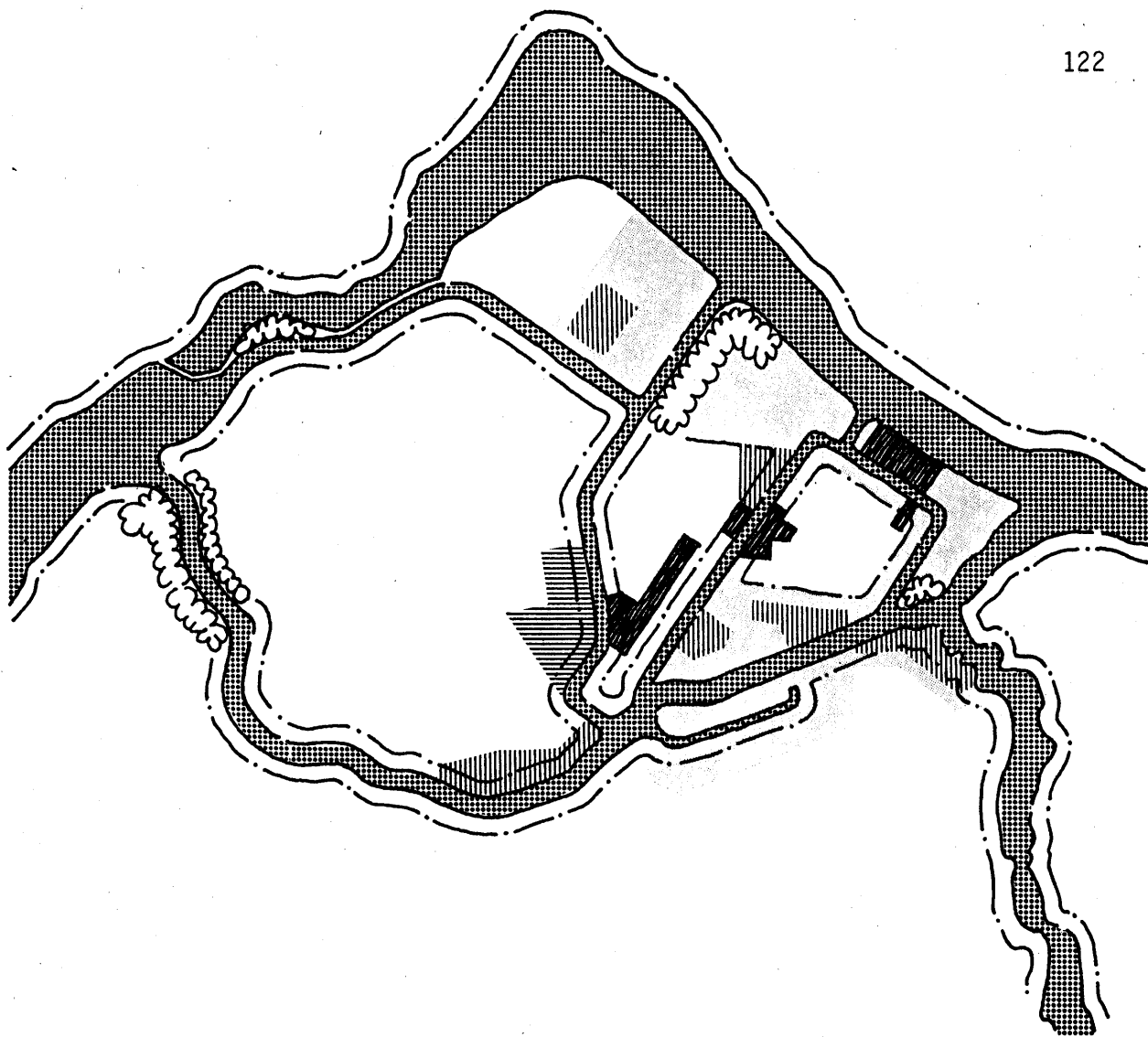
Fig: 38
page 126

Fig: 39, 40
pages 126, 127







evident in Figures 39 and 40 . Placing the branch bank -- a tiny glass box -- on axis with the Merrimack canal is an insult to the once powerful relationship that existed between the Merrimack Manufacturing Company's brick mills and the canal that powered them. At the other end of the scale, the Merrimack Plaza apartment project is so tall that it dwarfs adjacent mills, making it difficult to appreciate the overwhelming size of these buildings in their 19th century context. The post office would be more appropriate in a suburban office park than a dense urban setting.

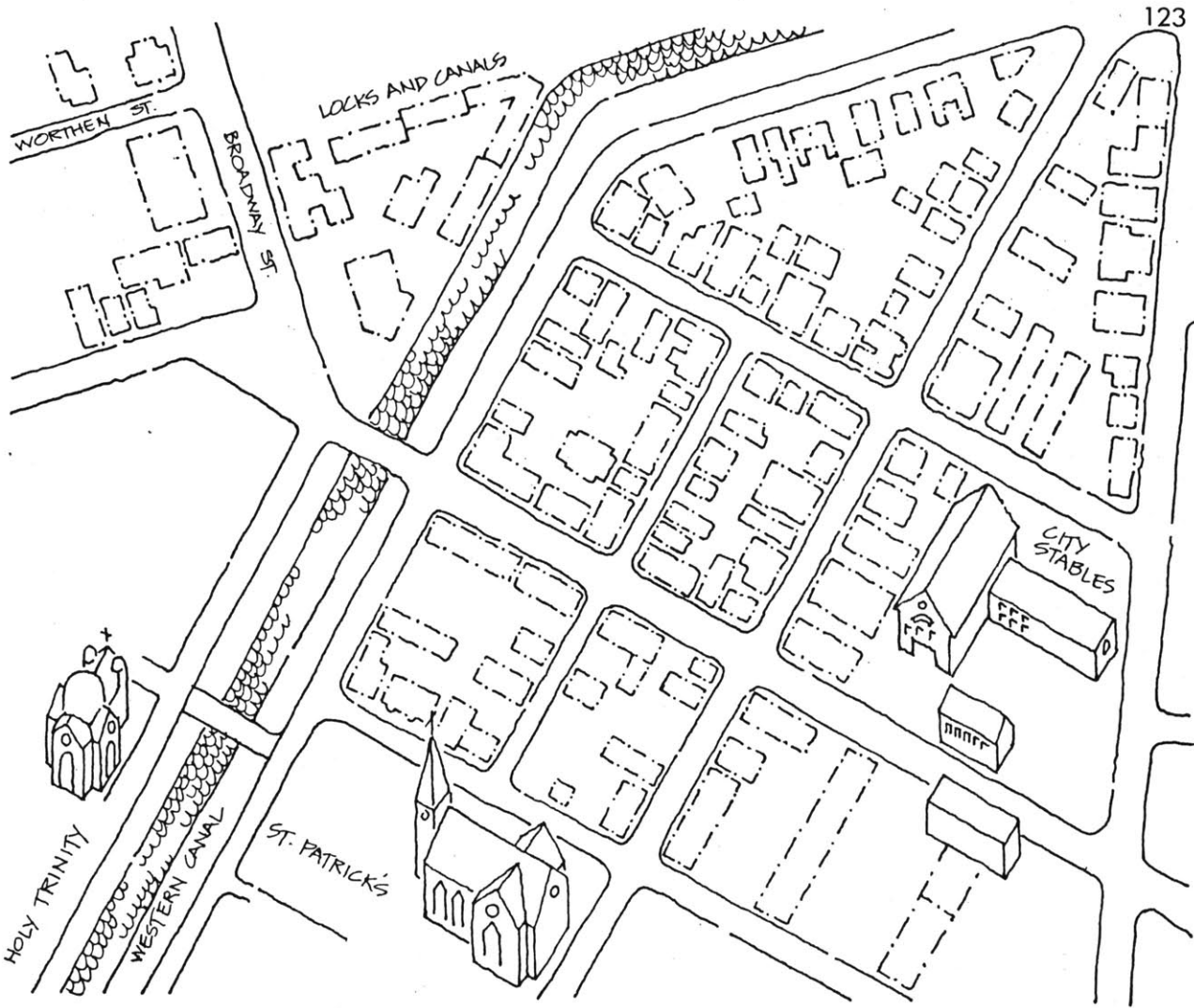
To avoid repeating such a catastrophe, the proposed commission could use its permit powers to insure that:

1. A pedestrian way were provided along canals as part of every new development;
2. Parking, access roads, and other service activities did not front on waterways unless properly screened;
3. Regular and easy access were provided to river and canal fronts;
4. Views of canals and rivers from nearby roads and walkways were developed wherever possible and certain existing view corridors were maintained;
5. Building height, bulk, and materials of new construction were regulated to within tolerable limits;
6. Traditional building lines were respected



29
Critical Areas
Recommended
for Permit
Jurisdiction

-  AREAS ADJACENT TO RESTORED RESOURCES
-  AREAS ADJACENT TO CANALS AND RIVERS
-  POTENTIALLY DEVELOPABLE SITES IN THE VICINITY OF PARK RESOURCES
-  ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOOD OF HISTORIC VALUE (THEACRE)
-  INDUSTRIAL SPINE
-  STATE PARK RECREATION SITES

