THE IMPACT OF PRIVATIZATION ON HISTORIC U.S. ARMY FAMILY HOUSING

by

ALANA COLETTE SAUL

(Under the Direction of Wayde Brown)

ABSTRACT

Throughout its history the United States Army has struggled to maintain a sufficient inventory of houses, in terms of both quantity and quality. In an effort to address this situation, the Army privatized housing. This thesis examines the impact of privatization on the Army’s historic houses. The question this thesis answers is, “how has the privatization of Army family housing affected the preservation of the Army’s historic houses?” To answer this question, the thesis will analyze the preservation processes and inventory of historic houses at two Army forts, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas and Fort Benning, Georgia.

INDEX WORDS: U.S. Army, Housing, Privatization, Military Housing Privatization Initiative, Preservation
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<td>Advisory Council on Historic Preservation</td>
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<td>APE</td>
<td>Area of Potential Effect</td>
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<td>CFR</td>
<td>Code of Federal Regulations</td>
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<td>CRM</td>
<td>Cultural Resources Management</td>
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<td>Record of Environmental Consideration form</td>
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<td>Historic Properties Component</td>
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<td>ICRMP</td>
<td>Integrated Cultural Resource Management Plan</td>
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<td>NHPA</td>
<td>National Historic Preservation Act</td>
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<td>National Register of Historic Places</td>
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<td>Office of the Secretary of Defense</td>
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<td>PA</td>
<td>Programmatic Agreement</td>
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<td>REC</td>
<td>Record of Environmental Consideration</td>
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<td>SHPO</td>
<td>State Historic Preservation Office</td>
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<td>SOP</td>
<td>Standard Operating Procedures</td>
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The United States Army has played a key role in the protection and defense of America for more than two hundred years. In that time it has also shaped American society and the American landscape through the establishment and construction of Army installations. U.S. Army installations are defined as “an aggregation of contiguous or near contiguous, common mission-supporting real property holdings commanded by a centrally selected commander.”¹ The term installation is synonymous with garrison, post, and fort.

The Army currently has forty-four forts within the United States alone.² Each installation is an all-inclusive community set within a civilian community. Installations vary in location, size, and mission; however, some features are common among installations. Most Army forts are equipped with a grocery store called the Commissary, a shop called the Post Exchange, schools, gymnasiums, churches, hospitals, and housing.³

Since its inception, the Army has taken on the responsibility of providing both wartime and peacetime housing for its soldiers and their families. Army housing has been subject to many vicissitudes over the years. It has changed organization and leadership many times and, more often-than-not, it has struggled to meet the demands placed upon it in terms of both quantity and quality. After numerous years and multiple creative efforts

focused on solving the problem of inadequate Army housing, privatization proved to be the way forward. The politics involved in privatizing a federal agency has long been controversial because it means that taxpayers’ money goes to a private entity. Whenever the government considers privatizing a federal agency or activity, great care is taken to consider which activities are essential for the government to remain in control of and which can be carried out by the private sector.

The move toward privatization began in 1949 with the establishment of the Wherry housing privatization program. The Wherry program allowed the Army to offer private developers incentives to construct, operate and maintain houses on Army posts. Over the following forty years, the Army tested several other privatization programs, but not one of these programs successfully met the needs of the Army and its soldiers.

Finally, on February 10, 1996, President Bill Clinton signed the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1996 into law. Subtitle A of Title XXVIII—General Provisions established the Military Housing Privatization Initiative (MHPI). The “MHPI addresses two significant problems concerning housing for military Service members and their families: (1) the poor condition of DOD (Department of Defense) owned housing, and (2) a shortage of quality affordable private housing.” The initiative allows each branch of the military to form privatization programs in order to partner with private developers.

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The Army was the first branch of the military to form a privatization program, before the MHPI was even passed, called the Residential Communities Initiative (RCI). Through the RCI, the Army was able to lease or convey some of its land to a private partner, who would in turn construct new housing units. The private partner would also acquire the Army’s existing inventory of housing units, including all historic houses.

To define which houses are historic, the Army and its private partners use the National Historic Preservation Act for guidance. The Act was created in response to the increasing frequency of the loss and alteration of historic properties that are significant to the nation’s heritage.7 Signed into law in 1966, the Act established the National Register of Historic Places, an ongoing comprehensive list of significant historic properties. The Act also created the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and State Historic Preservation Offices.

The purpose of the Act was to create a federal program for the preservation of the nation’s historic properties. The Act defines historic properties and resources as “any prehistoric or historic district, site, building, structure, or object included in, or eligible for inclusion on the National Register, including artifacts, records, and material remains related to such a property or resource.”8 The Army has thousands of houses that are considered historic and are now under the control of private partners. These houses are important not only in the sense of shelter for soldiers, but more so because they tell the story of Army life and its history.

The question of this thesis is, “how has the privatization of Army family housing affected the preservation of the Army’s historic houses?” To answer this question, various

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8 Ibid.
research tools have been employed, including literature review, site visits, and contact with members of the cultural resource management staff and RCI staff at two case study sites in order to clarify the privatization and preservation processes at each. This thesis uses Fort Leavenworth, Kansas and Fort Benning, Georgia as case studies.

Following this introduction, the body of the thesis has been organized into the following chapters. Chapter Two provides both context and background. It reviews the literature that was used in the research of this thesis and provides a brief history of Army housing, highlighting the Army’s struggle to provide quality housing for its soldiers. This chapter covers the years from the late-eighteenth century to the end of World War II.

Chapter Three details the Army's efforts to privatize housing beginning at the end of World War II. It discusses the Wherry, Capehart, Section 801 and Section 802 programs. The first two privatization programs characterized Army housing of the 1950s and the second two characterized the 1980s. The chapter concludes by introducing the Military Housing Privatization Initiative, the Army’s current and most successful privatization program.

Chapters Four and Five present the two case studies: Fort Leavenworth, Kansas and Fort Benning, Georgia. These two sites were chosen because of the similarities and differences between them, and because each has a large inventory of historic family houses. The sites are similar in that both installations have an Army training school, which creates a campus-like feel. On the other hand, they differ greatly in design. Fort Leavenworth, established in 1827, is the oldest active military installation west of the Mississippi River. As a result of its having existed in a somewhat temporary state for a number of years, many of its historic houses are vernacular in design. Fort Benning, established in 1918, is the
oldest, continually active U.S. Army installation in the state of Georgia. The design of Fort Benning follows a post plan, which incorporates architectural and landscape design features of the City Beautiful movement. In addition to their similarities and differences, these installations were also chosen because they employ two different preservation processes and because they were accessible in terms of both admittance into the forts and contact with the housing and preservation professionals. Chapters Four and Five provide a brief history for each site, as well as a listing of each post’s inventory of historic houses. A final reason for selecting these two posts was because they are represented by different private partners. These private partners are introduced in the relevant chapter, followed by a discussion of the privatization efforts of each.

The final chapter of the thesis provides both analysis and conclusion. It begins with an analysis of the findings of the previous two chapters and then answers the initial question: “how has the privatization of Army family housing affected the preservation of the Army’s historic houses?” The thesis concludes with suggestions for future research.
CHAPTER 2
CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

The history of the United States Army spans more than two hundred years and has been discussed in literature countless times. The purpose of this chapter is to review the various forms of literature that were consulted in the research of this thesis. This chapter will also introduce the history of the United States Army and specifically discuss the history of Army family housing. This chapter provides the context and background information that are necessary for understanding why the Army sought to privatize its housing.

Literature Review

The review of literature included books, journal articles, and government documents. The books used in the research of this thesis cover a breadth of topics. The two-volume work, *American Military History*,9 edited by Richard W. Stewart, expounds upon the history of the U.S. Army from 1775 to 2008. Stewart is the Chief Historian of the U.S. Army Center of Military History. This book provided detailed information as to when the Army was formed and its size and missions throughout the years.

William C. Baldwin, while a historian with the United States Army Corps of Engineers Office of History, wrote the journal article “A History of Army Peacetime Housing

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to the End of the Cold War,”¹⁰ that follows the history of pre-privatization Army housing, from its inception until the 1980s. Baldwin's article explains the Army's struggle to supply quality on-post housing for soldiers and their families. Baldwin also wrote *Four Housing Privatization Programs: A History of the Wherry, Capehart, Section 801, and Section 802 Family Housing Programs in the Army.*¹¹ As the title suggests, this book covers the Army's many attempts to privatize housing and the difficulties the Army experienced in convincing the federal government to privatize and in enticing the private sector to partner in the privatization of Army housing.

Matthew C. Godfrey and Paul Sadin, historians with Historical Research Associates, Inc., were approached by the Army Corps of Engineers Office of History to produce the history of the Residential Communities Initiative (RCI) program. The resulting book, *Privatizing Military Family Housing: A History of the U.S. Army's Residential Communities Initiative, 1995–2010,*¹² continues the Army's privatization story where Baldwin had concluded. The book is essential to understanding the long struggle to achieve privatization through the MHPI.

Books pertaining to the history of the case study sites were used to develop a broader historical context. Major Elvid Hunt's *History of Fort Leavenworth 1827-1927,*¹³ written in 1926 to celebrate the centennial of Fort Leavenworth, chronicles the first one

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hundred years of the fort in great detail. In a similar fashion, Peggy A. Stelpflug and Richard Hyatt’s *Home of the Infantry: The History of Fort Benning*,¹⁴ examines the history of Fort Benning from the early days as a camp to today’s modern school of infantry.

Government documents have been essential to the research of this thesis. The most important government documents include the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966,¹⁵ the Military Construction Authorization Act,¹⁶ and the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1996.¹⁷ These Acts are the foundation of preservation and privatization. Other government documents include the *Army Family Housing Facilities Management Guide*¹⁸ and the Programmatic Agreements (PA) and Integrated Cultural Resource Management Plans (ICRMP) from both Fort Leavenworth and Fort Benning. The PAs and ICRMPs outline each installation’s approach to managing historic resources. The *Facilities Management Guide*, written prior to privatization, details the traditional military construction process.

**Brief History Of United States Army Housing**

The United States of America had an armed force for defense before there truly was a nation to defend. The American Army was formed on June 14, 1775.¹⁹ From that date

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forward, the Army’s mission has been to “fight and win [the] Nation’s wars.”\textsuperscript{20} Accomplishing this mission requires a great number of soldiers, all of whom the Army must house. For as long as the Army has been in existence, it has committed itself to providing housing for its soldiers. This commitment was born partly out of necessity. The Third Amendment to the United States Constitution states: “No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.”\textsuperscript{21}

During the nineteenth century, America’s peacetime Army was a relatively small force of around 3,000 men.\textsuperscript{22} The Army was scattered in numerous posts across the nation. The posts themselves were quite meager, and the housing therein was often worse. The Quartermaster Department, known as the Quartermaster Corps after 1912, is the Army’s supply agency. It was the responsibility of the Quartermaster Corps to manage the construction of forts, barracks, and soldiers’ quarters.

The Quartermaster Corps faced great difficulty in the construction of post housing. Congressional appropriations were often infrequent and insufficient to create quality housing. The supply of quarters was never enough to keep up with the demand for them and, as such, a great number of soldiers were left no option but to live in temporary and often unsanitary conditions.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{21} U.S. Const. amend. III.
\textsuperscript{22} Stewart, American Military History, vol. 1, 123.
\textsuperscript{23} Baldwin, “History of Army Peacetime Housing,” 2.
In an 1870 report on Army living conditions, the Surgeon General confirmed that the United States had “the best-fed and worst-housed Army in the world.”

