



CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship

Volume 1 Number 2 Summer 2004



YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK, CALIF.



National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

National Center
for Cultural Resources

Gale A. Norton
Secretary of the Interior

Fran P. Mainella
*Director, National Park
Service*

Janet Snyder Matthews, Ph.D.
*Associate Director,
Cultural Resources*

de Teel Patterson Tiller
*Deputy Associate Director,
Cultural Resources*

John Robbins
*Assistant Director,
Cultural Resources*

CRM: *The Journal of
Heritage Stewardship*

Summer 2004
ISSN 1068-4999

Sue Waldron
Publisher

Dennis | Konetzka | Design
Group, LLC
Design

Staff

Antoinette J. Lee, Ph.D.
Editor

Brian D. Joyner
*Exhibits and Multimedia
Review Editor*

Michèle Gates Moresi, Ph.D.
Book Review Editor

Martin J. Perschler, Ph.D.
*Photographic Collections
Editor*

Editorial Board

David G. Anderson, Ph.D.
*Department of Anthropology,
University of Tennessee*

Gordon W. Fulton
*National Historic Sites
Directorate, Parks Canada*

Dario A. Gasparini, Ph.D.
*Department of Civil
Engineering, Case Western
Reserve University*

Art Gomez, Ph.D.
*Santa Fe Support Office,
National Park Service*

Mary Hardy
*The Getty Conservation
Institute*

Michael Holleran, Ph.D.
*Department of Planning and
Design, University of
Colorado, Denver*

Elizabeth A. Lyon, Ph.D.
*Independent Scholar; Former
State Historic Preservation
Officer, Georgia*

Moises Rosas Silva, Ph.D.
*Instituto Nacional de
Antropología e Historia,
Mexico*

Gretchen Sullivan Sorin
*Cooperstown Graduate
Program*

Jim W. Steely
*SWCA Environmental
Consultants, Phoenix,
Arizona*

Dean B. Suagee, J.D.
*First Nations Environmental
Law Program,
Vermont Law School*

Christopher Lee Yip, Ph.D.
*Department of Architecture,
California Polytechnic State
University*

Contributing Editors

Michael J. Auer, Ph.D.
*Heritage Preservation
Services, National Park
Service*

Joan Bacharach
*Museum Management,
National Park Service*

John A. Burns, FAIA
*HABS/HAER/HALS/CRGIS,
National Park Service*

Harry A. Butowsky, Ph.D.
*Park History, National Park
Service*

Timothy M. Davis, Ph.D.
*Park Historic Structures and
Cultural Landscapes,
National Park Service*

Barbara J. Little, Ph.D.
*Archeology and Ethnography,
National Park Service*

Daniel J. Vivian
*National Register of Historic
Places/National Historic
Landmarks Survey,
National Park Service*

Editorial Advisors

John Robbins
*Assistant Director, Cultural
Resources, National Park
Service*

Randall J. Biallas, AIA,
Honorary ASLA
*Chief Historical Architect,
National Park Service*

John A. Burns, FAIA
*Acting Manager,
HABS/HAER/HALS/CRGIS,
National Park Service*

Kirk Cordell
*Executive Director, National
Center for Preservation
Technology and Training,
National Park Service*

Ann Hitchcock
*Chief Curator,
National Park Service*

David W. Look, AIA, FAPT
*Chief, Cultural Resources
Team, Pacific West Region,
National Park Service*

Francis P. McManamon, Ph.D.
*Chief Archeologist, National
Park Service; Departmental
Consulting Archeologist, U.S.
Department of the Interior*

H. Bryan Mitchell
*Manager, Heritage
Preservation Services,
National Park Service*

Darwina L. Neal, FASLA
*Chief, Cultural Resource
Preservation Services,
National Capital Region,
National Park Service*

Sharon C. Park, FAIA
*Chief, Technical Preservation
Services, National Park
Service*

Dwight T. Pitcaithley, Ph.D.
*Chief Historian, National
Park Service*

John W. Roberts, Ph.D.
*Manager, Museum
Management,
National Park Service*

Carol D. Shull
*Keeper, National Register
of Historic Places;
Chief, National Historic
Landmarks Survey,
National Park Service*

CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship

CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship is published
by the National Park Service for the heritage community.

CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship
Summer 2004
ISSN 1068-4999

CRM = cultural resource management

Editorial Policy

CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship is published twice each year by the National Park Service to address the history and development of and trends and emerging issues in cultural resource management in the United States and abroad. Its purpose is to broaden the intellectual foundation of the management of cultural resources. *CRM Journal* is edited in the offices of the National Center for Cultural Resources, National Park Service, in Washington, DC. The online version of *CRM Journal* is available at www.cr.nps.gov/CRMJournal. Back issues of *CRM* magazine (1978–2002) are available online at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/crm>.

Guidance for authors is available online at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/CRMJournal>.

Manuscripts, letters to the editor, and all questions and recommendations of an editorial nature should be addressed to Antoinette J. Lee, Editor, email Toni_Lee@nps.gov, telephone (202) 354-2272, or fax (202) 371-2422. Incoming mail to the Federal Government is irradiated, which damages computer disks, CDs, and paper products. These materials should be sent by a commercial delivery service to Editor, *CRM Journal*, National Park Service, 1201 Eye Street, NW (2251), Washington, DC 20005.

Views and conclusions in *CRM Journal* are those of the authors and should not be interpreted as representing the opinions or policies of the U.S. Government. Acceptance of material for publication does not necessarily reflect an opinion or endorsement on the part of the *CRM Journal* staff or the National Park Service.

CRM Journal is produced under a cooperative agreement between the National Park Service and the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers.

To subscribe to *CRM Journal*—

Online <http://www.cr.nps.gov/CRMJournal>
email NPS_CRMJournal@nps.gov
Facsimile (202) 371-2422

U.S. Mail—
CRM Journal
National Park Service
1849 C Street, NW (2251)
Washington, DC 20240-0001

CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship

Volume 1 Number 2 Summer 2004

- 4 INTRODUCTION
- VIEWPOINT
- 6 Images of the Past:
Historical Authenticity and Inauthenticity from Disney to Times Square
by Michael Kelleher
- SPOTLIGHT
- 20 An Interview with William Seale
- ARTICLES
- 34 America's World War II Home Front Heritage
by Roger E. Kelly
- 51 World War II Shipwrecks in Truk Lagoon: The Role of Interest Groups
by Bill Jeffery
- 68 Historic Places and the Diversity Deficit in Heritage Conservation
by Ned Kaufman
- RESEARCH REPORTS
- 86 *Innovative Methods for Documenting Cultural Resources:
Integrating GIS and GPS Technologies*
by Deidre McCarthy
- 92 Presenting Race and Slavery at Historic Sites
by Michèle Gates Moresi
- 95 Studying Civil Rights and Racial Desegregation in the Pacific Northwest
by Turkiya L. Lowe
- 97 REVIEWS: BOOKS (97), EXHIBITS (130), and WEBSITES (137)
- 145 LETTERS

Introduction

by Antoinette J. Lee, Editor

After nearly a year of planning, *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* was launched in late 2003. It was a new phase in the 25-year evolution of the CRM "name," from *CRM Bulletin*, to *CRM* magazine, to the new *CRM Journal*. Part of a suite of cultural resources periodicals published by the National Park Service for the heritage community, which includes the quarterly *Common Ground* and the monthly electronic newsletter *Heritage News*, *CRM Journal* provides readers with an examination of trends and emerging issues in cultural resource management both in the United States and abroad. *CRM Journal's* mission is to broaden the intellectual foundation for cultural resource management and stimulate active dialogue among authors and readers.

So, how did our readers react to *CRM Journal*? We heard from more than 500 subscribers after they received their first issue. They offered thanks for the publication itself and its long record of service. They praised the new format and design. Some described how *CRM Journal* has helped them perform their duties. Several professors cited the value of *CRM Journal* in classroom teaching. A reader from England described *CRM Journal* as having "wide relevance beyond the U.S." A subscriber from India connected *CRM Journal* with his internship in the United States under the auspices of the United States Committee of the International Council on Monument and Sites. Another subscriber from New Zealand expressed her approval from the "other end of the world."

Who reads *CRM Journal*? Subscribers include staff of museums of history, science, natural history, maritime history, art, and anthropology and outdoor historical museums. They are professors of history, anthropology, historic preservation, public history, architecture, landscape architecture, ethnic studies, marine studies, and popular culture. Subscribers work for national parks, cultural resources consulting firms, State Historic Preservation Offices, Federal Government agencies, state parks and historic sites, independent consultancies, government archives, historical societies, city planning agencies, libraries, law firms, architecture and design firms, economic development offices, Native American heritage programs, professional associations, transportation agencies, housing authorities, parks departments, and offices that conserve art and other cultural works. The diversity of subscribers is a barometer of the diversity of the cultural resources field and the many entities and professional affiliations that are involved in preserving cultural heritage.

Where do *CRM Journal* readers live? Subscribers are spread across the United States—in major cities, older suburbs, smaller towns and communities, and remote locations, like national forests in the West. Approximately 1,000 are in countries in Europe, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Central and South America, and the Caribbean area, as well as Australia, New Zealand, Mexico, and Canada. The impressive number of international readers confirms the importance of cultural resources and heritage stewardship throughout the world.

How did these subscribers hear about *CRM Journal*? As *CRM* developed under the editorship of Ron Greenberg, its availability spread through word-of-mouth up to the mid-1990s, when only paper copies were available. With the Internet and email, the periodical became more widely known to the heritage community.

We want every subscriber to find something of interest among the viewpoint essays, articles, spotlight interview, research reports, and reviews. We hope that the different formats help readers to delve into disciplines and interests allied with their own and gain a better understanding of how other professions address common cultural heritage challenges.

Understanding who our subscribers are helps us meet their needs and expectations. In each issue, we aim to offer current issues that cover the broad range of the field. We want every subscriber to find something of interest among the viewpoint essays, articles, spotlight interview, research reports, and reviews. We hope that the different formats help readers to delve into disciplines and interests allied with their own and gain a better understanding of how other professions address common cultural heritage challenges.

This issue again illustrates the many disciplines and interest areas in cultural resources work. It offers examinations of the historic preservation of South Street Seaport and Times Square in New York City, World War II home front heritage, historic house museum interiors, the tangible heritage of the civil rights movement in the United States, and the application of GIS and GPS technologies to the preservation of historic landscapes and to thematic groups of historic properties spread over large distances.

With this issue, we are also initiating a new Letters to the Editor section. We encourage readers to raise questions, provoke thoughts, and promote dialogue.

Please continue to send us your comments, reactions, and article ideas to NPS_CRMJournal@nps.gov or Editor, *CRM Journal*, National Park Service, 1849 C Street, NW (2251), Washington, DC 20240-0001. Thank you for your support! Our next issue is scheduled for January 2005.

Images of the Past: Historical Authenticity and Inauthenticity from Disney to Times Square

by Michael Kelleher

According to the tourism industry, people seeking cultural or heritage tourism experiences desire authenticity of place and experience.¹ Conversely, the growth and profitability of heritage tourism have resulted in a proliferation of inauthenticity.² While historians and other cultural resource management professionals have observed historic sites, museums, and other history education institutions adopt presentation techniques usually associated with entertainment venues, the degree to which historical authenticity and inauthenticity have become indiscernible in the built environment may now have reached new levels. A recent example of this phenomenon is New York's redeveloped Times Square, which is neither a Disney theme park nor a historic district, but combines elements of both in an attempt to create a modern entertainment destination that relies on the past.

Between Disney and Times Square—once considered polar opposites in terms of both authenticity and their place in popular culture—is a vast array of historically oriented sites and attractions, the differences among which may have become difficult for the public to distinguish. Today, four major categories of sites blur historical authenticity and inauthenticity: the theme park, the historical village, the historical marketplace, and the historicized urban theme park. The fourth category is the latest incarnation and includes the recently redeveloped Times Square. This category may not at first appear to be related to history or cultural resource management, but it is the direct descendant of the historical marketplace and the most recent manifestation of historic preservation.

Heritage Tourism and Authenticity

Would the public recognize the difference between a visit to a theme park and a visit to what are considered legitimate historic sites? With the large and growing number of tourist attractions that offer some form of history or heritage, it is getting harder to differentiate the fabricated and the genuine. People have been traveling to historic sites as long as there have been tourists. During the last 20 to 30 years, the number of people who are interested in visiting sites that have some relation to history has markedly increased. This increase has come with a corresponding increase in the number of historically related sites, such as abandoned factories that have become heritage centers and outdoor shopping malls set in historic districts.³ After all, the proposal made by the

Walt Disney Company in the 1990s to develop a new American history theme park in Virginia would have resulted in one more site (granted a very large and extremely well-visited site) to present a form of contrived or reconstructed history in order to cash in on heritage tourism. As David Lowenthal observes, the past is “[n]ow a foreign country with a booming tourist trade.”⁴

In contrast to the current wave of heritage tourists, who come from all sectors of society and may simply see historic sites as entertaining destinations, David Herbert contends that the once traditional upper- and upper-middle-class tourists who visited historic houses and archeological ruins “had a genuine sense of the past and sufficient education to understand their significance.” However, as the number of people who visit such places increases and the majority of tourists become less “cultured [and] educated,” there are fewer who understand these sites without elaborate presentations such as reconstructions of historic buildings or living history programs.⁵

Herbert, however, seems to overlook the fact that even when relatively small numbers of affluent and educated people visited historic sites, elaborate reconstructions were carried out. For example, in the early 20th century archeologists reconstructed the Mayan temples at Chichen Itza in the jungles of Mexico’s Yucatan peninsula, as well as other remote ruins that could be visited by only the most dedicated travelers. Perhaps Robert Hewison provides a more nuanced explanation of the experience of contemporary heritage tourists, commenting that when people who “have no understanding of history in depth” seek out historically related sites, they are not given actual history, “but instead are offered a contemporary creation, more costume drama and re-enactment than critical discourse.”⁶

The comments of Hewison and Herbert suggest that contrived historical presentations are intended to be tools to educate people who do not have a grasp of history. However, with the increase in heritage tourism and competition among history-related sites for visitors, many of these contrived presentations and reconstructions have simply been created in an attempt to attract tourists and their dollars. This does not mean that contrived or inauthentic historical presentations are only found at commercial tourist destinations, as many serious historic sites and museums have adopted similar forms of presentation involving a fair amount of entertainment. At the same time, many of the more commercial heritage ventures see the value in adopting the techniques, as well as the claims to authenticity, of traditional historic sites. As a result, distinguishing the differences among the four categories of historically oriented sites has become increasingly more difficult.

This result has significance for the larger society beyond simply the fields of history and preservation. As the number of contrived historical displays increases, inauthentic historical material becomes more deeply embedded in

our culture. The sociologist Erik Cohen explains this phenomena as one in which “contrived attractions, originally created for touristic purposes, increasingly become part of the physical, historical or cultural environment—they become ‘naturalized,’ [which blurs] the distinction between ‘natural’ and ‘contrived’ attractions.”⁷

From Disney-like theme parks to historical marketplaces, these sites confound visitors with their images of history, challenging visitors to differentiate authentic historic material from inauthentic, and accurate interpretations of history from nostalgic visions of the past.⁸ The cumulative effect of these various historic stage sets devalues the preservation of historic material and perhaps even the public’s understanding of history itself, as such destinations often present a nostalgic, and in the case of the new Times Square, sanitized version of the past.

Theme Parks: Disney History

After the Walt Disney Company announced its plans to develop a new historical theme park, Disney’s America, in 1993, historians debated the propriety of this potential attraction, which many historians believed would present an overly simplistic and nostalgic vision of American history.⁹ Although Disney’s America lies dormant, the Walt Disney Company still plays an influential role in the presentation of history in the built environment through an increasing array of theme parks and other tourist destinations following the Disney model. Some say that the public can see through the presentation of history at theme parks; many Disney observers disagree. Judith Adams feels that Disney and its imitators “provide at least the illusion of an educational experience in cultural history” to the public.¹⁰ Alan Bryman goes further, arguing that the Disney image of history provides “a form of instruction that is easily absorbed and which influences tens of millions of people for whom the Disney version of history becomes real history.”¹¹ Historian Mike Wallace contends that when one considers the number of people who have seen various Disney presentations of history, “one might fairly say that Walt Disney has taught people more history, in a more memorable way, than they ever learned in school.”¹² Because of this influence, Richard Francaviglia believes it necessary to recognize the “important role that Disney-inspired theme parks play in history education,” which requires us to “look more closely and dispassionately at the Disney parks’ role in historical interpretation, for it can tell us much about popular perceptions of history and historic places.”¹³

As Disney has become synonymous with synthetic, why might people think theme park historical presentations are accurate? Stephen Fjellman contends that the public may be more taken in by Disney’s historical presentation than is generally acknowledged because its “claims to authenticity [are] made by the details” found in the historical presentations in which the company takes so

much pride, and which the public loves so much. When visitors see these historical presentations, such as Main Street, U.S.A., “constructed with a passion for authenticity—an authenticity that escapes all but the most detail oriented and knowledgeable visitor,” these details give Disney an air of historical legitimacy. As a result, if the public believes that the historical scene presented by Disney may be an accurate physical representation of the past, then the public believes that the Disney interpretation of history may be accurate as well.¹⁴

If Disney ever builds an all-history park, will this give Disney an even greater influence over the public's view of history? Just as Colonial Williamsburg set the standard for historic preservation and interpretation from the 1930s to at least the 1960s, perhaps Disney has been setting the standard since then.

If Disney ever builds an all-history park, will this give Disney an even greater influence over the public's view of history? Just as Colonial Williamsburg set the standard for historic preservation and interpretation from the 1930s to at least the 1960s, perhaps Disney has been setting the standard since then. As David Lowenthal explains, much of the public believes that “Disney always does things first-class, and if they set out to do American history, they'll hire the best historians money can buy...to create a completely plausible, completely believable appearance of American history.”¹⁵

Existing theme parks, such as Dollywood in Tennessee, have adopted Disney's techniques. At Dollywood, which draws its theme from the nearby Great Smoky Mountains, fanciful versions of mountain cabins and moonshiners are presented in close proximity to authentic historic Appalachian settlements preserved in Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Similarly other historic theme parks have been proposed, such as one planned for upstate New York that would attempt to re-create not just the Woodstock festival but the whole counterculture of the 1960s. The *New York Times* reported that the proposed theme park would be “something on the scale of Colonial Williamsburg, but short of Disneyland.”¹⁶ This trend has gone abroad as well, just as Disney's theme parks have. In Germany, more than one proposal has been made to create a Berlin Wall theme park.¹⁷

In addition to having an influence on fanciful re-creations of history, Disney has had a great impact, variously positive and negative, on historic preservation. The plausibility and popularity of the Disney representations of history have given the Disney style a far greater influence than merely the proliferation of imitator theme parks such as at the historicized King's Dominion in Virginia or the faux-urban street at Universal Studio's Citywalk in Los Angeles. Many of today's historically oriented sites and attractions, even those considered to be serious about education and preservation, are descendants of Disney's

Main Street, U.S.A.¹⁸ Francaviglia sees a relationship between Disney's nostalgic representations of the American past and the historic preservation movement. By presenting a popular image of Main Street, he believes that Disney helped Americans to gain an appreciation for those elements of the built environment that were often demolished in the name of progress.¹⁹ Similarly, John Findlay sees the influence of Disney's Main Street, U.S.A. in both the design of historic preservation projects and the public's perception of historic districts as entertainment destinations.²⁰ To some, this is a positive influence, as Disney's nostalgic visions of the past may have helped to create support for historic preservation. Sociologist Sharon Zukin, however, sees a negative influence, as many real American Main Streets and historic districts have come to resemble all too much the "imaginary landscape based on a manipulated collective memory and consumption" found at Disney and imitator theme parks.²¹

An exhibit created by the Canadian Center for Architecture, *The Architecture of Reassurance: Designing the Disney Theme Parks*, demonstrated the similarities among the images of history at Disney theme parks, historic districts, and Main Street revival projects. The exhibit displayed several original renderings of Main Street, U.S.A., the nostalgic depiction of turn-of-the-century America at the center of the Disney theme parks. The renderings look much like rehabilitation designs for historic districts and Main Streets that have been revived as pedestrian malls.²² This phenomena was reported in the *New York Times*, which described how Marceline, Missouri, and Fort Collins, Colorado, the two towns that originally inspired the design of Main Street, U.S.A., have in turn attempted to remake themselves in Disney's nostalgic image of small town America in order to attract tourists.²³

Historical Villages: Colonial Williamsburg

In their study of Colonial Williamsburg, anthropologists Richard Handler and Eric Gable reveal the staff's contention that the presence of 88 historic structures in the town makes it superior to Disney's historical re-creations. Many visitors appear to agree, and, in the authors' words, "accept [these] claims to authenticity." Not only does Colonial Williamsburg make claims to authenticity, but it presents such a controlled landscape, with historic structures next to reconstructions, the absence of modern intrusions, and staff dressed in period costumes, that Handler and Gable found that many visitors do not realize the extent to which the town has been manipulated to look "historic."²⁴ On this point David Lowenthal complains that although "[s]igns and guidebooks usually specify" what is a reconstruction and what is not, "visitors soon forget, if they ever note, differences between authentic and imitated, untouched and restored, specific and generic." For them, it is all real.²⁵

Colonial Williamsburg's reputation for striving to make everything appear authentic also leads to confusion over what is not. Handler and Gable

observed visitors who believe that most everything they see is contrived, and mistake this historical village for a Disney-type theme park, asking if the squirrels are mechanical and the sound of birds recorded. Two visitors, when asked what they thought of this “museum” seemed surprised the term was used to describe Colonial Williamsburg. They thought it was, in the authors’ words, “an attraction—a theme park.”²⁶ Many do see Colonial Williamsburg as a type of theme park, and some observers see it has having much in common with Walt Disney World.²⁷ When Disney announced that it planned to build Disney’s America in Virginia, the management of Colonial Williamsburg, fearing a possible loss in visitation, asked people how they viewed the famous historical village in relation to a Disney history theme park. The response from many was that they saw little difference between the two.²⁸

If theme parks, with their focus on entertainment, present a version of American history that is pure fun and fantasy, then perhaps historical villages, which attempt to entertain as they teach, present a more serious but only slightly less fun “history experience.”