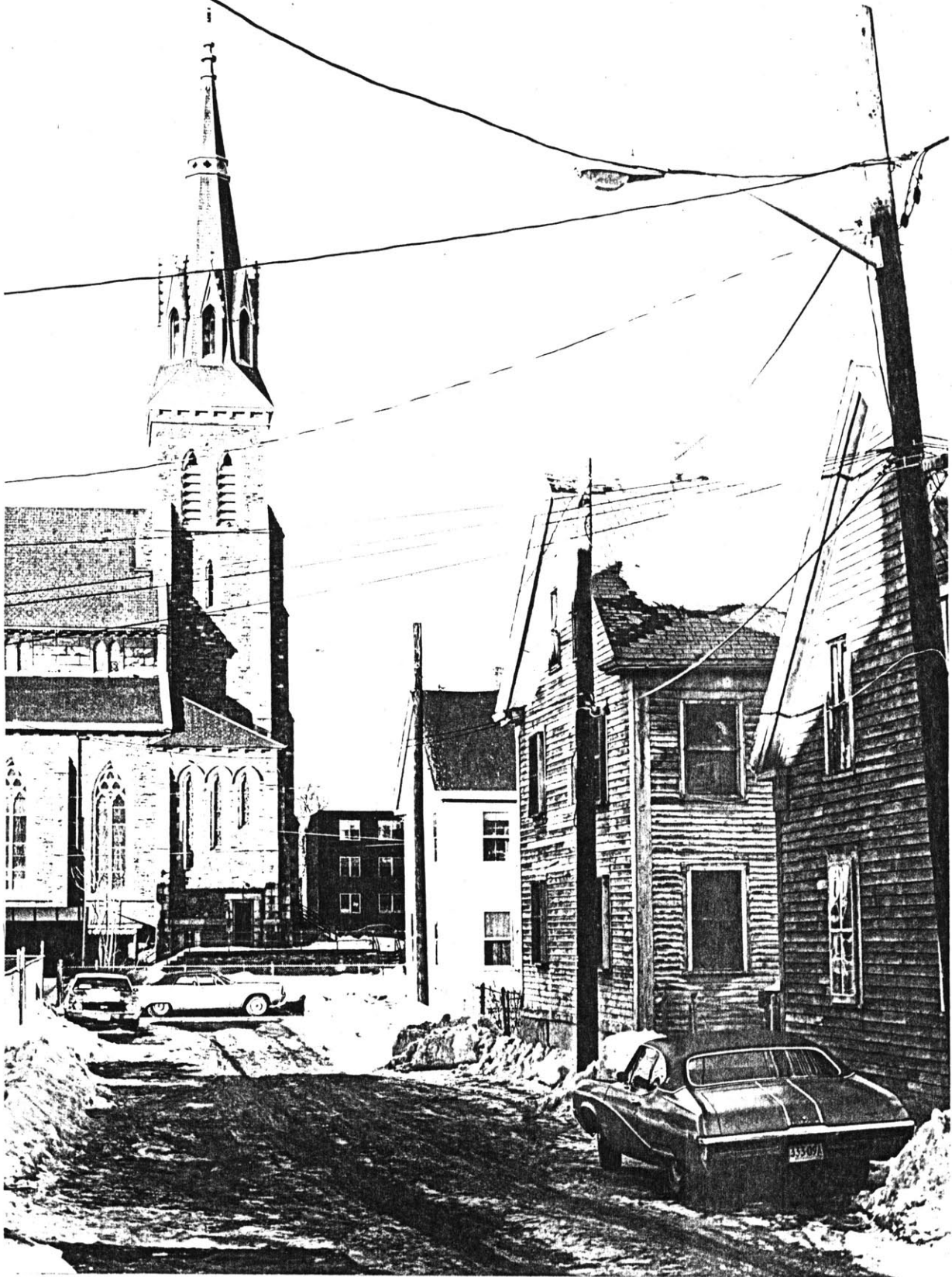


30
"The Acre"

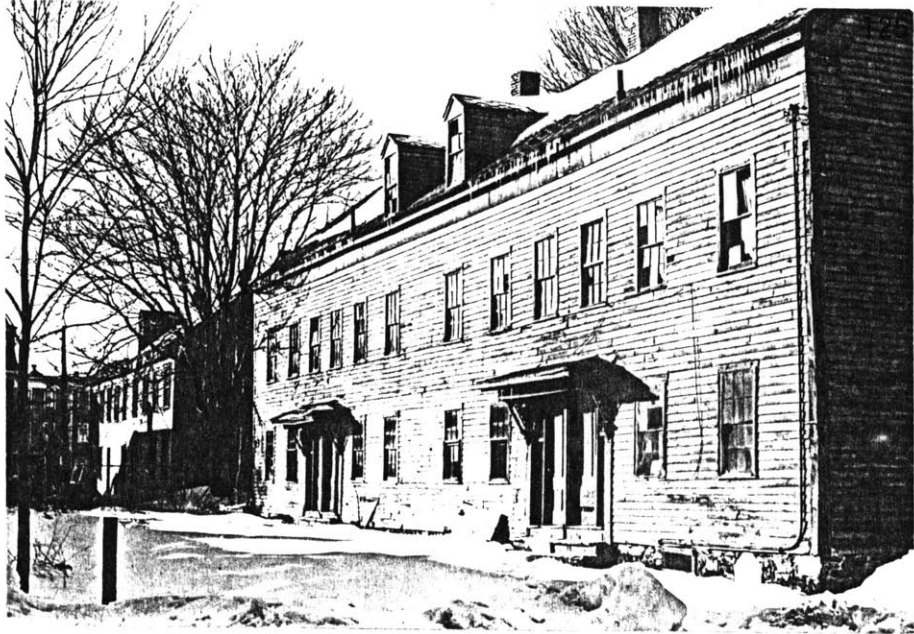
31
Holy Trinity



32(next page)
St. Patrick's



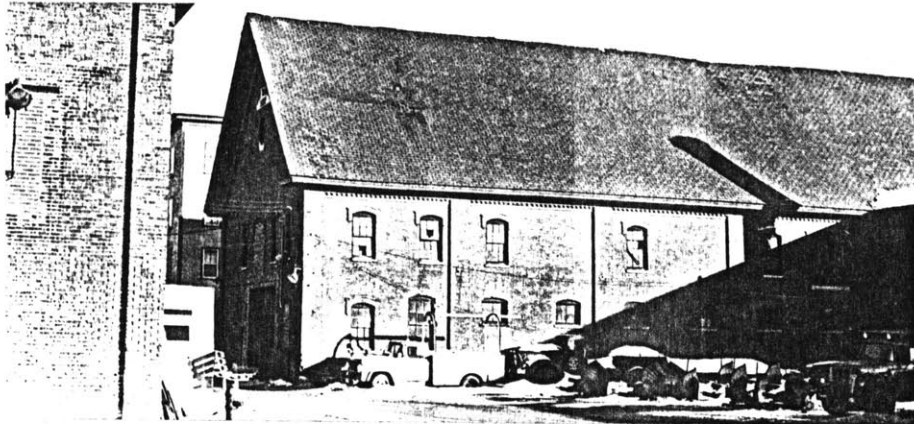
33
Immigrant
Housing,
"The Acre"





34
City Stables



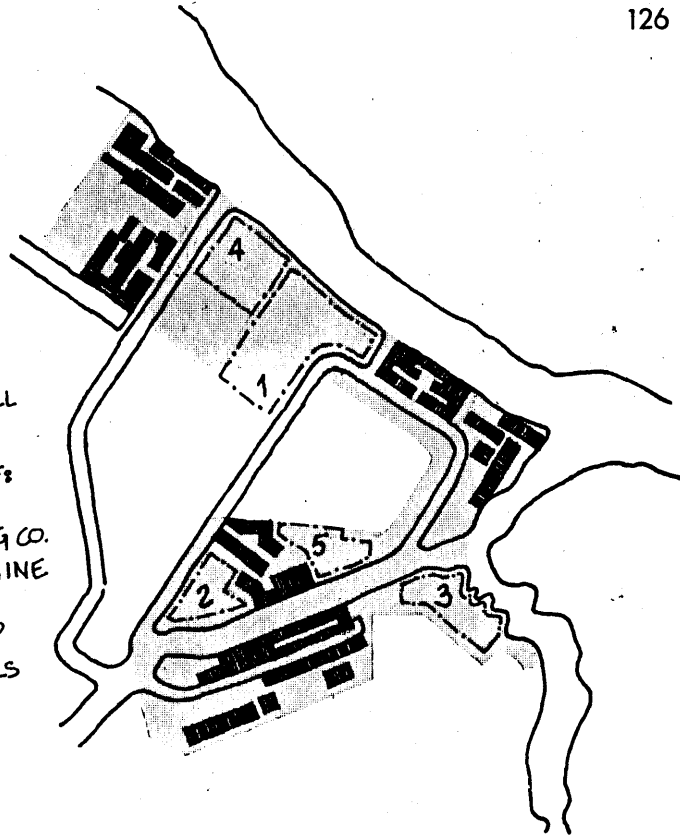
35
City Stables,
Courtyard



36
Industrial
Spine

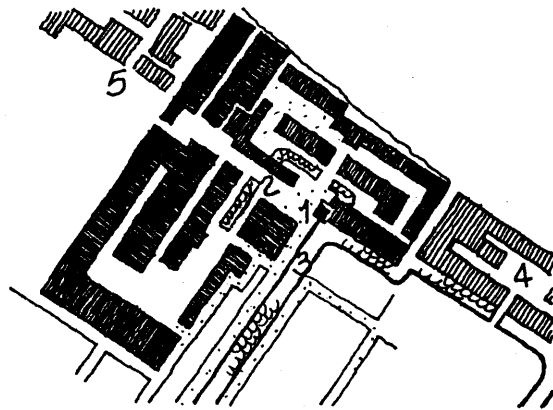
-  INDUSTRIAL SPINE
-  EXISTING MILL BUILDINGS

- FORMER SITES OF:
- 1 MERRIMACK MANUFACTURING CO.
 - 2 LOWELL MACHINE SHOPS
 - 3 MIDDLESEX CO
 - 4 LAWRENCE MILLS (SEC. Y)
 - 5 BIGELOW CARPET CO.



