

THE 1970s: A DECADE OF PIVOTAL CHANGE IN PRESERVATION. EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE YEAR AND HERITAGE POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES

Michael A. Tomlan

ABSTRACT Although the counterculture of the 1960s gave birth to several important ideas in historic preservation, the 1970s was the decade of pivotal change that has had more influence on our current thinking and the present administrative structure of the movement than most people realize. This essay demonstrates that some members of the growing preservation movement in the United States did recognize the changes taking place in Europe. A cluster of U.S. preservationists visited several countries during the *European Architectural Heritage Year 1975* (EAHY 1975) with the intention of learning what might be helpful in preparation for their Bicentennial celebrations in 1976. Because the preservation community recognized the need to gain both political and financial support, a shift occurred. An American ‘mosaic’ replaced the American ‘melting pot’ paradigm. Neighborhood conservation efforts emphasized the importance of local people working together, recognizing the social and economic differences in the city. The re-evaluation and re-contextualization increased as another piece of the preservation puzzle fell into place in the wake of the *Tax Reform Act* of 1976, that is, indirect financing for commercial rehabilitation. This allowed the private sector to play a role that was more important than all government funding put together, and further emphasized local differences in interpretation. All this meant, and continued to mean that historic preservation ideas and practices were carried out in ways that those who conceived of the national preservation program in the 1960s never could have anticipated.

INTRODUCTION

In the United States the 1966 *National Historic Preservation Act* is understood to be the landmark legislation in what is known in Europe as heritage conservation. It was a reaction to publicly funded super-highway development and urban renewal (Fig. 1). Discussed less, but contributing a considerable amount to the social ethics of the period, are the pieces of legislation, Presidential executive orders, and judicial decisions that were turning points for the Environmental Movement, the Civil Rights

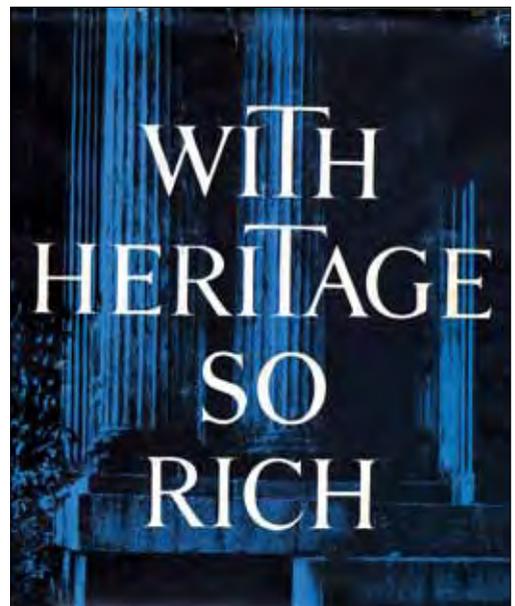


Fig. 1: The 1966 publication *With Heritage So Rich*, edited by Albert Rains and Laurance G. Henderson, was published in the same year of the *National Historic Preservation Act*.



Fig. 2: *Move on to Save Sites in Europe. Architectural Heritage is the Concern of Zurich Parley.* Headlines about the 1973 Zurich Conference in *The New York Times*, July 15, 1973 (Robertson 1973)

Movement and the Women's Rights Movement. This essay demonstrates how these broader initiatives had a lasting impact on the historic preservation movement in the 1970s. Just as cities in Europe faced a number of problems, those in the United States encountered the threats of municipal bankruptcy, rising crime, building abandonment and neighborhood decline. With this background in mind it is possible to see that the struggles in that decade have had more influence on our current thinking and the administrative structure of the preservation movement than many people realize (Tomlan 2014, 70–85).