However, this began to change in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries as the Army consolidated its forces into fewer but larger forts. Consolidation allowed the Quartermaster Corps to build better quality, more permanent, and more sanitary, barracks and quarters.

The Quartermaster Corps introduced standardized plans for housing in 1890 as part of a major Army-wide building plan. The plan included the addition of schools, post exchanges, and other necessary facilities. At the time the Army had high desertion rates and low reenlistment rates due to the low morale caused by the poor living conditions. To combat that issue, the Army set out to create a better quality of life for its soldiers.

From 1890-1910, the Army saw its first major construction boom; however, this was soon halted by the onset of World War I. After the war, the Army had a much larger standing force but very little housing to provide for it. Post-war lack of funds meant there

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was no new construction authorized and little funding for the regular maintenance. As a result, the Army was again forced to house its soldiers in temporary, inadequate, wartime structures.\textsuperscript{26}

The Army's poor housing conditions became a very highly publicized national disgrace, which was sparked by the Chief of Staff of the Army's public speech about the Army's poor housing in 1927. Media attention to the situation resulted in magazines publishing articles describing “Our Homeless Army”\textsuperscript{27} and “Army Housing: A National Disgrace.”\textsuperscript{28} This negative publicity served as a stimulus for Congress to provide funds for the Army's second major construction boom. Construction began in 1927 and was expedited as the country experienced an economic depression after the stock market crash. Not long after this, the Army once again faced the prospect of war.\textsuperscript{29}

Post- World War II Army housing was encumbered with the same troubles that it had overcome after World War I. The Army remained quite large after World War II because it was now in the early days of the Cold War. This put an even greater strain on Army housing and, as such, required a new approach. To some, privatization was the answer to the Army's housing problem. The next chapter will discuss the Army's move toward privatization and the many phases through which this went.

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 6.
\textsuperscript{29} Baldwin, “History of Army Peacetime Housing,” 7-8.
CHAPTER 3

PRIVATIZATION OF U.S. ARMY FAMILY HOUSING

The Army’s first attempt to privatize its housing was the Wherry Housing program in 1949. Before the program was established, the Army relied on temporary solutions to solve its housing problem. This chapter discusses the Army’s current privatization program, the Residential Communities Initiative (RCI), and its predecessors: the Wherry, Capehart, Section 801, and Section 802 housing programs. First, by way of introduction, is a look at the temporary solutions the Army employed prior to privatization.

The National Defense Act of 1920 restricted the size of the Army to 280,000 men, but it was further reduced to 150,000 men the following year. Even at that size, the Army struggled to house all its men and their families. At the end of World War II, the United States Army was a force of more than eight million soldiers. Traditionally, at the conclusion of every war, the Army quickly demobilized its forces; however, at the end of World War II, the United States was a superpower and in a Cold War, which required a larger force to remain in a state of readiness.

However, the cost of maintaining such a large standing force led to reductions in the size of the Army. As a result, by 1950, the Army was reduced to 591,000 men. Although the Army’s size had decreased, meaning there were fewer men to house, the supply of housing was insufficient. As a result, the Army was forced to rely on temporary wartime

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31 Stewart, American Military History, 215.
structures for housing. When that was not enough, soldiers would find housing off-post using their Basic Allowance for Quarters (BAQ). A soldier’s BAQ provided monetary compensation for private housing and was based on a soldier’s rank and number of dependents.\textsuperscript{32}

The BAQ helped soldiers afford off-post housing even though the Army’s goal was “to provide quarters on posts for all authorized military personnel.”\textsuperscript{33} The Army was limited in its ability to do so because of the traditional military construction process. Army housing managers received funding through congressional appropriations, but these monetary allowances were insufficient to guarantee enough funds to support the construction of large housing projects. This meant that a major housing project had to be constructed in phases, and each phase required Army housing managers to seek additional funding from Congress.

A phased construction project was the Army’s only option, but the desired outcome was seldom attained. While one phase of the project might be funded, another might not. The result was fragmented and periodic construction of housing areas. The traditional military construction process was laborious and time consuming because there were many people and procedures involved in each stage of the process.\textsuperscript{34} Figures 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate the many steps involved in the traditional military construction process and the time it took from planning to construction.

\textsuperscript{34} United States, Department of the Army, Army Family Housing Facilities Management Guide: Planning and Operating Procedures, (Washington D.C.: Department of the Army, 1995), 5-2–5-3.
Figure 3.1: Traditional Military Construction Process (Source: Army Family Housing Facilities Management Guide)

Figure 3.2: Traditional Military Construction Timeline (Source: Army Family Housing Facilities Management Guide)
The traditional military construction process was not working to the best advantage of the Army and its soldiers; therefore, beginning in 1948, the Army began to seek practical and achievable solutions to its housing problem that did not involve congressional appropriations. In 1949, the Army was provided with just such a solution. Kenneth S. Wherry, a Republican senator from Nebraska, introduced a bill to privatize military housing. Senator Wherry was not a housing expert, but he had served in the military during World War I and, as a result, he became a powerful advocate for improving the quality of life for soldiers. In 1949, President Harry Truman signed Wherry’s bill into law as an amendment to the 1934 National Housing Act.35

The Wherry Program, as it is referred to, enticed private developers to undertake construction projects by providing mortgage insurance through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). First, the Secretary of Defense certified that a post was in need of housing and that the Department of Defense (DOD) had no plan to close the post. With this certification from the Secretary of Defense and the insurance from the FHA, a private developer, known as a sponsor, would then get a loan from a private lender. Once the sponsor had a loan, they would begin building housing units on land leased from the DOD at a nominal rate.

A lease from the DOD was for a period of fifty to seventy-five years, which allowed the sponsors not only to build the houses but also operate and maintain them.\textsuperscript{36} Having such lengthy leases enabled the private developers to see a return on their investment. Although Wherry houses were built on government land, they were not considered government quarters; instead, they were private units that soldiers rented from the private company.

The rental rates and schedules were set by the FHA, as were the mortgages. Much of the Wherry program was modeled after an earlier FHA wartime construction program, known as the Section 608 program. In both the Section 608 and Wherry programs, the FHA covered 90 percent of the mortgage while the private sponsor covered 10 percent. The

maximum amount that the FHA would cover was $8,100 which meant, with the private sponsor’s 10 percent, the maximum average cost for a unit was set at $9,000.\textsuperscript{37}

The maximum of $9,000 to construct housing units was insufficient to construct high quality housing. This was only one of many flaws in the Wherry housing program. From the start there were no detailed architectural plans or building specifications for the housing projects, and the Army was not authorized to consult with private architects or engineers. Therefore, when the Army received proposals from private sponsors, the content of each proposal was varied enough to make comparisons and judgments difficult.\textsuperscript{38}

The Wherry program faced even more problems within its first year when the Department of Defense’s Housing Commission conducted an investigation and discovered sponsors were obtaining windfall profits. Sponsors made windfall profits when they constructed housing units for $8,100, the cost of the FHA mortgage, without putting their own money into the project. These reports continued for a number of years until 1953, when Congress conducted further investigations and later passed an anti-windfall clause to the original amendment. However, the effect of the amendment was short lived as, in the following year, suspicions of fraud arose again.\textsuperscript{39}

Early in 1954, Congress conducted another investigation, this time finding that a corrupt FHA official had been assisting sponsors in making windfall profits. In response to this discovery, Congress enacted even more stringent anti-windfall regulations. Under the

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., 6.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{39} Godfrey and Sadin, \textit{Privatizing Military Family Housing}, 10.
new regulations, sponsors were required to prove that the FHA mortgage was providing no more than 90 percent of the cost of a project.\textsuperscript{40}

The negative publicity surrounding this additional investigation and, subsequently, the more restrictive policies put in effect, essentially brought the Wherry housing program to an end. Although the Wherry housing program failed to achieve any lasting success, it was responsible for the construction of 27,000 housing units between the years 1950-1954. Building that number of housing units would not have been possible using the traditional military construction process.\textsuperscript{41}

In 1955, the Senate Bank and Currency Committee initiated hearings with the intent of finding a replacement housing program for the military.\textsuperscript{42} Senator Homer E. Capehart, a Republican from Indiana, sponsored a bill that eventually replaced the Wherry housing program. President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed Capehart’s bill into law on August 11, 1955.\textsuperscript{43} The Capehart housing program set out to fix the errors of the Wherry program, although some aspects stayed the same. In the Capehart program, the FHA continued to provide mortgage insurance to private sponsors. However, the sponsor would only build the housing units; they would no longer operate and maintain the units. This freed the Army of long leases with private sponsors.\textsuperscript{44}

Once the housing units were built, the Army took over the mortgages and the houses became government owned quarters. The Capehart program also changed the cost of the housing units. Congress admitted that the maximum cost of $9,000, as in the Wherry

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\textsuperscript{40} Baldwin, “Four Housing Privatization Programs,” 7.
\textsuperscript{41} Godfrey and Sadin, Privatizing Military Family Housing, 9.
\textsuperscript{42} Baldwin, "Four Housing Privatization Programs," 8.
\textsuperscript{43} Godfrey and Sadin, Privatizing Military Family Housing, 10.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., 10.
\end{footnotesize}
program, was not sufficient. As a result, the FHA would insure 100 percent of the mortgage with an average maximum cost per unit of $13,500.\textsuperscript{45}

Although Capehart houses were government quarters, they were not like other housing units because the Army was now responsible for paying off the mortgages. This meant that soldiers who lived in Capehart houses were required to surrender their BAQ. The Army then used the allowances to pay off the mortgages. Funding for operating and maintaining the housing was sourced through congressional appropriations.

Figure 3.4: Capehart housing under construction in Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri (Courtesy United States Army Maneuver Support Center of Excellence, Office of History)

Having learned from the failures of the Wherry program, the Capehart program ensured that sponsors could not receive windfall profits. Congress required that every Capehart contract be subjected to the Renegotiation Act of 1951. This stipulation guaranteed that the government could recover excessive profits if there were any.\textsuperscript{46} Anti-windfall measures were imperative to the success of the Capehart program considering that the average cost per unit was much higher than the Wherry program.

\textsuperscript{45} Baldwin, “Four Housing Privatization Programs,” 8.
\textsuperscript{46} Godfrey and Sadin, Privatizing Military Family Housing, 10.
Similar to the Wherry program, the Capehart program faced some difficulties in its first couple of years. Some of the first sponsors found it difficult to create bids that met Army-specified design criteria but did not exceed the FHA maximum per unit cost. This led Congress to amend the Capehart program. The Housing Act of 1956 increased the average maximum per unit cost from $13,500 to $16,500.47

Mortgages were not the only problem that the Capehart program encountered. Wherry sponsors had been against the Capehart program; they had even formed an association to lobby against the signing of the bill. They feared that the new, larger, and cheaper Capehart houses would attract soldiers away from the Wherry houses. Inevitably, their concerns became reality.48

Garrison commanders favored government quarters, which included Capehart houses, because these units fell under their direct control. As a result, the garrison commanders would fill government owned housing before Wherry housing. This left Wherry housing with increasing vacancy rates. Wherry sponsors were upset because Senator Capehart had assured them that Congress would protect their interests.49

In the 1956 Housing Act, Congress gave the DOD the power to purchase Wherry housing units from the sponsors, thereby effectively converting these units into government owned properties. Congress viewed this as a way of appeasing Wherry sponsors' worries. Within three years the DOD had acquired 70 percent of Wherry housing

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47 Baldwin, "Four Housing Privatization Programs," 9.
48 Ibid., 10.
49 Baldwin, “Four Housing Privatization Programs,” 10.
Having resolved the Wherry housing situation, Congress began to focus solely on the Capehart program.

