

part because it was seen as being used to change America. Yet while the Legion's definition of unAmerican values and influences was quite broad, Pencak reveals that the Legion was never able to arrive at a consensus view of the term "Americanism."

Pencak also demonstrates how the Legion's view of freedom and community affected its views on free speech. Whereas libertarians conceived of freedom in terms of individual rights against the community, the Legion's view of freedom rested in responsibility and service to a community defined morally and historically. Freedom required allegiance to communal norms and social order; and speech that threatened the community did not deserve protection.

The fundamental problem, however, was that the Legion had no specific definition of American community or values. Consequently, American community tended to become identified with the status quo. Yet the underlying uncertainty about America's identity also seemed to produce insecurity about the strength and viability of American society. Therefore, dissident speech symbolized to the Legion a flaw in the American character that had to be corrected. Moreover, perhaps the crusade against unAmericanism itself came to form the Legion's sense of American community: to be a good American was to keep a vigilant guard against unAmerican forces, especially forces of change and reform.

Although the Legion's impact on American life and the repression of radicalism is, as Pencak argues, difficult to assess accurately, the Legion was a powerful participant in the debate over American identity. The question was whether America was a nation of stability or change, and whether American society would be homogeneous or pluralist. To the Legion, foreign radicalism menaced social stability. While America was a nation of individual freedom, it was also a nation of tightly bound communities and loyal citizens that the Legion assigned itself to protect.

America's Historic Landscapes: Community Power and the Preservation of Four National Historic Sites, by Ary J. Lamme III. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989. xiv, 213 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth.

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In recent years, as preservationists, historians, and geographers have widened the range of their activities, scholars have devoted increasing attention not only to architecturally significant buildings but also to entire landscapes. In *America's Historic Landscapes*, Ary J. Lamme, a

geographer at the University of Florida, attempts to encourage the development of a "National Historic Landscape Preservation Ethic" (192) by offering case studies of several sites along with an analysis of the ways landscapes acquire meaning and of the community power issues involved in landscape preservation. While Lamme focuses on eastern sites, it is plainly his hope that his work will offer a useful guide for people everywhere as they grapple with the complex issues of historic landscape preservation in a rapidly changing society.

After opening chapters in which he introduces his approach, reviews a number of studies concerned with landscapes and meaning, and discusses elitist and pluralist theories of community power, Lamme presents the case studies that occupy the major portion of his book. These test cases take us from St. Augustine, Florida, established as a Spanish outpost in 1565; to the Colonial National Historical Park (and Colonial Williamsburg) in Virginia; to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, most famous of our Civil War battlefields and the site of Abraham Lincoln's best-known address; to Sackett's Harbor, New York, a Great Lakes port that witnessed military activity in the War of 1812 and became the site of both Navy and Army posts.

Lamme is an outspoken champion of historic preservation. "When it comes to assessment of landscape management," he declares, "I often state my belief that *good landscape preservation is essential for our national well-being and advantageous for all our citizens*" (8). He charges that "we are a nation of historic and geographic illiterates" (192), deplors the "tourist trap" aspects of St. Augustine (60), and repeatedly denounces that "obscenity on the landscape" (175), "the prototypical scenic monstrosity in America, the 1970s-era Battlefield Tower at Gettysburg" (154). Readers who are concerned about historic preservation may sympathize with such pronouncements—but they are also likely to wish for less invective and more sustained analysis than the book provides.

The effectiveness of Lamme's argument is often limited by the rather general terms in which it is framed. ("Different settings make us feel differently," he announces on page one. Indeed.) He advances the helpful, though hardly startling, notion that studies of community power can help us understand who controls the decisions that are made about landscapes. However, a more fully developed exploration of community power issues—including their particular blends of public, private, local, state, and national components and tensions—would enhance the clarity and impact of his case studies. Similarly, his assertion that "Constitutional principles have an important role in the exercise of power over landscapes" (181) seems both reasonable and relatively obvious, since preservation disputes have considerable

potential for winding up in the courts. Acknowledging that both private enterprise and government have roles to play in landscape preservation, Lamme insightfully suggests the need to develop a commitment to "the Constitutional right of citizens to high-quality landscape experiences" (191); he is less successful in furnishing concrete illustrations of effective strategies for achieving that goal.

The persuasiveness of *America's Historic Landscapes* is further limited by organizational and stylistic problems. A general section, "Evaluating Landscapes," is included in the chapter on St. Augustine rather than in the discussion of "Landscape and Meaning," where it would seem more appropriate. (Further, if Lamme's "Sense-of-Place Profile," outlined in that section, is a useful tool for landscape evaluation, why does he apply it only to a single site?) The book often seems loosely written and burdened with redundancies: Lamme speaks of a "partial panacea" (116), identifies a "pivotal turning point" (146), and remarks that funding for the support of historic landscapes tends "to be cyclic in nature—and stronger at some times than others" (160). Moreover, the study is occasionally marred by inaccuracies. In the 1890s trolleys had *not* been running over the hallowed ground at Gettysburg for "several decades" (153), for example, and it was *not* "Matthew Brady and his assistants" (xi-xii) who posed pictures at Devil's Den after the great battle. These are, to be sure, minor details—but taken together they drain considerable force from Lamme's argument. All in all, *America's Historic Landscapes* is imaginative and useful in conception, but significantly flawed in execution.

Cultural Heritage Conservation in the American South, edited by Benita J. Howell. Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings 23. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990. 143 pp. Maps, tables, references. \$25.00 cloth, \$12.00 paper.

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Cultural Heritage Conservation in the American South makes a significant regional contribution to the national debate about the need to protect and enhance our heritage resources, be they Ozark folk buildings or the traditional foods of the Amana colonies. According to editor Benita J. Howell, "cultural heritage conservation" embraces the goals of historic preservation, local history, and folklife programs not merely to preserve the old but to actively maintain "living impressions of traditional culture." Thus, compared to the fields of historic preservation and history museums, "cultural conservation" is a more activist

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