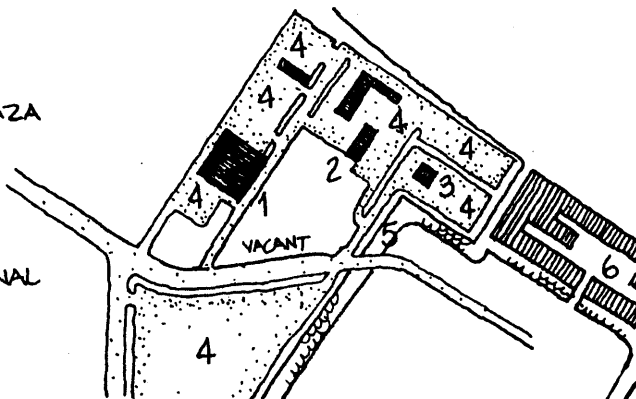
37
Merrimack
Manufacturing
Company, 1912

- 1 TOWER (SEE PHOTO, FOLLOWING PAGE)
- 2 INNER CANAL
- 3 MERRIMACK CANAL
- 4 BOOTT MILL
- 5 LAWRENCE MILLS (SEC. Y)

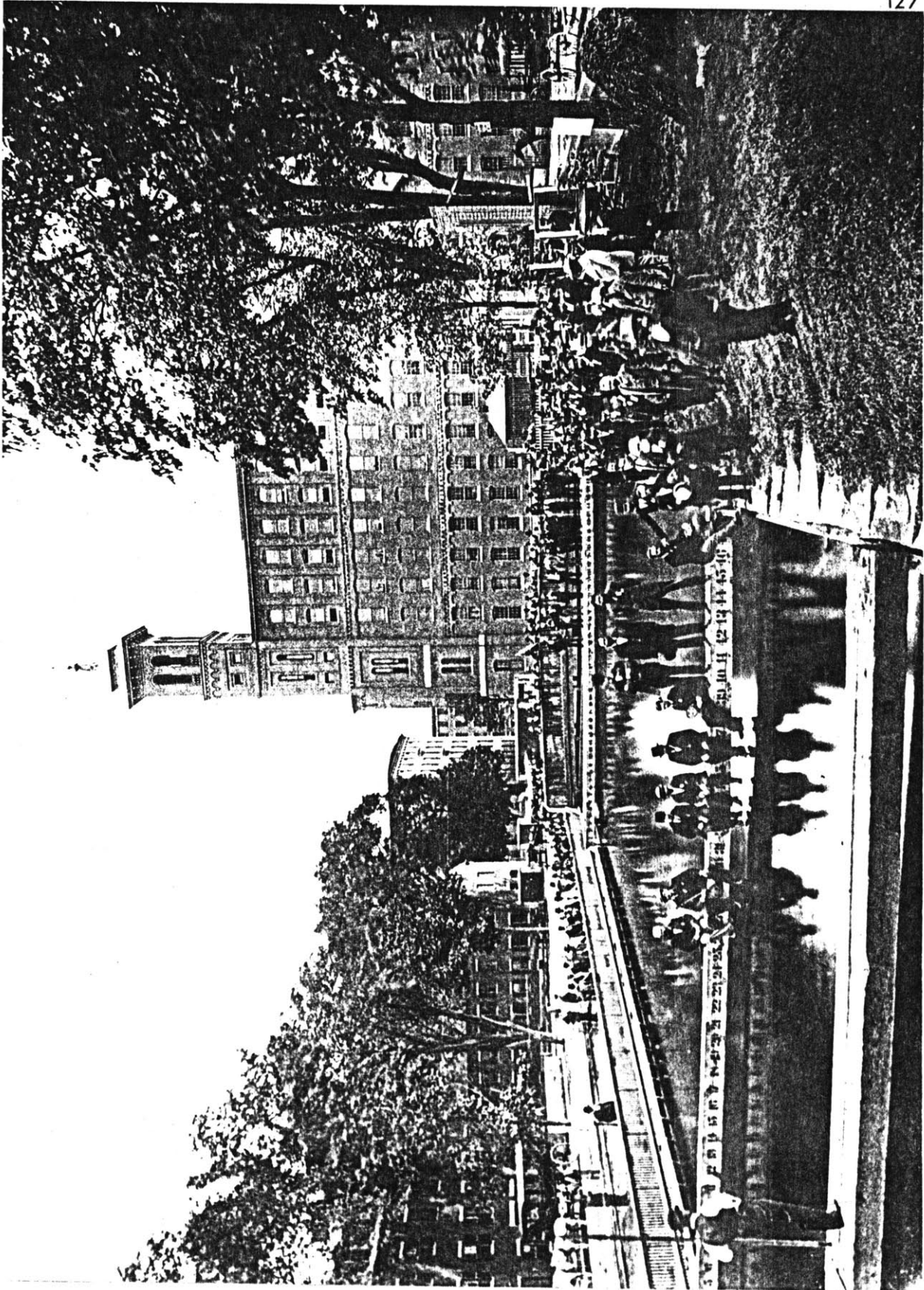


38
Merrimack
Manufacturing
Company
Site, 1975

- 1 POST OFFICE
- 2 MERRIMACK PLAZA APARTMENTS
- 3 BRANCH BANK
- 4 PARKING
- 5 MERRIMACK CANAL
- 6 BOOTT MILL



39 (next page)
Merrimack
Manufacturing
Company,
1890



40
Merrimack
Manufacturing
Company
Site, 1975

EAST SIDE OF
POST OFFICE

PARKING FOR
APARTMENT (NOT
VISIBLE)

MERRIMACK PLAZA
APARTMENT PROJECT

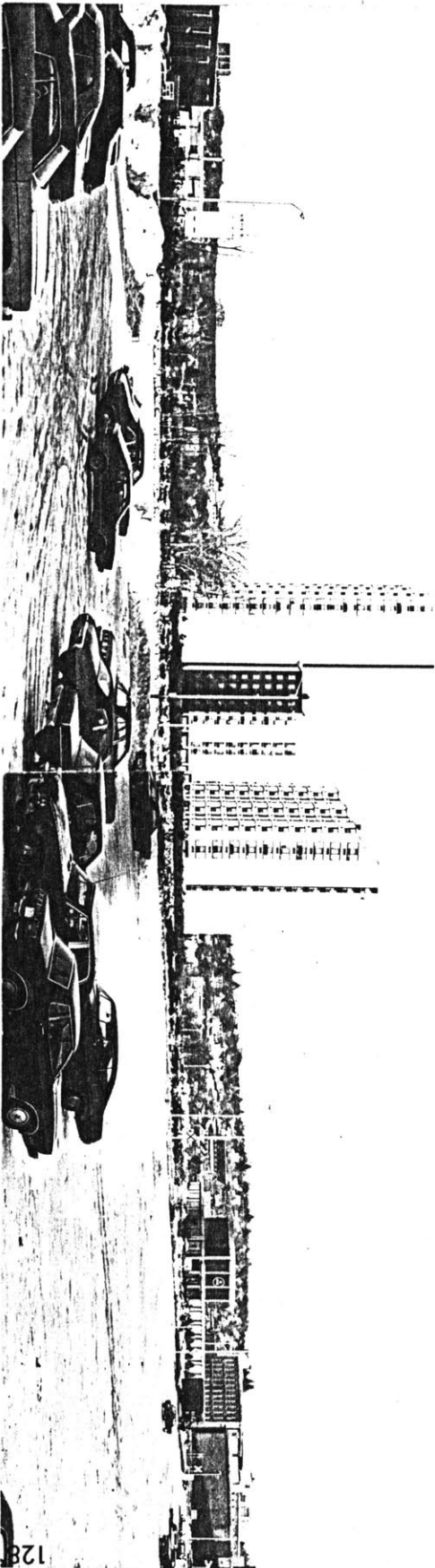
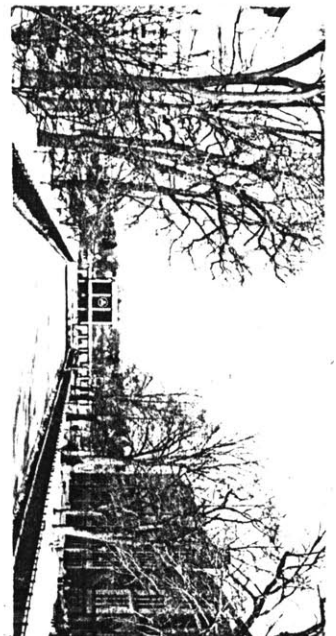
PARKING FOR
APARTMENTS (NOT
VISIBLE)

BRANCH BANK

WEST SIDE OF
BOOTT MILL

MERRIMACK CANAL
(NOT VISIBLE)

BRANCH BANK
VIEWED FROM
MERRIMACK CANAL



which are important to maintaining especially significant relationships among buildings and between buildings and waterways;

7. Activity settings were developed which celebrated, involved, and allowed people to use the rivers and canals. If this occurred, the former industrial spine would continue to indicate a relationship between Lowell and its waterways, but in a fashion that would be meaningful and useful to the modern city. Canals could be widened to create small ponds, wading pools, ice skating rinks, or a downtown marina; fountains, waterfalls, and paddle-boat rides are all possible. Every opportunity should be taken in this area to integrate buildings and people with the water.