As early as 1957, the Capehart program had more than its fair share of critics; however, most Congressmen were satisfied with it, an attitude that began to change in 1960. Once again private sponsors were finding it difficult not to exceed the maximum average cost per unit set by the FHA. In June of 1960, the average cost per unit was increased from $16,500 to $19,800. As the costs of the Capehart program increased, so did the number of its critics. Congress feared that continuing the program would burden future congresses with large debts. This would limit the amount of funding future congresses would have to appropriate. For this reason, Congress decided in 1962 not to renew the Capehart housing program.

In the seven years that the Capehart program was in operation, 36,000 housing units were built for the Army. When combined with the inventory of Wherry houses, the Army received 63,000 housing units. Building that number of houses in such a short period of time would not have been possible using the traditional military construction process. Regardless, Congress decided military construction, using appropriated funds, was the best way forward in constructing military housing. The idea of privatized housing seemed dead.

Even with the considerable number of houses that the Wherry and Capehart programs provided, the Army entered the 1960s with a shortage of housing. Once again, the Army became reliant on the private sector to provide housing for its soldiers. In fact, Robert McNamara, Secretary of Defense from 1961-1968, confirmed that the DOD’s

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50 Ibid., 10-11.
51 Ibid., 11-12.
52 Godfrey and Sadin, Privatizing Military Family Housing, 11.
53 Baldwin, “Four Housing Privatization Programs,” 11.
“general policy [was] to rely to the maximum extent possible on the civilian economy to provide housing for service families.”

The Army’s changing focus from providing on-post housing for all soldiers and their families to helping soldiers find housing off-post can be seen in a positive light. The return to traditional military construction did not guarantee that the construction process would in any way be improved. Receiving funding and project approval was as difficult as ever and often meant that off-post housing was better quality and easier to acquire. During the 1960s, as the United States became more involved with the war in Vietnam, very little funding was set aside for housing. Lack of funding due to the cost of the war meant that the Army’s inventory of housing had become stagnant and even began to deteriorate. However, as the United States withdrew from Vietnam, and the possibility of an all-volunteer force became more likely, housing was an ever-important issue.

In 1973, the United States ended its involvement in the Vietnam War. That same year, President Richard Nixon ended conscription. Both of these issues posed major concerns for the Army and its efforts to house its soldiers and their families. With an all-volunteer force, the Army now had to provide higher quality housing “in order to attract new recruits, as well as to entice soldiers already in uniform to re-enlist.”

The Army faced additional housing issues throughout the 1970s as the percentage of married soldiers increased. After World War II, less than 40 percent of military personnel were married, but by 1977 more than 60 percent of the military was married. The increasing number of dependents “strained DOD housing programs and allowance

55 Godfrey and Sadin, Privatizing Military Family Housing, 12.
56 Ibid.
systems, both of which were insufficient to yield adequate housing (on base or in the community) for many.”

Unfortunately, as the 1980s approached, a weakened United States’ economy provided less funding for the construction and maintenance of housing. The DOD sought solutions outside of congressionally appropriated funds but was unsuccessful. Finally, the administration of President Ronald Reagan pressured Congress to appropriate more funds to the DOD. The Army took advantage of this boost in funding to construct more family housing.

Although the 1980s witnessed increased funding for the Army, it was also a decade of societal change in terms of housing quality. As a result, soldiers’ expectations of military housing increased. In the 1950s, a small, three-bedroom house with just one bathroom would have been more than acceptable. For soldiers in the 1980s, this was no longer sufficient. They wanted to provide their families with “not only more bathrooms, but more living and storage space, various appliances, parking for at least two cars and other amenities.”

Even with the increased funding, the Army was not able to provide enough housing, let alone housing that met the desires of soldiers and their families. In an effort to counteract this insufficiency, the DOD offered a new allowance, the Variable Housing

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Allowance (VHA). The VHA increased basic allowances in areas where the cost of living was higher, making it possible for soldiers in high cost areas to find better quality housing.60

The DOD also looked into the possibility of once again working with the private sector to construct military housing. A series of studies conducted in the 1980s by the Rand Corporation, a non-profit research and development agency, determined that the most cost effective way to provide military housing was using private sector construction and housing allowances. This confirmation provided the DOD with the impetus to campaign for privatization.61 President Reagan, who had already demonstrated his marked support for the DOD, was already an advocate of privatizing certain aspects of the federal government. Within two years of the Rand Corporation’s study, President Reagan signed the Military Construction Authorization Act of 1984.

Under Title VIII – General Provisions of the Military Construction Authorization Act, the government specified two new programs to help the military with its housing problem: the Military Family Housing Leasing Program and the Military Housing Rental Guarantee Program. More commonly, these programs are referred to as Section 801 and Section 802, respectively. Both of these new programs presented the Army with different opportunities to address insufficient and inadequate housing.

Section 801 allowed the Army to “enter into a contract for the lease of family housing units to be constructed on or near a military installation within the United States under the Secretary’s jurisdiction at which there is a validated deficit in family housing.”62 According to Section 801, once a need for housing had been validated, the Army could

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60 Baldwin, "Four Housing Privatization Programs," 15.
61 Ibid., 16.
advertise for private developers to submit bids for construction. Once a private developer was chosen, they were contracted into a long-term lease with the government. The leases began once construction of the units was completed and were to last for no more than twenty years. According to Subsection 5 of Section 801, every contract must include a stipulation that, at the end of the lease, the government had the right of first refusal to purchase the housing.63

The responsibility to operate and maintain Section 801 houses fell to the private developer; however, the government could assume that responsibility if it were more cost effective to do so. Rental rates were based on a formula that factored in the amount of congressional appropriations used to cover the cost of building and maintaining the units. When soldiers were assigned to Section 801 housing, they had to forfeit their housing allowances.64

Under Section 802 of the Military Construction Authorization Act, the Army was able to offer private developers rental guarantees to construct new housing units on or near an installation. Similar to Section 801, the Army first had to certify that there was a housing shortage before it could request Section 802 housing. Once a housing deficit was certified, the Army could then guarantee the developer an occupancy rate of 97 percent for a period of no more than 15 years.65

If the units were constructed off-post, the developer had to give priority to Army soldiers and their families. Section 802 housing was not considered government quarters. After the period of 15 years was over, the agreement could not be renewed and the Army

63 Ibid.
64 Baldwin, “Four Housing Privatization Programs,” 23-25.
would not purchase the housing units. The units belonged to the private developer, who would now be able to use them for whatever purpose they saw fit.

The rental rates for Section 802 differed drastically from Section 801. In Section 801, the rental rates were based on the costs to build and maintain the housing units and were paid for by the soldiers’ forfeited housing allowances. Section 802, on the other hand, tied the rental rates to those of other private rental units in the area.\(^6\) This equated to a formula that combined a soldier's basic allowance, variable allowance, and 15 percent of his own contribution.\(^7\)

Embedded in both Section 801 and Section 802 was a stipulation “that the obligation of the United States to make payments under the contract in any fiscal year is subject to the availability of appropriations for that purpose.”\(^8\) It is likely that Congress had learned from experience with the Capehart program and, unwilling to tie future congresses to expenditures they had not approved, added this stipulation to protect them.

The added stipulation caused concern for many private developers, and, as a result, the Army found it difficult to entice private developers with such restrictive contracts. In order to assuage the developers’ concerns, the Army provided a written statement to assure them of the Army’s intentions to obtain annual appropriations.\(^9\) With this assurance the Army was able to initiate contracts to privatize housing.

While both programs experienced some difficulties in the beginning Section 801 was able to overcome these issues, but Section 802 was not. It took more than ten years for Section 802 to receive its first contract, whereas Section 801 was able to provide countless

\(^{6}\) Ibid.
\(^{7}\) Baldwin, "Four Housing Privatization Programs," 25.
\(^{9}\) Godfrey and Sadin, Privatizing Military Family Housing, 14.
new houses in that same amount of time. Congress began to criticize Section 802 for its failure to produce any housing and Section 801 because it feared the program was costing the government too much money.  

In 1990, President George H. W. Bush signed the Budget Enforcement Act to address the federal budget deficit. The act created new procedures for the way government projects were budgeted. Because it determined how the government would pay for the projects, both Sections 801 and 802 were affected. Traditionally, the government would pay annually using appropriated funds. Once the act was passed, the government would have to pay for the entire life of the project within the first year. In effect, the Budget Enforcement Act killed Section 801 and Section 802 programs because the Army would never have been able to receive enough appropriated funds in one fiscal year to fund an entire housing project.

Neither Section 801 nor Section 802 produced the results the government envisioned they would. The Army still had a shortage of housing, and the more restrictive federal budget made appropriations difficult to receive. With little funding made available, the Army found it increasingly difficult to construct housing without the assistance of the private sector. Now more than ever, Congress, and the newly elected President Bill Clinton, focused on privatizing more government functions.

The federal government viewed privatization as a way to counteract the ever-growing budget deficit, and the DOD knew that an effective privatization program could solve its housing problems. Throughout the early 1990s, the Office of the Secretary of

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70 Baldwin, "Four Housing Privatization Programs," 28.
71 Ibid., 26.
72 Ibid., 27.
Defense and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers both commissioned studies on housing issues, quality of life issues, and developing methods of partnering with the private sector for family housing construction.\(^{73}\)

Both studies concluded that quality of life, of which housing was a major component, impacted a soldier’s decision to reenlist. The studies also validated the DOD’s supposition that forming partnerships with the private sector was the most effective way to construct family housing. The Defense Science Board Task Force on Quality of Life determined that the traditional military construction process was “so intrinsically flawed that it [the task force] recommends its replacement with an entirely new system, run by a Military Housing Authority, using private housing industry management principles and practices.”\(^{74}\) With this evidence to support them, the DOD sought new legislation that would enable it to privatize housing.

On May 8, 1995, the DOD submitted to Congress a draft for proposed legislation called The Military Family Housing Revitalization Act of 1995. To create the proposal, the DOD had synthesized the suggestions from the recent studies. The proposal authorized the DOD to sell land under its control, to create a Family Housing Improvement Fund, and to use financial tools such as loans, guarantees, and insurance to entice private developers. Most importantly, the proposal authorized the DOD to combine these tools as needed, which had never been allowed before.\(^{75}\)


\(^{75}\) Godfrey and Sadin, *Privatizing Military Family Housing*, 33.
While Congress was still considering the DOD’s proposal, the Army was taking its own steps toward privatization. The army anticipated Congress’ approval of the new legislation and, as such, “examined various ideas of privatization, including the establishment of a nonprofit corporation that would act as a sort of housing authority.”76 In early 1995, the Army formed the Capital Venture Initiatives (CVI), a “program by which the Army and private developers would work together to develop new housing and to operate and manage existing housing.”77

The CVI began researching methods and locations where they hoped to test privatization using pilot projects. As the Army predicted, Congress and the President approved the DOD’s Military Family Housing Revitalization Act. It was incorporated into the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1996 under Subtitle A—Military Housing Privatization Initiative of Title XXVIII—General Provisions, which President Clinton signed into law on February 10, 1996.78

With the new Military Housing Privatization Initiative in effect, all branches of the military were now authorized to test it using pilot projects. They were to work in tandem with the Housing Revitalization Support Office (HRSO) to identify potential sites to test. The Army took the lead at this time, as its CVI had been active for almost a year. When the other branches of the military were just forming privatization initiatives, the Army had already selected its first pilot project, Fort Carson, Colorado.79

The Army envisioned the CVI would revolutionize Army family housing and that it would take only ten years to do so, rather than the estimated thirty to forty years it would

76 Ibid., 27.
77 Ibid.
79 Ibid., 38.
have taken using traditional military construction.\textsuperscript{80} However, the CVI struggled with many setbacks in its first pilot project. To address these issues, Mahlon “Sandy” Apgar, IV, Assistant Secretary of the Army for Installations and Environment, created a more effective privatization program to replace the CVI, the Residential Communities Initiative (RCI).