The news of a four day meeting in Zurich in mid 1973, where 300 delegates listened to speakers of *Europa Nostra*, the federation of conservation societies, discussed the decay and demolition of European cities, was relayed almost immediately in the United States. The words of the prominent British politician and minister Duncan Sandys to the delegations from Western, Central and Eastern Europe, and observers from the United States, Libya and Israel, were eloquent and urgent. For Americans the need to mount 'rescue operations' to save the face of Europe distantly echoed the post World War II Marshall Plan. The 40 pilot projects already underway, Sandys declared, were necessary if the cities of Europe should continue to be centers of life, and not be seen as museum exhibits. The principal recommendation of the group was to form national committees to celebrate the EAHY 1975 (Robertson 1973) (Fig. 2). Sandys continued, "The past can be married to the present," he said, "If enough people show that they really care, the battle is won, ... and we can assure, in the words of our campaign slogan, 'A Future for Our Past'" (Dunphy 1975).

1. GETTING OUT THE WORD: THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL TRUST FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION

The contribution of the EAHY 1975 to preservation thinking in the United States was brief, but it was significant, linked to a few high profile leaders (Tower 1975; Kemezis 1975) (Fig. 3). On Saturday evening, October 13, 1973, Michael H. Middleton, Director of the Civic Trust in London and the Secretary-general of the United Kingdom's Secretariat of the EAHY 1975, was the featured speaker at the annual dinner meeting of the *National Trust for Historic Preservation* (NTHP) at the Old Arcade in Cleveland, Ohio (*Preservation News* XIII, 8, August 1, 1973, 3). Middleton showcased how the Civic Trust worked with local organizations, but it had no individual members. In speaking about the EAHY 1975, its purpose was "to reorder priorities to ensure preservation of all of Europe's architectural heritage" (*Preservation News* XII, 12, December 1973, 3).¹ Perhaps just as important as the message of the featured guest was the film that he wrote and directed for the Civic Trust, *A Future for the Past*. This was shown several times during the four-day meeting. Middleton's work made an impression on the leadership of the National Trust, especially on its President, James Biddle, who was expanding the range of preservation programs in his organization. A descendent of prominent Pennsylvania Quakers, Biddle was born on a 100 acre Greek Revival style estate along the Delaware River, and brought his personal wealth, connections and Princeton education in art history and archaeology to the National Trust.² Working among the gentry and travelling to historic sites was natural to James Biddle. Hence, it was also natural for him to serve as

STAMPS
SAMUEL A. TOWER

Europe's Architecture Year

There has rarely if ever been such a display of castles and churches, stately edifices, ancient untouched villages and other architectural masterpieces on stamps as this year, when the nations of Europe observe European Architectural Heritage Year.

The year is the culmination of a three-year campaign initiated by the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, keyed to the motto "A Future for Our Past," to awaken the interest and pride of Europeans in their common architectural heritage, to draw attention to the dangers that threaten it and to spur action to preserve this heritage.

Many European countries



in Gotland, is on another stamp. The Falun mine, which is the oldest Swedish place of work still in use from which ore has been mined since the 11th century is depicted on another stamp. Rommehed in the province of Dalecarlia, an old military camp and the only one of its kind in Europe still in its original form, is on the fifth stamp.

From Denmark come three stamps. A 70-ore shows the 18th century Church of the Moravian Brethren at Christiansfeld, one of the comparatively younger Danish towns. A 120-ore shows "Gl. Kongsgaard," a 300-year-old farmhouse preserved as a

Stamps depict noteworthy architecture of Britain and Vatican, above, Luxembourg and West Germany, below.

Fig. 3: *Europe's Architecture Year*, News in *The New York Times* on 10 August 1975 about the stamp collections during the EAHY 1975 (Tower 1975)

a "liaison" between historic preservation organizations in the United States and over three dozen foreign and international organizations.³