5.3.3 Locating a focus for the park

Visitors to Lowell will need a base of operations, a focus, or "visitors' center", located in the center of activity. Those who are less adventuresome or who have little time might follow a prearranged path starting and ending from that location. Others could use it as a jumping-off point where they are first informed about the city, the park, special attractions, and activities. The park focus, itself, should be a center of life and activity for residents as well as visitors. It should house interpretive experiences having to do with the broad themes of the park.

Lastly, it should be a gateway to the city and to the region: buses could carry visitors to sites in the city that are not within walking distance, and boat rides might leave from the focus to other mill towns on the Merrimack.

If a park focus were established, its location would be as important to local people as it would be to visitors. Depending on its site, the large crowds attracted by this facility could boost sales in the central business district, encourage the development of nearby properties, or trample a residential neighborhood. The following are recommended as locational criteria:

Fig: 41
page 134

1. The center should be highly accessible from Boston. Lowell, itself, is already easily reached by train via the MBTA and by car via the Lowell Connector, which links the city to Interstate 495, a circumferential route around Boston. As a result of a major transportation study by Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill, a transportation terminal will soon be constructed at the head of the MBTA tracks and immediately adjacent to the connector. In addition to serving rail passengers, the terminal will provide major perimeter parking for cars entering the city. An inner-city shuttle bus loop will connect the terminal with the central business district and major road improvements are planned for that route. Clearly, it would be ideal if a

Ref: 56

park focus could be situated somewhere along this inner-city loop;

2. The park focus should be easily reached by users of the State Heritage Park. The state intends to restore the locks of the Pawtucket Canal and operate a barge ride along it for visitors. This should attract a large volume of recreational boaters, since the canal is the only route around the falls of the Merrimack. To allow national park visitors to take advantage of the barge ride and to allow state park users easy access to the visitors' center, it would make good sense to locate the center near the Pawtucket Canal in conjunction with a barge landing and marina;

Ref: 45

3. The center should be centrally located with respect to restored buildings and other fixed historic resources of the park;

4. The center should be situated in an existing 19th century industrial building to reinforce the value of older structures and to illustrate how they can be recycled for modern uses;

5. Sufficient land should be available to develop settings for outdoor activities. Plays written by mill girls might be presented at a small pavilion, for example;

6. Land should also be available so that new commercial development can be constructed to capture the tour-

ist market for goods and services. If adjacent mill buildings were available, these might be recycled as an alternative to new construction;

7. The center should be located near the central business district. If a facility of this type were located downtown, it would lend a positive image to the area, reinforce its identity, and encourage visitors to patronize local businesses.

Fig: 41
page 134

Fig: 42, 43
page 135

As indicated in Figure 41 , several locations in Lowell satisfy most of the above criteria. A building on the corner of Dutton and Market Streets is especially suitable and would make an excellent visitors' center should a park be established. This is a small mill, built in the 1880's and containing approximately 220,000 square feet of useable space on five floors. Although not as old as other mills in Lowell, this building has some important advantages. It is located within the central business district at one corner of the proposed inner-city transportation loop, and is centrally located with respect to the fixed resources of the park. The building is immediately adjacent to the city-owned Market Street Redevelopment Site, a vacant property considered to be "the key to revitalization of the central business district." The Market Street site is bordered on one side by the Pawtucket Canal, and ample space is available to construct a barge landing and docking

Ref: 57

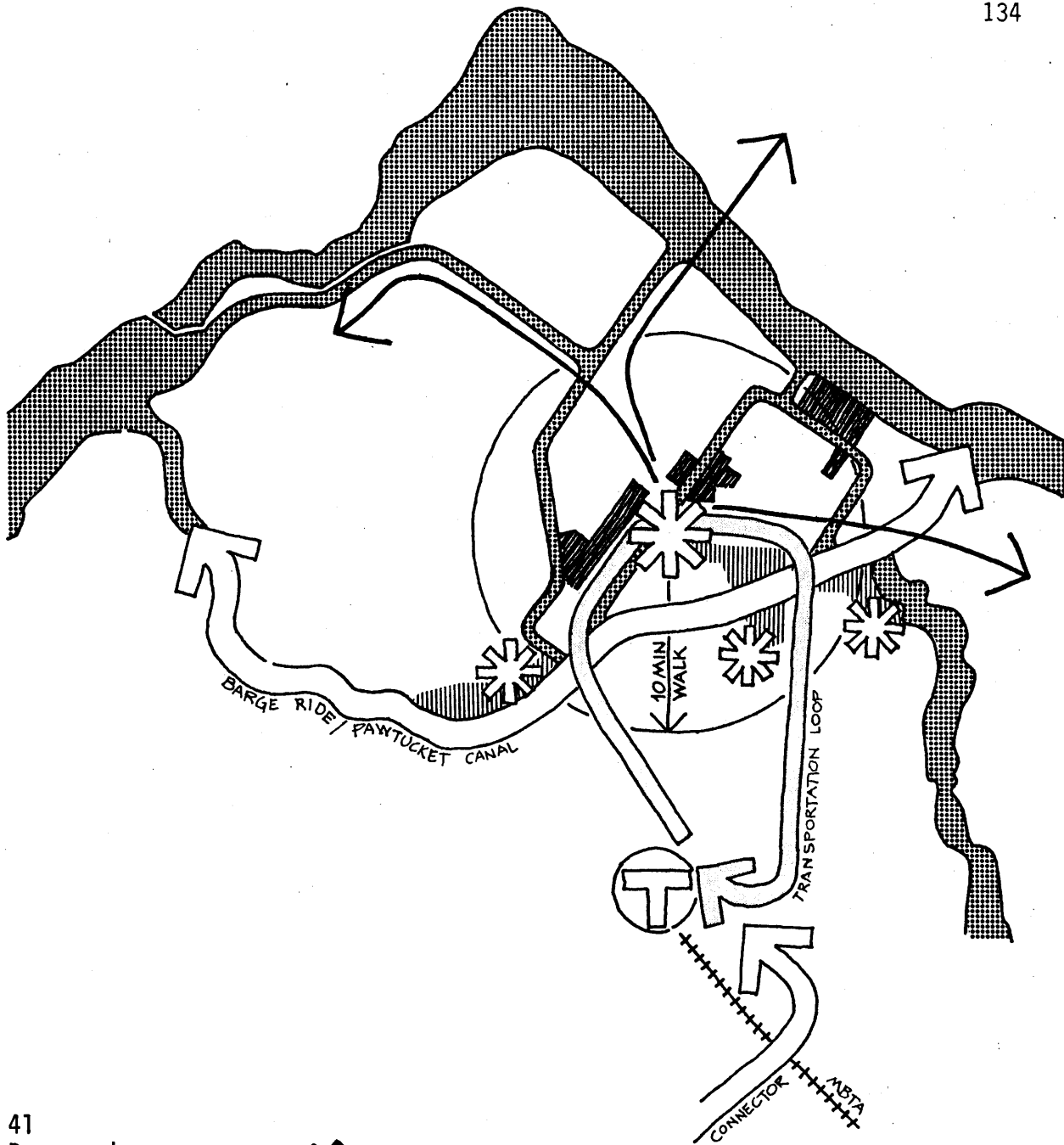
facilities for recreational boats. Parking could be provided on the adjacent site or at the transportation terminal.

In addition to these overriding advantages, there are several other reasons why this location would make a particularly good visitors' center. The building is within sight of city hall, for example, and is clearly visible along most of Dutton Street, the main vehicular route into downtown Lowell. The mill in question is also separated from the building next door by a beautifully scaled courtyard that might be developed as an outdoor component of the visitors' center. Also, the mill is mostly vacant and not so overwhelmingly large that a visitors' center developed there would be lost among other uses. That portion of the building not required for the visitors' center could be renovated to accommodate a modest hotel (approximately 150 rooms), restaurant, and other uses likely to be supported by park visitors.