Under the RCI, the Army was able to form partnerships as limited liability corporations with private developers, known as private partners. The partnerships would last for fifty years with an optional twenty-five year extension, and the Army would lease the land to the limited liability corporation, which would own the housing.\textsuperscript{81} With the Residential Communities Initiative now at work, Army family housing privatization was well and truly under way.

The funding stream under the RCI program is a combination of private and government funds. Over the fifty year life of the program, the government is estimated to fund about ten percent of the total costs. The government funding is used for paying service members their housing allowance, which, in turn, is paid to the private partner as rent. One measure used by the government to estimate the potential financial benefit of privatization is leverage:

DoD policy requires a minimum leverage of 3 to 1 for a privatization project to be considered. This means that a privatized project must generate at least $3 of housing development for every $1 appropriated by Congress to support the project. The leverage ratio is calculated by dividing the estimated cost of a project under Military Construction by the project’s total budget score (appropriated dollars needed to support a project at the time of obligation). For the program as a whole, the leverage has consistently been over 10:1. It is important to note, however, that the biggest advantage of privatization is not monetary, but rather the speed at which these homes can be renovated and constructed by the private sector, and the quality


\textsuperscript{81} Godfrey and Sadin, Privatizing Military Family Housing, 79.
of the housing and housing maintenance that the residents receive almost immediately.\textsuperscript{82}

The RCI was able to privatize 98 percent of all Army family housing within its first ten years. It created more than 85,000 new houses and renovated 70 percent of the Army’s existing inventory of housing. Within the Army’s existing inventory of housing were included numerous historic houses. When the Army decided to privatize housing, it refused to do so piecemeal which means that the private partners owned, operated, and maintained all housing, not just the houses they constructed.\textsuperscript{83}

Privatizing Army housing took several decades of campaigning and testing processes. The Wherry, Capehart, Section 801, and Section 802 housing programs, while unsuccessful, did, in some sense, provide justification and precedence for the current RCI program. All four of the early privatization programs were proof that privatization was possible; all that was necessary was for the Army and Congress to refine the process.

After years of struggling to improve its inventory of housing, the Army finally had the tools in place to solve its housing problems. Today, the private partners are responsible for the design, construction, operation, and maintenance of Army housing to include all pre-RCI and historic family houses. The next two chapters will assess the impact that privatization has had on the Army’s historic houses by examining two Army installations, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas and Fort Benning, Georgia, as case studies.


CHAPTER 4

PRIVATIZATION AT FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS

Fort Leavenworth is a 5,634-acre Army post located in northeastern Kansas and bound by the Missouri River to the east. In addition to being home to the Combined Arms Center, a U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command organization, Ft. Leavenworth also houses the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, and the United States Disciplinary Barracks, the military's only maximum-security penitentiary. Fort Leavenworth is the oldest active military installation west of the Mississippi River, and its history is part of the story of America’s westward expansion and the Army on the frontier.

Figure 4.1: Location of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (Courtesy Fort Leavenworth ICRMP)

This chapter will examine the privatization of family housing at Fort Leavenworth and the impact this has had on the historic family houses on the post. The post’s private
partner will be introduced, followed by a timeline of privatization. First, a brief history of the post is provided as well as a look at some of the post’s most historic buildings.

**History of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas**

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas was established on May 8, 1827, and is named in honor of its founder, Colonel Henry J. Leavenworth. It was the first permanent Army post established west of the Missouri River. The establishment of Fort Leavenworth was the direct result of three events: the Mexican Revolution of 1821, the opening of trade between Mexico and the United States, and increased difficulties with the native Indian population.84

The mission of the post in its early days was to protect traders on the Santa Fe Trail and to preserve peace with the Indians. The founding of Fort Leavenworth coincided with the signing of the Indian Removal Act, an Act which forced Indians westward onto reservations. Fort Leavenworth was tasked with enforcing this, not an easy assignment for a fort which, for its first several years, existed in a semi-temporary state consisting of tents, huts, and log cabins. Illness ran rampant, which left few able bodied men to defend against the many Indian attacks.85

A sense of stability and longevity was established with the construction of permanent buildings beginning in 1834. As the United States continued to expand westward, the post also grew in size and importance as it played an increasingly larger role in protecting the travelers on the Santa Fe Trail and the newly popular Oregon Trail. When

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the Mexican War began in 1846, Fort Leavenworth became a more prominent name among western posts. It became a key supply and replacement depot to enable U.S. forces to protect the American southwest border.\textsuperscript{86}

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 created the Gold Rush, which increased traffic along the Oregon Trail. In a single month in 1849, more than 5,000 wagons crossed the Missouri River toward California. Fort Leavenworth’s importance grew throughout the 1850s and especially during the 1860s with the onset of the Civil War. During the war the post became a key arsenal, supply base and training camp.\textsuperscript{87}

Fort Leavenworth played a vital role during the Civil War in training troops and reorganizing units. However, its frontier location meant it was quite removed from the action of the war’s front. It did, however, become famous after the Civil War because of the formation of the 10\textsuperscript{th} Cavalry at Fort Leavenworth in 1866. The 10\textsuperscript{th} Cavalry was unique in that it was one of the first all-black units in the United States Army. The unit was not widely welcomed at the beginning, but they soon proved themselves as soldiers and received their well-known nickname “Buffalo Soldiers” from the Indians.\textsuperscript{88}

Not long after the Civil War, Fort Leavenworth became famous again. First, the fort became the headquarters of the Department of the Missouri. The department was responsible for the administration and supply of forts in Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and the Indian Territory. Second, because of its frontier


location, Fort Leavenworth was deemed suitable for a prison; thus, it became home to the military penal system. The military prison, known as the United States Disciplinary Barracks, began operations in 1875 and replaced the old guardhouse system and individual posts. Much of Fort Leavenworth’s historic built environment owes its construction to the prisoners of the renowned correctional facility.\(^8^9\)

The prison is not the only famous institution at Fort Leavenworth. Not long after the prison was built, a school was founded within the post. During the Civil War, Generals Grant, Sherman and Sheridan witnessed a great lack of effective tactical leadership. As such, they set out to create a school of military education, specifically for infantry and cavalry. The school, officially established on January 26, 1882, still operates at Fort Leavenworth though it has changed names and missions many times over the years. Today it is called the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, and its students come from services all over the world.\(^9^0\)

Fort Leavenworth’s “mission is to synchronize, integrate, and deliver installation services and sustain facilities in support of Senior Commanders in order to enable a ready and resilient Army.”\(^9^1\) Housing is a major component of the services provided on the post. Fort Leavenworth has a large inventory of houses, and many of them are historic. The next section of this chapter will explore the privatization of family housing at Fort Leavenworth.


\(^9^0\) Hunt, History of Fort Leavenworth, 157-203.

Privatization of Fort Leavenworth’s Family Housing

Prior to being privatized, family housing at Fort Leavenworth was constructed, operated, and maintained in the same manner as every other Army post. It was the responsibility of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to design and construct the housing units while the Directorate of Public Works managed everyday operation and maintenance.92 With the passage of the Military Housing Privatization Initiative, all of those responsibilities were given to private partners. However, this transition to privatization was not instantaneous.

Although the Military Housing Privatization Initiative was established in 1996, it took many years for all housing to be privatized. For several years some members of Congress remained skeptical of the effectiveness of the RCI program. As such, it required the RCI program to conduct several pilot projects throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s before Congress made RCI a permanent program. For this reason, Fort Leavenworth was not privatized until 2006.

In 2004, The Michaels Organization, a prominent company in the housing industry, formed Michaels Military Housing with the express intent of being a partner in privatized military housing. Michaels Military Housing received the award to privatize housing on Fort Leavenworth in December 2004. The following year was dedicated to negotiating the creation of the partnership. Finally, on March 1, 2006, the “Department of the Army

transferred ownership and operation of 1,578 houses to Michaels Military Housing to form Fort Leavenworth Frontier Heritage Communities, LLC.”

The goal of privatization at Fort Leavenworth was to add 708 new houses to the post within ten years. Additionally, Michaels Military Housing would address the existing inventory of houses by renovating 588 houses and demolishing and replacing 692 houses. Some of the existing houses were historic and, in fact, were part of a National Landmark Historic District. The following section will look at Fort Leavenworth’s historic district and some of the houses within it.

**Fort Leavenworth’s Historic Family Houses**

Fort Leavenworth was originally declared a National Historic Landmark District in 1960; however, no specific boundary was delineated. Several years later, in 1974, the National Park Service prepared a proper nomination for the Fort Leavenworth National Historic Landmark District. While the 1974 nomination provided a delineated boundary, it did not provide a comprehensive list of buildings within the district, nor did it determine which buildings were contributing and which were not. The nomination identified the period of significance as 1827 to 1901 because 1827 was the year the fort was established and 1901 was the year the school was reorganized to become the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

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95 Fort Leavenworth DPW, *ICRMP*, vi.
Figure 4.2: Fort Leavenworth National Historic Landmark District Map (Courtesy Fort Leavenworth CRM)
The 1974 nomination covered an area of 107 acres and included more than one hundred buildings. However, several of the post's historic family houses were inexplicably excluded from the district.\textsuperscript{96} To rectify this situation, the National Park Service conducted an inventory review of the Fort Leavenworth National Historic Landmark District in 1995. The review expanded the district to 213 acres and increased the number of contributing buildings to 237 (see Figure 4.2).

The Fort Leavenworth National Historic Landmark District “encompasses the historic core of Fort Leavenworth’s built environment, which possesses a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association to significant events in the history of the nation.”\textsuperscript{97} Many of the 237 contributing buildings identified in 1995 were family housing units. Today, more than 250 historic family housing units lie within the district, some more than 150 years old.\textsuperscript{98}

The first permanent building to be constructed at Fort Leavenworth was a residence, 12-14 Sumner Place, and is most commonly called “The Rookery.” The building is a duplex in the most historic area of Fort Leavenworth, the Main Parade, a large square parade ground. It was built in 1834 and constructed of stone and hand-hewn timbers. The Rookery was originally the home of Fort Leavenworth’s early commanding officers; however, it is now used as family quarters. Not only is the Rookery Fort Leavenworth’s

\textsuperscript{97} Fort Leavenworth DPW, ICRMP, vi.
oldest building, it is also famous for being the oldest continually occupied home in the state of Kansas.\textsuperscript{99}

Figure 4.3: The Rookery, 12-14 Sumner Place (Courtesy Library of Congress)

The Rookery sits at the northeast corner of the Main Parade. Surrounding the Main Parade to the north and east are some of Fort Leavenworth’s most historic family houses as the Main Parade is the site where the fort was first settled. On the east side of the Main Parade, just south of the Rookery, sit two duplexes called the Syracuse houses. The houses were built between 1855-1856 and so named because their builder was from Syracuse, New York. These clapboard houses have two-and-a-half stories and represent “high style” architecture that was more common on the east coast at that time than on the frontier.\textsuperscript{100} These houses represent an Italianate style, which can be seen in the paired brackets and decorative porch.