The immediate result of this activity was that more wealthy National Trust members began to travel to Europe.⁴ They became some of the first modern-day American 'heritage tourists,' paying for comfortable accommodations at historic inns and lodges, in most cases flying to some of Europe's recently restored historic areas. In October, 1974, for example, the Baroque architecture of Czechoslovakia and Austria was featured. A seven-day stay at the former palace-turned-Hotel Imperial in Vienna, marked by an evening at the State Opera, was among the featured stops.⁵ A small group of U.S. preservationists visited Amsterdam during the EAHY 1975. In October 1975, the NTHP and United States chapter of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (US/ICOMOS) sponsored a European tour attended by thirteen professionals. They were led by Mary Means, then director of the Midwest office at the National Trust. The group spent ten days visiting revitalized towns and conservation districts in Great Britain before visiting Amsterdam for the European Heritage Year discussions. In 1975, Biddle announced that Donna Williams, a new addition to the Trust's Education Office, was assembling a "directory of foreign and international organizations through which the Trust can establish closer ties with preservationists worldwide."⁶ The National Trust continued to offer tours to Europe, providing an "in depth look" at preservation activities with museum directors, curators, architects, and planners who were involved in relevant projects. The Trust's newspaper *Preservation News* inserted a travel supplement to stimulate interest in the English sites associated with the American Revolution, which were visited from April 11th to May 3rd, 1976. Another tour of Dutch sites took place in June.⁷ Although interest in what Europeans were doing to celebrate their architectural heritage was high, the American visitors were increasingly interested in learning what they could that might be helpful back home, in their preparations for the Bicentennial celebrations.

2. THE BICENTENNIAL AND NEIGHBORHOOD CONSERVATION

The most memorable and widely televised event of the Bicentennial was the flotilla of “tall ships” that sailed into New York harbor on July 4th, 1976. Boats from several European nations participated, making the romantic vision an immediate historic occasion. The burst of American patriotism was seen in fireworks throughout the nation, while in Washington, D. C. a National Visitor’s Center was opened and 34 foreign countries participated in the three-month-long Festival of Folklife.⁸ People everywhere were mounting exhibits, restoring houses and museums, re-enacting battles, organizing conferences, planting trees, and planning festivals. In addition to government funds, the sponsors included corporations, unions, foundations, educational institutions, religious groups, and ethnic societies. The chance to feature historic districts, build parks and erect memorial, particularly bandstands, was too good to pass up (Figs. 4a, b). In many parts of the country, the celebration is best remembered by the red, white and blue mailboxes, garage doors, and thousands of fire plugs across the country painted as little “Uncle Sams.”⁹

The growing inclusiveness of the Bicentennial celebrations was also bound up in the thriving neighborhood conservation movement. There are two principal reasons for this connection. First, the increasing skepticism that the federal government could successfully address the needs of inner city decay led an increasing number of advocates to look to local initiatives and actions. Second, as federal money dried up, more private sector investments began to shape the revitalization of urban areas.

In 1974, while members of the National Trust were visiting the European Architectural Heritage sites, the United States Congress passed and President Gerald Ford signed the *Housing and Community Development Act*.¹⁰ This replaced the old system of specific project categories controlled by the federal government with a single “block” grant, so that cities with populations of 50,000 or more could determine for themselves whether to spend their entitlement money for land acquisition, or to improve existing water and sewer systems, neighborhood facilities, code enforcement, and housing rehabilitation. Correctly identifying this as a shift in policy, “grass roots” neighborhood conservation and community de-

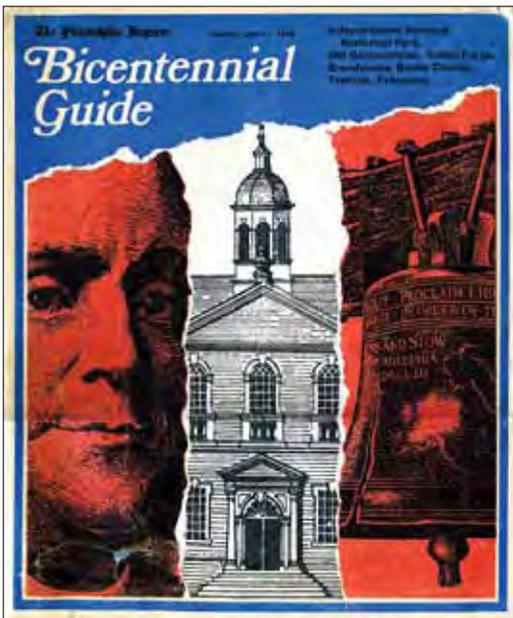


Fig. 4a, b: The *Bicentennial Guide*, published by *Philadelphia Inquirer* on Sunday, April 11, 1976; left: cover; right: page 59 about *Old Germantown*, Philadelphia

velopment groups took efforts to increase their capacity and tackling projects and programs using small investments that the municipalities were unwilling or unable to undertake. Advocating on behalf of low and moderate income residents increased substantially at this time when, as local governments were influenced by those who testified publicly in favor of beneficial projects with the greatest impact on neighborhoods.