Fig: 42
page 135

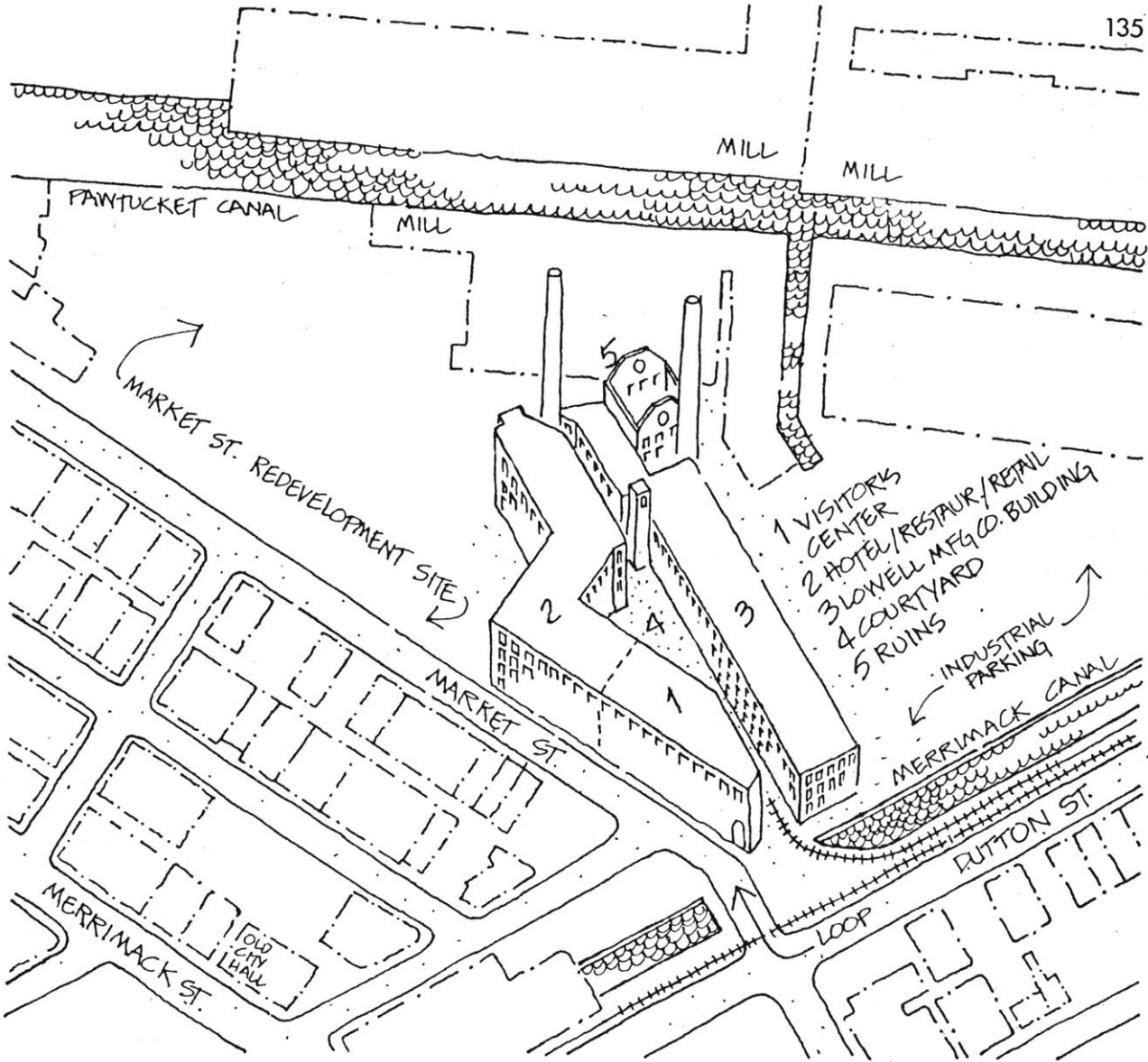
The Park Service could purchase the mill, renovate the exterior, then lease to a major hotel chain that portion not required for the visitors' center. The Lowell Manufacturing Company next door could continue to function as an active industry, and the old water turbines in its basement could be developed into an interpretive exhibit on hydro-

Fig: 43
page 135



41
Proposed
Location of
Park Focus

-  RESTORED RESOURCES
-  PROPOSED LOCATION OF PARK FOCUS (VISITOR'S CENTER)
-  ADJACENT SITES AVAILABLE FOR POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENT
-  ALTERNATIVE LOCATIONS SUITABLE FOR PARK FOCUS
-  BUS ROUTES TO OUTLYING PARK RELATED SITES
-  TRANSPORTATION TERMINAL



42
Proposed
Location of
Park Focus

43
Building Proposed
to House Park
Focus (left)

Lowell
Manufacturing
Company Building
(right)



power. Perhaps, the company that now occupies the building could be enticed to conduct tours of its modern thread spinning operations. Such a tour might complement exhibits housed in the visitors' center which could illustrate old spinning processes.

5.3.4
Encouraging
new
development

Tourist trap developers have known for a long time that profits can be made by offering goods, services, and manufactured experiences to people drawn by national parks. The recent changes in Boston's North Square, which were discussed in Chapter 2 (page 40) are only a small example of this. Larger developments of this type are often unplanned and can seriously detract from the quality of the resource, itself. Consider White's City, outside Carlesbad Caverns National Park. This development is a cluttered group of motels, a barren campground, grocery, restaurants, pinball machines, and one or two wild West museums. White's City straddles the only road to Carlesbad and cannot be avoided by the tourist, but does provide badly needed facilities not available in the park -- even if these facilities are of marginal quality, unregulated, and supported by a captive market assembled at public expense. Such development -- but in a controlled setting -- is also needed in Lowell to provide services and facilities that do not presently exist in sufficient quantities to handle the antici-

pated visitors. New development also would provide additional tax revenues, jobs, and an atmosphere of progress for the city's many residents who do not appreciate the progress implied in recycling older buildings. Lastly, although the proposed commission's own park-related projects could have some impact on the city's environment, the potential for really major change lies in the investment of private capital for new development. The challenge to the proposed commission, if it were established, would be to encourage private investment, but also to insure that the resulting development was of high quality and in a location that benefited the city.

Fig: 44, 47
pages 141, 143

The Market Street Redevelopment Site provides a good illustration of how these objectives could be achieved. This site lies immediately adjacent to the proposed location for a visitors' center. It has been referred to as the prime piece of redevelopable property in the central business district since 1973, when a market study by Ryan, Elliott determined that the site could support over 200,000 square feet of new retail space -- provided the city was willing to finance the construction of a 1,000 car parking structure on the site by issuing municipal bonds. Alternatively, the study suggested that the city might lease enough parking spaces to make construction of such a structure feasible for a commercial developer. Based on this optimistic picture,

Ref: 58

the City Planning Division has developed several illustrative schemes in the attempt to interest private developers in the project.

But the site remains vacant for two obvious reasons. First, in spite of some wishful thinking, the city is in no position to follow through on either option for the 1,000 car garage. Second, developers are unconvinced that the site can support 200,000 square feet of retail space when storefronts are vacant on Merrimack Street. Of importance to our considerations is the fact that most of the 200,000 square foot figure is based on demand supposedly generated by the need to replace "outmoded and obsolescent facilities" that "should normally be replaced within a 40-year time period." But Lowell is not a normal case. Many of its retail stores were constructed in the early and mid-19th century and a concerted effort is being made to preserve these buildings, not encourage their destruction by enticing their tenants to a more glamorous location. Therefore, the 200,000 square foot figure is largely invalid, and given the present circumstances, it would be undesirable to construct this extra space. However, if a national park were established, the Market Street site would probably be able to support a decently sized commercial development -- perhaps even 200,000 square feet -- without harming the existing downtown area, provided that: (1) the visitors'

Ref: 58

Note: 4

center were located on an adjacent piece of property, (2) the composition of the development were changed to include more restaurants, tourist services, entertainment facilities, and retail shops oriented to visitors, and (3) the new development were designed to work in concert with the visitors' center and other park facilities to create a value-capturing system.

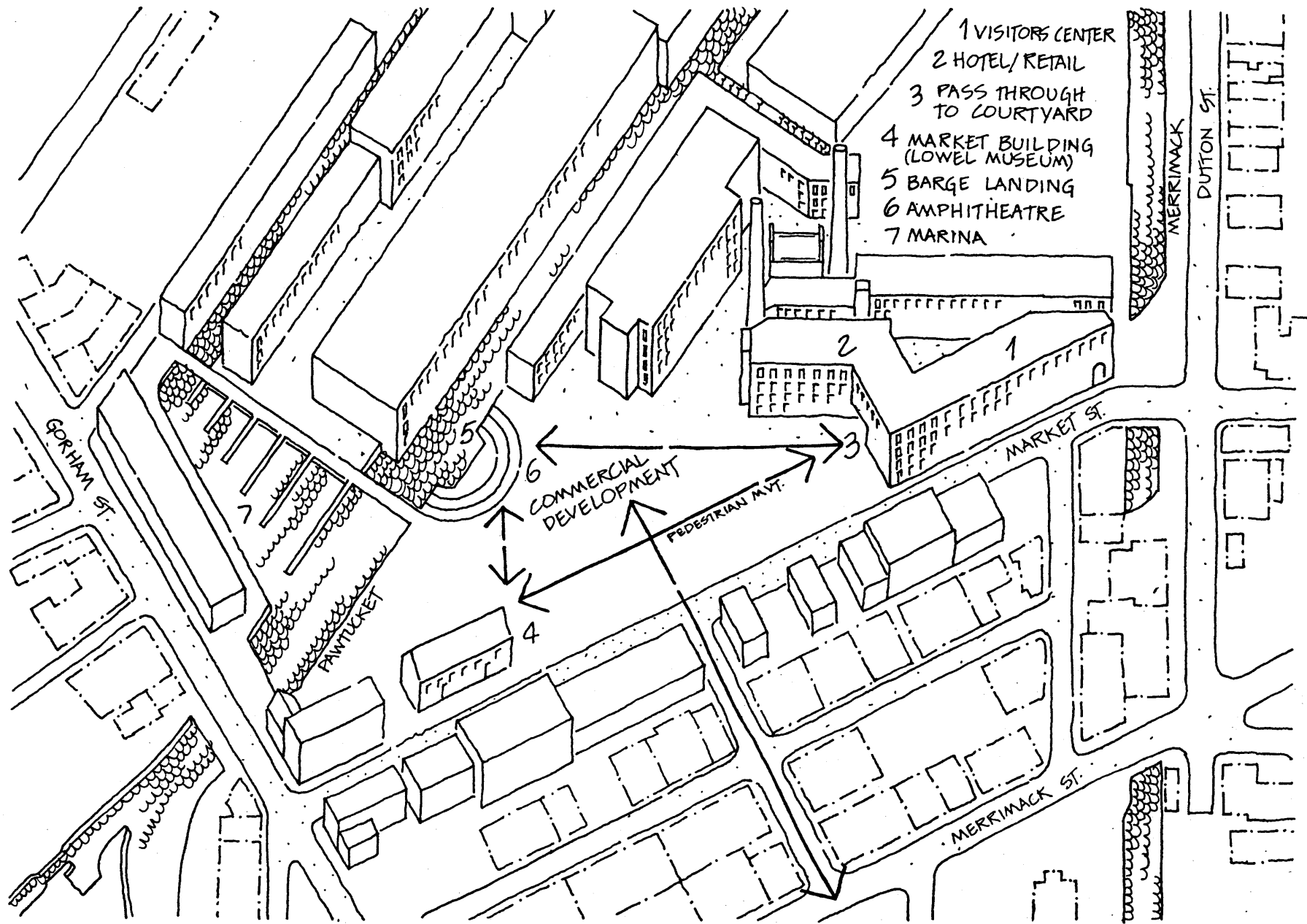
What is a "value-capturing system" and how does it work? A frequently used example is the suburban shopping center which captures values by bringing together within a market the following elements: (1) accessibility, (2) ample free parking, (3) regionally recognized magnets, (4) specialty shops for variety, (5) a captive pedestrian route, (6) an image. The center's image plus its magnet stores determines the type and volume of patrons. The assurance of accessibility and parking encourages customers by eliminating the friction of not having these facilities. Once in the center, specialty stores and services are arranged along a captive pedestrian route between the magnets. Experience shows that this system will boost sales for all stores to a level greater than if any of them had been built independently, or if any piece of the equation were missing. Many permutations of this simple system will work if the basic logic is not broken.