On the north side of the Main Parade sits 16-18 Sumner Place, a two-story brick duplex. It was built in 1878 to accommodate officers of the Department of Missouri. Its neighbor, Number 20-22 Sumner Place, is Fort Leavenworth’s second oldest house and is the oldest brick building in the state of Kansas. It was built in 1839 in the Greek Revival style and served as a residence for the post commander from the time of its construction until 1890, when the post commander’s house changed to Number 1 Scott Avenue.101

Number 1 Scott Avenue is perhaps the grandest residence on Fort Leavenworth. It was constructed in 1861 in an Italianate style for the commander of the arsenal. When the arsenal was moved to Rock Island, Illinois, the house became the residence of the commander of the Department of Missouri. In 1890, the headquarters of the Department of Missouri moved to Saint Louis and, from that point onward, Number 1 Scott Avenue has served as the home of the post’s commanders.¹⁰²

![Figure 4.7: Quarters One, 1 Scott Avenue (Courtesy Library of Congress)](image)

Scott Avenue is home to Fort Leavenworth’s highest-ranking officers and, as such, the houses tend to be quite grand and unique. Numbers 611 and 624 Scott Avenue, along with Number 1 Scott Avenue, are evidence of that. Number 611 Scott Avenue was built by Hiram Rich in 1841. Hiram Rich was the Post Sutler from 1842 until his death in 1862. A Post Sutler’s store was an early form of a Post Exchange. Soldiers received all their necessary provisions from the Army, but supplemental items such as tobacco, beer,

¹⁰² Glass, “Fort Leavenworth, Building No. 1, 1 Scott Avenue,” 3.
whiskey, matches, playing cards, non-military clothing, and the like, were purchased from the Sutler. Upon Rich’s death, the house was purchased by the Army and became the home of commanding officers. The house was originally a small log structure that was converted into a one-and-a-half story clapboard house during the late 1850s. Sometime after the Army acquired it in 1862, the house was converted into two-and-a-half stories. The house is an L-shaped structure with Italianate themes seen in the entablature of the porch.  

Number 624 Scott Avenue was built for an officer of the Department of Missouri. Its actual date of construction is unknown, however, it is usually cited as circa 1883. A two-story veranda dominates the front of this brick, Queen Anne style house. The house also signifies some effort of physical planning as the back of the house overlooks the river and the front faces a small park.

North of Scott Avenue is another of Fort Leavenworth’s neighborhoods that overlooks the river, Riverside Avenue. The houses of Riverside Avenue have long been associated with the Disciplinary Barracks, as the penitentiary used to be located just west

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103 Glass, “Fort Leavenworth, Building No. 5, 611 Scott Avenue,” 3-5.
104 Glass, “Fort Leavenworth, Building No. 6, 624 Scott Avenue,” 1.
of these houses until it was moved in 2002. Number 20-22 Riverside Avenue was built in the late 1850s as a small complex of warehouses and offices. The building was converted to residences in 1876 to house the prison commandants. This two-story masonry building retains its rectangular stockiness, reminiscent of its days as a warehouse. However, it has been embellished over the years in order make it appear more residential.\textsuperscript{105}

![Figure 4.10: 20-22 Riverside Avenue, note the eastern wall of the Disciplinary Barracks visible in the left of the image (Courtesy Library of Congress)](image)

The other seven houses of Riverside Avenue were built to house officers who worked at the prison. Two duplexes, Numbers 10-12 and 14-16, were built sometime between 1875-1878. These two-story frame houses are a variation of a center gable cottage. Where a typical center gable cottage would have a central hall plan, these houses are not because they are duplexes. Both houses feature expansive porches with decorative cornices, a center gable with decorative bargeboard, and bay windows.\textsuperscript{106}

The remaining five houses on Riverside Avenue (Numbers 2, 4, 5, 6, and 8) were also built between 1875-1878. These single-family, vernacular frame houses are the only surviving examples of vernacular frame architecture at Fort Leavenworth. They were

\textsuperscript{105} Glass, “Fort Leavenworth, Building No. 357, 20-22 Riverside Avenue,” 3.
\textsuperscript{106} Glass, “Fort Leavenworth, Building No. 433, 10-12 Riverside Avenue,” 1.
constructed between 1875-1878, are two-and-a-half stories tall and have two porches. Number 5 Riverside Avenue was the last house to be constructed on Riverside Avenue and is the only house located on the west side of the road.  

Two housing areas, the West End Parade and Grant Avenue, were developed around the turn of the twentieth century in order to accommodate the increasing number of students at Fort Leavenworth’s growing school. Southwest of the Main Parade is the area that used to be called West End Parade. The houses in this area border what used to be a parade ground until a church was built there in 2010. Two duplexes, Numbers 626-628 and 630-632 Thomas Avenue, were built in 1889. Just south of the two-and-a-half story duplexes are three single-family houses that were also built in 1889. Numbers 620, 622, and 624 Thomas Avenue are one-story, brick gabled plains cottages and are Fort Leavenworth’s smallest independent housing units. Grant Avenue is Fort Leavenworth’s main street and home to some of the fort’s most imposing houses. The eight duplexes that

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107 Glass, “Fort Leavenworth, Building No. 436, 5 Riverside Avenue,” 3.
line the west side of Grant Avenue have three stories and a finished basement. They were built in 1901 and sit across from a triangular park.

The aforementioned residences provide just a glimpse into Fort Leavenworth’s inventory of historic family houses. Like so many other historic buildings, the historic family houses of Fort Leavenworth have been altered throughout the years. For example, in 1879 a brick extension was added to the north side of the Rookery. 20-22 Sumner Avenue was also extended to the north with a brick addition in 1881.\footnote{Rogers, “Fort Leavenworth National Historic Landmark,” 2.} 109 1 Scott Avenue’s front porch was enclosed, and a sleeping porch was added off the master bedroom on the second floor.\footnote{Glass, “Fort Leavenworth, Building No. 1, 1 Scott Ave,” 2.}
Throughout the years, the Army has made other alterations to the historic family houses at Fort Leavenworth. Some changes have simply been minor repair work; others have been more major alterations. Now, as part of its privatization agreement, Michaels Military Housing manages all repair work and any necessary alterations. The preservation of these houses also falls to Michaels Military Housing in partnership with the Army. The next section of this chapter will examine the preservation of Fort Leavenworth’s historic family houses since privatization.

**Preservation of Fort Leavenworth’s Historic Family Houses**

In much the same way that the privatization of family housing is a partnership between the Army and a private developer, so too is the preservation of historic family houses. The preservation of Fort Leavenworth’s historic family houses requires a constant working relationship between Michaels Military Housing and the Fort’s Cultural Resource Management (CRM) staff. The CRM staff is responsible for ensuring that Fort Leavenworth complies with the National Historic Preservation Act.

In 1966, Congress passed the National Historic Preservation Act in order to preserve America’s historic resources. The Act created the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP). Sections 106, 110, and 111 of the Act determine the responsibility of federal agencies to protect historic properties. Specifically, Section 106 requires federal agencies to consider how their activities may affect historic properties. The ACHP created a guidance document, called 36 Code of Federal Regulations Part 800 (36 CFR 800), as a tool for implementing Section 106.
“36 CFR 800 recognizes that, for the Army and other land and real property managing agencies that have day to day operational control of historic properties, individual compliance for each action is not practical.” As a result, 36 CFR 800 authorizes programmatic compliance through the development of Programmatic Agreements. In 2005, after Michaels Military Housing was awarded the bid to privatize housing at Fort Leavenworth but before the fort transferred ownership, the two entities, along with the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), signed a programmatic agreement. This initiated the privatized preservation of Fort Leavenworth’s historic family houses.

Fort Leavenworth’s programmatic agreement is more than just a legally binding document; it provides baseline guidance for Michaels Military Housing to effectively preserve the historic family houses in their care. Section III of the Stipulations is entitled Historic Property Management and requires Michaels Military Housing to conform to the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties. The treatment standards are Preservation, Rehabilitation, Restoration, and Reconstruction.

In accordance with the programmatic agreement, whenever Michaels Military Housing wishes to make any modification to a historic family house, it must first provide the Fort Leavenworth CRM staff with a proposed project plan. It then falls to the CRM staff to determine whether or not the proposed work might affect a historic family house that is listed or eligible for listing in the NRHP. If the CRM determines that the project has the potential to affect a historic property, then the SHPO must review the project. The SHPO

111 Fort Leavenworth DPW, ICRMP, 87.
112 Fort Leavenworth PA, 4.
will then consult with the CRM staff and Michaels Military Housing to mitigate any adverse effects.\textsuperscript{113}

While most activities conducted by Michaels Military Housing require SHPO review, some actions are exempt, such as painting, replacing deteriorating historic fabric with in-kind materials, replacing HVAC systems including furnaces, and removal of asbestos floor tiles and insulation. These minor repair and regular maintenance activities rarely, if ever, impact the overall historic fabric or character-defining features of Fort Leavenworth’s historic family houses. It is the major modifications that the CRM staff and the SHPO have to regulate.\textsuperscript{114}

When Michaels Military Housing first began operation of the historic family houses on Fort Leavenworth, the residences, having been maintained by the Army, were in good condition. However, most were in need of updating to accommodate modern lifestyles. The most common updates addressed the aging kitchens and bathrooms. In most cases the kitchens were completely remodeled to include new flooring, cabinetry, backsplashes, fixtures, and appliances. Bathrooms were treated in a similar manner, including new flooring, cabinets, countertops, and fixtures.\textsuperscript{115}

One of the best examples of Michaels Military Housing’s work on historic family housing is seen at Number 620 Scott Avenue (See Figure 4.16). This painted brick house was built in 1865 for a staff officer of the Department of Missouri, but today it is the quarters of the British liaison officer. According to the National Register form, this house is

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid, 5.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid, 17.
unique among military quarters construction. Very little has changed to the exterior of the house over the years.

Figure 4.16: Exterior of 620 Scott Avenue (Photo by author)

The interior of 620 Scott Avenue retains an equally historic appearance as the exterior façade. Indeed, the front double doors are original as are many of the interior features, including the fireplace and American Radiator Company radiators. The kitchen is located in the back of the house in an addition dating to 1881. It was remodeled with new flooring, cabinetry, and appliances (see Figure 4.17). The only other area of the house that has a modern appearance is the bathroom.

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116 Rogers, “Fort Leavenworth National Historic Landmark,” 1.
620 Scott Avenue has two bathrooms, and both have been updated with new toilets, tubs, fixtures, flooring, and cabinetry. These types of alterations typify the work that Michaels Military Housing does on Fort Leavenworth’s historic family houses. Rarely are alterations visible from the exterior other than repairs to porches. In some cases, such as the rear porches of the duplexes on Wint Avenue, the porches have had to be reconstructed. However, most historic family houses retain their original porches with simple porch repair as needed.