Are historical villages such as Colonial Williamsburg really the same as Disney-like theme parks? Of course not. Disney parks are pure fantasy and entertainment centers, while Colonial Williamsburg and its many imitators have preservation and education at the heart of their mission and contain a great deal of authentic historic material. However, there are significant similarities between theme parks and historical villages. If theme parks, with their focus on entertainment, present a version of American history that is pure fun and fantasy, then perhaps historical villages, which attempt to entertain as they teach, present a more serious but only slightly less fun “history experience.” The architectural critic Ada Louise Huxtable criticizes Colonial Williamsburg as a place “where one could learn a little romanticized history, confuse the real and unreal, and have...a very nice time.” Furthermore, she sees the historical village, with its mixture of authentic and inauthentic historic structures, as well as its costumed guides, as having set the standards for the “new world order” of historical inauthenticity represented by Disney.²⁹

Historical Marketplaces: South Street Seaport

If historical villages such as Colonial Williamsburg bear any relation to the representation of history in theme parks, then they are most definitely related to historical marketplaces, which also aim to preserve authentic historic structures. Like historical villages, marketplaces contain a mixture of historic buildings and new construction. They also share an abundance of shopping and other consumer-related activities that are given a historical flavor. For example, at Colonial Williamsburg one can dine in a “historic” tavern on “authen-

tic” 18th-century dishes, or purchase colonial-themed products, just as one can find seafood and nautical-themed products at South Street Seaport. For sociologist Diane Barthel, historical villages in which visitors are “consuming history” are not unlike many themed shopping malls. She writes, “In some instances the line between historic village and consumer village is so blurred that visitors no longer recognize the difference.”³⁰

In both historical villages and marketplaces, history has become a commodity, and any number of historically themed products are available for visitors’ consumption. Barthel complains that at these sites “[h]istory is no longer treated with respectful distance. Rather, it is mined for images and ideas that can be associated with commodities. Like the rest of culture, history is being bought and sold.”³¹ This comparison between history and a natural resource is also made by Kevin Walsh, who believes it has—

*become somewhat akin to a seam of coal or a reservoir of water, a resource to be extracted and exploited, to be put to work as many ways as possible in the marketplace. The past has emerged as a pool of architectural styles, to be dipped into and mixed and matched in the bricolage of the new shopping arcade.*³²

If history is being commodified, the historical marketplace is the ultimate representation of this process. To accomplish this, the designers of historical marketplaces create a pastiche of preserved structures and new construction intended to further the goal of creating a historically themed shopping and entertainment district. In doing so, the manner in which new construction is designed to fit into a particular theme leads to a historicized setting that makes it difficult for the visitor to recognize what is authentic and what is not.

The result is that, at a place like South Street Seaport, the actual historic structures and museum displays on the history of the New York waterfront are lost amidst the new, but historically themed buildings and shops.³³ Ironically, for Ada Louise Huxtable this implies that “while the genuine fragment is a plus, it is not really considered necessary; it can be replicated or suggested....”³⁴ Huxtable first commented on the plans for South Street Seaport in the 1970s. At the time she had hope that this project presented the means to preserve an area containing historic commercial buildings and a functioning fish market built on a pier over the East River; a place where the “nineteenth century still seemed very much alive.” However, after seeing the result of the redevelopment of the area, Huxtable concluded that this “stylish transition” meant that “[w]hat was lost forever is the real thing.”³⁵

The loss of the real thing at South Street Seaport was not the result of the loss of historic structures, as the project saved many 18th- and 19th-century buildings from demolition. Instead, South Street Seaport and projects like it have obscured the real thing through the use of what the architect and critic

Michael Sorkin considers a form of “urban design [that] is almost wholly preoccupied with reproduction, with the creation of urbane disguises.” This includes the construction of new buildings with historical motifs, and historically inspired designs for seemingly insignificant elements such as new street furniture and pavement. As a result, this “architecture of deception” has created the kind of “phony historic festivity” that characterizes any number of historical marketplaces and similar sites.³⁶ Perhaps one of the harshest critics of historical marketplaces is Christine Boyer, a professor of architecture who considers them to be examples of “retro urban design [that] are literal representations of the past.” Sadly, the visitors to “these real-life stage-sets [are] scarcely aware of how the relics of the past have been indexed, framed, and scaled” for them. As a result of this “stockpiling of the city’s past with all the available artifacts and relics...actual history” has been obscured.³⁷

One cause of obscuring history at historic marketplaces is the elimination of what Diane Barthel calls the “zone of mediation,” the physical and psychological differentiation among parts of the built environment.³⁸ At theme parks, the zone of mediation is made visible by the large parking lots that serves as moats around them, as well as by entrance gates where visitors must pay to enter. Some historic villages have similar zones of mediation, such as Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts that is separated from the actual town of Sturbridge. But in Virginia, the town of Williamsburg and Colonial Williamsburg blend together. A goal of historical marketplaces is a blending of historic structures and new construction through design techniques that minimize any zone of mediation. Add the historically themed shops and restaurants that are found in both new and old buildings and you have a collection of fragments adding up to a newly designed urban area, but one with a historical motif.

Despite the criticism leveled against historical marketplaces, their prevalence around the United States attests to their popularity with the public and success as a retailing concept. New York’s South Street Seaport, San Antonio’s Riverwalk, and San Francisco’s Fisherman’s Wharf are popular and often successful approaches to preserving the historic fabric of cities and towns, and have helped to increase public support for historic preservation. However, as the historical marketplace becomes the favored new use for a vacant train station or decaying commercial area, developers are tempted to draw from a selection of historical motifs in order to create a festive, historicized atmosphere conducive to consumption. As a result, the melding of authentic and inauthentic becomes embedded even deeper into our culture and differentiating between them becomes more difficult.

The Latest Incarnation: The New Times Square

For several decades, New York City hoped to revitalize the dually famous and infamous Times Square. One plan put forward in the 1980s focused on the

replacement of much of what was seen as a blighted theater and entertainment district notorious for adult movies, prostitution, and other unsavory forms of street life with corporate office buildings. The Municipal Art Society and other civic groups argued against this course of action and for both the improvement and preservation of Times Square.³⁹ This resulted in an approach that relied on a number of entertainment-oriented corporations redeveloping parcels of real estate in an effort to clean up the area while maintaining a center for theater and popular entertainment. Design standards for new buildings were intended to preserve the character of Times Square by requiring large, lighted signs and stores at street level.⁴⁰ One of the first companies to become involved in the redevelopment of Times Square was the Walt Disney Company, which ironically took a rather conservative approach in terms of historic preservation. Disney chose to meticulously restore the New Amsterdam Theater, a vaudeville house constructed in 1903 with an elaborate Art Nouveau interior, where Disney now presents stage versions of its animated films.⁴¹ When the project was completed in 1997, the architecture critic for the *New York Times* praised it as “[a] triumph of the art and ideology of preservation, the renovation shows how far urbanism has progressed since the days of postwar urban renewal, when few planners would think twice about consigning architectural gems to the junk heap.”⁴²

Unlike Disney, other developers have used the historic fabric of Times Square more liberally and have relied upon the creation of historicized stage sets. Across 42nd Street from the restored New Amsterdam Theater, the Lyric and Apollo theaters, also former vaudeville houses, were demolished to make way for the Ford Center for the Performing Arts. However, elements of the historic theaters were saved and incorporated into the new structure, creating a hybrid of new and old construction. Nearby, the Empire Theater was actually moved 170 feet along 42nd Street in order to become the lobby of a new multiscreen movie theater that was built around it. Another structure on the block, the Selwyn Building, was to have had its facade incorporated into the New 42nd Street Rehearsal Studio, but almost as if commenting on its future the building collapsed, forcing the design of a new structure free of such historicizing elements. The modern studio constructed in its place has received by far the most praise from architects and critics of any building that is part of the new Times Square.

Other projects do not incorporate old buildings but attempt to recreate a vision of the area through entirely new construction. An entertainment complex that encompasses almost half a block of 42nd Street has been designed to look like several different buildings from the street but is in actuality one structure within. The developer behind this project commented that “The intention of our proposal is to make it as though these buildings have been there for years... [to hide the fact that] it’s a new development.”⁴³

In the new Times Square, developers have attempted to replicate the nostalgic image of the Great White Way before it became associated with vice and update it for modern tourists.⁴⁴ In doing so, they took the historic fabric of Times Square, sanitized it through restoration and new construction, and presented it to the public as if they were able to recapture what was lost when the theater district went into decline in the 1960s and 1970s. Christine Boyer has drawn a parallel between this type of urban redevelopment and historical marketplaces such as South Street Seaport. Whereas the development of the seaport was an attempt to recapture the “mythical ambience of an old seaport” after the “real waterfront died,” the new Times Square design standards attempt to “recapture the energy and movement that once characterized Times Square, and consequently to call on popular memory to legitimate this plan.” The hope was that this approach to redevelopment would “restore the long-lost glitter of the Great White Way...[and] replace the mean streets with an image of old Times Square, as if its aura could be caught under glass.”⁴⁵

The new Times Square is probably the best example of the historical marketplace taken a step further. Here, whatever zone of mediation might have been evident in the historical marketplace has been absolutely erased and, in the mingling of historic fabric and new construction, the actual past and approximations of the past are almost impossible to distinguish.

The new Times Square is probably the best example of the historical marketplace taken a step further. Here, whatever zone of mediation might have been evident in the historical marketplace has been absolutely erased and, in the mingling of historic fabric and new construction, the actual past and approximations of the past are almost impossible to distinguish. This representation of history and historic architecture does not yet have a name; perhaps the “nostalgic streetscape” would do. History and historic preservation are not as evident in the new Times Square as they are in South Street Seaport, but nonetheless, the redevelopment of this area is all about using surviving historic fabric, along with facsimiles, to create a historically tinged atmosphere that will make visitors feel that they are experiencing Times Square as it is popularly imagined. Perhaps this is what Richard Southwick of the architectural firm Beyer, Blinder, Belle, which designed two of the new structures along 42nd Street, meant when he said: “We’ve redefined what is meant by preservation. It may mean moving a building down the block or building a new theater where two older theaters stood.”⁴⁶

To mix a few historic oddities with new construction in Times Square and elsewhere is not capturing what once was; it is the creation of a historical stage set, what Michael Sorkin refers to as the “city of simulations...the city as theme park.”⁴⁷ In the new Times Square, an architecture of deception is being

employed to mix new and old. Here, Diane Barthel's zone of mediation has truly vanished. The commingling of historic fabric and new construction that is given the appearance of age has been absorbed into the pores of the city. At the new entrance to the Times Square subway station, one of the most seemingly authentic places in the city, is an original tile mosaic announcing the name of the station. Such mosaics, the oldest of which have been given landmark protection, are found in subway stations throughout the city. But in Times Square, the old mosaic appears to be hung on the wall in a frame. Tourists pose in front of it for snapshots. Is the mosaic a historic artifact or a prop?

The Future

This discussion of places as seemingly diverse as Disney theme parks, Colonial Williamsburg, South Street Seaport, and Times Square is not intended as an across-the-board criticism. Each is a legitimate destination for the public and some may help to preserve authentic historic structures. However, by continuing to develop such historically oriented sites in an effort to capitalize on heritage tourism and nostalgia for the past, we must recognize that actual historic places may continue to be devalued as it becomes more difficult to distinguish between the authentic and the inauthentic. Ultimately, it may not matter to the public whether historical areas contain anything authentic when simulations will do.

As this trend continues, it will bring into question the expenditure of money to preserve historic places and the entire concept of historic preservation. Such a prediction may sound overly pessimistic, but take, for example, Cannery Row in Monterey, California. Made famous by John Steinbeck's novel of the same name, Cannery Row became a popular tourist destination. The growth of tourism, however, has put the few remaining historic structures in danger of demolition to make way for new development that will rely on the area's history to attract business. In one dispute over the protection of a historic structure, the solution offered by the city government was to require developers to take the historic building apart and reuse elements of it in a new structure, creating a stage set for tourists to shop while believing that they are experiencing the historic Cannery Row. Such activity led the National Trust for Historic Preservation to name Cannery Row one of the most endangered historic places in the United States in 1998.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, with the success of the new Times Square, this trend probably will continue.

Michael Kelleher is an independent historian specializing in historic preservation and serves as a foreign service officer with the U.S. Department of State.

Notes

1. See Cheryl M. Hargrove, "Authenticity: The Essential Ingredient for Heritage Tourism," *Forum Journal*, Journal of the National Trust for Historic Preservation 13, no. 4 (Summer 1999): 38-46.
2. For the purposes of this article, which deals with historic preservation and the built environment, "authentic" refers to actual historic structures or artifacts and "inauthentic" refers to new construction made to appear old. This can include new structures made to resemble actual historic buildings, as well as those that incorporate authentic elements from historic structures to add an air of historicism.
3. On the growth of heritage tourism in the United States, see Patricia Mooney-Melvin, "Harnessing the Romance of the Past: Preservation, Tourism, and History," *Public Historian* 13, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 35-48.
4. David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xvii.
5. David T. Herbert, "Heritage Places, Leisure and Tourism," in *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, ed. David T. Herbert (London: Mansell, 1995), 8-9.
6. Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987), 135.
7. Erik Cohen, "Contemporary Tourism—Trends and Challenges: Sustainable Authenticity or Contrived Post-Modernity?" in *Change in Tourism: People, Places, Processes*, ed. Richard Butler and Douglas Pearce (London: Routledge, 1995), 26.
8. On contrived historical presentations, see G.J. Ashworth and J.E. Tunbridge, *The Tourist-Historic City* (London: Belhaven Press, 1990), 150; and P.T. Newby, "Tourism: Support or Threat to Heritage?" in *Building a New Heritage: Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe*, ed. G.J. Ashworth and P.J. Larkham (London: Routledge, 1994), 224. On differentiating authenticity at historical sites, see Herbert, 12; and John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 104.
9. On the reaction within the historical profession see "A House Divided: Historians Confront Disney's America," OAH Newsletter 22, no. 3 (August 1994); "Public History and Disney's America," *Perspectives*, American Historical Association Newsletter, 33, no. 3 (March 1995); and "Disney and the Historians—Where Do We Go From Here?" *Public Historian* 17, no. 4 (Fall 1995).
10. Judith A. Adams, *The American Amusement Park Industry: A History of Technology and Thrills* (Boston: Twayne, 1991), 110.
11. Alan Bryman, *Disney and His Worlds* (London: Routledge, 1995), 142.
12. Mike Wallace, *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 134.
13. Richard Francaviglia, "History After Disney: The Significance of 'Imagineered' Historical Places," *Public Historian* 17, no. 4 (Fall 1995): 69.
14. Stephen M. Fjellman, *Vinyl Leaves: Walt Disney World and America* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), 79, 86-7.
15. David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 167.
16. "Peace, Music, Profit," *New York Times*, April 27, 1997, sec. 4, p. 2.

17. See Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 36-37.
18. See Kevin Walsh, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World* (London: Routledge, 1992), 97.
19. Francaviglia, 74.
20. John M. Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 53.
21. Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 230.
22. *The Architecture of Reassurance: Designing the Disney Theme Parks*, was curated by Karal Ann Marling and organized by the Canadian Centre for Architecture. It was exhibited in 1998 at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, and the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, New York. Also see Karal Ann Marling, *The Architecture of Reassurance: Designing the Disney Theme Parks* (New York: Flammarion, 1997).
23. See Julie V. Iovine, "A Tale of Two Main Streets," *New York Times*, October 15, 1998, sec. 6, pp. 1, 7.
24. Richard Handler and Eric Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 48, 222.
25. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 354-355.
26. Handler and Gable, 28-29, 193.
27. Those who see similarities include Warren Leon and Roy Rosenzweig, "Introduction," in *History Museums in the United States: A Critical Assessment*, ed. Warren Leon and Roy Rosenzweig (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), xiii; and James Howard Kunstler, *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscapes* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 218, 220-221.
28. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 166-167.
29. Ada Louise Huxtable, *The Unreal America: Architecture and Illusion* (New York: The Free Press, 1997), 15.
30. Diane Barthel, *Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 45.
31. *Ibid.*, 117.
32. Walsh, 144-145.
33. The South Street Seaport Museum is presently developing a new facility that will hopefully give it more prominence among the commercial buildings. See <http://www.southstreetseaport.org>, accessed May 11, 2004.
34. Huxtable, *The Unreal America*, 96-97.
35. Ada Louise Huxtable, "Selling Out the South Street Seaport," in *Architecture Anyone? Cautionary Tales of the Building Art* (New York: Random House, 1986), 158-161.
36. Michael Sorkin, "Introduction," in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, ed. Michael Sorkin (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), xiv.
37. M. Christine Boyer, "Cities for Sale: Merchandising History at the South Street Seaport," in *Variations on a Theme Park*, ed. Sorkin, 189.

38. Barthel, 132.

39. On the defeat of the initial plan for Times Square, see Gregory F. Gilmartin, *Shaping the City: New York and the Municipal Art Society* (New York: Clarkson Potter, 1995), 443-461. On the history of Times Square and the efforts to redevelop it, see William R. Taylor, ed., *Inventing Times Square: Commerce and Culture at the Crossroads of the World* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); James Traub, *The Devil's Playground: A Century of Pleasure and Profit in Times Square* (New York: Random House, 2004); and Anthony Bianco, *Ghosts of 42nd Street: A History of America's Most Infamous Block* (New York: William Morrow, 2004).

40. The president of the Municipal Art Society offered the new Times Square as an example of the preservation of a cultural landmark in which regulations for new development have not physically preserved the district but have ensured that it is a "recognizable heir" to what came before. Some might argue that the new Times Square has been so manipulated and sanitized that it bears little resemblance to its former self. Quoted in Jim O'Grady, "Landmarks for Common Folk," *New York Times*, November 5, 2000, sec. 14, p. 13.

41. On the restoration of the New Amsterdam Theater see Mary C. Henderson, *The New Amsterdam: The Biography of a Broadway Theatre* (New York: Hyperion, 1997).

42. Herbert Muschamp, "A Palace for a New Magic Kingdom, 42d St.," *New York Times*, May 11, 1997, sec. 2, p. 39.

43. Quoted in Rick Lyman, "As the Great White Way Turns a Corner," *New York Times*, May 8, 1998, sec. 5, p. 8.

44. The new Times Square is in fact geared more for tourists than New Yorkers, who find in it little of what defines their city and more of the corporate monoculture that one finds at manufactured destinations. Herbert Muschamp provides an excellent description of such locations that are "designed to give consumers the impression that there still exist places where they can sample the fragrant atmosphere of cosmopolitan freedom, even though the atmosphere now comes canned." See Herbert Muschamp, "The Guts of Times Square," *New York Times*, October 22, 2000, sec. 6, p. 68.