Fig: 44, 45,
46
pages 141, 142

Elements comparable to all of those in the above system could potentially be brought together at the Market Street site. As shown in Figure 44, the visitors' center/hotel and the barge landing/marina constitute two magnets. A third would be provided if the Lowell Museum follows through with its plans to locate in the Old Market Building. A commercial development could be designed to take advantage of the substantial market that should be generated by pedestrian traffic to and between these magnets. The system also works at a larger scale: the entire Market Street development should, itself, become a magnet working to generate traffic to and from Merrimack Street, the existing retail center.

The Market Street project could be executed by either a private developer or a non-profit community development corporation sponsored by the proposed commission to act in support of its own objectives. If the former approach were taken, the city could lease its property at a hefty annual rent and, of course, would collect taxes. Financing the garage could be made more feasible by arranging a long-term lease with the hotel, which if built, would need 150 - 200 parking spaces. Additional spaces might be leased to the Park Service. If a non-profit corporation were to develop the property, its return on the project could be used in

44 (next page)
Market
Street
Redevelopment
Site



45
View Across
Market Street
Site Towards
Proposed
Hotel Location

142

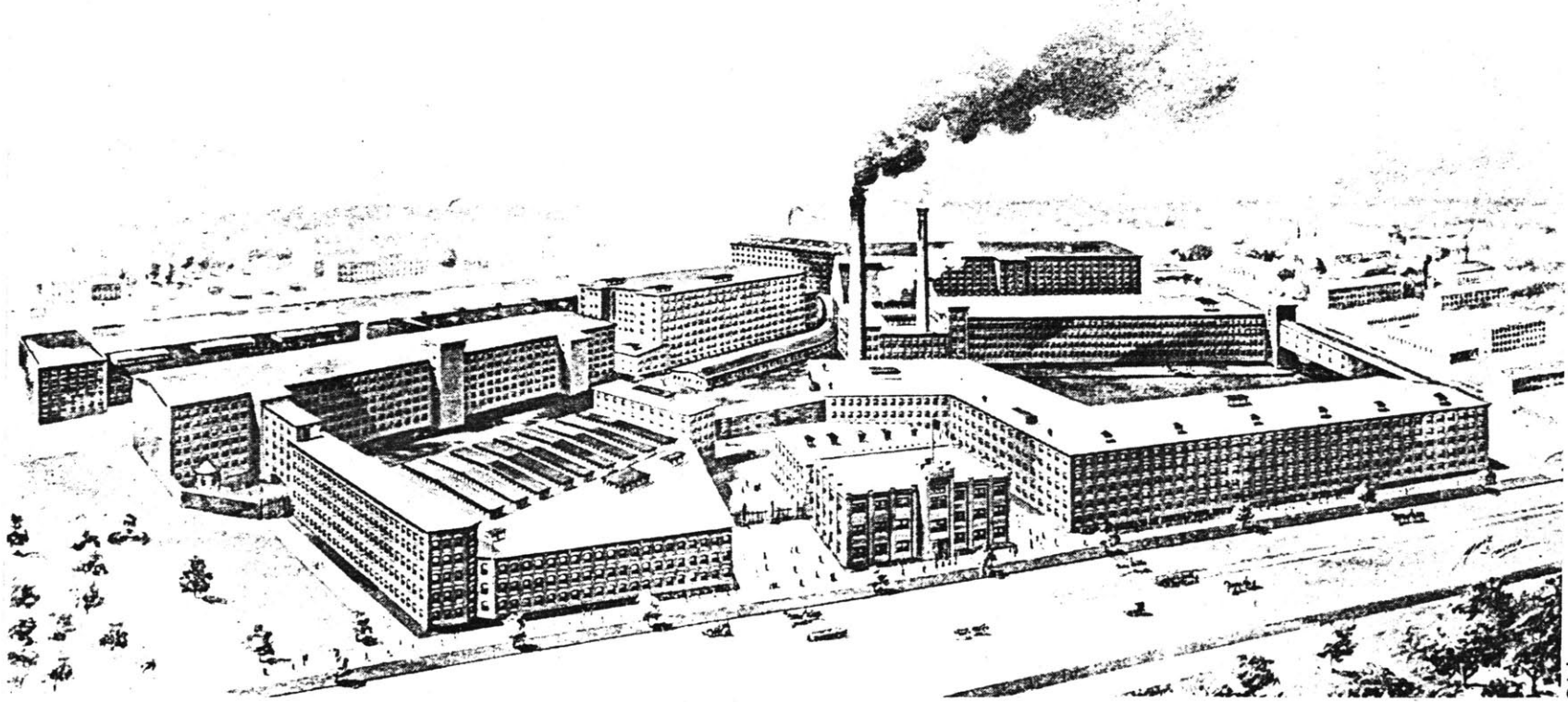


46
Old Market
Building



47

Market Street Site as It Appeared in 1912,
Home of the Bigelow Carpet Company (building
proposed to house visitor's center: lower right)



support of the garage, or to develop the downtown marina, or to implement other park-related schemes. In either case, if a permit procedure were established, as proposed earlier in this chapter, the development would have to conform to environmental criteria set up by the commission for new development in the industrial spine area.

5.3.5 Interpreting the city

If Lowell is truly of national significance, the visitor should be able to feel some personal identity with the city's past and its present problems. To encourage this identification, visitors who come to Lowell should be invited to experience the city and become involved with its people, not just gawk at restored buildings. For these reasons, interpretation should not be conceived in terms of presentations in which the visitor becomes a passive recipient of historical data, but rather, as a series of interactions between the visitor, the city, and its people.

There are many implications to this approach. For one thing, it means that the visitor's experience should not be overly structured. For example, the first tendency when dealing with pedestrian movement in urban historical parks is to design a fixed interpretive trail which will guide the visitor effortlessly past the city's most famous landmarks. But these trails inherently limit involvement by

determining sequence, framing views, and segregating the tourist from the resident: there is no need to ask directions, for instance. Trails minimize the confusion and discovery that are part of the excitement of visiting a city for the first time and that are crucial to becoming personally involved with its ecology. Even though tourists would probably demand and get a preset route to see Lowell if a park were established, this route should at least not be marked on the ground like Boston's Freedom Trail. To follow a map which guides by landmarks and historical data is, in itself, a great involvement device. Perhaps, like a treasure hunt, only clues should be given as to where a place is located, in that way challenging people to look at the urban landscape and ask questions to find their way.

Instead of creating artificial trails for tourists only, efforts could be spent in making Lowell, itself, more legible. Historic paths whose continuing significance to the city is no longer visually apparent could be reinforced, enhanced, and restored to the public consciousness. The need for such action can be illustrated by studying Dutton Street. This broad road forms one leg of the proposed inner-city loop and passes by the location proposed for a visitors' center. Presently, the street is in poor repair but heavily trafficked. On one side, it is bordered by a parking lot and a used car lot, and there is no place to

Fig: 48, 49
pages 152, 153

walk. On the other side, a dilapidated sidewalk passes by some old gas stations, a number of empty storefronts, and other sagging activities.

In spite of its appearance, Dutton has always been the major entranceway into the city for regional traffic from the Boston area. The street was laid out in the 1820's to parallel the Merrimack Canal, which was built by the Proprietors of Locks and Canals to supply power to their own enterprises. Consequently, the Merrimack Manufacturing Company stood at the river end of Dutton Street and the Proprietors' machine shops lay at the other end, making this road one of the most prominent in the city. In the 1830's, the main tracks of the Boston and Lowell Railroad were routed between Dutton Street and the Merrimack Canal to carry passengers and freight to the heart of Lowell. The main station, a marble Greek revival building, stood at the corner of Dutton and Merrimack Street, another important pathway in the city. In fact, many of Lowell's prominent institutions were grouped around this intersection and today, these buildings form the institutional ensemble proposed for restoration by the Park Service earlier in this chapter (section 5.3.1, page 105).