Figure 4.18 illustrates the type of spot repair that is sometimes necessary to the porches of historic family houses. In accordance with the PA, the action required to repair this damage would not require SHPO review as long as in-kind materials are used. Had the damage been more widespread, the porch might have needed to be replaced. If this were to
be the case, Michaels Military Housing would have to submit the project for review by the CRM staff and the SHPO. Through this system of project review and guideline adherence, Michaels Military Housing is able to effectively preserve Fort Leavenworth’s historic family houses.

Figure 4.18: Damage to porch, 205 Sherman Avenue (Photo by author)

**Conclusion**

As the oldest active military installation west of the Mississippi River, Fort Leavenworth is significant to U.S. Army history. Its days as a frontier fort played a vital role in the westward expansion of the nation and the Indian relocation effort. Today, Fort Leavenworth is a key fort for the education and rehabilitation of soldiers. The fort’s historical significance is reflected in its large inventory of historic family houses.
Fort Leavenworth’s historic family houses are as significant as the fort itself, having at one time or another been the residences of important army figures. Moreover, their construction and architecture represent the changing missions of the fort and the Army throughout history. The privatization of housing on Fort Leavenworth has had the potential to affect these historic residences adversely. However, the partnership between Fort Leavenworth’s CRM staff and Michaels Military Housing has, thus far, taken great care to ensure that the historic family houses retain their overall historic appearance with only minor alterations to some interior spaces.
CHAPTER 5

PRIVATIZATION AT FORT BENNING, GEORGIA

Fort Benning is located in western central Georgia, southeast of the city of Columbus. It covers an area of approximately 285 square miles in Chattahoochee, Marion, and Muscogee counties. Part of the post is also located in Russell County, Alabama. Fort Benning is home to the U.S. Army Maneuver Center of Excellence, the U.S. Army Armor School, and the U.S. Army Infantry School. It is the oldest, continually active U.S. Army post in the state of Georgia.

Figure 5.1: Location of Fort Benning, Georgia (Map by author)
This chapter will examine the privatization of family housing at Fort Benning, Georgia and the impact it has had on the historic family houses on the post. The post’s private partner will be introduced, followed by the timeline of privatization. First, a brief history of the post is provided, as well as a look at some of the post’s historic buildings.

**History of Fort Benning, Georgia**

In 1917, the War Department was in search of a new location for the Infantry School of Arms. The school’s existing location, Fort Sill, Oklahoma, could no longer accommodate the growing school. The War Department chose a site outside of Columbus, Georgia for its size and because the climate was conducive to year-round training. The site was established in early 1918 and named Camp Benning after Confederate General Henry Lewis Benning, who was from Columbus.\(^{118}\)

The early days of the post were quite chaotic because funding for construction was appropriated and then withdrawn on more than one occasion. This was due, in part, to a number of Congressmen who were against major spending because of the post World War I economy. Opposition also came from many citizens of the Columbus area who did not want an Army post in their community.\(^{119}\)

Regardless of opposition, Camp Benning was made a permanent post in 1922 and renamed Fort Benning. The following year, permanent construction began in earnest and

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followed a post plan that had been developed in 1919.\textsuperscript{120} The plan called for the construction of 450 buildings, 181 of which were to be family houses. Other facilities included a fire station, Post Exchange, infirmary, post office, chapel, school, theater, and a library.\textsuperscript{121} The post plan also incorporated landscape design features of the City Beautiful movement. City Beautiful was the planning and landscape movement sparked by the World’s Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893.\textsuperscript{122} The movement sought to improve civic life by beautifying cities. At Fort Benning, examples are seen in the housing neighborhoods with their meandering streets and vistas. Certain houses face a green rather than the street, an orientation which reflects City Beautiful ideas.\textsuperscript{123}

Throughout the 1930s, the post began to grow as the Infantry School expanded and as other facilities were added to the post, such as the airfield in 1931 and the Tank School, which was moved to Fort Benning from Fort Meade, Maryland in 1932. By 1935, the post was almost fully developed; however, the onset of World War II brought major changes to Fort Benning. The mobilization of thousands of soldiers resulted in large numbers of tents, huts, and temporary wooden buildings being erected.\textsuperscript{124}

Fort Benning came to prominence during World War II for its organization and training of troops. The Infantry School continued to expand, and an Infantry Officer Candidate School was created at Fort Benning during the early 1940s. Experiments in troop

\textsuperscript{121} Hamilton, \textit{ICRMP}, 34-35.
\textsuperscript{123} Cannan, \textit{National Historic Context}, 30.
\textsuperscript{124} Department of the Army, \textit{Historic Properties Component}, (Fort Benning, GA: U.S. Army Infantry Center, 2006), 12.
movement through the use of parachutes were initiated in 1940 and continued through the early war years. Then, in 1942, the Parachute School was created to train soldiers in military parachuting. Renamed the Airborne School in 1946, it continues to operate at Fort Benning today.¹²⁵

After the war, construction and development at Fort Benning was significantly reduced. Nevertheless, the post’s reputation was increasing for the education and training that it conducted. The schools at Fort Benning revolutionized modern warfare, not just on land but also in the air. “The concept of the large-scale use of helicopters for assault operations, aerial reconnaissance, troop transportation, medical evacuation, and logistical support was tested at Fort Benning.”¹²⁶ Besides being a testing site for warfare practices, Fort Benning was also the testing site for privatization processes.¹²⁷ The following section discusses the privatization of Fort Benning’s family housing.

Privatization of Fort Benning’s Family Housing

The U.S. Army initiated the privatization process at Fort Benning in 2004 when the bid to privatize housing was awarded to Clark Pinnacle Family Communities LLC. Clark Pinnacle is a joint venture between Clark Realty Capital, LLC of Bethesda, Maryland and Pinnacle Property Management of Seattle, Washington. Throughout 2005, the Army and

¹²⁵ Ibid.
¹²⁶ Ibid.
Clark Pinnacle developed a management plan to be used as a framework for privatization of family housing at Fort Benning.128

In early 2006, the Department of the Army transferred ownership and operation of Fort Benning’s family housing to Clark Pinnacle to form Fort Benning Family Communities LLC. Clark Pinnacle brought more than $467 million in private funds to demolish 2,110 outdated houses, construct 2,377 new houses, and renovate 1,560 houses, approximately 500 of which are considered historic. By August 2015, the end date of the initial development period, Clark Pinnacle will manage an inventory of 4,200 houses.129

**Fort Benning’s Historic Family Houses**

Fort Benning has a wealth of historic family houses, all of which are located in an area of the fort called Main Post. Two attempts have been made to nominate a historic district on Main Post. The first nomination form was sent to the Georgia State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) for formal review in 1995, but the form was not formatted correctly. The SHPO returned the nomination form in order for Fort Benning to correct the formatting issues, but a corrected form was never sent back to the SHPO.130

In 2012, the fort contracted Panamerican Consultants, Inc. to complete a National Register nomination form for the Main Post Historic District. As with the 1995 effort, the goal was to nominate the historic district formally to the National Register of Historic Places; however, it is yet to be listed. The proposed district covers an area of 1456 acres

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130 Department of the Army, *HPC*, 38.
and includes 655 resources. Within the bounds of the suggested district are Fort Benning’s most historic family houses.\textsuperscript{131}

One of Fort Benning’s historic family houses actually pre-dates the founding of the post. Quarters Number 1, commonly known as Riverside, was constructed in 1909. It is the home of Fort Benning’s Commanding General but was originally the home of the Bussey family. The Busseys sold Riverside and the 1,782-acre plantation on which it sat to the Army in 1919 to establish what was then Camp Benning.\textsuperscript{132} Riverside was determined to be especially significant for its military and agricultural history and, as a result, it was individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1971.\textsuperscript{133}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure5_2.jpg}
\caption{Quarters Number 1, Riverside (Courtesy Benning.Army.Mil)}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{131} Kelly Nolte, "Main Post Historic District National Register Nomination," (Tuscaloosa, AL: Panamerican Consultants, Inc., 2012), 2 and 60.
\textsuperscript{132} Hamilton, \textit{ICRMP}, 11.
The two-story neoclassical-revival house has changed little in its more than one hundred years and, to this day, remains in excellent condition. Some additions and alterations were made between the 1920s and 1940s to include the addition of a library by enclosing a porch and the addition of a half-bathroom to the south façade. More recently, a handicap accessible ramp was added at the northwest porch entrance in 2004. The landscape surrounding Riverside, with its informal groupings of flowerbeds, shrubbery, and now historic trees, is also largely unaltered.\textsuperscript{134}

Fort Benning's oldest neighborhood, Austin Loop, was created for officers' housing between 1923 and 1931. The neighborhood consists of sixty-five houses, the majority of which are Dutch Colonial style duplexes. The houses are part of Fort Benning's City Beautiful plan in that the majority of them are designed so that the back door faces the street and the front door faces a large common green.\textsuperscript{135} The houses of Austin Loop have been home to many soldiers over their ninety years, but none quite so prominent as the then Major Dwight D. Eisenhower. Some thirty years before he became president, Eisenhower and his wife, Mamie, lived at 206 Austin Loop from 1926 to 1927.\textsuperscript{136}

Less than five hundred feet east of Austin Loop is Fort Benning's second oldest neighborhood, Miller Loop. The houses of Miller Loop were constructed in 1934 to serve as quarters for officers. They are similar to the houses of Austin Loop in that the fronts face a common green rather than the road. Each of Miller Loop's thirty-nine houses is in the same Spanish Colonial Revival style. The clay tile roofs of this style are a common feature among

\textsuperscript{135} Nolte, "Main Post Historic District," 12.
most of the historic family houses on Fort Benning.\textsuperscript{137} Between the two neighborhoods of Austin and Miller Loops are just a few of Fort Benning’s sixteen different types of historic houses. All sixteen housing types are depicted in Table 5.1.

Figure 5.3: 204-206 Austin Loop (Photo by author)

Figure 5.4: 305 Miller Loop (Courtesy Panamerican Consultants, Inc.)

\textsuperscript{137} Nolte, “Main Post Historic District,” 12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type A</strong> – Fort Benning’s thirty Type A houses are nicknamed “White Elephants” because of their size. Each unit was constructed between 1933-1935 and houses four families. The two-story houses have three bedrooms, two bathrooms, a sleeping porch, and a finished basement and attic. They are built in the Spanish Colonial Revival style with white stucco over hollow clay tile walls and red mission tile roofs.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Type B</strong> – There are ten Type B houses on Fort Benning. The duplexes were constructed between 1922-1924 in the Dutch Colonial Revival style with a red brick in Flemish bond first story and stucco over hollow clay tile second story. These two-story houses have three bedrooms and one bathroom.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Type C</strong> – Fort Benning has eighteen Type C houses. They were constructed between 1923-1924 in the Dutch Colonial Revival style. These two-story duplexes have a finished basement, four bedrooms and two bathrooms.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Type D</strong> – The exterior of Fort Benning’s seven Type D houses appear to be quite similar to the Type B and Type C houses; however, the floor plans of all three types vary greatly. The Type D houses were constructed in 1923 and have three bedrooms and one bathroom.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>There are seven Type E houses on Fort Benning. The two-story duplexes were constructed in 1923, in the Prairie Style, with a red brick in common bond first story and stucco second story. These houses have two bedrooms and one bathroom.</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Fort Benning’s fifty-one Type F houses were constructed between 1931-1932 in the Spanish Colonial Revival style. Thirty-three of the Type F houses are located on Rainbow Avenue and painted in various pastel colors. These two-story houses have a central hall with three bedrooms, two bathrooms, a sleeping porch, a finished basement, and an attached garage.</td>
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<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>There are eighty-seven Type G houses on Fort Benning. They were constructed between 1933-1934 in the Spanish Colonial Revival style with white stucco over hollow clay tile with red mission tile roofs. The two-story houses have a central hall plan with three bedrooms, two bathrooms, a sleeping porch, and a finished basement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Fort Benning has twenty-two Type H houses. These two-story, central hall houses were constructed between 1933-1935 and have four bedrooms, two bathrooms, a sleeping porch, and a finished basement. Like many of Fort Benning’s other houses, the style of the Type H is Spanish Colonial Revival.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Type I
The sixteen Type I houses on Fort Benning were constructed in 1930 in the Spanish Colonial Revival style and have the common white stucco over hollow clay tile walls with red mission tile roofs. These two-story houses have a central hall plan with three bedrooms, two bathrooms, a sleeping porch, and a finished basement.