45. Boyer, "Cities for Sale," 195-196. This attempt to recapture the old Times Square, like the development of South Street Seaport, includes locating themed restaurants and shops in the area. Barthel, Boyer, Huxtable, and Sorkin all deal with the topic of themed experiences. Also, see Mark Gottdiener, *The Theming of America: Dreams, Visions, and Commercial Spaces* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997).

46. Quoted in David W. Dunlap, "The Preservation Band That Sets the Tone," *New York Times*, June 7, 1998, sec. 11, pp. 1, 22.

47. Sorkin, xiv.

48. Nina Siegal, "Cannery Row Struggles to Stay True to Steinbeck," *New York Times*, June 22, 1998, sec. 1, p. 12.

An Interview with William Seale



William Seale (Courtesy of the White House Historical Association)

William Seale is an independent historian who specializes in the restoration of historic houses. He was born in Beaumont, Texas, and received his B.A. from Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas, and Ph.D. from Duke University in Durham, North Carolina. For the past three decades, Seale has been involved in the restoration of historic buildings across the nation, specializing in state capitols and other public buildings, including opera houses, courthouses, historic homes, and museum village buildings. His recent historic house projects include the George C. Marshall House in Leesburg, Virginia; Ten Chimneys near Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Rosedown Plantation in St. Francisville, Louisiana. Antoinette J. Lee (AJL), CRM Journal editor, interviewed Seale at his Alexandria, Virginia, home on March 3, 2004.

AJL: How did you become interested in historic houses?

WS: I think it's because my father, a contractor when I was very young, built new houses. I grew up around this. The smell of construction still excites me. He was interested in historic building practices and lamented the short-cuts of new construction, one reason he ultimately left the field. We would walk around town, look at houses, and discuss them. My mother had an eye for interiors and could easily date furnishings in them. We had friends in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, where the architecture is very good, and we used to visit them in the summer. I started going there by myself after I could drive, and at the same time, toured all over Louisiana. I still have a fondness for Louisiana buildings and that French touch. Back then, the Louisiana communities were not the red-hot tourist attractions that they are today.

Where we lived in Texas, the Louisiana border was only about 25 miles away. When I was growing up, "town" for us was New Orleans. We traveled there several times a year and bought school clothes and other essentials. Odd as it may seem, Houston was fairly unknown to me. A freeway changed that in the late 1950s. When we visited West Feliciana Parish, we admired the houses of our friends' many relatives. Few of the houses had undergone much change for many years—there simply was no money and that was surely their salvation. I remember one in particular, Rosedown Plantation, for which all these years later I have drawn up a furnishings master plan. There was Afton Villa, Greenwood, both since burned, and Oakley, where John James Audubon was the tutor, and which in the late 1940s was being restored with convict labor.

So, when I was young, I was exposed to lots of buildings. I traveled to Natchez, Mississippi, from time to time and old towns in East Texas. Several summers, I went with my family to New Mexico where we visited relatives who had working ranches at Ocote and Magdalena. I was rather turned loose in Santa Fe, Taos, and Las Vegas. When I went to college at Southwestern University in central Texas, I was interested in architecture, but not in taking architectural courses. From that perch, I traveled in western and southern Texas and often to northern Mexico. I settled on a history major and cultivated an interest in historic architecture on my own. I never have stopped studying it, although my approach is not orthodox. History as taught in colleges and universities was entirely political history. Some of our professors were Germans who had survived or fled ahead of the Holocaust—dramatic lecturers and dedicated scholars, utterly devoted to their work.

My ambition then was to teach history at a small college. After I received my Ph.D. degree from Duke University, I taught at Lamar University in Texas, and published two books on Texas history—*Texas Riverman: The Life and Times of Captain Andrew Smyth* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966) and *Sam Houston's Wife: A Biography of Margaret Lea Houston* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970). *Sam Houston's Wife* is still out there in paperback. In the early and mid-1960s, someone with a history Ph.D. had many choices. However, by the late 1960s, the academic world changed in terms of tenure, public support for history teaching, and committee workloads. Things became tense and quite different. I quit full-time teaching in 1969.

AJL: How did you decide on historic preservation as a career?

WS: Just before I completed my dissertation, I attended the Seminar for Historical Administrators in Williamsburg, Virginia, in the summer of 1964, where I met many people in the field, including William J. Murtagh, the seminar's leader. Bill was an inspiring teacher. The seminar altered my career direction by making me realize that I could redirect my history work towards buildings and interiors in one form or another.

In 1970, an alternative to teaching presented itself. My first job in preservation was a dual responsibility as director of the South Carolina Tricentennial celebration in Columbia and director of the Historic Columbia Foundation. There were three Tricentennial centers in the state—in Columbia, Greenville, and Charleston. I developed a historical center in Columbia, worked on the restoration of the Hampton-Preston House, and taught on an adjunct basis at the University of South Carolina. For the Historic Columbia Foundation, I continued work underway in a wonderful Robert Mills house of 1820 and opened Woodrow Wilson's 1872 boyhood home. During the summers in 1971 and 1972, I served as coordinator for the Seminar for Historical Administration in Williamsburg, as the seminar was renamed.

In 1971, I became associated with writing a history of the state capitols, a project that the Victorian Society in America sponsored and that received funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The project required someone who had been in the academic world and who had published to partner with Henry-Russell Hitchcock, the architectural historian, who was the principal investigator of this project. I became associate investigator. The two of us went to the project with entirely different approaches, but discovered that the details of the state capitols mingled history—human history—and architectural history compellingly. We decided not to do the expected picture book, but rather to write the history of a building type. Through this project, I became very interested in public buildings.

At the project's outset, I was impressed by the sheer size of the project: 50 state capitols. I had planned to do most of the leg-work. However, Professor Hitchcock became so interested that he went to about half of them himself. How he loved to travel! Between the two of us, we visited all state capitols—some I should say twice because I went to all of them. The book was published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich in 1976 as *Temples of Democracy*.

At that time, several state capitols were threatened with demolition and replacement, including most notably Michigan's capitol. Public opinion and the 1976 Bicentennial were to change this situation. A wave of capitol restorations rose later on and continues even now, with Kansas and Utah both underway. I have worked on the restoration of seven state capitols over probably 25 years, and have consulted on more.

I just returned from a very interesting trip to Alaska, where I conferred with a group of citizens and officials about building a permanent state capitol at Juneau. Up to this point, Alaska has used a fine old federal building built about 1929. It is a good structure immaculately cared for. However, now Alaska wants a symbolic capitol, and it is certainly time. It is the only state without a permanent capitol building. Juneau, the historic seat of government, is the prime contender, and an incredibly beautiful site it is.

AJL: Tell us when you started to work on historic house restorations.

WS: You mean on my own. I started consulting on historic house restorations in 1972 beginning with the 1840 Greek Revival house, Bulloch Hall, in Roswell, Georgia. Bulloch Hall was the childhood home of Mittie Bulloch Roosevelt, President Theodore Roosevelt's mother. She married Mr. Roosevelt in the house. It is a fine wooden house straight out of the pattern books—with a touch of Georgia whimsy in the proportions.

AJL: Do you have a philosophy about approaching a historic house restoration?

WS: If historic houses are going to be museums, their interpretive history must be based on solid historical information that comes from research. Research must be completed and analyzed before the building is ever touched, even before the important physical research gets underway. If the historic house is a private house, the result will be much more interesting if the aura and feel of the actual past of the place are there. Most people restore too fast. But it is hard to fault private owners creating a home. Provided that they are not destroying the building itself, they can do pretty much what they wish. Sometimes, of course, the results are regrettable. But with a museum house, fast work leads to mistakes for which there are no excuses. This is amateurish and intolerable.

AJL: When *The Tasteful Interlude* (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1975), your book on Victorian interiors, was first published, was it a revelation that a great deal of historical documentation is available for interior restorations and decisions need not be based simply on taste?

If the historic house is a private house, the result will be much more interesting if the aura and feel of the actual past of the place are there. Most people restore too fast. ... But with a museum house, fast work leads to mistakes for which there are no excuses.

WS: At that time, very little substantive historical research was being carried out on historic buildings. The National Park Service came the closest to achieving standards in this kind of work. Even then, often a political historian, without another involvement or facet to their interest, did the research on historic buildings. He could produce a whole history and barely mention the building. It was a history, yes, but not one of much use in restoring the building. Such a product is, in that context, a waste of time. For example, what could an academic biography of James Madison have to say that would help to restore Montpelier?

Prior to the early 1970s, most restorations were based on principles that came from art history, or the trade of interior design, where "period" design is mistaken for historical fact. Then there were—and are—the architects whose training in modern architectural design and technique is usually a strongly negative influence. And equally dangerous are those whose backgrounds in architectural history give them a tendency to want to make everything architecturally perfect or classic, if you will. Fiske Kimball was that sort of restorer. We still see this today.

The 1970s marked a new phase in historic house restorations. My purpose in *The Tasteful Interlude* and a later book, *Recreating the Historic House Interior* (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1979), was to describe a different way of looking at interiors and finally a different

restoration process, addressing research, evaluating information and conjecture according to the building, not just the characters. Bringing all the sources together—including the physical tracks—in terms of the building is always a real eye-opener. You see it as you have never been able to see it before. Of course, you will face conjecture. This is perfectly all right if your solutions are based on real knowledge of the time and place and possibilities—this is part of the usual work of historians.

AJL: Most of the houses you have worked on have a great deal of written documentation, more than might be available for vernacular houses where you might have no written records.

WS: Vernacular buildings themselves can be read physically. Surrounding documentation can be extensive, if you look for it. Sometimes the written record turns up in strange places. For example, for the furnishings master plan I did for Rosedown, there was a treasure trove of documentation absolutely untouched in the clerk's office in the Parish Courthouse—strangely overlooked for a place so famous. Probate records turned up inventories and information on furniture, store accounts, even very dramatic family events. Rosedown had been restored for 40 years and these documents had never been examined. No one looked. Virtually every house has written information somewhere that is associated with it. For one thing, unless maybe for a house-trailer, it stands on property someone owned. If written documentation is not available, you do have to go to the nearest documentation you have and compare it with houses in other places. The unfortunate, more usual case is like Rosedown; most times the factual material is simply overlooked, if looked for in a serious way at all.

AJL: With advances in interest in how everyday people lived and the amount of research that is invested in it, and all the books produced, why don't people regard restorations as requiring the kind of research that one puts into a book?

WS: In a nutshell: people get too much money and get itchy fingers. You know, fixing up an old house is fun! Yet, people here and there are achieving a high level of specific research tailored to buildings. For example, under the leadership of Graham Hood, Colonial Williamsburg became a model in the 1970s and 1980s for research and informed restorations. Hood studied English precedents and applied them to the buildings of Williamsburg on the premise that the influence from across the ocean was still great in the late colonial period. He was constantly looking there for documentation. What he did in changing the museum buildings to reflect how they were lived in originally rather than as decorative arts settings certainly did not please everyone. The public in general, I think, was fascinated. It made people ask questions about history. Turning Williamsburg from a *monument* to a historical essay could only have been controversial. The same approach was already appearing elsewhere especially with younger scholars. But you still see decorative arts settings passed off as historically accurate.

The scientific aspects of restoration have advanced in everything from structural analysis to drapery-making. Today, there are skilled people in all of the many fields associated with restoration, if not crowds of them. Previously, that kind of detail—how it was done—did not matter as much as how it looked.

AJL: Do you prefer working on a house museum over a private home?

WS: In a word, yes. I have worked on private homes, but I more enjoy historic house museums where historical authenticity is paramount. Private homes are not the same thing. There are so many compromises, adapting a place where you live to a lifestyle wholly different from what the house was created to serve. You have your own ideas. A gifted decorator can give a private home restoration a spark, but their vocabulary is that of the marketplace and not of history. In this, they are not really different from most architects, who do not know the difference between a rehabilitation and a restoration. A proper restoration does not begin as a design problem.

Like any history, restoration philosophy grows from questioning. There are many details, one can find out about how people lived in a house. These details enrich interpretation. I recall that my father, who was born in 1882, used to describe being in an old house that my wife and I now have in East Texas, in the summertime when he was a child. The mosquitoes were bad. Everyone was afraid of yellow fever. He said that the beds had high posts to support curtains in winter and in summer mosquito netting. Once you went to bed, the mosquito bar was tucked in all around the edge of the mattress. You lay on a feather bed and were not allowed to move. It was hot and the windows were open. Smudge pots kept going all night on high sticks puffed black smoke in and out of the windows to drive away the mosquitoes. It was uncomfortable, but it beat getting yellow fever or malaria. I found a stereoview of an old house somewhere and what did it have sticking around the outside on poles? Smudge pots! I'd never have known that had he not told me the story. Some might consider such details trivia but resurrected in a historic building they help kindle the historical imagination.

AJL: What were some of the most challenging house restorations you worked on?

WS: One of the most interesting in recent years was Ten Chimneys in Genesee Depot, near Milwaukee, a house that the Broadway stars Alfred Lunt and Lynne Fontanne built—mainly he created beginning at age 19 before he married her at 22 (she was 30). You know, Lunt and Fontanne dominated the theater on Broadway and in London from the mid-1920s to the late 1950s. In the early 1930s, well-established already in their longstanding fame, the Lunts made Ten Chimneys what it is today. After Lynne Fontanne's death in 1980, the property sat unused for years but nothing was removed. By 1996, commercial development threatened to destroy the house. A very imaginative man, Joseph

W. Garton, a restaurateur, theater historian, and arts advocate, led a campaign to save the property.

The design of the 14-room house was quirky enough, a stage set—or series of sets—as much as a home. It had fine woodwork, murals, decorative works, furnishings, and chandeliers put together in intricate room-settings. Everything was still in the house and in place down to personal effects. Photographs of the Lunts in residence in the 1930s showed that nothing had changed. As the brochure from Ten Chimneys states, “Ten Chimneys is overflowing with memorabilia: notes from Laurence Olivier, snapshots of the Lunts with the Queen Mother and Charlie Chaplin, mementos from Helen Hayes and Noël Coward, inscribed first edition books from Edna Ferber and Alexander Woollcott, and remembrances from dozens of other intimates and luminaries.”

Joe Garton bought the farm and, after an investigation of historic houses in general, called me. I spent a lot of time at Ten Chimneys deciding what to recommend to him. Boy, what a problem. The house and its contents had suffered the ravages of dust and sun and humidity. Just about everything was exactly where it had been. The letters from Olivier, Helen Hayes, Cole Porter, and other friends of “the celestial ones”—Porter’s name for them—filled the drawers of French desks and built-in cabinets. There were playing cards and Kodak snapshots. Miss Fontanne’s false eyelashes were still in her dressing table. Knick-knacks covered every surface. The Lunts were avid readers. Hundreds of books were lined up neatly on shelves in room after room. A glass dome could have been placed over it, of course. Curators would have loved it and have gained much meaning there. But largely only curators.

I ultimately recommended that Ten Chimneys be “repaired” and “conserved.” Those two words became the major guiding forces. A small group of experts worked on the repair. The murals were cleaned and conserved. Upholsteries were saved where they could be. Substitutions were used in the few instances where original material could not be found. Wallpaper was cleaned and in one room replicated. Curtains sometimes were repaired and rehung. The finish of furniture was restored.

The whole project was done with an object-by-object approach according to what needed to be done. A thick manual of tasks was developed. We priced the work with people we wanted, rather than selecting consultants based on competitive bidding and specifications that might prove useless. Doing this sort of work on a lowest-bid basis is deadly. The Ten Chimneys interior was finished on time and well under budget.

Today, Ten Chimneys is a house museum. It interprets the Lunts’ theatrical lives, for here their plays were rehearsed and this is where other stars came to visit them. Actors are somewhat like tent people; they generally do not keep

houses intact for long because they tend to move around. For the Lunts, Ten Chimneys was always home, despite their extensive travels. As completed, I am happy to say, it looks like it has been simply cleaned up, dusted, and polished—no more. This makes for a very happy ending.

Too often, a house restoration brings the whole contents of the house up to the level of taste and quality of the very finest things in it. Normally, houses are full of all kinds of things. Some may be fine, but others merely were comfortable or livable, without being the best.

One of the most notable examples of this effect in a historic house is Mount Vernon. Mount Vernon's contents are a combination of highs and lows and middle. Most restored historic houses do not exhibit this range.

Exhibiting a uniformly high level of taste and quality was the problem at Rosedown. In the 1960s, a New York decorating firm had restored it, using the very best of the original furnishings. Everything brought in was of that class or better. Inventories and actual photographs show that the house had both high end and ordinary furniture mingled together. In making a master plan recently, the challenge was to return that quality of mixture to the house.

I think that the visiting public appreciates most seeing a realistic vision of life as it was lived. This kind of restoration speaks to them, giving them the human setting. Many historic houses are overdone. They are filled with too much stuff. They house fancy relics. Often, the furniture dominates the story on the interior and drives the restoration. The result is the farmhouse gets to looking like a house in a fine urban neighborhood of today, instead of a remote agricultural establishment.

AJL: What is interpretive planning? Does it come first? Does the furnishings plan follow?

WS: Always. The most important material you work with is the history that the house will project. This includes the building too, and how we read it for facts. My interest is local history and its context—what people were concerned with at the time. All history is in a sense local history or a combination of local histories.

An interpretive plan is a book, really, that interprets the house in the context of being a house, a three-dimensional place where people lived. The plan provides the documentation for that. It also is an interpretation of the documents. Usually the interpretive plan and the furnishings plan are two separate documents.

AJL: Because an old house has evolved over time, it is a dilemma about whether or not it should focus on a single layer of its past.

WS: The interpretive plan forms the basis for the decision about what the story should be. I am not against taking a house back to a specific time or event in the past. You look for the most important, the most powerful interpretation. What does this property most clearly speak to historically? One of the most confusing approaches is having different rooms represent different periods. This results in a muddle with no confirmed image. Again, mainly curators are going to enjoy it.

AJL: Does the interpretive focus drive the rest of the project?

WS: How can it be otherwise and be historical?

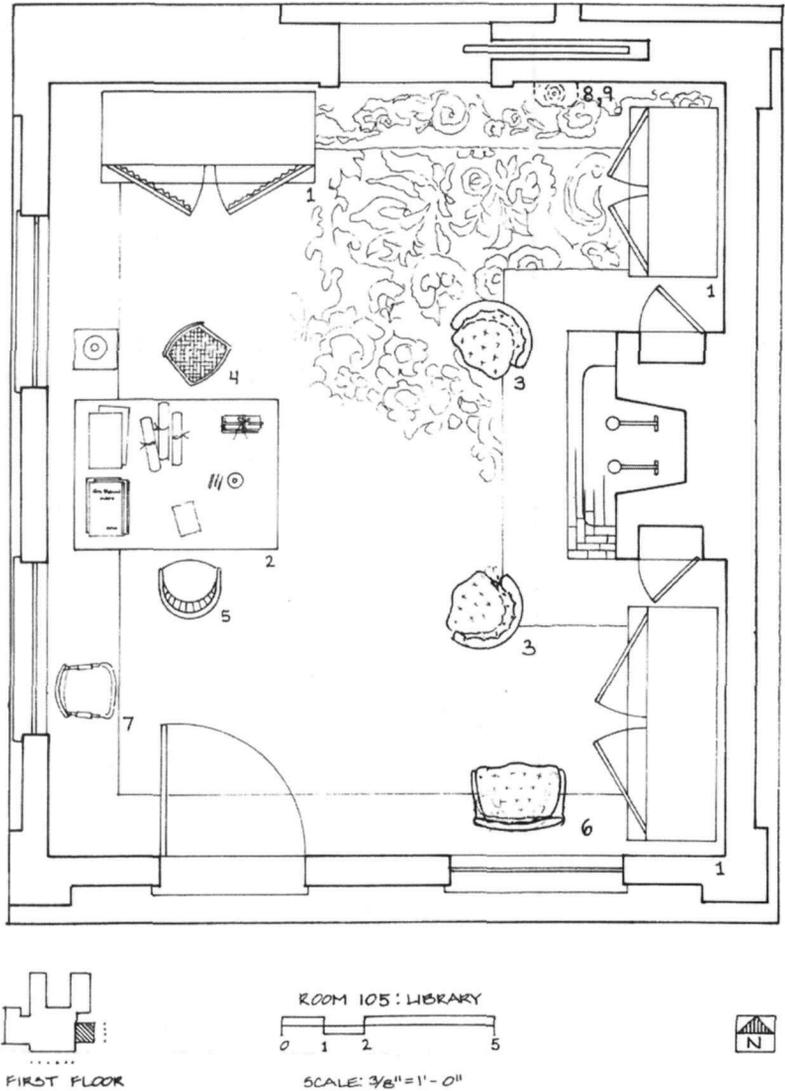
AJL: Do you have a model for an interpretive plan and its contents?