In Brooklyn, New York, one of the worst centers of poverty, unemployment, high school drop rates, and crime, civic leaders took the first steps toward recovery. The African American school teacher Joan Maynard established *The Society for the Preservation of Weeksville* to focus on a small neighborhood with a long history of freed slaves. In an adjacent neighborhood, Evelyn and Everett Ortner served as early renovation advocates for Brooklyn's brownstones, convincing bankers to stop prejudicial lending practices in neighborhoods suffering from disinvestment. Nearby, brownstone owner Clem Labine established the *Old-House Journal* in October, 1973. This inexpensive newsletter was filled with practical advice about how to seal drafty windows or stiffen sagging staircases, and offered discounts on hot air dryers to soften layers of paint. The how-to advice gained such a wide readership amount the neighborhood conservation advocates that the *Journal* soon had a greater circulation than the publications of the NTHP.

In Pennsylvania, a program called *Pittsburgh Neighborhood Housing Services, Inc.* (PNHS) was organized to use Federal funds to operate a revolving loan for poor risk homeowners living in that city's North Side. This organization provided grants for housing to indigent families, and supplied money directly to neighborhoods. By the mid-1970s it was chosen as a working model for a national program.

The local initiatives in Brooklyn and Pittsburgh were placed in a broader, comparative context when, in September 1975, a major Neighborhood Conservation Conference featured a larger geographical range. Initiatives like Pike Place Market and Pioneer Square in Seattle were highlighted along with others in Mt. Auburn and Mt. Adams in Cincinnati, Ohio, and still others that emphasized the importance of socially sensitive preservation, most of which was taking place outside of the boundaries of the relatively limited number of historic preservation districts (McNulty and Kliment 1976). In over forty cities, "urban homesteading" schemes in which residents could gain title to houses in poor condition if they repaired and lived in them for an agreed upon number of years meant that those interested in home ownership and putting down roots could do so with "sweat equity."¹¹

A fundamental change was taking place during the mid-1970s, as the American "melting pot," the idea popularized in a 1908 play that immigrants should become naturalized and educated to think like the prevailing White, Protestant society, was replaced by the American "mosaic." Bicentennial history deliberately celebrated diversity and called for self-examination through local history. A notable example occurred when author and researcher Alex Haley began to share the results of his own African family's origins in the early 1970s. People of every race and ethnic background took notice when *Roots: The Saga of an American Family* (1976) was released. A novel loosely based on the Haley family's history, the story began with the 1767 kidnapping of Kunta Kinte, in Gambia. The narrative of his ancestors and his tale of visiting the African village where Kinte was raised, where he learned more from a tribal historian, captured the imagination not only as a *New York Times* best seller, but also in a television mini-series in 1977. The narrative was further popularized in a film, reaching an estimated 130 million viewers.¹²

Although housing remained important, local initiatives also addressed commercial revitalization. In August, 1976, the opening of the rehabilitated Quincy Market/Faueuil Hall area of Boston was highly celebrated. From a largely overlooked waterfront dedicated principally to wholesale vendors, the retail transformation brought twelve million visitors in the year following, more than the number of visitors to Disneyland. In an attempt to develop a program that would address the needs of small towns throughout the country, in 1977 the National Trust's Mary Means embarked on what became known as the Main Street program in three pilot communities. The task was primarily to build private sector financial support for promotional activities, gathering together community leaders, business owners, building owners and residents. If imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, this has become the most successful program that the National Trust ever launched.¹³