### Type J
Fort Benning’s nine Type J houses were constructed between 1930-1931. These two-story, central hall houses have three bedrooms, two bathrooms, a sleeping porch, and a finished basement. The Type J houses were also constructed in the Spanish Colonial Revival style.

### Type K
There are only four Type K houses on Fort Benning. Although the Spanish Colonial Revival style exterior of the Type K houses appears similar to Types F-J, each type has a unique floor plan. The Type K houses have four bedrooms, two bathrooms, a sleeping porch, and a finished basement.

### Type L
Fort Benning has seven Type L houses. These one-story bungalows were constructed in 1930 in the Spanish Colonial Revival style with white stucco over hollow clay tile walls with red mission tile roofs. The houses have three bedrooms, two bathrooms, and a drive-in basement garage.
**Type M** – The five Type M houses on Fort Benning were constructed between 1931-1932. They are two-story, central hall houses in the Spanish Colonial Revival style white stucco over hollow clay tile walls with red mission tile roofs. Each house has four bedrooms, two bathrooms and a sleeping porch. The finished basements also have a maid’s bedroom and bathroom.

**Type N** – Fort Benning’s fourteen Type N houses were constructed in 1930. These L-shaped, one-story, Spanish Colonial Revival houses have hollow tile walls with brick veneer exteriors. Each house has two bedrooms, one bathroom and a sleeping porch.

**Type O** – There are eighty-six Type O houses on Fort Benning. These one-story bungalows were constructed between 1930-1934. They each have two bedrooms, one bathroom, a sleeping porch, and a basement. These Spanish Colonial Revival style houses have the characteristic stucco over hollow clay tile walls and red mission tile roofs.

**Type Q** – Fort Benning’s only Type Q house is the home of the Assistant Commandant. It was constructed in 1934 in the Spanish Colonial Revival style with the characteristic stucco over hollow clay tile walls and red mission tile roof. This two-story, central hall house has a port cochère entrance, four bedrooms, two bathrooms, a sleeping porch, and a finished basement.

Table 5.1: Fort Benning’s sixteen types of historic houses. (Information and images from each housing type’s HABS document, except for the photo of the Type G house, which is by the author)
As depicted in Table 5.1, the historic family houses of Fort Benning vary in size and style. Fort Benning also has a number of more recently historic houses from the post-war, Capehart-Wherry era (Figure 5.5). Throughout their history the Army has maintained these houses, but now the everyday maintenance and repair falls to Fort Benning’s private partner, Clarke Pinnacle. The next section of this chapter will examine Clarke Pinnacle’s role in preserving Fort Benning’s historic family houses.

Figure 5.5: Capehart-Wherry era house at Fort Benning (Photo by author)

Preservation of Fort Benning’s Historic Family Houses

The effort to preserve Fort Benning’s privatized, historic family houses was initiated in March 2005 when Fort Benning, Clark Pinnacle, and the SHPO signed a programmatic agreement. Though a programmatic agreement is primarily used in accordance with 36 CFR 800 for compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, it is not the only option available. Fort Benning does not use its programmatic agreement for Section 106 compliance because it employs an alternate approach, Army Alternate 138

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138 Fort Benning PA.
Procedures (AAP). Subpart C-Program Alternatives of 36 CFR 800 allows for Army installations to meet Section 106 requirements without following the Section 106 process. An Installation Commander has the option of implementing the AAP or using the traditional Section 106 process. If an Installation Commander should choose to implement the AAP, the installation is required to develop a Historic Properties Component (HPC) as part of its Integrated Cultural Resource Management Plan (ICRMP). The ICRMP is a five-year planning document used to implement an installation’s cultural resources management program. Fort Benning became the first installation to implement the AAP when it received approval for its HPC in August 2005.

The main difference between the AAP process and the process outlined in Subpart B of 36 CFR 800 is the review of projects. The 36 CFR 800 process requires review on a project-by-project basis; whereas, the AAP process allows for a programmatic project review process with annual review by the SHPO. The programmatic project review process is outlined in the installation’s HPC by standard operating procedures (SOP) “for the identification, evaluation, assessment of effects, treatment, and management of historic properties.” The following SOPs are the steps that Fort Benning follows when considering the effects of its activities on historic properties:

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141 Department of the Army, *HPC*, 1-2.
**Table 5.2: Fort Benning’s Standard Operating Procedures**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOP 1</th>
<th>Identifying undertakings and defining areas of potential effect (APE)</th>
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<td>SOP 2</td>
<td>Determining applicability of HPC categorical exclusions and/or exemptions</td>
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<td>SOP 3</td>
<td>Insuring that historic properties within an APE are located and evaluated for eligibility</td>
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<td>SOP 4</td>
<td>Assessing effects of undertakings on identified historic properties</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOP 5</td>
<td>Applying HPC best management practices where possible, that avoid adverse effects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOP 6</td>
<td>Reviewing HPC alternatives for undertakings that have an adverse effect on historic properties and where HPC best management practices cannot be applied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOP 7</td>
<td>Treating adverse effects when avoidance of such effects is not possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOP 8</td>
<td>Documenting acceptable loss when HPC best management practices, HPC alternatives, and/or mitigation are determined not to be in the public interest or financially or otherwise feasible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2: Fort Benning’s Standard Operating Procedures (Courtesy Fort Benning)

In accordance with the SOPs, whenever Clark Pinnacle proposes a project on a historic family house, it must submit a Record of Environmental Consideration (REC), also known as a Fort Benning 144-R (FB 114-R) form, to the Environmental Management Division (EMD) for the Cultural Resource Manager to review. By reviewing the project description section of the FB 144-R, the Cultural Resource Manager determines whether or not the project qualifies as an undertaking. Section 1.5 of the AAP defines an undertaking as:

a project, activity, or program funded in whole or in part under the direct or indirect jurisdiction of Fort Benning, including those carried out by or on behalf of Fort Benning, those carried out in whole or in part with Army funds, and those requiring Fort Benning approval.

If the Cultural Resource Manager determines that the project does not qualify as an undertaking, then the REC is filed and the project may proceed. However, if the project

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146 Ibid., 55.
does qualify as an undertaking, then SOPs 2-8 must be followed to ensure that Fort Benning adheres to the AAP for Section 106 compliance.

Section 3.0 of the HPC categorizes the undertakings that have the potential to impact Fort Benning’s historic family houses. These include capital improvement, mothballing, construction, disposal, master planning, ground-disturbing activities, timber harvesting, and training projects. Capital improvement is the most common category of undertakings with the potential to impact the historic family houses and, as such, has a number of subcategories: conversion, preservation, restoration, and substantial alteration.\footnote{Ibid., 42-43.}

As the private partner at Fort Benning, Clark Pinnacle has conducted many undertakings over the past ten years. These undertakings have ranged from minor maintenance and repair projects to more major alterations. An example of Clark Pinnacle’s work can be seen in Fort Benning’s Type G houses (Figure 5.6). Eighty-seven Type G houses were constructed between 1933 and 1934 on Fort Benning, and the exterior of these houses has changed very little since their construction with the exception of the removal of the window shutters in 1956 (Figure 5.7).\footnote{Stacey L. Griffin, “Fort Benning Main Post Historic Housing Types, Type G,” Historic American Buildings Survey Report, (Tuscaloosa, AL: Panamerican Consultants, Inc., 2012), 10.}
Figure 5.6: A Type G house, Number 600 First Division Road (Photo by author)

Figure 5.7: A Type G house, circa 1934 (Courtesy Panamerican Consultants, Inc.)
The interiors of these Type G houses are almost as unaltered as the exteriors. The houses’ original wood varnished floors remain, as well as the original doors, frames and their hardware. The original radiators remain throughout the house and can be seen in the study (Figure 5.8). The study also retains its two original built-in bookshelves. Limited renovations by Clark Pinnacle have simply served to bring them up to modern living standards. In most historic houses, the rooms that tend to require the most modernizing are the kitchens, and the Type G houses are no exception. The kitchens in the Type G houses that Clark Pinnacle has replaced were not the original kitchens; the Army had already updated those in 1956 (Figure 5.9).^{149}

Figure 5.8: The study in Number 600 First Division Road (Photo by author)

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^{149} Griffin, *Type G*, 2.
Figure 5.9: Kitchen of a Type G house, dated 2008 (Courtesy Panamerican Consultants, Inc.)

Figure 5.10: Updated kitchen of a Type G house, dated 2013 (Courtesy Clark Realty Capital)
The more recent kitchen remodeling includes new flooring, modern stainless steel appliances, and additional cupboard and countertop space. The bathrooms of the Type G houses have also been updated but on a much smaller scale. The toilets have been replaced, but the original sinks, ceramic wall tiles, flooring, tubs, and medicine cabinets remain. Although the Type G houses have been altered, they largely retain their historic appearance and feeling.

When a loss of original features occurs to the houses of Fort Benning, mitigation steps must be taken in accordance with AAP for Section 106 compliance. For example, the windows at Riverside needed to be replaced in 2008 due to settling and moisture problems. In order to mitigate the adverse effect that replacement would have on the property, the CRM ordered Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) documentation, not just for Riverside but also for all sixteen types of historic houses on Fort Benning. Completion of the HABS documentation fulfills Fort Benning’s compliance with the AAP and ensures that the historic integrity of a building is recorded in detail before any demolition or substantial alteration occurs. The record is kept on file at Fort Benning and sent to the SHPO.

Not all of Fort Benning’s historic houses fall under the AAP. The fort’s more recently historic Wherry and Capehart era housing are exempt from the HPC because they fall under an Army-wide Program Comment entitled “Program Comment on Capehart and Wherry Era (1949-1962) Army Family Housing, Associated Structures, and Landscape Features.”152

The document was developed between the Department of the Army and the Advisory

150 Griffin, Type G, 7.
151 Griffin, Riverside, 18.
Council on Historic Preservation and went into effect on June 7, 2002. At that time, the Army estimated that it had approximately 19,000 Capehart and Wherry houses. With such a large number of these houses, it was important that the Army take measures to streamline compliance throughout the entire Army. Streamlined compliance allows the Army to proceed with “undertakings defined as maintenance and repair, rehabilitation, layaway and mothballing, renovation, demolition, demolition and replacement, and transfer, sale, or lease out of Federal control”\(^\text{153}\) without SHPO negotiations.