WS: I have to think in terms of recent work. Rosedown might be viewed as a model. By 1960s standards, Rosedown was a good enough restoration, frothy to be sure. It was the home of Daniel and Martha Turnbull and was built in 1834-35, then expanded. The original plantation property covered 15,000 acres, of which nearly one-third was in cotton production. During that time, close to 500 slaves lived and worked on the various Turnbull plantations. After the Civil War, Rosedown's economic base collapsed with the emancipation of the enslaved workforce and Rosedown fell on hard times. The family held on, often tending the 35-acre garden themselves and changing the house very little.

By the time that the last of the grandchildren died in 1955, the house was an incredible document, falling into ruin. Mrs. Milton Underwood of Houston purchased and restored it out of an interest in the garden that had been begun about 1835. The ensuing restoration was especially important for the rescue of that garden. In its patterns and features you can trace the genesis from garden design books by Loudoun through Downing. Rosedown opened both the house and garden to the public in 1964. Nearly 40 years later, the State of Louisiana purchased the house, along with 360 acres, today it is known as Rosedown Plantation State Historic Site. When the State acquired Rosedown, it directed that the property be interpreted as an antebellum and Civil War period site. Thus, the interpretation focuses on the first three decades of Rosedown. None too soon, for something serious, because most other Louisiana landmark plantation houses have become jazzed up as B&Bs or tourist attractions.

My Rosedown is one of several reports, including archeological work on slave sites. The 2002 furnishings plan consists of several parts. The first section provides the historical narrative about the house and its occupants. This presents more history about Rosedown than was ever known. It is directed to the house. The historical narrative extends through the rediscovery of Rosedown in the 1920s when the automobile began to roll and tourists started to arrive.

FIGURE 1
 The floor plan of the library at Rosedown Plantation illustrates the setting that provides an opportunity to address the business side of Rosedown, including plantation lands and slavery. (Drawn by Suzanne Matty, courtesy of William Seale)



The narrative is followed by an interpretive strategy where the plan discusses how visitors will see the property; the major historical themes, such as the family, consumption patterns in goods, and the plantation economy. This section provides summaries of the architecture, garden, interiors, and furnishings; a bibliography; and copies of known historical photographs.

In the 1930s, photographer Frances Benjamin Johnston took pictures of Rosedown; a little afterwards Clarence John Laughlin did some very valuable coverage of the back of the house and the outbuildings, most radically altered in the 1960s.

The second part of the furnishings plan provides a detailed description or project for each room of the house, complete with drawings of floor plans, furniture, curtains, floor coverings, etc. The plan includes all sorts of details,

WS: Absolutely. Other reasons exist for historic houses, but my interest is in how they teach and provide a special forum. The best historic houses I know have a clear teaching mission and I don't mean something grabbed out of today's headlines. The best historic houses have well-informed docents who enjoy what they are doing and who are able to set up programs and become part of a learning and teaching process.

AJL: Do interpretive plans extend to what the interpreters use?

WS: Yes. The plan becomes the basis of what the property will say to the public. It contains just what it is called—the interpretation of the facts. The property's governing board accepts the interpretation as policy. Then everyone knows what page they are on. The furnishings serve the interpretive plan. An interpretive plan is substantial; I have seen them one or two pages long but these are not serious interpretive plans. An interpretive plan also begins or sets the direction for further research, one hopes.

AJL: Will there be new trends in history that will cause the updating of interpretive plans decades from now?

WS: Well, history being what we make of facts, points of view and areas of interest do change. If the core subject matter has been well-honed, and if the building is true, I would not think that there would be a change until a new perspective presented itself. Sometimes the issue *is* simply perspective. Take Rosedown, for example, and its challenges. The great garden was the creation of the slaves and the Turnbulls. Generations of African Americans worked in it and we know many of their names and the character of their work. It had never been seen from that viewpoint before. But today it can be without physical change. Many of today's interpretive plans provide a firm foundation for nuances in the approach. But to say a historic house will never be reinterpreted is not accurate. It is like saying some book will be the last biography of someone.

By 2050, new theories and technologies may evolve. I feel that old buildings will become more valuable with time—pure, well-preserved early buildings from the past, as well as others that time has been kind to. Technology will improve so that restoring them will not be as complicated. That is already happening. We have an awful lot of historic house museums today. I may have seen most of them. Typically, they have really bad historical underpinnings. They've been compromised in the accommodation of all sorts of machines, usually for comfort. They are not fooling the public with their weak interpretation and usually suffer for this shortcoming. People get bored with dollhouses.

AJL: Dealing with public buildings lies somewhere between the historic house and the privately owned property. Public buildings are usually workplaces. No one lives there.

WS: A restored public building like a capitol should reflect a serious attempt to be authentic to the building, with the understanding that the rooms are used hard for modern purposes. Concepts for this come from an intellectual interaction between architects and historians who collaborate on a concept and carry it through design. On that basis, when the restoration is finished, the buildings are not trashed. A sensible attitude is developed toward the restoration of a public building when it is done that way. As examples, I can point to the capitols of Michigan and Ohio where harmony unites the buildings and their interiors.

AJL: Is a governor's mansion somewhere between a restored public building and a privately owned building?

WS: It is more like a public building, even though someone lives there. Very few were built to be open to the public. They are usually simply big houses. Since the White House refurbishment under President Kennedy, they are usually open to the public, with the demands that entails. The family crowds upstairs and the downstairs rooms are public. Very few mansions can support this comfortably, but all try. Most governors' domestic households are stuffed into a relatively small upstairs, in space meant to be only bedrooms.

AJL: Some young people ask the question, "Why study history?"

WS: History teaches perspective. Goodness knows, in the avalanche of words that rush over us now from the printed page and television, perspective is important. Now and then you just have to say, "I don't believe that," or dismiss it because it is obviously slanted, illogical, or not true or just glitz. A lot of what comes from the age of information is worthless. You've got to be able to judge to live in a free society. History helps with your thinking. And three-dimensional history, houses, etc., help with that all-important and life-enriching historical imagination.

Students can't expect to get it all in school. While school is usually basic and a convenient forum, I guess, and simplifies things, the real delight of history is finding out something for yourself. One does not have to be an academic. Most great historians were amateurs. For those who love history, the spark never cools.

AJL: What do you advise those who wish to have a career like yours?

WS: I am not sure how many people could have a career similar to mine. Is anyone else as obsessed with the subject as I am? I have been interested in this since I was maybe 10 years old. It is not something you can just drop into. It is not a 9-to-5 job. That's why I am free-lance and have been for 26 years.

I am a believer in traditional general academic training. Some majors today are risky as to their enduring value. It is not enough to just learn about furniture. You need to learn social history, politics, and biography. In closer focus, you study buildings, the uses of buildings, conveniences, how people lived, and what they thought was comfortable. You need to absorb manuscript sources, not just read other people's work—although you have to do that too. With restoration, experience, of course, is priceless and not easy to come by. Experiencing old buildings is essential—you learn so many important little things that you need to know, like the fact that carpets in 1840 had less to do with looks than with keeping the cold air out. Such a tiny fact as that, you know, can influence the appearance of an entire room.

As for having a career like mine, you have to love buildings for reasons other than because they are attractive. They have to say something to you. When the dialog begins, the work begins. I have considered having interns and have had a few, but it is a teaching job. I am a one-man band with a group of colleagues (also one-man or one-woman bands) that I pull together for projects. It makes the maximum use of my time. I can still write and those two things are all I do anyway. So someone else will have to create a studio to train others.

America's World War II Home Front Heritage

by Roger E. Kelly

Evidence of our World War II home front can be found beneath farm fields, on grazing parcels or public lands, within former and active military installations, or in rural forests. Structures, buildings, and objects connect the global war of 1941-1945 to participants and their descendants. In 1991, the nation commemorated the 50th anniversary of the United States' entry into World War II. The nation is now approaching the 60th anniversary of the Allies and the United States Victory over Japan and Victory in Europe, celebrating the war's end. This article aims to enhance our understanding of our nation's history and the physical heritage of our wartime-era home front. (Figure 1)

Much has been written and spoken about how the United States participated in, and was changed by, the world conflict.¹ The nation's home front was like a goldsmith's crucible, recasting relationships between the country's majority and minority peoples into new images and unexpected forms. The nation used demographic diversity for dual, conflicting purposes—for wartime unity at home or "at the front," and for racial and ethnic separation of society, sometimes behind barbed wire. The places described here were crucibles where citizens began to form new images of American diversity.

Physical evidence of home front mobilization, the confinement of certain groups, military defense, or war matériel production speak volumes about wartime political and cultural behavior. Even though these material remains are only several decades old, they are finite heritage resources with relevance across today's living generations just as Civil War battlefields resonated across earlier (and present) American generations. But unlike widely held personal memories of hardships, victory gardens, ration coupon books, and the loss of family members, tangible evidence is unevenly scattered across the United States. Coastal states with fortified cities and shipyards, forested mountain regions, and rural agricultural lands witnessed different home front landscape uses than midcontinent manufacturing centers and Sun Belt states.

If recognized and preserved, tangible World War II home front heritage can contribute to social and political histories, develop deeper feelings of patriotism and reflective nostalgia, encourage cross-generational communication, and inspire grassroots heritage tourism for today's citizens. Varieties of home front heritage—landscapes, objects, structures, memories, stories, and secrets—are diminishing as are the number of the people directly associated with this past.

Specific examples discussed here were chosen utilizing five criteria: 1) historic involvement of large groups; 2) pertinent, accessible, and reliable information; 3) extant associated archeological, architectural, historical, and other materials; 4) active local preservation or museum presentations focused on home front themes; and 5) interest groups of original participants, their descendents, and friends. Information sources are published works, news articles, websites, personal observation, and persons identified in acknowledgements. Other wartime historic venues and properties such as the Trinity Site, sunken warships at Pearl Harbor, laboratories at Oak Ridge or Berkeley, and historic ships are very important, but are not included here. Heroic military units have significant stories that are commemorated elsewhere.

We can learn from other nations with similar home front histories. Researchers in the United Kingdom, for example, have inventoried extant World War II-era facilities in the English countryside and produced studies showing impacts of prisoner-of-war labor on agricultural production. As part of its mission, Britain's English Heritage organization promotes national stewardship of military heritage through site sustainability, "beneficial reuse," documentation before land development, and encouragement of community support. Near Malton in North Yorkshire, a preserved prisoner-of-war camp containing 30 barracks, each with displays of European and Great Britain wartime topics, was developed as a World War II historical park.²

Identifying World War II Home Front Places

Some American home front locations are identified by visible foundations or vacant structures, towering smoke stacks, abandoned roadways, still-occupied buildings, relocated barracks, fortifications, abandoned shipyard facilities, or supply depot elements such as munitions bunkers.³ Many extant World War II structures, buildings, and features have been identified during cultural resource inventories for active military installations, some federal and state parks, and local jurisdictions. But many locations contain little or no evidence of significant wartime activities due to substantial changes in land use.

Archeology, history, and historic architecture are effective partners for detailed documentation and preservation of civilian and military architecture, particularly remnants of now-gone structures. Archeological investigative techniques, such as research designs, test excavations, mapping, and artifact studies are applicable when above-grade fabric is missing. Archeological methods can also be useful for tracing buried infrastructure systems, recording historic graffiti and abandoned objects, and comparing as-built conditions and original designs.

Industrial archeology is a cross-disciplinary professional field, blending architecture, historical technology, and archeology that can be useful in document-

ing World War II-era sites. The Army Engineer Museum at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, includes exhibits and archives of wartime temporary buildings used nationwide from 1939 to 1945. Examples of home front historic architecture assessment reports include the Old Hospital Complex, the Waste Water Treatment Plant and Incinerator Complex at Fort Carson, Colorado; the Presidio of San Francisco, California; and the Old Parade Ground and MacArthur Avenue at Fort Mason in San Francisco, California.⁴

Major Types of World War II Home Front Properties

Four broad categories of historic places provide a framework to discuss tangible evidence of the nation's 1941-1945 home front. The first category, "controlled group camps," includes centers and camps for interned Japanese Americans; facilities for military prisoners; "Civilian Public Service" quarters for conscientious objectors; "enemy alien" facilities for Axis diplomats and other civilians believed to be a threat to the nation; and facilities for the Aleut Alaska Natives removed from their island villages. The second category includes military-related facilities, permanent or temporary, for defense, training, logistical operations, armament storage and transport, and battlefields. The third category encompasses industrial facilities such as contract and government shipyards, airplane assembly plants, and munitions deployment centers. The final category includes civilian facilities such as defense-worker housing. Examples from each category will be used to illustrate the opportunity for enhanced heritage awareness. The categories are not equal in terms of coherent, accessible information. The first and second categories have much larger bodies of usable literature and extant examples, thus producing a regrettable imbalance in this essay.

Some home front places are designated as National Historic Landmarks, listed in the National Register of Historic Places, or appear in state registers. Often designations are based primarily on historical research. Archeological significance may not be identified. Perhaps assumptions are made that little tangible evidence of wartime activity remains embedded on or in a specific property. For some places, remodeling and land reuse have impacted a wartime landscape, but some buried or obscured features may be extant as significant and valuable reminders.

Because a recent overview of the wartime evidence in Hawaii and the Pacific is available, this essay is focused only on America's continental and Alaskan home front.⁵ Public interest in wartime history and places has increased for many reasons, including Tom Brokaw's "greatest generation" best sellers, European battlefield tourism, and recent Hollywood films. Another encouraging example of interest is reflected in TRACES, a nonprofit grassroots consortium of amateur and professional historians, educators, and individuals who participated in home front life and hold an annual conference at Coe College

in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. At least three guidebooks to historic home front military and civilian facilities are available. In 2000, the National D-Day Museum in New Orleans joined the growing number of museums illustrating World War II's significance to the nation.⁶

Controlled Group Camps

The early 1940s witnessed the unprecedented detention of an estimated 650,000 persons. "Impounded people," as described by anthropologist Edward Spicer, included Japanese Americans; Axis war prisoners; citizens of Italy, Germany, and Japan; Americans with "suspicious" surnames; Japanese living in Latin America; registered conscientious objectors; and Aleut Alaska Native people. Extensive literature exists on the experiences of these groups, the legal and moral issues of detention, and the operation of detention facilities.⁷ Video documentaries of camps for Japanese Americans and Axis prisoners of war, and the restrictions placed upon Italian Americans are also available.⁸

The early 1940s witnessed the unprecedented detention of an estimated 650,000 persons. "Impounded people," as described by anthropologist Edward Spicer, included Japanese Americans; Axis war prisoners; citizens of Italy, Germany, and Japan; Americans with "suspicious" surnames; Japanese living in Latin America; registered conscientious objectors; and Aleut Alaska Native people.

Several federal agencies established facilities to hold detained groups in town-like camps, with basic housing, health services, subsistence supplies, recreation, and internal governance. Physical control of camp inhabitants ranged from maximum security at some prisoner-of-war camps to minimum confinement of civilian aliens. New camps were quickly built from military plans with basic one-story frame barracks, latrines, laundries, communal showers, warehouses, mess halls and kitchens, staff housing, and medical facilities, arranged in grid layouts with open firebreaks and bounded by wire fences and guard towers. In some locations, vacant Depression-era facilities or state prison facilities were re-used. Published recollections and oral histories of detainees within each type of camp give many details about daily life. These sources reveal how ethnic cultural expressions, such as decorative gardens and outdoor art, team sports, fitness clubs, religious practices, political opinions, written language expressed in camp newspapers or graffiti, diet, performing arts, and handicrafts, were adapted to confinement.

The persistence of ethnic culture by detained people can be documented in archeological, historic architecture, and landscape features. Equally important are perspectives about the interaction of surrounding communities with camp residents and among multinational camp populations.

Japanese-American Internment Camps

An inventory of the physical remains of Japanese-American camps and other detention facilities notes that in many locations, substantial structures such as smokestacks, root cellars, infrastructure features, cemeteries, roadways, and support buildings exist today.⁹ (Figure 1) In addition, Japanese-style gardens and memorials, hidden graffiti in English and Japanese, and modern commemorative markers are present in many locations.

FIGURE 1: JAPANESE AMERICAN IMPRISONMENT DURING WORLD WAR II



This map shows locations of internment camps and other facilities in the United States associated with the relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

Perhaps the best-documented Japanese-American internment camp is Manzanar, the first to open in early 1942 and now part of the National Park System. Extensive archeological, historical, oral history, cultural landscape, and historic architecture studies have been completed, including an inventory of extant prehistory and prewar homestead evidence, and the documentation of the camp's physical features.¹⁰ These studies supported planning the 540-acre national park. Planning participants included Japanese-American landscape architects, the Manzanar Pilgrimage group, a local museum, and neighbors. (Figure 2) As a result, the Manzanar High School auditorium has been restored as an interpretive center and a mess hall building was recently relocated to its original position. The Manzanar National Historic Site Interpretive Center opened April 24, 2004, in conjunction with the 35th annual Manzanar Pilgrimage.

FIGURE 2

During a ceremony at the camp cemetery, participants of the 2003 Manzanar Pilgrimage gathered at the *I Rei To* or "soul consoling tower." (Courtesy of the National Park Service)



The other nine major camps also contain significant physical evidence worthy of preservation and are identified by historical markers. Several camps are visited annually by reunion groups of former detainees, their families, and friends who work to preserve physical remains and memories of internment experiences.

Department of Justice Internment Camps

The Department of Justice was responsible for three types of facilities: temporary detention camps run by the Immigration and Naturalization Service; comfortable diplomatic "hotel camps;" and "enemy alien" camps for noncitizen Italians, German Americans, Japanese removed from Latin American countries, and others. These facilities were populated with families and individuals who were regarded as a "potential danger to the Nation."¹¹ Approximately 1,600 Italian citizens and travelers were interned and thousands of Italian Americans were forced to move or comply with travel restrictions. Although exact figures differ, at least 6,300 German Americans and about 300 Italians deported from Latin America were detained, although many were later paroled and released. Approximately 2,200 Latin-American Japanese were classified as "enemy aliens" and held at special home front camps separate from Japanese Americans.

As an example, the Crystal City Internment Camp for "enemy aliens," one of three established in Texas, was a 500-acre complex of 41 cottages, 188 one-room structures, and service buildings such as warehouses, offices, schools, grocery stores, a hospital, and a swimming pool. In 1945, its 3,325 detainees who spoke Japanese, German, Spanish, Italian, and English lived in housing separated by nationality. They worked in camp shops and offices; raised vegetables, pigs, and chickens; made ethnic foods for sale; and assisted in school

FIGURE 3

A German prisoner-of-war in work clothes at the Nyssa prisoner-of-war camp in Oregon was photographed in May 1946. (Courtesy of the Oregon State Archives)



and camp administration. Although the Crystal City camp “resembled a bustling small town,” 10-foot high fences, guard towers, floodlights, and guard patrols constantly reminded detainees of their lack of freedom. The Crystal City camp was the last “enemy alien” facility to close.

Over the past two decades, German-American families have held reunions at the camp. In November 2002, Crystal City and the Zavala County Historical Commission hosted the “First Multi-Ethnic National Reunion of World War II Internment Camp Families.” Approximately 150 German and Peruvian-Japanese families were represented. Today, part of the camp is open terrain and structural foundations are present near a 1985 plaque.¹² Other important “enemy alien” camps were located at Fort Missoula, Montana; Kooskia, Idaho; Seagoville, Texas; and Fort Stanton, New Mexico.¹³

Department of the Army Prisoner-of-War Camps

German military personnel taken prisoner in North Africa during 1943 were the first enemy troops brought to American wartime prisoner-of-war or “PW” camps. (Figure 3) By June 1945, more than 425,000 Axis prisoners—371,000 Germans, 50,000 Italians, and 4,000 Japanese—were housed in about 125 main camps and 425 smaller branch camps across the country.¹⁴ Usually located in rural, isolated regions of the country, PW camps became curiosities to nearby towns, desirable economic boosts to counties, and reminders of the overseas war to neighbors.

Since 1996, Professor Michael R. Waters of Texas A&M University has been investigating Camp Hearne in Texas. Archeological test excavations, extensive archival research in American and German military records, oral histories with former guards and prisoners, and local historical research produced the first comprehensive understanding of a home front prisoner-of-war camp. Foundations for the mess hall, theater, barracks, decorative ponds, and fountains have been documented, and everyday artifacts recovered. The report, *Lone Star Stalag*, offers accounts of prisoners' daily lives and operations, including Nazi followers' violent intimidation of fellow prisoners, relationships between guards and townspeople, and artifacts recovered from the site.¹⁵ Nominations to the National Register of Historic Places and to the Texas State register are in preparation.