Yet, the most substantial change was *not* one that the historic preservation organizations or those involved in neighborhood conservation had anticipated. In 1973, legislation was introduced in the United States Senate that called for a change in the federal tax code that would equalize the financial advantages of rehabilitating a historic property with building a new structure. This idea languished until being incorporated in the larger *Tax Reform Act* of 1976. Although it took about two years to ramp up the administrative capacity to implement the Act, the possibility of rehabilitating more historic properties became real as private investors saw the advantage of investing what they might otherwise owe the government. The amount of rehabilitation investment grew from several hundred thousand dollars to over a billion in 1980, and reached a high of \$6.5 billion five years later.¹⁴

These broad changes in the political and economic context affected the activities of all preservation organizations. In October 1977, the NTHP 31st *Annual Meeting and Preservation Conference* in Mobile, Alabama, made no mention of the EAHY 1975 in its program. More important at the time was the poor state of the domestic economy, and the need for an economic stimulus. Among the best attended sessions were those in which members of the National Park Service reported on the progress and the implementation of the *Tax Reform Act* of 1976.¹⁵

3. EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE YEAR IN ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION AND TRADE INITIATIVES

The influence of EAHY 1975 activities inside of academic institutions in the United States was more limited for several reasons. First, the academic programs in historic preservation before 1975 were few in number and enrolled comparatively few students. Only three colleges of architecture and planning had displayed any consistent interest in offering courses.¹⁶ Second, while a half dozen other universities across the country had begun to mount courses at the post graduate level, the home departments were not faculties of architecture, but rather American Studies, archaeology, history, and geography. Third, while the architecture schools that were teaching historic preservation strengthened their instruction in architectural history and building materials conservation, the rising importance of preservation law, economics and finance was more compelling than the study of European architectural history. The preservation curriculum in the United States was becoming more specialized in the wake of the Bicentennial.

The three leading academic preservation programs were established in the wake of an initiative to revive the *Historic American Building Survey* in the National Park Service. In 1957, University of Virginia Professor of Architecture Frederick D. Nichols began teaching a course for undergraduates pursuing a bachelor's in architectural history. It was designed to prepare them to conduct architectural surveys as urban renewal specialists, planners, and museum curators.¹⁷ At about the same time, Professors Stephen W. Jacobs and Barclay G. Jones Jacobs introduced a course called "Design and Conservation" as an elective in the College of Environmental Design at the University of California, Berkeley (Jacobs 1976). Both men were aware of European conservation efforts. In fact, Jacobs discussed the history of European architectural conservation in his dissertation and wrote on the topic. When the Jacobs and Jones team moved to Cornell University in 1961 they expanded their ideas and, in 1963, proposed a complete curriculum, in a paper entitled "An Education and Research Program for the Conservation of the National Heritage of Buildings, Sites, and Artifacts," and sent it to the *National Trust for Historic Preservation* (Jacobs and Jones 1963; Jacobs 1959; Jacobs 1960; Jones 1960; Jones and Jacobs 1960). The program would address the needs of undergraduates and graduate students, as well as extramural part-time professionals, some of whom were already involved in the field. The proposed course of study would draw on the faculty members teaching classes in architecture, art, planning in their own college, as well as those in other departments, including American studies, anthropology, archaeology, economics, engineering, floriculture, history, horticulture, interiors, philosophy, and sociology. The request for financial support went unanswered.

In 1964, Professor James Marston Fitch introduced a preservation seminar in the Department of Architecture at Columbia University,¹⁸ and in 1968 he was joined by National Park Service senior staff historian Charles Peterson, who taught the history of building technology. This added emphasis on the conservation of materials became a hallmark of the program, which granted the first degrees in historic preservation, as opposed to architecture, planning or history, in May 1974 (Tomlan 1994).