Fig: 49
page 153

Fig: 50
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Should a national park be established in Lowell, the commission could take steps to re-establish this axis as an impor-

tant piece of Lowell's visual form. In support of this objective, the Lucy Larcom Park, which parallels one end of the Merrimack Canal, could be extended for its entire length. The deteriorating tracks of the old Boston and Lowell Railroad could be refurbished and a steam-powered train typical of the mid-19th century could shuttle passengers between the transportation terminal and the visitors' center. Informational devices along the route could take advantage of its role as an entrance into the city to orient travelers, tell them about Lowell, and communicate the day's events, the time, the weather. The former sites of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company and the machine shops could be indicated. An interpretive site could be developed at the Swamp Locks where the Merrimack Canal joins the Pawtucket Canal, a central control point for Lowell's entire hydraulic system. Lastly, the visitors' center could be designed to stand out as a prominent landmark along the route. All of these devices would tend to reinforce the importance of Dutton Street, helping to orient people by providing a reference, and enabling them to become involved with the city by making more clear the historical logic behind its form.

Although some aspects of the visitors' experience should remain as unstructured as possible -- like walking through the city -- other aspects should be specifically programmed

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for interaction to take place. The visitors' center could be one setting for such an experience. Evening plays and concerts might be presented there to attract both local residents and overnight visitors. An area in the center could be made available to each group participating in the management program to use in whatever way the group in question judges to be appropriate: local businessmen might advertise for people to shop on Merrimack Street; an ethnic neighborhood could mount an exhibit explaining the contribution of that group to Lowell's history; a group that was unhappy with the commission might even use its space to campaign for changes in the commission's membership or activities. A second setting ideal for an interpretive experience would be the city stables, which was proposed as the site for an ethnic marketplace earlier in this chapter (section 5.3.2, page 119). Small businessmen from various ethnic groups in the city could be encouraged to set up shops, restaurants, and groceries offering items indigenous to their culture. To be successful, this should be a place where both tourists and local residents would enjoy shopping. Special ethnic activities, festivals, and events could be accommodated. Foreign films might be shown in a small theatre. The Park Service could mount an interpretive exhibit explaining where the various ethnic groups came from, what brought them to Lowell, and their respective

Fig: 48
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roles in developing the city. In fact, ethnic groups, themselves, might present their views of the significance of the Industrial Revolution. For those who desire it, a walking tour of the neighborhood could be designed which would include visits to St. Patrick's and Holy Trinity Church. The Boott Mill could provide a third setting for an interactive experience where the emphasis would be on industry. As a nucleus, the Park Service could mount an exhibit on the development of the factory as a building type and the growth and operation of the Boott Mill complex in particular. To complement this, various companies having their roots in Lowell or operating in Lowell today might be enticed to rent space to explain their operations, advertise their products, or present their perspective on the Industrial Revolution and the significance of the free enterprise system. Unions could be invited to present a different viewpoint on these topics and an exhibit might be mounted to explain the history of the labor movement. Lastly, a tour of the Boott Mill, Massachusetts Mill, and the Boott Mill Boarding House could be available. Although other places in Lowell might also be programmed as major interactive experiences, the Boott Mill and the City Stables are especially well located at opposite ends of a ten-minute walk from the visitors' center. If this configuration were established, it would encourage visitors to walk through the city and to visit the many historical resources and in-

dividual interpretive sites that would be scattered throughout the intervening area.

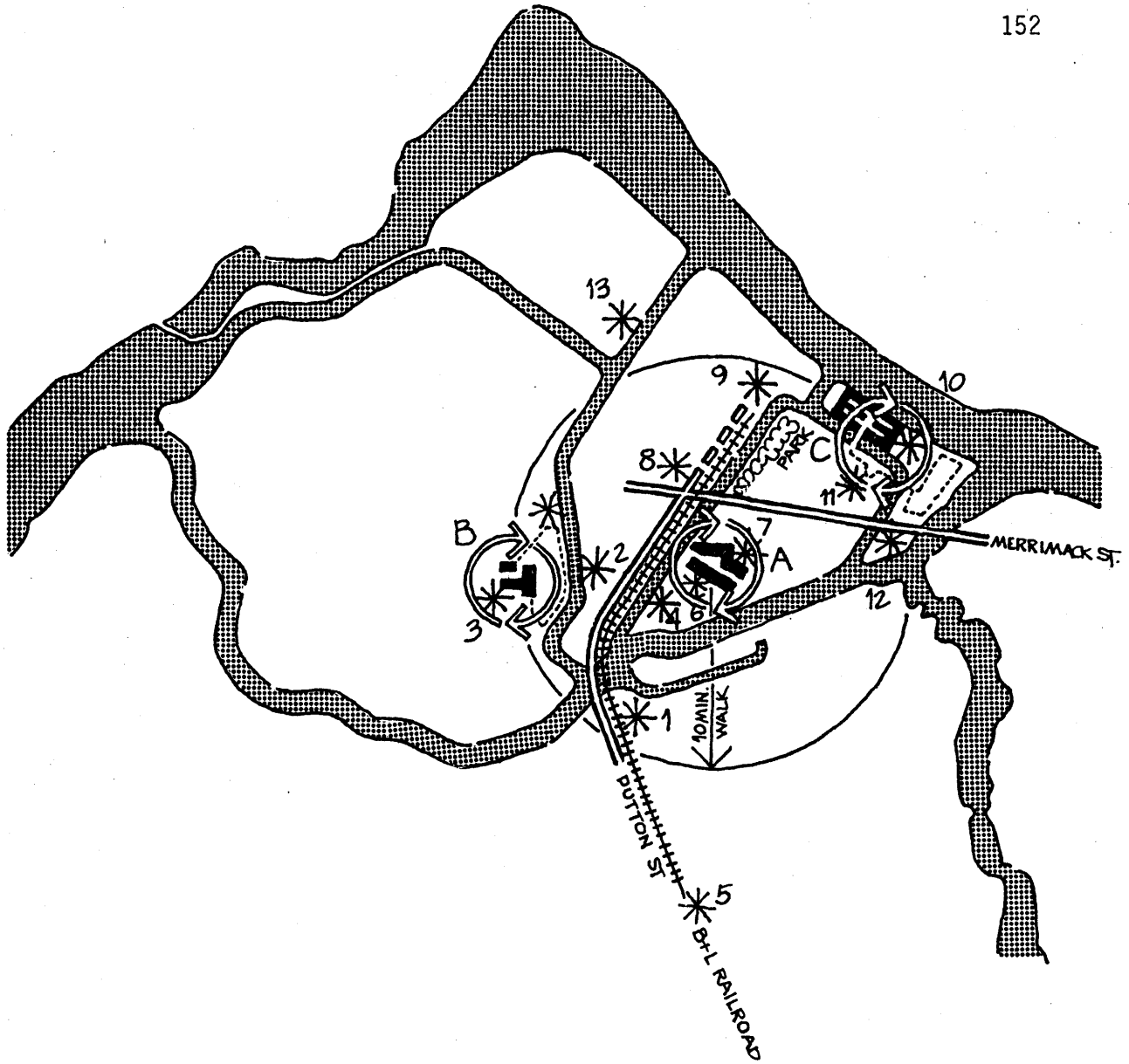
Individual interpretive sites make up another category of places where visitor involvement with the city should be specifically programmed. Many possible interpretive sites that might be established by the commission have already been mentioned in this chapter. Their locations are indicated in Figure 48 , and a short description of each follows thereafter. But the list is not complete because additional interpretive sites would probably be developed by the private sector in the hope of making a profit by charging admission. In Boston, for example, the Raytheon Corporation has constructed a \$1,000,000 interpretive facility which illustrates the Battle of Bunker Hill, using sophisticated electronic techniques. Traditionally, the Park Service has ignored these developments. In Lowell, the proposed commission could make efforts to incorporate them within the framework of the park. An entrepreneur could be offered the opportunity to have his venture designated as an official interpretive site to appear as such in all park literature and to be identified at the visitors' center. This would certainly increase the attendance at any facility. In return, the facility would be subject to the deliberations of the commission, which could then play an active role in siting it within the context of the park,

Fig: 48
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insuring that its architectural design was appropriate, and planning for a quality interpretive experience.

The commission's efforts to involve people with Lowell's historic resources should not be limited to visitors.