Only one other PW camp has undergone an archeological study. Test excavations at Camp Carson in Colorado did not yield significant evidence, but PW camps in Missouri, Iowa, Oklahoma, and New Mexico have been researched by historians. These studies include descriptions of PW involvement with local agricultural production and construction projects as well as soccer games, the barter of handicraft items, and some postwar marriages with American women. Research also provides contrasts in how German and Italian officers and enlisted men adapted to confinement as they attempted to follow their national cultural and political expressions, including Nazi, Fascist, and religious art; soccer teams; food; camp newspapers; crafts; sculpture; and musical performances.¹⁶

Civilian Public Service Camps

Executive Order 8675 issued February 6, 1941, established the Civilian Public Service (CPS) as an alternative obligation for conscription-age men.¹⁷ Approximately 12,000 male conscientious objectors and 300 women entered civilian public service. Nearly all were active members of Mennonite congregations, Church of the Brethren, and the Society of Friends (Quakers), churches which became administrators of CPS facilities in about 30 states. Enrollees performed many important tasks from firefighting to assisting in social service programs, but they experienced restrictive daily routines. No inventory of remaining CPS facilities has been undertaken, but some former Depression-era structures used as CPS camps may exist on U.S. Forest Service or national park lands. Former CPS enrollees have an alumni organization and some have revisited their wartime camp locations.

Unangan Native Peoples' Camps

Aleutian Island warfare in 1942-43 forced removal of about 800 Unangan or Aleut Alaska Native people from their islands as "a military necessity" to protect them from Japanese bombing. Abandoned canneries, 1930s Civilian

Conservation Corps camps, and a former gold mine became substandard “duration villages” in southeastern Alaska for the displaced people, and were operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Unangan could not bring many possessions from their home villages, but still persisted as a cultural group in spite of great hardship. They were included in the 1988 Japanese-American restitution legislation.¹⁸

Military Facilities

Seattle, San Diego, the San Francisco Bay area, New York City’s port complex, Gulf Coast cities, New England harbors, and Alaskan towns housed World War II-related armaments, defensive fortifications, and support bases.¹⁹ World War II defensive installations are in varying stages of preservation or deterioration. Within Cabrillo National Monument near San Diego, a well-preserved four-155mm-gun coastal defense battery constructed in 1941 has been documented with archeological methods and oral history.²⁰(Figure 4)

At the mouth of the Delaware River in Delaware, Fort Miles Army Base was constructed during 1941 to defend refineries and industrial complexes. A Coast Artillery division manned searchlights, operated several 155mm 1918-model mobile guns, and deployed mine systems. Several tall circular concrete towers used for triangulation of ship positions for battery fire control exist today. Many of the structures are within Delaware’s Henlopen State Park where public information about the former Fort Miles is available.²¹ In Portsmouth, New Hampshire, home front defensive structures are extant within local and state parks. A former Navy communications facility is located within Acadia National Park in Maine and an early coastal radar station is preserved in Redwood National Park in California.

Military training facilities include the huge “Desert Training Center” in California and Arizona. Evidence of General George S. Patton’s desert command post, division-size camps, and support facilities exists on Bureau of Land Management lands.²² A museum near Indio, California, relates Patton’s career and the significance of the center to military preparedness. The Army Air Corps quickly developed hundreds of home front airfields, gunnery ranges, auxiliary bases, and training facilities, which included thousands of women pilots, flight instructors, and support personnel. Many locations retain airfield layouts and building complexes.²³

The compelling story of the Tuskegee Airmen has shown how courageous African-American pilots and their male and female support personnel fought national prejudice as well as Axis enemies.²⁴ Moten Field near Tuskegee, Alabama, includes an extant hangar, control tower, parachute loft, and roadways from the original complex of 15 structures. The Airmen’s veterans group and preservation of the Moten Field facilities as part of a national park has

FIGURE 4

This view of the Coastal Defense Battery Point Loma, CA, in 1941 shows the stabilized Gun Mount #4. (Courtesy of Cabrillo National Monument, National Park Service)



expanded public awareness of African-American contributions to the wartime aviation effort in spite of segregated armed forces.

A major attack by Japanese Imperial forces on the Dutch Harbor Naval Operating Base and Fort Means, Alaska, in June 1942 brought deadly combat to United States soil. Brutal fighting on Kiska, Amchitka, Unalaska, and Attu Islands resulted in heavy losses on both sides due to the weather, poorly equipped American forces, bombing, and tenacious resistance. A visitor center for the Aleutian World War II National Historic Area on Unalaska Island will open in 2004 to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the Aleutian Campaign which brought war and the Unangan peoples' displacement directly to the American home front in Alaska.²⁵

Industrial Facilities

Retooling America's industrial strengths from peacetime consumerism to wartime production required the intense coordination of national economic, political, and technical energies. The War Resources Administration (WRA) and myriad other bureaus implemented this transformation. Places cited below are examples of historic architecture, potential industrial archeology, and the breadth of American industry during wartime. Thousands of ships were constructed at nearly 150 Federal Government and contract shipyards, including the famous Liberty and Victory classes for troop and munitions transport.

Peacetime land use has removed many private-sector shipyards, but dry-docks at Kaiser Company Shipyard #3 in Richmond, California—located within the boundaries of Rosie the Riveter WWII Home Front National Historical Park—retain historical integrity.(Figure 5) Aircraft manufacturers and suppliers operated in at least 15 states. Due to labor shortages, Douglas, North American

FIGURE 5
 During the years from 1942 to 1944, Dorothea Lange captured many images of Kaiser's Richmond, CA, Shipyard, including this photograph of women workers in a paycheck line. (Courtesy of the Oakland Museum of California)



Aviation, Boeing, Grumman, Bell, Hughes, and Lockheed employed many minority men and women at plants in southern California towns as well as in Seattle and other industrial cities. Some Lockheed and Boeing plants were camouflaged to resemble housing and grain fields. A few historic structures remain at some locations.

The top-secret Manhattan Project and its Hanford Engineer Works B Reactor, near Richland, Washington, has required Superfund environmental restoration work. A National Register nomination covering Hanford's prehistory, historic, and World War II properties was prepared. Building inventories, archeological testing, and archives of historic photographs and documents were also completed.²⁶

At the former Concord Naval Weapons Center near Concord, California, a munitions shipping installation with numerous bunkers, rail sidings, a chapel, and administrative buildings are collectively known as Port Chicago. Here, the "Port Chicago Explosion" on July 17, 1944, killed 320 men, 202 of whom were African American. The refusal by 50 men to continue to work in hazardous conditions led to courts-martials and prison sentences, but by 1946, most sailors were released and discharged. In 1994, Congress established the Port Chicago Naval Magazine National Memorial where an annual survivors' commemoration ceremony is held near the piers where two ammunition ships exploded.²⁷

Civilian Facilities

The relocation of 15 million workers and their families to assembly plants, military bases, and shipyards had significant impact on the experiences of civilians

during the war. The Federal Works Agency, Federal Public Housing Authority, major contractors, and city housing commissions developed these facilities. Wartime migration brought major changes to family life and the workplace at major defense industry centers. While racial prejudice continued in government and private housing markets, the scarcity of trainable workers caused defense industry firms to change their recruitment practices to accept women and minority applicants. At the workplace, significant numbers of women and minority workers performed tasks with nonminority males to meet or exceed production goals. Atchison Village, an example of defense worker government housing for 450 shipyard families in Richmond, California, is now included in Rosie the Riveter WWII Home Front National Historical Park.

To house military personnel, Atomic Energy Commission staff, and Dupont employees, Richland in Washington State was constructed as a complete “federal town” for about 11,000 people. Nearly 20 housing types—each identified by a letter of the alphabet—were built and assigned based on family size and job status. Some current residents of Richland occupy upgraded Alphabet Houses and are employed in the Hanford Project’s Superfund clean-up programs. The Columbia River Exhibition of History and Technology Museum in Richland offers exhibits on the Hanford Project and a new World War II “1940s Trailer Living” exhibit.²⁸

Two Japanese American pre-war urban communities have continued as ethnic districts. Japantown in San Jose, California, is one of the most intact representatives of Japanese-American urban community life in the nation. The establishment of a historic district, a memorial sculpture, and programs sponsored by a local council and the Japanese American Museum of San Jose are funded from preservation grants.²⁹ On Bainbridge Island in Washington State, Japanese Americans who returned to their homes after internment are active in planning for a commemorative public park.

Using Home Front Heritage in Modern Society

Identification of home front heritage locations at local, state, and national levels is impressive, but far from complete. Many World War II historic resources have lost integrity; others are recognizable only from remnants. Some are reasonably intact as combinations of archeological and architectural resources, historic landscapes with visible features, and deep emotional associations for particular people. Most states include World War II places in their historic registers, but some cities, counties, and states have not fully addressed their role during the home front era.

Public education programs regarding local wartime heritage exist in some urban and regional museums, particularly those focused on military units, group ethnicity, and internment camps. Home front national life as a museum

education topic is increasing, often where places or significant buildings exist or threshold events occurred. Museum programs and special exhibits depicting home front themes may well increase as wartime anniversary events are planned. More oral histories are needed from participants while still available. Aviation museums display aircraft manufactured at home front plants, often by interracial work crews whose stories should accompany the historic planes.

Pilgrimages, reunions, and gatherings will contribute towards emotional closure, informing younger generations and increasing public awareness. The participants in these events can also act as site stewards to commemorate, monitor, and preserve the resources and the value of their experiences at a place.

The development of heritage tourism surrounding World War II places is beginning. Some states have online tourism information to guide visitors to wartime historic sites as well as recreation opportunities. A National Register of Historic Places travel itinerary for the World War II home front in the San Francisco Bay region is available.³⁰ Tour routes linking a variety of home front sites can give 21st-century Americans a more balanced understanding of the heroic and everyday aspects of global wartime's impact at home.

Preserving archeological and architectural resources related to World War II requires creative thinking by groups and individuals. Site resource inventories, the consideration of impacts of memorial projects, and protection from relic hunters and encroachment are very important elements for future site integrity, significance, and meaning. Preservation easements with private landowners may be useful to achieve some protection objectives.³¹ Listing in the National Register of Historic Places, designation in state and local historic property registries, and other forms of recognition give an official status to a place, often requiring public consideration for zoning or land use changes.

Finally, home front sites and their messages to the American people can best be developed and transmitted by interdisciplinary and cooperative work among specialists, original participants, elected and other officials, and neighboring residents. An open planning process of appropriate scale for the heritage property is essential. A time frame of many years' duration may be needed. Communication plans and websites may be effective and inexpensive ways to reach a broad audience. The recognition of the civic, economic, and historic community values of World War II home front heritage is basic to preserving our nation's cultural resources.

Roger E. Kelly is senior archeologist with the Pacific West Region, National Park Service, in Oakland, California. His education began in a barracks primary school in Richland, Washington.

The author gratefully acknowledges assistance from the following individuals: Linda Cook, manager, Aleutian Island WWII National Historic Area; Karl Gurcke, a historian with Klondike Gold Rush National Historic Site, whose family was held at Crystal City; Rolla Queen, archeologist, Bureau of Land Management Desert District; Anne Vawser, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service; Michael R. Waters, professor of anthropology, Texas A&M University; John P. Wilson, consultant, Las Cruces, New Mexico; and reviewers of earlier drafts of this article.

Notes

1. See for example John Morton Blum, *V Was For Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976); John W. Jeffries, *Wartime America: The World War II Home Front*, (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1997); Roger W. Lotchin, ed., *The Way We Really Were: The Golden State in the Second World War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Roger W. Lotchin, *The Bad City in the Good War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, San Diego* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2003); Ronald Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2000); and Allan M. Winkler, *Home Front U.S.A.: America During World War II* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 2000).

2. Many authors have addressed Great Britain's home front. The following are excellent examples of British heritage preservation overviews: C. S. Dobinson, J. Lake, and A. J. Schofield, "Monuments of War: Defining England's 20th Century Defence Heritage," *Antiquity* 71, No. 272 (1996): 288-298; Christine Finn, "Defiant Britain: Mapping the Bunkers and Pillboxes Built to Stymie a Nazi Invasion," *Archaeology* 53, No. 3 (2000): 42-49; J. Anthony Hellen, "Temporary Settlements and Transient Populations: The Legacy of Britain's Prisoner of War Camps: 1940-1948," *Erdkunde* (University of Bonn) 53, No. 3 (1996): 191-211; David McOmish, David Field, and Graham Brown, *Field Archaeology of the Salisbury Plain Training Area* (London: English Heritage, 2002); John Schofield, "Conserving Recent Military Remains: Choices and Challenges for the Twenty-First Century" in *Managing Historic Sites and Buildings: Balancing Presentation and Preservation*, ed. Gill Chitty and David Baker (London: Routledge and English Heritage, 1999), 173-186.

3. The draft World War II National Historic Home Front theme study is under review. Its status is reported on the National Historic Landmarks website, <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nhl/>

4. Fort Carson is addressed in Melissa A. Conner and James Schneck, *The Old Hospital Complex* (5EP1778), *Fort Carson, Colorado* (Final Technical Report), prepared for the Directorate of Environmental Compliance and Management, Fort Carson, CO, by the Midwest Archeological Center (Lincoln, NE: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1996); James Schneck and Karin M. Roberts, *Waste Water Treatment Plant and Incinerator Complex* (5EP2447 and 5EP2446), prepared for the Directorate of Environmental Compliance and Management, Fort Carson, CO, by the Midwest Archeological Center (Lincoln, NE: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1996). The Presidio military complex is addressed in *Presidio of San Francisco: Historic Structures Adaptive Reuse Study*, prepared for Jones & Stokes Associates, Inc. (Sacramento, CA: Page & Turnbull, Inc., 1989). Fort Mason is addressed in R. Patrick Christopher and Erwin N. Thompson, *Historic Structure Report: Western Grounds-Old Parade Ground and MacArthur Avenue* (San Francisco, CA: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1979).

5. A recent overview of the wartime evidence in Hawaii and the Pacific is available from Rex Alan Smith and Gerald A. Meehl, *Pacific Legacy: Image and Memory from World War II in the Pacific* (London and New York: Abbeville Press, 2002).

6. The TRACES conference page is <http://www.traces.org/WWIIstudiesconferences.html> accessed February 18, 2004; Richard E. Osborn, *World War II Sites in the United States: A Tour Guide & Directory* (Indianapolis, IN: Riebel-Roque Publishing Co., 1996); The Japanese

American National Museum in Los Angeles hosts an annual "All Camps Conference" for former detainees, families, educators, researchers, and others.

7. For example, see the following: The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997); Stephen Fox, *The Unknown Internment: An Oral History of the Relocation of Italian Americans during World War II* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990); Arnold Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War in America* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979); Edward H. Spicer, Asail T. Hansen, Katherine Luomala, and Marvin K. Opler, *Impounded People: Japanese Americans in the Relocation Centers* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969); Erica Harth, ed., *Last Witnesses: Reflections on the Wartime Internment of Japanese Americans* (New York: Palgrave for St. Martin's Press, 2001)

8. For example, see *Prisoners in Paradise*, produced and directed by Camilla Calamandrei, 60 minutes, distributed by Camilla Calamandrei, P.O. Box 1084, Harriman, NY 10926, 2001, videocassette; and *Nazi POWs in America*, produced and directed by Sharon Young, 50 minutes, Arts and Entertainment Television Networks, 2002, videocassette.

9. Jeffery F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard W. Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, Publications in Anthropology No. 74, Western Archeological and Conservation Center (Tucson, AZ: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1999).

10. Jeffery F. Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar: The Archeology of Manzanar National Historic Site, California*, Publications in Anthropology No. 67, Western Archeological and Conservation Center (Tucson, AZ: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1996); Jeffery F. Burton, Jeremy D. Haines, and Mary M. Ferrell, *Archeological Investigations at the Manzanar Relocation Center Cemetery, Manzanar National Historic Site*, Publications in Anthropology No. 79, Western Archeological and Conservation Center (Tucson, AZ: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2002); Glenn D. Simpson, *Manzanar National Historic Site: Historic Preservation Report: Record of Treatment, Return of Historic Mess Hall to Manzanar National Historic Site* (Santa Fe, NM: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, n.d.); Harlan Unrau, *The Evacuation and Relocation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry During World War II: An Historical Study of the Manzanar War Relocation Center*, Denver Service Center (Denver, CO: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1996).

11. "Enemy Alien" camps and the confinement of American civilians of Italian and German ancestry during the war years has not received public attention equal to the Japanese-American experience but coverage in some print media and online sources is increasing. See James Brooke, "After Silence, Italians Recall the Internment," at German Americana, <http://www.serve.com/shear/germusa/itintern.htm>, accessed February 18, 2004; Emily Brosveen, "World War II Internment Camps," at the TSHA Handbook of Texas Online, <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online>, maintained by the Texas State Historical Commission, accessed February 18, 2004; Fox, *The Unknown Internment*; Arthur E. Jacobs, "World War II, The Internment of German American Civilians," at The Freedom of Information Times, <http://www.foitimes.com/internment>, accessed February 18, 2004.

12. Craig Gima, "In a Small Town in Texas..." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 8, 2002; Rebeca Rodriguez, "This Time They're Free," *San Antonio Express-News*, November 10, 2002.

13. Priscilla Wegars, "Japanese and Japanese Latin Americans at Idaho's Kooskia Internment Camp," in *Guilt by Association: Essays on Japanese Settlement, Internment and Relocation in the Rocky Mountain West*, ed. Mike Mackey (Powell, WY: Western History Publications, 2001), 145-183; Wegars, *Golden State Meets Gem State: Californians at Idaho's Kooskia Internment Camp, 1943-1945* (Moscow, ID: Kooskia Internment Camp Project, 2002); Carol Van Valkenburg, *An Alien Place: The Fort Missoula, Montana, Detention Camp, 1941-1944* (Missoula, MT: The Pictorial Histories Publishing Co., 1995); John Joel Culley, "Troublesome Presence: World War II Internment of German Sailors in New Mexico," *Prologue* [National Archives and Records Administration] 28, no.4 (1996): 279-295.

14. Krammer, *Nazi Prisoners of War in America*.

15. Michael R. Waters, *Lone Star Stalag: German Prisoners of War at Camp Hearne, Texas in World War II* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004).
16. Anonymous, "The McLean Prisoner of War Camp" at the Devil's Rope Museum online, <http://www.barbwiremuseum.com/POWCamp>, accessed February 18, 2004; Ken Sullivan, "Thousands of German Prisoners held in Iowa," at the *Cedar Rapids Gazette* online, <http://www.gazetteonline.com/special/homefront/story30.htm>, maintained by Gazette Communications, accessed February 18, 2004; Melissa A. Connor, Julie S. Field, and Karin M. Roberts, *Archeological Testing of the World War II Prison-of-War Camp (5EPT211) at Fort Collins, El Paso County, Colorado*, prepared for and funded by The Directorate of Environmental Compliance and Management, Fort Carson, CO., Midwest Archeological Center (Lincoln, NE: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1999); Mike Garrett, "POW Camp Once Beehive of Activity," in *The Durango Herald*, August 10, 2003, 5A; Richard S. Warner, "Barbed Wire & Nazilagers: POW Camps in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* vol. LXIV, no. 1 (Spring 1986); "Basic Facilities of POW Camps" at Okie Legacy online, <http://okielegacy.org/WWIIpowcamps/powcamp4.html>, and "It was called Nazilager (Nazi Camp)," at the Okie Legacy online, <http://okielegacy.org/WWIIpowcamps/powcamp2.html>, accessed February 19, 2004; Janet Worrall, "Prisoners of War in Colorado—A Lecture," presented to the Fort Collins Historical Society, February 1995.
17. Civilian Public Service program and conscientious objectors' camp life is described in references below but few actual locations have been identified: Cynthia Eller, *Conscientious Objectors and the Second World War* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991); Joyce Justice, "World War II Civilian Public Service: Conscientious Objector Camps in Oregon," in *Prologue* 23, no. 2 (Fall 1991): 266-273; Albert N. Keim, *The CPS Story: An Illustrated History of Civilian Public Service* (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1990).
18. Levi Long, "WWII Internments set Aleuts adrift from their islands," *Seattle Times*, February 19, 2004. See also the brochure, "*Unangax Tenganis' Our Islands, Unalaska, Aleutian WWII National Historic Area Map and Guide*," (Anchorage, AK: National Park Service, n.d.).
19. Key references to examples of America's coastal defense systems are found in the following publications: Dale E. Floyd, *Defending America's Coasts, 1775-1950: A Bibliography*. (Alexandria, VA: United States Army Corps of Engineers, 1997); Erwin N. Thompson, *Historic Resource Study: Seacoast Fortifications, San Francisco Harbor* (Denver, CO: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1979); Barry A. Joyce, *A Harbor Worth Defending: A Military History of Point Loma* (San Diego, CA: Cabrillo Historical Association, 1995); Joel W. Eastman, "Casco Bay During World War II," online at <http://www.cascobay.com/history/history.htm>, maintained by Casco Bay Online, accessed April 20, 2004; Jack P. Wysong, *The World, Portsmouth and the 22d Coast Artillery: The War Years 1938-1948* (Missoula, MT: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co., 1997).
20. Brett Jones and Howard Overton, *Project Report: Battery Point Loma 155 mm Gun Emplacement Preservation* (San Diego, CA: Cabrillo National Monument, National Park Service, 1984).
21. "Fort Miles Army Base, Lewes, DE: Home of the 261st Coastal Artillery Division, a Great Fortress in the Dunes at Cape Henlopen," <http://www.fort-miles.com>, accessed February 19, 2004.
22. Matt C. Bischoff, *The Desert Training Center/California-Arizona Maneuver Area, 1942-1944* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2003).
23. Lou Thole, *Forgotten Fields of America, Then and Now* (Missoula, MT: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co., 1996, 1999).
24. Lynn M. Homan and Thomas Reilly, *The Tuskegee Airmen* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1998).
25. See the following brochures: Aleutian World War II National Historic Area, "The Battle of Attu," (Anchorage, AK: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, n.d.); idem,

"The Occupation of Kiska," (Anchorage, AK: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, n.d.).