Special mention must be made of the personal relationship that developed between Charles Peterson and the prominent English conservation architect Bernard M. Feilden. Peterson proudly introduced Feilden at the 1974 *Building Early America* conference, sponsored by the Carpenter's Company of Philadelphia. At that point, Feilden shared a draft of his seminal work, *Conservation of Historic Buildings*, with Peterson and Fitch, and the latter provided him with a partial draft of his book *Historic Preservation*, although neither was published until 1982 (Feilden 1982; Fitch 1982). In 1974 and 1975, there were no textbooks that were helpful in these post graduate preservation courses. The principle means by which printed information was conveyed were photocopies of the current articles in periodicals and newspapers. The English language publications from England were the most influential by carrying news and information about the activities associated with the EAHY 1975. Foremost were the heavily illustrated British journals, *Architectural Design* and *Architectural Review*, which featured the latest renovations and some restorations. In that the majority of architects learn more by the photographs than by the accompanying text, but the captions describing the work episodically carried information about the techniques and methods employed, including sandblasting. More appropriate conservation techniques in architecture followed museum conservation experimentation very slowly. The most influential author for budding architectural conservators and designers was architect Sherban Cantacuzino, who collected and revised his articles in *Architectural Review* to produce helpful compendiums (Cantacuzino 1975) (Fig. 5).

British periodicals and journals also carried the majority of the information that professionals gained about European efforts in conservation planning. *Planner*, *Town Planning Review*, and *Town and Country Planning* published a number of articles, supplemented by monographs on significant projects. The apparent British leadership in what is now termed heritage conservation during the early 1970s is owing to this small group of serials, based in London, but they were available only in three or four major university library systems. By comparison, architecture and planning journals from France, Italy, Germany, and Spain were available only in the best libraries and they rarely played a role in conservation thinking unless the material was translated into English.

As suggested earlier, the chief mention of the EAHY 1975 occurred in *The New York Times* and the publications of the NTHP (Hilborne 1976, 394–395; Hiroshi 1976, 392–393 and 396).¹⁹ *Progressive Architecture* became the foremost preservation exponent among the architectural periodicals in North America. US/ICOMOS carried more specific information, but its membership in the United States was

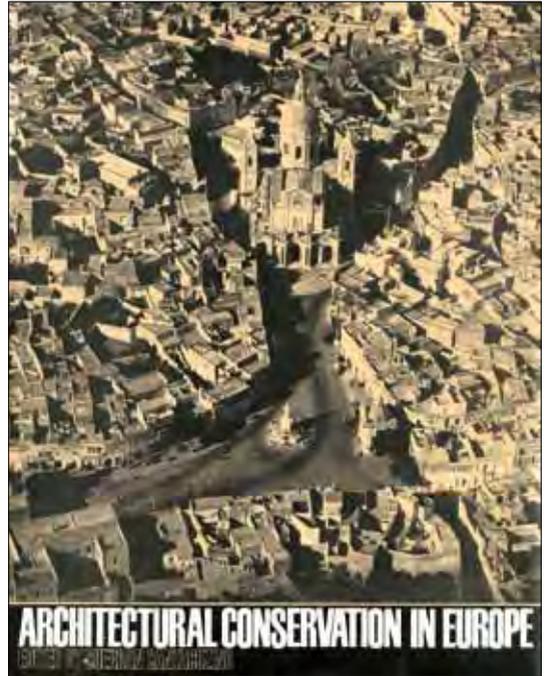


Fig. 5: Cover of the 1975 publication *Architectural Conservation in Europe* by Sherban Cantacuzino (Cantacuzino 1975)

comparatively small and geographically centered around Washington, D.C., which had yet to begin any serious historic preservation planning. In addition, it is reasonable to question whether the crafts and trades activities during the EAHY 1975 resonated to any degree in North America. The formation of the *Association for Preservation Technology* (APT) in 1968 provided the chief possibility for this kind of connection.²⁰ APT was and remains a union of American and Canadian preservation leaders. Originally, most were employed by or identified with the National Park Service and Parks Canada, with Charles Peterson as the founding chair. The new organization included architects, archaeologists, contractors, curators, engineers, historians, landscape architects, chemists, students, and a wide range of tradesmen. Syracuse University architecture professor Harley McKee, who dedicated the later years of his life to investigating stone quarries and finishes, was the second chair and Canadian architect Jacques Dalibard was the third chair, simultaneously playing a lead role in establishing ICOMOS.²¹ The leadership of APT examined closely the publications of the National Trust, the American Association of Museums and the American Institute of Architects, and proposed the formation of a "Restoration Guild," somewhat reminiscent of European prototypes. Although the guild never materialized, APT's early workshops and conferences, some held at prominent outdoor museums where the trades were practiced, and its publications often provided the latest and best technical information in architectural and landscape conservation.²² Just as important, the discussions in APT circles spawned other initiatives and organizations. One result, in 1972, was the National Park Service launching the Mather Training Center at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, which provided continuing education for journeymen in the trades. Many of these were already employed in the parks, and needed to gain additional specialized knowledge in various aspects of architectural conservation. Although not an apprenticeship training program in the traditional sense, the idea of upgrading the skills of Park Service staff was a positive step.²³