Under the Program Comment, the Army developed a historic context. With that in place, Fort Benning and all other Army installations were able to renovate or demolish Capehart and Wherry era houses without SHPO review. The Program Comment went into effect before the majority of Capehart and Wherry houses reached fifty years old. Although The National Register will list properties of exceptional significance even if they are less than fifty years old, the ACHP, according to the Program Comment, believed that Capehart Wherry properties would never meet the significance test of exceptional significance. As a result, many Capehart and Wherry houses were demolished because it was more cost effective to do so.

**Conclusion**

Fort Benning's significance as a U.S. Army post cannot be overstated. It has served as the home to infantry education and training for nearly one hundred years. As the longest continually active installation in the state of Georgia, Fort Benning has a large inventory of

\(^{153}\) Department of the Army, *HPC*, 46.
historic family houses that reflect the fort’s significance and character in their variety of style, size, and form.

The preservation of the historic houses has been a joint effort between Fort Benning and Clark Pinnacle since the housing at Fort Benning was privatized in 2006. Both Fort Benning and Clark Pinnacle adhere to the standard operating procedures outlined in the HPC. Fort Benning was one of the first US Army bases to use the Army Alternate Procedures for Section 106 compliance and the first to have its HPC approved. Many of the historic houses on Fort Benning have been subject to some rehabilitation. This is mainly in the form of kitchen and bathroom modernization. While some of the interior spaces have been changed, great effort has been taken on the part of Fort Benning and Clark Pinnacle to ensure that the houses retain their historic character.
In order to understand the impact that the privatization of U.S. Army housing has had on the preservation of the Army's historic family houses, and thus to effectively answer the question of this thesis, the preservation processes (Section 106 review and Army Alternate Procedures) presented in the previous two chapters must be analyzed. The impact that these preservation processes have had is evidenced in the inventory of historic properties. As such, the preservation of the inventory will be analyzed as well. The final section of this chapter will provide a conclusion of the entire thesis.

Analysis

As a federal agency, the Army is responsible for adhering to the policies outlined in the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). Section 106 of the Act requires federal agencies to consider how their activities may affect historic properties. Prior to privatization, the Department of Defense, as a whole, found it difficult to comply with the NHPA. According to an evaluation report written by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) in 1994, the Department of Defense (DOD) was not fully complying with NHPA policies. The report examined the DOD as a whole rather than focusing on one single branch. Of the four branches within the DOD, the Army has the largest holding of historic resources. The ACHP determined that the management of historic properties, in
particular, was mediocre and that the DOD’s incompatibility stemmed from a lack of organization and funding.\textsuperscript{154}

Since 1994, however, the organization and management of the Army’s housing has changed greatly. The establishment of the Residential Communities Initiative provided the much needed funding and organization, and has positively impacted the Army’s ability to comply with Section 106. In order to fulfill its responsibilities under Section 106, the Army must follow one of two processes to address compliance issues. Generally, the Army adheres to the first review process, which is outlined in 36 Code of Federal Regulations Part 800 (36 CFR 800), an Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) guidance document. Alternatively, Installation Commanders have the option to implement the second process, called the Army Alternate Procedures (AAP).

The multi-step process for Section 106 compliance, outlined in 36 CFR 800, is initiated when it is determined that a proposed project might have an effect on historic properties. The first step is the identification of historic properties and the evaluation of their significance. This is done in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). Second, the effect to the properties is assessed with a determination of no effect, no adverse effect, or adverse effect. If all consulting parties agree that there is no effect or no adverse effect, the project continues. However, if it is determined that the project will have an adverse effect on historic properties, the review continues to step three, consultation. Consultation involves the SHPO, the ACHP, and other interested parties. It is during this step that measures are developed to mitigate the adverse effect and they

usually result in the signing of a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA). All parties then sign the MOA and the project continues; however, if the consulting parties do not agree, consultation is terminated. Following the termination of consultation, the ACHP will provide advisory comments, which must be considered, to the installation. Then the project can proceed.\textsuperscript{155}

The Army Alternate Procedures process fulfills the same end requirements for NHPA compliance as 36 CFR 800; however, it does so using a programmatic approach. The first step in the AAP process, once an Installation Commander elects to implement the AAP, is to develop a Historic Properties Component (HPC). Consulting parties, such as the SHPO and the ACHP, are provided the opportunity to participate in the development of the HPC. The HPC outlines the identification, evaluation, and assessment of effects, treatment, and management of historic properties through standard operating procedures.\textsuperscript{156} The standard operating procedures enable the installation to review projects internally, thereby eliminating the project-by-project review required by 36 CFR 800. The SHPO, and any other consulting party, is given the opportunity to comment at an annual meeting. This process provides greater flexibility, faster project execution, significant cost avoidance and internal resolution of adverse effects.\textsuperscript{157}

Both the 36 CFR 800 and the AAP processes fulfill the Army’s requirement to consider how its activities affect historic properties. However, the AAP review process is more efficient and less expensive. Depending on the assessment of effects, the 36 CFR 800

\textsuperscript{155} Code of Federal Regulations, Protection of Historic Properties, title 36, part 800, subpart B.
process can take about six months. There are also many costs involved with the 36 CFR 800 process, mainly associated with the consultation process and any documentation required for mitigating negative effects. The Center for Army Analysis has estimated that the AAP process could “reduce future Army liabilities by $1.5 to $4.2 million per year.”\(^\text{158}\)

Although the two processes are different, the purpose of both is the same: to ensure that historic properties are considered before any undertaking is initiated. The case studies from the previous two chapters use these processes. Fort Leavenworth, Kansas adheres to the 36 CFR 800 review process, while Fort Benning, Georgia uses the AAP process. Though the two installations may review projects differently, their approach to maintaining and preserving their historic family houses appears to be quite similar. At both installations the houses have been repaired and modernized as necessary with great effort to retain historic character.

To understand the impact of privatization on historic houses, the integrity of the houses must be analyzed. In 1990, the National Register of Historic Places published the bulletin “How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” which specifies how to evaluate the integrity of a property. Integrity is a property’s ability to convey its significance. The bulletin defines seven aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.\(^\text{159}\)

Location is where the property was physically constructed. The relationship between the property and its physical location often explains why it was constructed and helps recapture a sense of historic people and events. The design of a property is its

\(^{158}\) William A. Armbruster, statement before the Subcommittee on Readiness of the Committee on Armed Services, Hearings on Historic Properties, 109\(^{th}\) Cong., 2d sess., 8 March 2006.

combination of form, plan and style that reflects historic functions, aesthetics, and technology. Setting goes beyond physical location; it is the character of the property and its environment. Materials are the physical elements that were combined to form the historic property. The materials of a property are an indication of the availability of technology, as well as the preferences of the designer or builder. Workmanship is the evidence of a designer or builder’s skill. It is also evidence of the local, regional, or national application of technology and aesthetic principles. Feeling is the ability of a property to express the aesthetic or historic character from a particular period of time. Finally, association is the direct link between a historic property and an important historic event or person.\textsuperscript{160}

According to the bulletin, “the question of integrity is answered by whether or not the property retains the identity for which it is significant.”\textsuperscript{161} To assess the retention of identity, the following factors must be analyzed: amount of change to the exterior, amount of change to the interior, and overall historic character retention. These factors will be applied to each fort’s inventory of housing in general with specific examples provided. The amount of change is factored on a scale of no change, minimal change, moderate change and extensive change. Minimal changes are minor repairs. Moderate changes are alterations to a small portion of the house, either exterior or interior. Extensive changes are alterations to the entire house or a large portion of the house, either exterior or interior. Overall historic character retention is factored on whether or not each fort’s housing units have retained their historic character.

Fort Leavenworth’s inventory of historic family housing has been subject to all levels of change throughout its history. However, since privatization in 2006, no changes

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid., 44-45.
\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., 45.
have been made to the exteriors of the historic family homes with the exception of the reconstruction of the rear porches at the eight duplexes on Wint Avenue. The interior spaces of Fort Leavenworth’s historic houses have had only moderate changes. The kitchens and bathrooms have been modernized where needed to provide more modern living conditions, while the rest of each home’s interior has been unaltered. The overall historic character of Fort Leavenworth’s historic houses has been retained; each house is in its original setting and in good condition.

Family housing at Fort Benning was also privatized in 2006. Since that time, the exterior of the historic family houses have had no change. However, some houses are scheduled for, or have already had, moderate changes in the form of original window replacement. The interiors of the historic houses have had moderate changes. The kitchens and bathrooms have been modernized; however, the remainder of each house has not changed unless minor repair work has been needed. The houses of Fort Benning retain their overall historic character on a large scale; the historic fabric has been maintained and the design principles of the City Beautiful movement are still evident in the setting of the associated houses.

The greatest advantage to historic Army houses is their continual use. Civilian historic houses can often become too expensive for an individual owner to update and maintain. As a result, they fall into disrepair and are sometimes abandoned. On an Army installation, there is always a need for housing, which means that historic Army houses are rarely ever abandoned. Instead, they are regularly maintained and periodically updated for their current and future residents.
Conclusion

This thesis analyzes the privatization of U.S. Army housing in order to answer the question “how has the privatization of Army family housing affected the preservation of the Army’s historic houses?” Identifying the impact of privatization required a basic understanding of the history of Army housing, privatization and preservation legislation, and preservation processes as demonstrated in the case studies.

Privatization of Army housing was born out of the need to build quality new housing and to rehabilitate an aging inventory of existing housing. Many attempts were made throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1980s to privatize; however, the most successful program, using the Residential Communities Initiative (RCI), was not created until the 1990s. This program freed the Army from its total dependence on congressionally appropriated funding, which had frequently been insufficient and therefore resulted in poor quality housing and deferred maintenance.

As installations entered into partnerships with private developers through the RCI program, the responsibility of caring for historic houses was transferred to the private partner. Programmatic agreements between the installation, SHPO, and private partners ensured the effort to preserve the Army’s historic houses was continued. The NHPA provides the installations and its private partners with the framework for considering the impact of their activities on historic properties.

The two case studies presented in this thesis both have an extensive inventory of historic family houses but approach the consideration process differently. One adheres to the process outlined by 36 CFR 800, while the other follows the AAP process for Section
106 compliance. The key difference is that the AAP process is internalized and, therefore, more cost efficient and less time consuming. Choosing one process over the other does not equate to choosing a superior or substandard method; the end result of both is the consideration of historic properties.

To conclude, the answer to “how has the privatization of Army family housing affected the preservation of the Army’s historic houses?” is that privatization has enabled the continued use of the Army's historic houses by providing more modern living conditions and ensuring the continued preservation of the historic houses by adhering to the guidelines outlined by the NHPA.

Future research is necessary to analyze the impact of privatization over a longer period of time. The houses of Forts Leavenworth and Benning have been privatized for fewer than ten years. Part of privatizing these installations involves reviewing the effectiveness of the privatization program. The RCI program is reviewed every ten years, which means the first review will occur soon. At this time it is unknown exactly which aspects of the program will be reviewed. However, the review will most likely examine the program in terms of cost effectiveness, private partner performance, total number of units built, and the speed and quality with which the houses are constructed, renovated, and maintained. As such a large number of the Army's houses are historic, the preservation of these houses should also be considered in the review process.

The analysis provided in this thesis demonstrates privatization’s initial impact, which is sufficient for the time being; however, privatization's lasting impact will need to be assessed in another ten, twenty, and perhaps, thirty years. Also, the preservation processes of Section 106 compliance through 36 CFR 800 and the AAP will need to be
analyzed after a longer holding period in order to determine if one process is more effective than the other.
REFERENCES


U.S. Constitution. Amendment III.