26. Aircraft manufacturers and assembly plants are listed at <http://www.acepilots.com/planes/factory.html>, accessed June 14, 2004.

27. See Tracey Panek, "Challenge to Change: The Legacy of the Port Chicago Disaster," *Common Ground* (Summer 2004): 16-25.

28. Darby C. Stapp, Joy K. Woodruff, and Thomas E. Marceau, "Reclaiming Hanford," *Federal Archeology*, vol. 8, no. 2 (1995): 14-21. Brief descriptions of the exhibits are available at the Columbia River Exhibition of History and Technology Museum's website, <http://www.crehst.org>, maintained by Team Battelle, accessed February 19, 2004; Rick Hampson, "World War II Changed Americans More Than Any Other Event," *Las Vegas Review-Journal* August 2, 1995, 7B. For more on the "Alphabet Houses," see excerpt from the 1943 "Report on Hanford Engineer Works Village: General Building Plans," by G. Albin Pherson, which details the housing types and provides drawings. See "The House that Hanford Built" at <http://hanford.houses.tripod.com/GenBldgPlans.html>, accessed February 19, 2004.

29. Janice Rombeck, "Preserving Japantown: S. J. historic district begins pilot program," *San Jose Mercury News*, March 8, 2004, 1B-4B.

30. <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/wwIIbayarea/>

31. Susan L. Henry, Geoffrey M. Gyrisco, Thomas H. Veech, Stephen A. Morris, Patricia L. Parker, and Jonathan P. Rak, *Protecting Archeological Sites on Private Lands* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1993); Deborah Bruckman Maylie, *Historic Preservation Easements: A Directory of Historic Preservation Easement Holding Organizations* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1998). See also the 2000 update of "Strategies for Protecting Archeological Sites on Private Lands," at <http://www2.cr.nps.gov/pad/strategies/index.htm>, accessed March 31, 2004.

World War II Shipwrecks in Truk Lagoon: The Role of Interest Groups

by Bill Jeffery

Chuuk advertises itself as an idyllic tropical paradise in the Pacific Ocean. What sets Chuuk apart from its neighboring islands is its underwater attractions. “The Chuuk lagoon is the final tomb for more than 100 ships, planes, and submarines—the legacy of a fierce World War II battle between the Japanese Imperial Fleet and Allied [primarily the United States] carrier attack planes.” As a tourist website reports, “It is a rare opportunity to find so many shipwrecks so close together and so completely intact.” These simple declarations belie the complexity behind the reality. The World War II material culture constitutes the single largest tourism resource for Chuuk, and the shipwrecks are under increasing pressure and threat.

Truk (now called by its traditional name, Chuuk) was the Imperial Japanese Navy’s Fourth Fleet Base from 1939 and its Combined Fleet Base for nearly two years during World War II. The United States considered Truk the “strongest naval base in the Pacific with the exception of Pearl Harbor.”¹ On February 17 and 18, 1944, the United States began an aerial bombing campaign that effectively took the base out of the war within a few months, and, by ongoing bombing and submarine activity, kept it out of the war to the end.²

Several groups are vitally interested in Chuuk’s World War II underwater historic sites. In the decades after the war’s end, the Chuukese found that a growing number of foreign divers were drawn to the sites, to dive and photograph large shipwrecks in a tropical environment and, for some, to collect World War II artifacts.³ Dive activities greatly expanded from 1970 to 2000 and influenced how the Chuukese regard and treat the sites today—as destinations for diving tourists. Japanese and Americans tourists, however, view them as part of the “Truk Lagoon battleground,” and visit Chuuk to pay respects to fallen colleagues and relatives, renew contacts established during the war, or dive the shipwrecks.

Understanding this heritage and its interest groups is an important consideration in managing this material culture. The Chuukese government and portions of the local community are interested in the underwater sites because of the financial rewards from tourism, which has transformed these former war machines into a vital economic asset. Does this make the sites less important or less significant as historic resources to these groups?

Given the importance of the underwater sites, it is surprising that there have been no major academic or theoretical studies of the World War II underwater cultural heritage in Truk Lagoon, and only two previous management investigations.⁴ This essay addresses the issues facing these sites and their multiple meanings, and suggests possible directions for their management.

Location and Economy of Chuuk

Chuuk is one of four states—with Yap, Pohnpei, and Kosrae—in the Federated States of Micronesia. Chuuk is located approximately 7° north of the Equator and at 152° east longitude—approximately the same as the east coast of Australia. (Figure 1) This “sea of islands” with a total land mass of 270 square miles in a current economic exclusion zone of 1,158,310 square miles make up, in combination with the Republic of Palau, the Caroline Islands. Together with the other island groups, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, the Republic of Nauru, and the Republic of Kiribati, they form a region that Europeans refer to as Micronesia, and are distinct from the two other Pacific Island regions, Polynesia and Melanesia.

Chuuk consists of 19 “high” islands inside Truk Lagoon, 10 atolls, and 225 “low” coralline islands many of which are outside the lagoon. The high islands are the peaks of volcanic mountains, with a total mass above water of approximately 35 square miles. The lagoon is approximately 40 miles in diameter and is bounded by a barrier reef enclosing approximately 820 square miles. (Figure 2)

The islands are fringed with mangroves that support an abundant and diverse marine life. The fertile high islands contain native trees and plants including breadfruit, coconuts, mango, banana, and taro that, in association with fish, have supported a subsistence lifestyle for the Chuukese for many years.

A significant increase in the population, from 9,185 in 1946 to 60,000 in 2002, and the change to a cash-based economy resulted in less reliance on subsistence living and more on imported food. Government employment is the largest source of income in Chuuk.⁵ Commercial fishing provides the biggest export commodity. Tourism is a major source of revenue, with the World War II shipwrecks the most important tourist attraction. Approximately 3,000 tourists annually dive the shipwrecks (although in 1996 nearly 10,000 tourists visited Chuuk), which are regarded as the “world’s largest collection of artificial reefs”⁶ and “a World War II enthusiast’s dream.”⁷

Brief History of Chuuk

People have inhabited Chuuk for about 2,000 years.⁸ The first Europeans, the Spanish, arrived in 1565, 34 years after Magellan passed by on his first voyage.⁹ Spanish, English, French, American, Russian, and German explorers, traders,

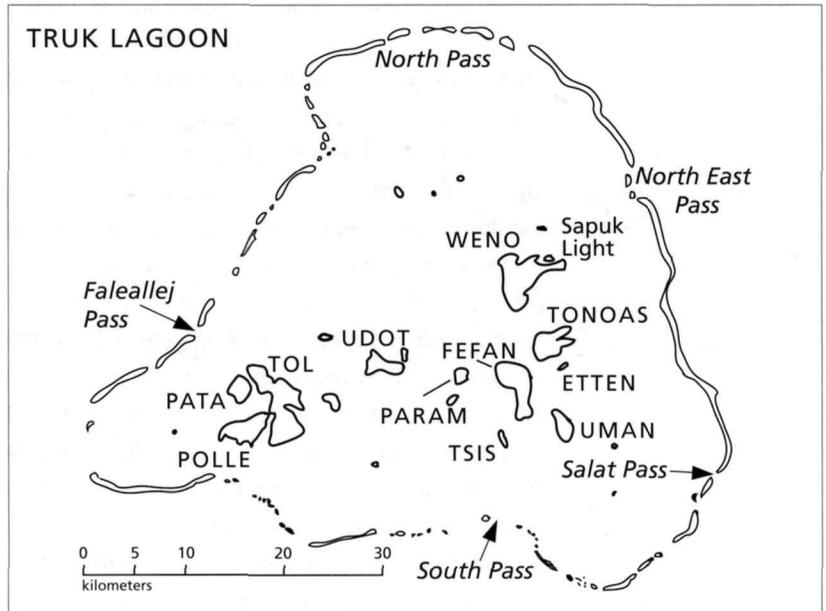
FIGURE 1

Chuuk is one of the four states of the Federated States of Micronesia. (Courtesy of Nature Art, South Australia)



FIGURE 2

Chuuk consists of 19 "high" islands inside Truk Lagoon. (Courtesy of Nature Art, South Australia)



whalers, and missionaries subsequently visited the islands, but the Chuukese were found to be hostile, and it was not until 1886 that the Spanish established a presence and rule over Micronesia, including Chuuk. After the Spanish-American War of 1898, an arrangement among Spain, Germany, and the United States allowed Micronesia, except for Guam, to be purchased by Germany from the United States for about \$4.2 million.¹⁰ At the beginning of World War I, Japan seized the islands in a secret and controversial pact with Great Britain to counter the German presence in the Pacific.

Japanese traders traveled to Micronesia beginning in the 1880s as part of the Meiji Restoration initiatives. Over the next 50 years, until the beginning of World War II, "the Japanese cultivation of the islands had wrought a minor agricultural revolution [in Micronesia]. Although it had but small impact on the empire as a whole, the agricultural activities contributed to the general prosperity of the colony and changed the landscape of the larger islands."¹¹ In 1914, Japan formally occupied Micronesia and considered it a mandated area under the League of Nations in 1919.

However, through a policy of assimilation, alienation of Micronesians from their land, and intensive migration, the Indigenous population soon found themselves to be "strangers in their own land."¹² The Japanese navy controlled Micronesia from 1914 to 1922 from its headquarters on Dublon, now called Tonoas, in Chuuk. In 1922, a civilian administration based in Koror, Palau (now Belau), took charge and began aggressively using Micronesia to suit Japan's needs for economic and strategic expansion.¹³ Japanese immigrants soon out-numbered Micronesians. In 1935, there were 50,000 Japanese throughout Micronesia; in 1942, there were 96,000, while the population of native Micronesians remained approximately 50,000.

By 1937, the Japanese navy was again in control in Micronesia, directing the civilian government in establishing airstrips and sea-plane bases. Truk Lagoon was considered one of the greatest sites for a naval base in the Pacific because of its deep waters and natural protection. The base played a major role in the Japanese expansion in the Pacific, starting with the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

During 1944 and 1945, the United States and its allies bombed Japanese facilities and vessels in Truk Lagoon, sinking more than 50 ships and destroying over 400 aircraft. At the conclusion of World War II, the Japanese departed Micronesia and the United States was designated as trustee by the United Nations. The administration of Micronesia, called the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, was assigned to the United States Navy until 1951 when the U.S. Department of the Interior took over. Over the next 35 years, an agreement on the independence of what became known as the Federated States of Micronesia was negotiated through a system of "Compacts of Free Association" between the United States and the Federated States. Other regions of Micronesia developed separate arrangements with the United States.

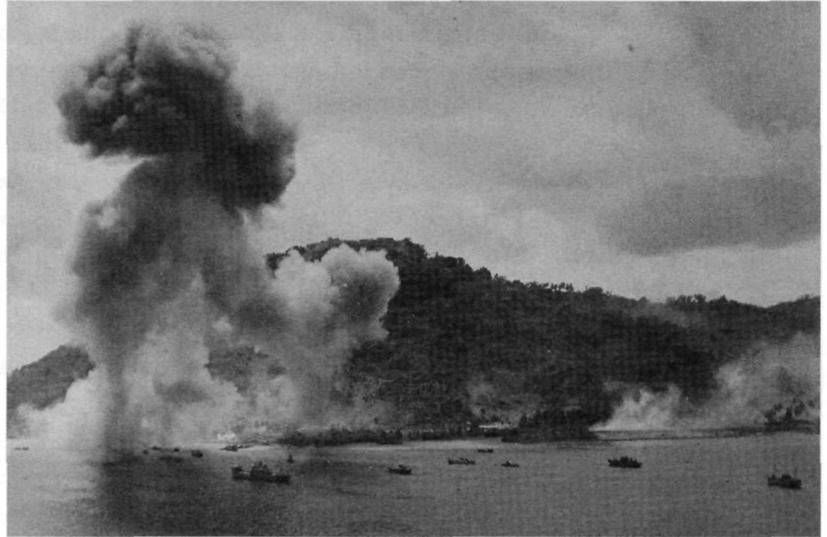
As a result of the foreign presence in Micronesia, its people can trace their ancestry to many nations, particularly the Japanese. Many traditional ways of life have changed forever. The country has been left with the remains and scars of occupation and World War II. Lin Poyer and her colleagues Suzanne Falgout and Laurence Marshall Carucci sum it up well: "The war forced a rethinking of cultural values, and it expanded islanders' knowledge of global

military, political, and economic realities. World War II in Micronesia meant, in short, both terrible suffering and momentous change. Nothing would ever be the same again.”¹⁴

Shipwrecks in Truk Lagoon

On February 4, 1944, a United States reconnaissance flight over Truk Lagoon observed nearly 60 ships, including the super battleship *Musashi*, the flagship of the Japanese navy; 2 aircraft carriers; 4 heavy cruisers; 3 light cruisers; 9 destroyers; 2 submarines; and over 30 tanker, repair, and transport ships.¹⁵ The reconnaissance flight alerted the Japanese commanders to a possible United States attack and, as a result, most of the fleet departed for Palau the following week, leaving the transport ships behind to unload cargo.

FIGURE 3
The bombing of Tonoas,
Truk Lagoon, started in
February 1944 and continued
until August 1945. (Courtesy
of Micronesian Seminar,
Pohnpei)



The United States carried out two major air attacks on Truk, February 17 and 18, and April 30 and May 1, 1944. Attacks by B-24 and B-29 aircraft continued every few days until August 1945, dropping a total of 6,878 tons of bombs over the 18-month “blockade” of the Truk base. The loss of human life was considerable. Over 4,000 Japanese, 120 Chuukese, 30 Americans, 2 British, and several other nationals, including those from Nauru, Okinawa, and Korea, were killed or wounded as a result of the bombardment.(Figure 3)

The 51 ships sunk in Truk Lagoon include a group of 8 warships, comprised of 4 submarine chasers (130-420 tons), one submarine of 1,785 tons, 2 destroyers (each approximately 1,500 tons), one 935-ton patrol boat, and some smaller landing craft; 39 armed transport ships and tankers ranging in size from a few hundred tons to the 11,614-ton submarine tender *Heian Maru* (the largest ship in the lagoon); the 8,614-ton armed transport *Kiyosumi Maru* (which is representative of the 39 transport ships sunk); and 3 tugs.¹⁶(Figure 4) This list does not include the many smaller craft reported sunk.¹⁷

Many of the ships were anchored and unloading their cargo of oil, tanks, sea mines, vehicles, aircraft, and other war machinery, foodstuffs, alcohol, and medicines. The ships included the *Fujikawa Maru*, a 6,938-ton armed transport that still contains “zero” aircraft (the Japanese nickname given to its successful single-engine fighter plane, which the Americans codenamed a “zeke”) in its holds (Figure 5 and Figure 6); the *Shinkoku Maru*, a 10,020-ton oil tanker that assisted the Japanese fleet that struck Pearl Harbor; and the 10,437-ton armed transport, *Aikoku Maru*, that sank after a huge explosion and killed over 730 soldiers and crew. Destroyers and other ships attempting to flee the bombing sank near the passages through the encircling reef.

Aircraft in Truk Lagoon

The remains of nine Japanese and one American World War II aircraft have been found in Truk Lagoon.¹⁸ During the bombing campaign, nearly 450 planes were lost, including 416 Japanese aircraft (the majority of which were destroyed on the ground before take-off), 26 United States naval aircraft (including helldivers, hellcats, kingfishers, avengers, and a Douglas SBD-5 Dauntless), several British planes (a British carrier was attacked in June 1945), and 5 or 6 U.S. Air Force B-24s.¹⁹ Japanese aircraft found inside the lagoon include zero fighters, dive bombers, reconnaissance aircraft, a larger two-engine bomber, and a four-engine flying boat.

Previous Studies Related to Chuuk’s Cultural Heritage

A majority of the studies of Chuuk and the Federated States have focused on the anthropology, ethnography, and archeology of the Indigenous Micronesians.²⁰ Although several studies address the history of foreign powers associated with Chuuk,²¹ little work has been devoted to the Spanish, German, and American material culture. Most work on “foreign” material culture has been carried out on the Japanese-period sites. In his study, Duane Colt Denfield found that “Truk is rich in World War II sites. It has in situ as many guns as all of Europe.”²²

A number of studies have addressed the impact of World War II on the Indigenous Pacific Islanders,²³ reporting that “those who experienced the intense suffering during the Japanese military buildup and the American campaign describe it as the greatest hardship they ever endured.”²⁴ For World War II underwater cultural heritage, there are several “popular” texts²⁵ and a few consultant reports,²⁶ but no scholarly studies.