The proposed park could also help many residents to understand the workings of their environment and its historical significance. If the park is established, local residents should be encouraged to take advantage of its recreational, cultural, and educational facilities. For example, special tours, events, and experiences, could be offered to students in the Lowell school system. Spaces in the visitors' center, at the ethnic market, and in the Boott Mill could be programmed and operated by school classes on a revolving basis. Thus, students would be given the opportunity to learn about their city and then to communicate their thoughts on its significance. Finally, local residents should be employed to work as guides and as historical interpreters as well as in every phase of park operations. These efforts would be not only to provide recreation, education, and employment opportunities for local people, but also to increase their identification with the park and its management program. This relationship is important because the commission would lose much of its effectiveness if it were perceived by local residents as



48
Interpreting
the City



PROGRAMMED INTERACTION

A VISITOR'S CENTER

B CITY STABLES

C BOOTT MILL



LUCY LARCOM PARK



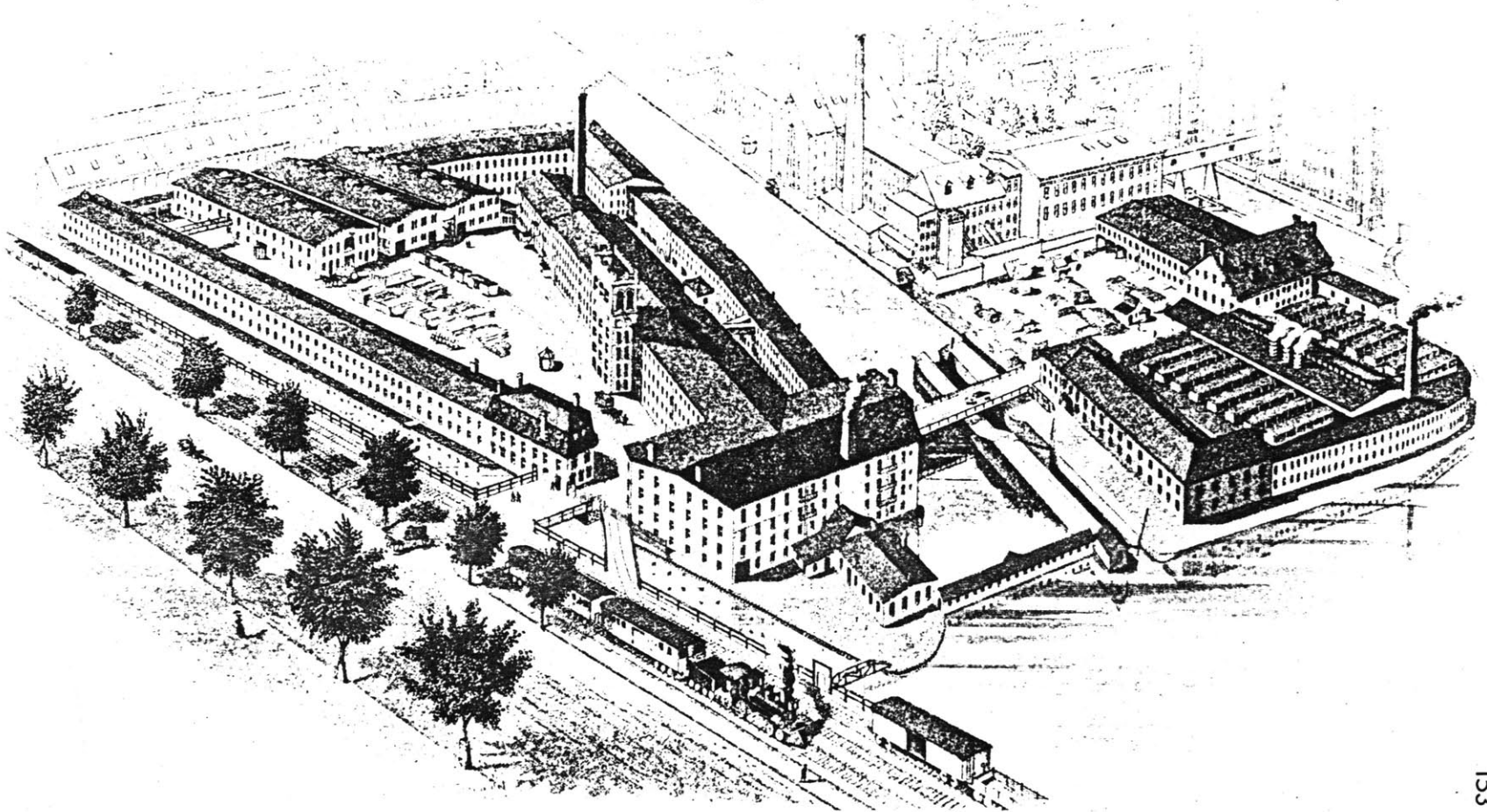
TOURS



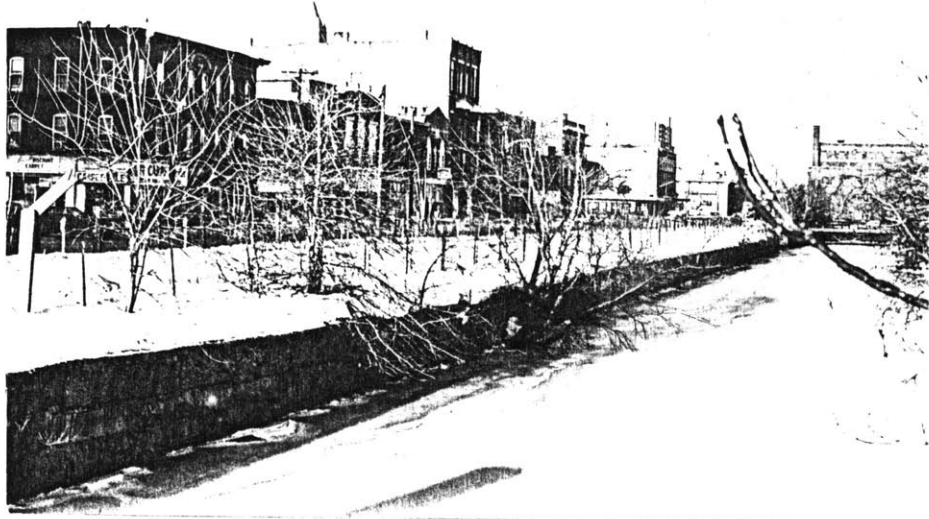
INTERPRETIVE SITES (SEE NOTES NEXT PAGE)

49

Lowell Machine Shops as they appeared in 1912;
Dutton Street, Boston and Lowell Railroad,
Merrimack Canal: lower left; Swamp Locks: center right)



50
Merrimack Canal
Dutton Street



51
Merrimack Street,
1890



Notes to Figure 48

Possible commission sponsored interpretive sites:

1. Swamplocks. Central control point on the entire canal system. Visitors could operate locks and hydraulic devices.
2. Proprietors of Locks and Canals Headquarters. An exhibit concerning the nation's oldest surviving corporation and the history of corporations in general.
3. City Stables. Ethnic heritage.
4. Site of Proprietors of Locks and Canals Machine Shop. Displays to indicate the size and configuration of the buildings. The role of these shops and the importance of technology to the Industrial Revolution should be explained in the visitors' center.
5. Boston and Lowell Railroad. Ride on a 19th century train between the visitors' center and the transportation terminal.
6. Lowell Manufacturing Company. Exhibit on hydraulic power production showing the operation of water turbines.
7. Visitors' Center. Exhibits concerning the broad themes of the park.
8. Institutional Ensemble. Merrimack gatehouse: information booth; old Lowell High School: lectures on the role of public education in industrial society given in the same manner that classes were once taught; Welles Block: sales of 19th century replica goods and souvenirs; Old City Hall: commission hearings open to all; Lowell Institution for Savings: visitors could deposit \$1 in support of the park and receive a replica of a 19th century mill girl's bank book.
9. Site of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company. Displays to indicate the size and appearance of the mills which used to occupy this site. Exhibit on how urban environments change and the role of the urban renewal program in clearing this site and other areas of the city.

10. Boott Mill. Factories and industry.
 11. Boott Mill Boarding House. Life of mill girls; lending library of literary works; women's counseling and referral center.
 12. Rex Lot. Hydraulic control point. Visitors could operate controls and locks.
 13. Wanalancit Mills. Tours of a modern textile manufacturing operation.
-

a primarily federal enterprise. Ideally, the proposed park would be as important to residents as other aspects of their community, and they would work to make it a positive contribution to their way of life.

5.4 Summary

Developing a national park in Lowell represents an opportunity to fill many crucial gaps in the National Park System while at the same time meeting some of the city's more fundamental needs. To balance local needs with federal interest in planning for the park, it is proposed that the Park Service retain control over planning for historic resources, but that a state commission be established to plan for all of the related development required to make those resources accessible to and understandable by the public. If created as proposed in this thesis, this commission would also have the power to institute and enforce environmental controls over certain areas of the city through a permitting process. The commission would consist of representatives of local neighborhoods likely to be impacted by the park, the city government, the state government, and the National Park Service. In carrying out its planning functions, the commission would make use of an incremental process in which related issues would be grouped into discreet elements to be handled as independently as possible.

The planning with respect to some elements would result in regulatory policies that call for the implementation of specific projects by either the staff (National Park Service), a nonprofit development corporation, or private enterprise. The commission would be guided in its planning activities by two sets of working goals which embody community needs and federal interests in the city. To illustrate some of the ways the commission and the Park Service might interact in their combined efforts to reach these goals, five projects that might be undertaken were explored in this section.

NOTES

1. The job of an "interpretive planner" is to determine what facts and ideas relating to an historical resource should be presented to the public, the way in which those facts and ideas should be presented, and how the resource, itself, should be experienced.

2. In Japan, exceptional individuals who carry on ancient crafts are designated "national treasures" and are supported by the government.

3. The Camden Housing Improvement Program (C.H.I.P.) has rehabilitated over 400 dwellings in Camden, N.J. Revolving loan funds totalling approximately \$400,000 were provided by the Campbell Soup Company and administrative costs were covered in part by grants from the State of New Jersey Department of Community Affairs.

4. Of the 200,000 square feet that Ryan, Elliot determined could be supported at the Market Street site, 137,000 square feet reflected demand supposedly generated by the need to replace "outmoded and obsolescent facilities." This figure is invalid for reasons presented in the text. Of the remaining 63,000 square feet, 50,600 square feet was based on estimates of induced demand -- new sales generated by the project, itself. Since a large part of this figure was based on a project sized to include 137,000 square feet of replacement space, the induced demand figure is also largely invalid. In other words, the actual present demand for new retail space in downtown Lowell -- based mainly on population growth -- ranges from 12,000 to, perhaps, 15,000 square feet.

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Edward Peetz, Deputy Director, National Capital Parks

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