As a more general indication, in 1976 the *National Trust for Historic Preservation* reported that by using the Washington (DC) Building Congress awards program, it was possible to identify a group of about 100 skilled journeymen and masters in carpentry, masonry, plastering, painting and roofing, to determine their observations about the status of the trades.²⁴ The majority had begun their careers with classroom instruction and on-the-job training, not in apprenticeships. Although most of those participating in the survey believed that some traditional skills were declining, 75 % also held that the modern mechanic could do anything done by skilled workers of the past, and an almost equal percentage believed that no special training was necessary for them to do restoration work.²⁵ The particular manner in which the survey was conducted, however, relying on the responses of award winners, could not be taken as the most reassuring view. In a parallel study conducted by the National Trust, the Washington metropolitan area building trade apprentice programs were sampled. These findings reinforced the view that there were more than an adequate number of apprenticeship programs providing appropriate training to several hundred students across the United States.²⁶ In short, the construction norms in the United States were considerably different from those elsewhere in the world and, with the new emphasis on so much fix-up, retrofitting and rehabilitation, all of which required more speed and efficiency, the link to traditional trades as they were practiced in Europe was never strong.

CONCLUSION

As has been demonstrated, the EAHY 1975 was briefly helpful to the historic preservation movement in the United States by providing models demonstrating how inner city neighborhoods could be revitalized using government policies and financial assistance. The cities of Europe that backed Heritage Year projects displayed noticeable pride in the face of declining populations and deindustrialization. This sentiment inspired visitors seeking ideas for the Bicentennial celebrations in the United States.

The long term impact of the EAHY 1975 was limited, however, as the declining support from the federal and state governments after the Bicentennial meant that local private initiatives would predominate.

The passage of the *Tax Reform Act* in 1976 and its subsequent amendments secured the immediate future of historic preservation in the United States, launching a greater number of rehabilitation projects than seen anywhere on the globe at the time. The attention paid to what might consider ordinary commercial, industrial and residential buildings eclipsed the study of the European architectural heritage. Lastly, the rise of Post-Modern architecture at the end of the 1970s pointed those concerned with architectural conservation in different directions.

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¹ The full text of Middleton's address was published in *Historic Preservation* magazine, Jan-Mar. 1974.

² Bayot, Jennifer. 2005. "James Biddle, 75, a Leader in Preserving America's Past, Dies." *The New York Times*, March 11.