Current Status of the Sites

Although some salvage was carried out on the shipwrecks a few years after the war, and the effects of storms and people have taken their toll, the shipwrecks

FIGURE 4

The Kiyosumi Maru is representative of the 39 armed transports sunk during the bombing of Truk Lagoon. (Courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, United Kingdom)

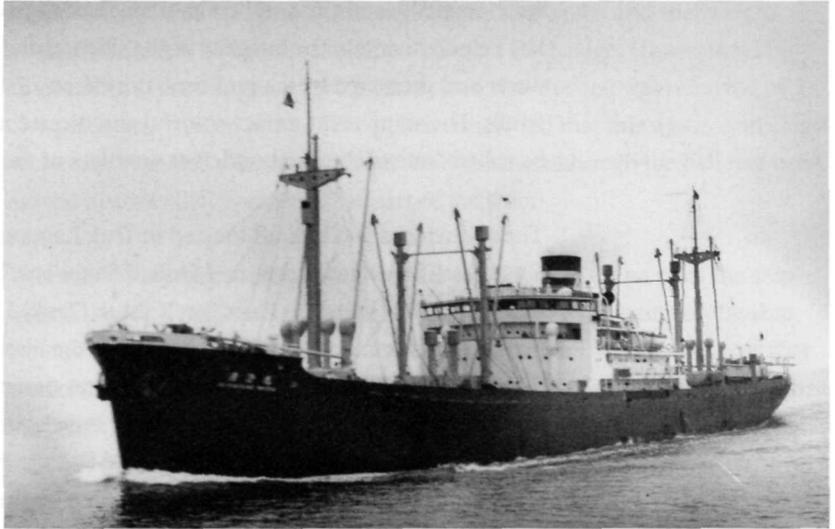


FIGURE 5

A view of the Fujikawa Maru shows its bow and bow gun on the deck. (Courtesy of Greg Adams, South Australia)

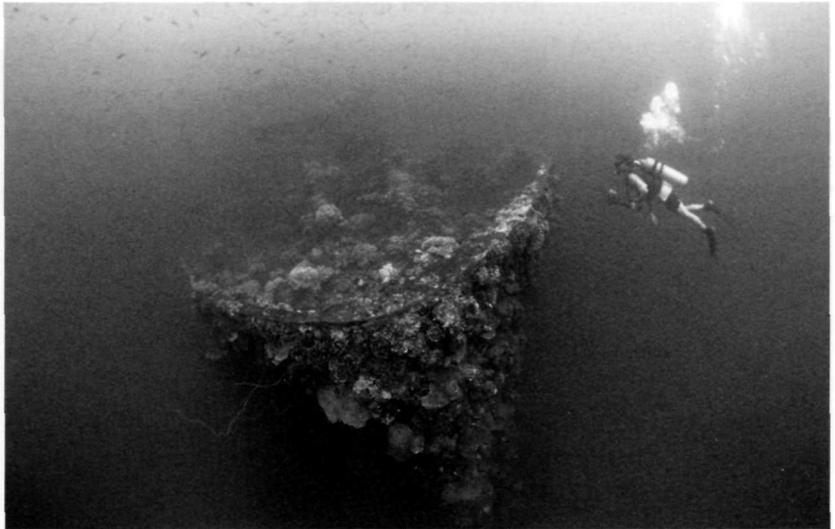
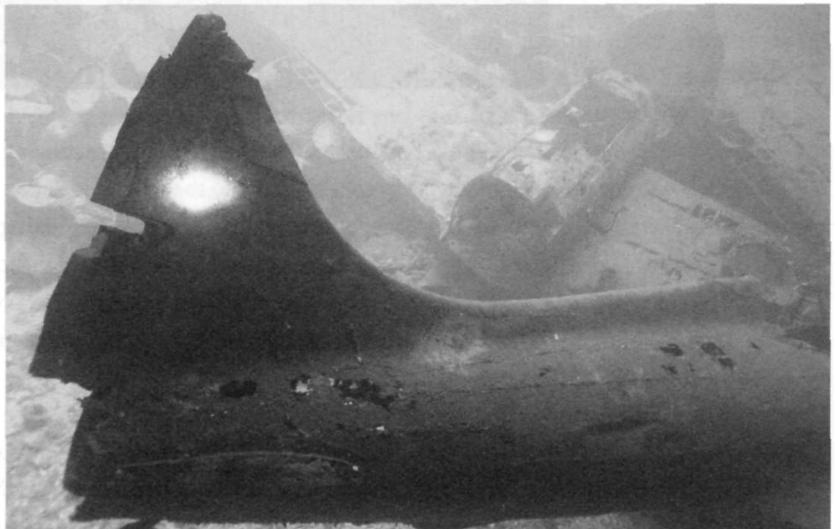


FIGURE 6

This view illustrates part of a "claude" (in the foreground) and a "zero" aircraft behind in the hold of the Fujikawa Maru. (Courtesy of the author)



are essentially intact and still contain much of their cargo. Their environment has helped maintain the integrity of the ships; many are in 100-200 feet of water and protected by the reef from the effects of currents, winds, and ocean swells. The shipwrecks attract colorful and diverse marine life, causing them to be called "one of the great undersea wonders of the world."²⁷

The shipwrecks and aircraft located in Truk Lagoon are protected under Chuukese, Federated States, and United States law.²⁸ The United States has designated the "Japanese Fleet" or "Chuuk (Truk) Lagoon Monument" a National Historic Landmark and listed it in the National Register of Historic Places. Under Chuukese and Federated States designations, it is illegal to interfere with these sites, punishable by fine or imprisonment. Federated States legal protection covers all artifacts on land and underwater that are older than 30 years. Primarily designed to manage diving on the shipwrecks, Chuuk law protects only Japanese war material below high water, and does not address American war material.

FIGURE 7
The Sapporo Maru was located during a 2002 side-scan sonar survey of shipwrecks. (Courtesy of Jeremy Green, Western Australia)



The Chuuk government is responsible for managing the Japanese wrecks, a task made more complex due to the lack of baseline data, overlapping jurisdiction among Chuuk government agencies, conflicting priorities for available funding and staff (an estimated \$90,000 is raised each year from dive permits), inconsistent enforcement, insufficient public interpretation, and foreign management systems in a society with different values and priorities.

An example of the management difficulty is the recent discovery of a shipwreck in Truk Lagoon. The *Sapporo Maru* was located during a 2002 side-scan sonar survey conducted by Jeremy Green from the Western Australian Maritime Museum and the author as part of a Historic Preservation Fund-

supported project.²⁹ (Figure 7) After diving the shipwreck and verifying its identity, the ship's bell was found in position on the bridge. However, within 24 hours, the bell was gone. Police discovered that the bell was removed by a dive guide and hidden on site. The police concluded that this was not an illegal act because the bell was not removed from the site, although the bell had been moved in a way that damaged that part of the ship.

This act was seen by some as a way to safeguard important parts of the shipwrecks. A ship's bell, made of brass and engraved with the name of the ship, would be "the prize" for many divers seeking souvenirs. Residents know that trafficking in shipwreck artifacts occurs, and fear that this bell, reported to be the last in situ from the Truk Lagoon shipwrecks, could be lost. The current location of the bell is unknown, but the bell is rumored to still be on the *Sapporo Maru*, and efforts to have the bell turned over to the Chuuk Historic Preservation Office have proved unsuccessful.³⁰

Tourists have been diving the shipwrecks and aircraft for 30 years and the wrecks show signs of wear and tear. Made of iron, steel, or aluminum and located in a marine environment, the shipwrecks' and aircrafts' current state of integrity was studied by Ian MacLeod as part of another Historic Preservation Fund-supported project during the first-ever corrosion survey of the sites in 2002. (Figure 8) Corrosion surveys are important to predicting the rate of corrosion, and perhaps collapse, of the sites. From his initial survey, MacLeod found: "Based on this provisional estimate of perforation times, many of the wrecks in Chuuk Lagoon will retain their existing integrity for only the next ten to fifteen years before they begin to undergo significant collapse. This has major implications for the management of the sites and for the safety of divers undertaking penetration dives."³¹ It also has major implications for any fuel and oil in the bunkers of the ships, which if released in an uncontrolled manner could lead to grave environmental consequences.

Other issues include artifacts that are removed to the decks for better photography; unintentional damage to the ship's structure; and the effect of divers' bubbles on accelerating corrosion and causing the release of fuel. Years of poor mooring practices have also taken their toll on the shipwrecks' integrity. While the live-aboard charter operators established and funded their own moorings on some sites, more are needed, and better practices are required for the smaller boats. The shipwrecks also contain munitions, some of which are used to make bombs for "dynamite fishing." Explosions damage nearby flora and fauna and the shipwrecks themselves.

Typhoons constitute another impact that is known, but has not been studied. The marine life and material culture located at depths of more than 60 feet have been disturbed from storms and typhoons, renewing corrosion and destroying fragile artifacts.

Significance of the Underwater Cultural Heritage Sites

Understanding the significance of cultural heritage sites is the most important management tool. Information should be gathered from the point of view of the local community and preservation practitioners, given that they will have the most impact on the sites' management. The significance of the World War II underwater cultural heritage sites to the Chuukese has never been clearly analyzed, hence the need for this research. Dirk Spennemann states that—

The Pacific Cultures are societies founded and rooted in oral traditions and oral histories. Tangible remainders of the past are of lesser importance, if at all. Thus, for many Pacific Islanders the historical Second World War remains signified little and if they did, they were reminders of that painful period. The entire period would have been repressed, or the negative images ignored and forgotten by many, were it not for all those who come to see just these sites.³²

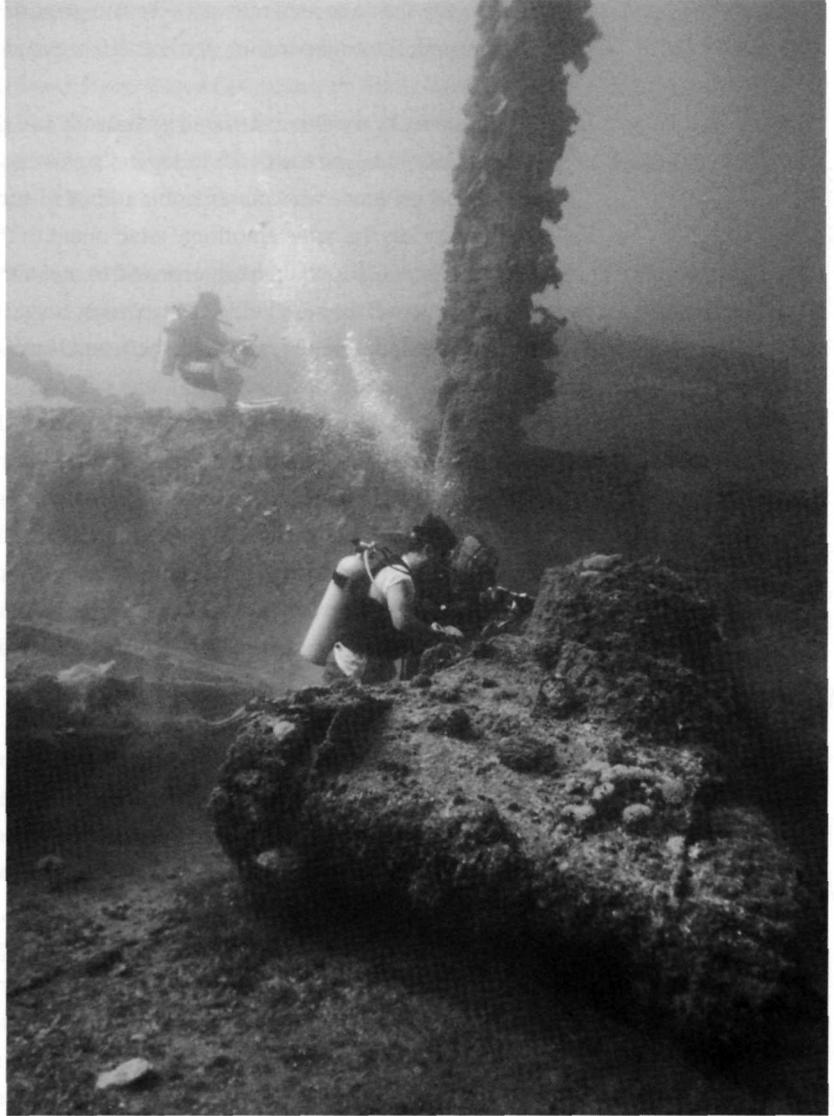
In a different view of this issue, Geoffrey Miles White and Lamont Carl Lindstrom state, "World War II has sedimented into an intense—if narrow—band in the stratigraphy of social and individual histories [of many Pacific Islands]."³³ Lin Poyer and her colleagues assert that "Physical mementos of war hold little historical interest for most Micronesians, who may use them for practical value." They add, "Micronesian nations, however, have recognized the cultural importance of the Pacific war by sponsoring locally produced videos," and "The favorite film at the Truk Trading Company movie theater in the mid-1950s was the documentary 'The Bombing of Truk.'" The authors based this assessment on oral histories from over 300 Micronesian survivors. Lin Poyer and her colleagues have written—

Our project is one of the most recent to benefit from Micronesians' concern about the war and perpetuation of its memory. We received whole hearted assistance from every level of government and from the people we interviewed. They want to preserve this history and to correct the imbalance that makes Islanders nearly invisible in American and Japanese accounts of the Pacific war. Their desire to assume a more visible role in the history of the war is expressed in musings about construction of their own war memorials, though only Guam and Saipan now preserve memorials and parks devoted to Micronesian experiences.³⁴

One approach to understanding how the submerged sites are regarded by the Chuukese may be to examine how World War II sites on land are viewed. Are there differences in their treatment that can be attributed to the site's significance? Terrestrial sites are essentially left untouched, letting the jungle reclaim much of the cleared land and structures, or accessed as Chuukese homes. The World War II shipwrecks and aircraft are promoted as a diving attraction, and yet the terrestrial sites are equally numerous and many intact, but are not similarly promoted as tourist destinations.

FIGURE 8

Ian MacLeod and Andy Viduka took corrosion measurements on a tank on the deck of the Nippo Maru in April 2002. (Courtesy of the author)



What factors influence this treatment? Factors could include the suffering that resulted from the bombing, the occupation by the Japanese, and the need of the Chuukese to forget this painful period in their history. In his study of Chuukese views of a Chuukese-Japanese site and a Japanese World War II memorial on Fefan—one of the lagoon's major islands where the surrounding landscape has been ignored by the Chuukese—Paul Rainbird stated, "...a landscape with its associated remembrances may be intensified by its abandonment, by its discontinuity in its use. In fact, the abandoned landscape may be as much a memorial as is the structure erected for the purpose by the Japanese."³⁵ During a survey of terrestrial sites on Tonoas with the mayor and chiefs, this author found that the Japanese war sites were reminders to the Chuukese of how they suffered during the war and how some Chuukese lost their lives during the establishment of these facilities.³⁶ An emotional attach-

ment to the sites was apparent as well as no great desire to change their status quo through site conservation, restoration, or promotion.

The shipwrecks are also associated with death and destruction—destruction of Japanese ships and the death of Japanese sailors and soldiers. No oral or material evidence was found by this author to suggest that the Chuukese community has the same emotional attachment to the shipwrecks as to the terrestrial sites. This could be interpreted to mean that because the terrestrial sites are revered, they are left in their current form. The underwater sites are promoted, developed, and disturbed, and thus are not revered.

On the other hand, are the different ways in which the terrestrial and underwater sites are treated and valued related to traditional ownership in the different environments and the associated resources? Research reveals that the lagoon is not owned by clans or families, unlike the islands and the reefs where clan or family ownership is of paramount importance. While landowners are guarded and very sensitive about any outside interest in sites on their land, shipwrecks and aircraft in the lagoon, unless located on a reef, do not elicit the same interests.

The shipwrecks are a valuable economic resource for Chuuk, and portions of the Chuukese community understand the need to manage the resources appropriately. While the majority of American tourists regard the shipwrecks as diving destinations rather than as significant historic sites,³⁷ to the Japanese, the underwater sites are “war graves.” At least twice, human remains have been retrieved for burial; on other occasions, the Chuuk government has reportedly denied official Japanese requests to retrieve human remains.³⁸ Japanese who were stationed in Chuuk during the war and the descendants of these soldiers and sailors are frequent visitors coming to pay their respects to fallen colleagues. A recent public notice from the United States Department of State contained a number of statements on how the United States and some other countries view sunken warships and aircraft, including the following statement from the Government of Japan, communicated on September 13, 2000—

*According to international law, sunken State vessels, such as warships and vessels on government service, regardless of location or of the time elapsed remain the property of the State owning them at the time of their sinking unless it explicitly and formally relinquishes its ownership. Such sunken vessels should be respected as maritime graves. They should not be salvaged without the express consent of the Japanese Government.*³⁹

When considering the significance of the Truk Lagoon World War II underwater sites, it should be remembered that the Chuuk underwater resources are associated with a war that “was waged by 56 nations and cost well over 50 million lives. It was thus the most violent and prolonged self-inflicted injury on

mankind of which history has record."⁴⁰ For military historians, the area is important for its role in charting the future of naval warfare. In the *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, Samuel Morison stated that "The [United States] strike on Truk demonstrated a virtual revolution in naval warfare; the aircraft carrier emerged as the capital ship of the future, with unlimited potentialities."⁴¹

To date, little value has been placed on the Truk Lagoon sites for their archeological significance. Is this because they are associated with a war that ended just 60 years ago? Many Japanese records were destroyed or lost at the conclusion of the war. Given the quality and quantity of the material remains in Truk Lagoon, the sites are a valuable source of information on how Japan was equipping this major base and coping with the American blockade and bombing.

Site Protection and Management

Long-term management needs of the underwater resources in Truk Lagoon should incorporate the views of the three pertinent nationalities. Because the sites are located in Chuuk under control of the local government, site management practices, particularly further research and interpretation, should include explaining the significance of the sites to the Chuukese. Better understanding of the sites' role in the history of Chuuk may provide a more general sense of ownership of the sites and enhance the sites' preservation. The Chuuk Historic Preservation Office took steps toward this better understanding through another Historic Preservation Fund-supported project that produced a booklet and the installation of interpretive signs on two of the main islands in Chuuk—Weno and Tonoas.⁴²

Given that the majority of Chuukese do not dive, they may not be aware of the extraordinary nature of these underwater sites. Comparing the World War II underwater sites with land sites (that are readily visible to most Chuukese) may raise the local value of the underwater sites. Enhanced interpretation may extend to upgrading the Chuuk government's interpretive program in the visitors bureau on Weno (the seat of Chuuk's government) on the culture and history of the Chuukese before, during, and after the war. Research by the Federated States' Department of Immigration and the visitors bureau shows that the number of tourists has dropped by about 60 percent from 1996 levels. Research into the causes and effects of this decline may be advisable.⁴³

Surveys of the shipwreck and aircraft sites should be conducted, particularly more detailed mapping of the material located on individual shipwreck and aircraft sites. Such surveys could be seen to be parts of longer, research-oriented projects. Raising scholarly interest would be helpful in understanding the significance of the sites and in their management. Other surveys could include traditional Chuukese sites located underwater, such as fish traps and any other

evidence of earlier habitation, so that a more complete picture of the underwater cultural heritage for Chuuk can be developed.

In addition to raising the profile of sites significant to the Chuukese through surveys, research, and interpretation, corrosion surveys should continue in conjunction with a biological survey because of the impact of dynamite fishing and storms on the deterioration of the ships' structure and the potential leakage of oil and fuel.

Conclusions

To Japanese and American war veterans, Truk Lagoon is a tangible reminder of World War II, the human and material losses, and the Allies' victory. To the Chuukese and Japanese, the lagoon is associated with the deaths and hardships suffered during the 18-month blockade and bombardment, a time that included considerable suffering and the overwhelming alienation of the Chuukese from their land and resources.

While the United States contributes considerable support to help finance government operations, the Chuukese people are impoverished and, as a practical matter, historic preservation is a low priority. Effective management of the sites will be difficult in the current economic and social climate in Chuuk. Even a country with a viable economy and a prosperous society would find the effective management of over 50 large shipwrecks and numerous aircraft daunting.

Differences over the significance of the underwater sites can create conflict in how they should be managed. How should these conflicts be resolved and what do they mean for site management? Given that the sites are important to several countries, all interested parties should be consulted. A cooperative and comprehensive management approach among all stakeholders may be the most efficient approach to preserving the underwater cultural heritage of Chuuk.

Bill Jeffery is a contract maritime archeologist, Federated States of Micronesia, and a Ph.D. candidate at James Cook University, Townsville, Queensland, Australia.

Notes

1. Naval Analysis Division, *The Reduction of Truk*, A Report Prepared by the Editorial Division of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey (U.S. Navy, February 1947), 2.

2. *Ibid.*, 16.

3. Dan E. Bailey, *World War II Wrecks of the Truk Lagoon* (Redding, CA: North Valley Diver Publications, 2000), 265.

4. Francis X. Hezel and Clark Graham, *Truk Underwater Archaeology* (San Francisco, CA:



- National Park Service, 1997); *Truk Lagoon Historical Park Study*, Draft report for Federated States of Micronesia (San Francisco, CA: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1989).
5. John Young, Nancy Rosenberger, and Joe Harding, *Truk Ethnography* Micronesian Resources Study (San Francisco, CA: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1997), 6.
 6. Sylvia Earle and Al Giddings, "Life Springs from Death in Truk Lagoon," *National Geographic* (May 1976): 578.
 7. Bailey, xi.
 8. Young et al., 1.
 9. Francis X. Hezel, *Foreign Ships in Micronesia* (Saipan: Trust Territory Historic Preservation Office, 1979).
 10. Francis X. Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), 95.
 11. Mark R. Peattie, *Nanyó: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), 136.
 12. Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land*, xiv.
 13. Willard Price, *Pacific Adventure* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1936), 301; Peattie, 224.
 14. Lin Poyer, Suzanne Falgout, and Laurence Marshall Carucci, *The Typhoon of War: Micronesian Experiences of the Pacific War* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), 14.
 15. Bailey, *World War II Wrecks of the Truk Lagoon*, 100.
 16. Bailey, 100; Bill Jeffery, *War in Paradise: World War II Sites in Truk Lagoon, Chuuk, Federated States of Micronesia* (Chuuk, FSM: Chuuk Historic Preservation Office, 2003); Klaus P. Lindemann, *Hailstorm over Truk Lagoon* (Singapore: Maruzen Asia, 1982).
 17. Bailey, 247; Naval Analysis Division, *The Reduction of Truk*, 14.
 18. Bailey, 481; Jeffery, 25.
 19. Naval Analysis Division, *The Reduction of Truk*, 15.
 20. John Brown, *Peoples and Problems of the Pacific*, 2 vols. (London: Fisher Unwin, 1927); Jules S. C. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage au pôle Sud et dans l'Océanie sur les corvettes l'Astrolabe et la Zélée exécuté par ordre du roi pendant les années 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, sous le commandement de M. J. Dumont d'Urville. Part 1: Histoire du Voyage* (Paris: Gide, 1846); Thomas Gladwin and Seymour B. Sarason, *Truk: Man in Paradise* (New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, 1953); Thomas F. King and Patricia L. Parker, *Pisekin nóomw nóon Tonaachaw, Archaeology in the Tonaachaw Historic District, Moen Island* (Carbondale: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, 1984); Frank M. LeBar, *The Material Culture of Truk* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Publications in Anthropology, 1964); Paul Rainbird, "Pacific Island Societies: A Non-Evolutionary Approach to the Archaeological Interpretation of Difference" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sydney, 1995); Jun Takayama and Michiko Intoh, *Archaeological Excavation at Chukienu Shell Midden on Tol, Truk*, Reports on Pacific Archaeological Survey 5 (Nara City: Tezukayama University, 1978).
 21. Carl Heine, *Micronesia at the Crossroads: A Reappraisal of the Micronesian Political Development* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974); Hezel, *Foreign Ships in Micronesia*; Ely Jacques Kahn, *A Reporter in Micronesia* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1966); Peattie, *Nanyó: The Rise and Fall*; Earl Spencer Pomeroy, *Pacific Outpost: American Strategy in Guam and Micronesia* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1970).