- ³ Biddle, James. 1974. "President's Column. Preservation Worldwide." *Preservation News*, XIV, 9, September, 5. Thirty seven were listed in the 1974 directory of the National Trust.
- ⁴ The Trust had become involved in tours to England the year before, expressly to examine the county plans as London was depopulating. Hillenbrand, Bernard F. 1972. "Planning for Preservation – How the English Do It." *Preservation News* XI, 4, April, 5 and 7.
- ⁵ "National Trust Announces Tour Program." 1975. *Preservation News* XIV, 1 January, 3; "Bavarian Baroque Tour Set for October." 1974. *Preservation News* XIV, 8, August, 8.
- ⁶ Biddle, James. "President's Column." *Preservation News* XV, 12, December 1, 5.
- ⁷ France was visited in September and another tour "in and around Munich for Music and Castles" in early November. Haupt III, Frederick. 1975. "Trust Offers Special Tours." *Preservation News* XV, 12, December 1, S-1. Haupt was director of Special Events.
- ⁸ Darling, Lynn. 1997. "Bicentennial Hailed for Its Legacies." *Washington Post*, January 1, A1.
- ⁹ Fuller, Stephanie. 1976. "Three Cheers for the Red, White, and Blue." *Chicago Tribune*, July 4, N-A1.
- ¹⁰ The domestic situation continued to trend in this direction. Jimmy Carter, a former governor of the State of Georgia, ran a grass roots campaign as an outsider, free from the taint of Washington, and won the Democratic nomination largely without party support.
- ¹¹ "Homesteads May Go to 6,000 Skilled Families." 1975. *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, J14; Spiegel, Irving. 1975. "Gang Shows Off Housing Project. 'Sweat Equity' Employed in Tenement Renovation." *The New York Times*, May 11.
- ¹² Terrell, Angela. 1971. "Tracing His Past." *Washington Post*, December 8; Haley, Alex. 1976. *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- ¹³ Gerloff, Scott. 1995. "Main Street: The Early Years." *Historic Preservation Forum* IX, 3 (Spring). Gerloff was one of the first project managers; the others were Tom Moriarty and Clark Shoettle. Skelcher, Bradley. 1990. "Economic Redevelopment through Historic Preservation: The Main Street Pilot Project." Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University, Dissertation.
- ¹⁴ Listokin, David, Michael Lahr, and Charles Heydt. 2012. *Third Annual Report on the Economic Impacts of the Historic Tax Credit*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Center for Urban Policy Research.
- ¹⁵ Personal Notes by the author, who participated. Special conferences were held by the NPS to explain the provisions of the legislation to developers, tax accountants, lawyers, and financial analysts.
- ¹⁶ These were the University of Virginia, Cornell University, and Columbia University. The University of Florida was the fourth, in the mid-1970s.
- ¹⁷ "Architectural History and the Student Architect: A Symposium." 1967. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26, 3 (October): 191–192.
- ¹⁸ Sawin, Martica. 2006. "James Marston Fitch, 1909–2000, A Brief Biography." In *James Marston Fitch. Selected Writings on Architecture, Preservation and the Built Environment*, ed. by Martica Sawin, 11–24. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. Fitch's first article explicitly discussing preservation, Fitch, James Marston. 1960. "In Defense of the City." *Columbia Forum* (New York) III,4 (Fall): 2–11, is distinctly in the mode cast by Jane Jacobs. More singular contributions were two commissioned articles, Fitch, James Marston. 1964. "The Phoenix Cities of Poland" *Horizon* VI,2 (Spring): 52–59; and Fitch, James Marston. 1966. "The Preservation of Historic Architecture in Czechoslovakia." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XXV,2 (May): 119–135. Fitch's introduction to Bernard Feilden, in 1964, seems to have been catalytic for them both. (Sir Bernard M. Feilden to the author, personal correspondence, August 21, 1993.)
- ¹⁹ The only major reference volume to carry information was the 1976 *Britannica Book of the Year*.
- ²⁰ Dalibard, Jacques. 1987. *APT Communiqué* XVI, 4.
- ²¹ Bronson, Susan D., Susan Buggey, and Michael A. Tomlan. 2007. "Jacques Dalibard (April 1937–September 2007): A Pioneer and a Leader of Heritage Conservation in Canada." *Heritage* X,4.
- ²² Nelson, Lee. 1988. "The Publishing Roots of APT." *APT Bulletin* XX,3: 41–47.

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- ²³ Miller, Hugh C. 1977. "National Park Service Training for Preservation." *Preservation News* XVII,7 (June), 8.
- ²⁴ The Congress, formed in 1950, has been making awards since 1956.
- ²⁵ Fugelso, John. 1977. "Research Reveals Vitality in the Building Trades." *Preservation News* XVII,7 (June), 7.
- ²⁶ Leventhal, Michael. 1977. "Trust Study Surveys Apprentice Training Programs." *Preservation News* XVII,7 (June), 1 and 3.