22. Duane Colt Denfield, *Field Survey of Truk: World War II Features* (Saipan: Micronesian Archaeological Survey, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1981); John L. Craib, *Truk Archaeology: An Intensive Survey of Pwene Village* (Dublon, Truk State, FSM, 1997), 3.
23. Geoffrey M. White and Lamont Lindstrom, eds., *The Pacific Theater: Island Representation of World War II* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989); Geoffrey M. White, *Remembering the Pacific War*, Occasional Paper 36 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991); Poyer et al., *The Typhoon of War*.
24. James West Turner and Suzanne Falgout, "Time Traces: Cultural Memory and World War II in Pohnpei," *The Contemporary Pacific* 14, no. 1 (2002): 101-131.
25. Earle and Giddings; Lindemann, *Hailstorm over Truk Lagoon*; Bailey, *World War II Wrecks*; William H. Stewart, *Ghost Fleet of the Truk Lagoon* (Montana: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co., 1989).
26. *Truk Lagoon Historical Park Study*, Draft Report for Federated States of Micronesia (State of Truk: National Park Service, 1989); Toni Carrell, *Micronesia: Submerged Cultural Resources Assessment* (Santa Fe, NM: Submerged Cultural Resource Unit, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1991); Hezel and Graham, *Truk Underwater Archaeology*.
27. Al Giddings, "Foreword," in Lindemann, *Hailstorm over Truk Lagoon*.
28. Hezel and Graham, *Truk Underwater Archaeology*, 37; Chuuk State Code, Title 25 *Maritime and Marine Resources* law and cited as Chapter 8, *Chuuk Lagoon Monument*, 2004; FSM National Legislation, Public Law 1048, Title 26, *Historical Sites and Antiquities*, 1979; National Center for Cultural Resources, *Federal Historic Preservation Laws* (Washington DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2002); Bill Jeffery, "World War II sites in Chuuk, Federated States of Micronesia: A survey of underwater and terrestrial sites," (Unpublished report, Chuuk Historic Preservation Office, 2004).
29. Jeremy Green, "The Application of Side Scan Sonar and Magnetometer to the Location of Archaeological Sites," *Bulletin of the Australasian Institute for Maritime Archaeology*, 26 (2002), 119-131. The National Park Service makes grants from the Historic Preservation Fund to Micronesia for the identification, evaluation, and protection of historic properties, including submerged cultural resources.
30. Jeffery, "World War II sites in Chuuk, Federated States of Micronesia."
31. Ian MacLeod, *Metal Corrosion in Chuuk Lagoon: A Survey of Iron Shipwrecks and Aluminum Aircraft*, unpublished report (Perth: Western Australian Museum, 2003), 1-90.
32. Dirk Spennemann, "The Politics of Heritage: Second World War Remains on the Central Pacific Islands," *The Pacific Review* 5, no. 3, (1992): 278-290.
33. White and Lindstrom, eds., *The Pacific Theater*.
34. Poyer et al., 336-337.
35. Paul Rainbird, "'Round, Black and Lustrous': A View of Encounters with Difference in Truk Lagoon, Federated States of Micronesia" in *The Archaeology of Difference: Negotiating Cross-Cultural Engagements in Oceania*, ed. Robin Torrence and Anne Clarke (London: Routledge, 2001), 46-47.
36. Jeffery, "World War II sites in Chuuk, Federated States of Micronesia."
37. Bailey, 3.
38. Ibid.
39. Department of State, Public Notice 4614, "Office of Ocean Affairs; Protection of Sunken Warships, Military Aircraft and Other Sunken Government Property," *Federal Register*, vol. 69, no. 24, February 5, 2004, 5647-5648

40. B. Pitt, "The War: An Overview," in B. Pitt, ed., *The History of the Second World War* (London: Purnell, 1966), 2676-2683.

41. Samuel E. Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, vol. VII: Aleutians, Gilberts and Marshalls, June 1942-April 1944 (Boston, 1975), 332.

42. Jeffery, *War in Paradise*, 2.

43. Jeffery, "World War II sites in Chuuk, Federated States of Micronesia."



Historic Places and the Diversity Deficit in Heritage Conservation

by *Ned Kaufman*

The United States has always been diverse. Now it is more so than ever. Yet historic preservation has done little to address this reality. How should historic preservation present racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse historical experiences? How should it serve diverse constituencies?

Between the nation's history as presented at its historic sites and as lived by its people lies a significant diversity gap. In 2002, the National Park Service launched a new initiative, called the Cultural Heritage Needs Assessment, aimed at shrinking the persistent diversity deficit. This article is drawn from the project's report.¹ It concentrates on one aspect of the assessment's findings, historic places, and concludes with a practical proposal for a program that the Federal Government could launch to quickly narrow the diversity gap using historic places.

While the assessment was designed to provide information and advice to the Federal Government's preservation programs, its findings are relevant to private and other government preservation programs as well. Readers seeking to close the diversity gap within their local preservation organization or historical society, statewide nonprofit, or municipal or state agency should easily be able to adapt the assessment's information and suggestions to their particular circumstances.

Background

Throughout most of its history, the preservation profession did not consider diversity an important issue. Yet, by the 1980s, some preservation agencies and organizations were making serious efforts to incorporate African-American heritage into mainstream historic preservation work. The Alabama Historical Commission founded a Black Heritage Council in 1984, and Georgia's State Historic Preservation Office published a guide to historic black resources in the same year.² Historic places like Colonial Williamsburg or, more recently, Cane River Creole National Historical Park, restored African Americans to the historical picture and began to present slavery in a forthright way.³

The National Trust for Historic Preservation organized its 1992 annual conference around the theme of diversity and launched scholarship and training programs to nurture preservation leaders from minority communities. Congress

and the National Park Service mounted a number of initiatives, including establishment of new national parks, improvements in the way national parks are interpreted, preservation grants to historically black colleges and universities, the Cultural Resources Diversity Program, the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, and the Civil Rights in America theme study. While institutional recognition of minority heritage continued to focus on African-American heritage, Congress and the National Park Service also have made substantial efforts to recognize Native-American heritage.

During the 1990s, two major preservation battles in New York City—for the 18th-century African Burial Ground and the Audubon Ballroom (site of Malcolm X's assassination)—illustrate both the benefits and difficulties of engaging diversity. Despite vigorous citizen participation, the preservation establishment's participation was less than whole-hearted. The resolutions to both campaigns were equivocal: a slice of the Audubon's facade and a portion of the interior were preserved as the frontispiece to an unsympathetic new building, and a small portion of the African Burial Ground within the excavated portion of the site was left intact, with reinterment of the exhumed human remains. Commemorative artwork and exhibits formed part of both compromises.

The two campaigns helped lead this author and others to launch a new program in 1998, Place Matters, which sought to identify, celebrate, and protect places of significance to New York's communities—places associated with history, tradition, or local symbolism. Though not explicitly designed or promoted as a solution to long-standing problems of racial imbalance, Place Matters made conscious efforts to recognize sites associated with African-American, Latino, Native-American, and other nonwhite, nonmajority cultures, along with ethnic European-American experiences.

Disappointingly, however, alliances forged during the campaigns of the 1990s—between, for example, preservationists and environmental justice leaders—did not survive beyond the heat of battle or prompt far-reaching change. Without a compelling reason to unite, it was easier for leaders on both sides to revert to business as usual. At the end of the decade, mainstream preservation organizations and programs in New York looked much as they had at the beginning.

This is broadly true of the field. Despite a great deal of talk about diversity and some successful programs, preservation's core institutions remain largely unchanged. The profession continues to regard minority perspectives and issues as exceptional or special cases. Basic preservation work remains relatively untouched. The National Register of Historic Places provides a case in point. National Park Service policy calls on the agency to "present factual and balanced presentations of the many American cultures, heritages, and histories."⁴ Although the bureau has mounted important diversity initiatives, of over

77,000 properties listed in the National Register as of April 20, 2004, only about 1,300 are explicitly associated with African-American heritage, 90 with Hispanic, and 67 with Asian. Taken together, these properties amount to 3 percent of what is intended to be a comprehensive inventory of the nation's heritage.⁵ The National Park Service is not solely responsible for the situation, nor can the bureau easily correct it. Under federal law, the State Historic Preservation Offices, federal agencies, and Indian tribes are the sources of nominations to the National Register.

The statistics reveal two diversity deficits. First, the national inventory of historic sites has not begun to fully recognize the experiences of communities outside the mainstream. Second, recognition of Asian and Latino heritage continues to lag far behind that of African-American heritage. Preservationists cannot close the second gap without also closing the first. They cannot close either gap by hoping that badly served constituents will compete with each other for a small measure of recognition. The goal is to create a thorough and accurate picture of American history: all Americans have a stake in achieving that goal.

The Cultural Heritage Needs Assessment

The Cultural Heritage Needs Assessment aimed to “gain a better understanding of what aspects of cultural heritage are important to minority cultures”—African, Asian, and Hispanic American—“and what the Federal Government's cultural programs could do to better address these aspects of heritage.”⁶ It set out to survey what heritage experts within minority communities want, based on their own words, and to recommend practical steps by which government agencies could use this information to improve the performance of historic preservation. The assessment covered a wide range of preservation topics—museum work, archives, the written record, publishing, folklore and ethnography, parks, historic sites, plaques and markers, heritage tourism, place-based education, cultural landscapes, and even the operation of bookstores at historic sites. The assessment documented significant heritage programs that are being carried out by minority communities on many of these topics. The assessment also documented unmet needs for government assistance, both technical and financial, in collection, curation, and conservation, as well as opportunities in ethnography, cultural landscapes, parkland acquisition, and other topics.

One of the assessment's most striking findings was to document a tremendous unmet demand for historic places—that is, formally recognized places—that tell the stories of minority communities and tell them well—with candor, generosity of information, a flair for teaching, and a willingness to reach out and engage the unseen but important issues that surround them. This is good news for preservationists, who are uniquely experienced at recognizing and preserv-

ing historic places. Preservationists, in short, can narrow the diversity deficit by doing what they are already good at doing in concert with energetic and well-informed people who are willing to work with them in every community.

Methodology of the Cultural Heritage Needs Assessment

An important model for the Cultural Heritage Needs Assessment is the 1990 report, *Keepers of the Treasures*, which presented a powerful statement of tribal preservation needs and led to significant advances in federal programs.⁷ However, there are important differences. Unlike tribes, African, Asian, and Hispanic Americans are not officially recognized entities, and they cannot be treated according to a government-to-government model. Furthermore, while the major constituency for tribal preservation programs could be assumed to be future tribal members, similar assumptions could not be made about the groups now being considered, particularly in light of an evolving immigration picture.

Another point of difference with *Keepers of the Treasures* was that, unlike many tribes, African, Asian, or Hispanic-American communities do not have officially recognized heritage spokespersons. The Cultural Heritage Needs Assessment did not consult with spokespersons, but rather dedicated experts and amateurs, representing various points of view, who were willing to talk. Most of the study's respondents were professionals in some aspect of heritage conservation; some were citizen leaders. Respondents included first-generation immigrants as well as the descendants of Spanish landowners, teachers, architects, poets, artists, archivists, museum professionals, students, dentists, heritage tourism operators, government officials, activists, film makers, anthropologists, historians, literary scholars, and professional preservationists. Respondents covered a wide age range; and they lived in California, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Mexico, New York, Texas, Virginia, Washington, and the Philippines.

The project's limited resources and time-frame prompted another pragmatic decision. To present the heritage preservation needs of the "Latino community" or the "Asian-American community" would have been not only impossible but presumptuous. "There is no real 'Latino community,'" writes Miguel Vasquez: "Instead, there are many."⁸ Indeed, even national labels turn out to mask great complexity. "Filipinos are so diverse," sighs Angel Velasco Shaw, one of the study's respondents: "our histories are so complicated."⁹ Many Filipino immigrants experienced life in this country as farm workers, but others were nurses, doctors, and cooks; still others were artists, writers, and architects. Life in New York City was different from the west coast. Immigrants from different parts of the Philippine archipelago brought different cultures with them. Those who migrated immediately after World War II may have a different outlook on Filipino history than those who migrated during the Marcos dictatorship.

A pragmatic balance was needed between extreme fragmentation and overly broad generalization. The assessment focused on African Americans (excluding recent immigrant groups), Mexican Americans, and Filipino Americans. While other groups might equally well have been chosen, these three have had great importance in American history. Africans, Mexicans, and Filipinos were among the earliest immigrants to North America. Africans arrived with the Spanish and Portuguese in the 16th century and with the English at the beginning of the 17th century. To Spanish colonists in Mexico, what later became our "southwest" was their "northeast," and when English-speaking colonists moved into the region, they found missions, presidios, and pueblos containing close to 100,000 people.¹⁰ Chicana artist Judith Baca points out, "We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us." Filipinos first reached North America during the 16th century as sailors aboard Spanish galleons and some certainly reached California. The first permanent Filipino settlement seems to have been made during the 18th century near New Orleans.

The relationships between the United States and these three groups have been long, close, and sometimes troubled. Episodes such as the slave trade, the Mexican-American War, and the Philippine-American War cannot be forgotten. Nor can 50 years of colonial rule in the Philippines or the enduring realities of racism and intolerance in the United States. There have been positive episodes too. The point is that each region and its people are intricately braided into America's history.

As diverse as these groups and the assessment's respondents are, some significant convergences of opinion emerged. Many respondents whose experiences and opinions were otherwise quite different argued forcefully for the importance of historic places as a means of conserving heritage. This was a significant and somewhat unexpected finding. Since preserving historic places is such a central part of current preservation practice, it suggested that the preservation needs of respondents might prove to be closely in line with professional norms. In fact, the reality is not so simple.

The possibility had to be considered, first of all, that respondents were telling the interviewer what they thought he wanted to hear. That this was not the case is suggested by the open skepticism of many respondents. This was far from the first time they had been consulted by well-meaning interviewers from mainstream organizations. They were not convinced that the project would lead to concrete results. They wanted to convey hard truths, rather than ingratiating platitudes. Some also were highly critical of historic preservation, which they saw as consistently oblivious to their interests.

If respondents' emphasis on historic places seemed to be an affirmation of historic preservation, that affirmation sprang from an engagement with history that is richer and more intense than that of most mainstream preservation-

ists—which constitutes a worthy challenge to the profession. To grasp the potential of historic-place programs for narrowing the diversity gap, it is essential to understand this view of history and its importance.

The Centrality of History

“History is important,” says Alan Bergano, “because it is the foundation of a people.” Like Bergano, many respondents feel that they cannot take history for granted, because history shapes identity and describes relationships with the majority culture that, in turn, defines life in crucial ways. History requires constant attention. Evidence of achievement must be unearthed, underlined, spotlighted. Memories of discrimination and suffering must be maintained. And sometimes evidence of mere existence, of presence within the larger story, must be discovered and defended. This is because much of history lies forgotten or buried. Before becoming part of *heritage*, history must be rediscovered.

For a long time the experience of slavery was glossed over with little explanation, even excused as benign or unimportant. Putting slavery back into the story required energy and persistence. Today some Filipinos are intent on restoring historical awareness of the Philippine-American War, and others on rediscovering the historical experiences of immigrants from the Marcos era, while some African Americans are bringing back to light the history of urban churches and their pastors. Arte Público Press, based at the University of Houston, has launched an ambitious project, “Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage,” to rediscover, catalog, and publish the rich and largely forgotten literary heritage of Hispanic Americans.

History, then, has little in common with the appreciation of the “finer things” that the word *heritage* frequently connotes, or with the “souvenir history” that Puerto Rican poet Martín Espada derides—the superficial and congratulatory commemoration of symbolic highlights.¹¹ History does not paint the past as “simpler times”; it is instead a relentless struggle to discover, uncover, rediscover, and recover facts about the national past that have been swept from public consciousness either because they are uncomfortable or because the evidence is ephemeral. For many respondents, history is what Antonia Castañeda calls “oppositional history”: history of groups that have had to fight for rights or recognition, and history in opposition to stereotypes and social amnesia—history opposed to forgetting.

John Kuo Wei Tchen stresses, nonetheless, that the goal of this kind of history is not opposition but, rather, reconciliation, specifically *racial* reconciliation. Referring to lawyer and scholar Eric Yamamoto’s study of the subject,¹² he underlines the importance of three steps towards reconciliation: recognition, redress, and finally reconciliation itself. The process can be described backwards. Reconciliation is achieved when people of different races and ethnici-

ties accept one another as equals, forgive past wrongs, and withdraw barriers to equal participation in society. This requires redress: acknowledgment of wrongs and a commitment to correct them. Redress rests on recognition, and the key to this essential first step, in Tchen's view, is to educate Americans about the history of intergroup relationships.

Sometimes confronting these relationships causes discomfort—not only among white people. Referring to slavery, Jeanne Cyriaque, African-American programs coordinator for Georgia's State Historic Preservation Division, notes that "some African Americans feel it's a part of the past that they want to forget." Talking about painful historical episodes requires tact as well as honesty. Yet Tchen believes that such discussions are an essential step towards reconciliation and increased social harmony. So does William E. Davis, a New York architect who took part in the campaign to save the African Burial Ground. Davis looks to South Africa's great experiment in truth and reconciliation as a source of inspiration for Americans.

Historical Themes

Among the diverse themes of African, Mexican, and Filipino-American history, some appear with significant persistence: manual labor, persecution, exclusion, struggles for justice, achievement, contribution to society, sheer survival—and invisibility.

"I am an invisible man," announces the black protagonist of Ralph Ellison's novel of 1952, "I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me."¹³ Many respondents identified invisibility as a defining part of their community's historical experience. In Los Angeles, the historic Merced Theater still stands, but guides fail to mention that it was a Spanish-language theater in the 1850s. "They erased that history," comments Nicolás Kanellos. Traveling through California, Angel Shaw knows that Filipino migrant laborers once cultivated the fields around her, yet sees no trace of them in the landscape; their history has become invisible. Shaw wants this heritage to be revealed, perhaps by putting up plaques, or by teaching about it in schools—some means that would proclaim: "There were labor camps. *Right here.*"

Mexican and Filipino heritage advocates understand how places like New York's African Burial Ground or Selma's Edmund Pettus Bridge have helped to make African-American history visible. "To be able to go to Selma and say, I've crossed the bridge," muses Refugio Rochin, "We need opportunities for reflection like that."

Making Diverse Communities Visible

Explaining the importance of historic places, historian James Horton remarks that “It is easier to understand the people of history when you can be in the spaces that they occupied, the spaces where they lived their lives.”¹⁴ Tchen takes the argument further: gaining public recognition for historic places helps make invisible communities visible; it also helps educate other Americans about them. For Luis Francia, a Filipino-American poet and journalist, “it’s important to have visible artifacts;” the artifact may be a site, monument, or marker, but whatever it is, “it reminds people that at a certain time, and at this place, there were people who lived here, achieved something, and contributed to society.”

Opportunities to designate, interpret, and protect places are clearly very large. While the assessment does not include a historic places survey, it does categorize the types of places emphasized by respondents.

Points of origin

Some respondents want more focus on places associated with entry into the United States or early experiences here. For Bradford Grant, Jamestown, Virginia, is “incredible—very rich historically. As one of the first sites where Africans were enslaved and brought to this country, the place is as significant for African Americans as for European Americans.” Ronald Buenaventura calls San Diego the “gateway to Filipino-American immigration” that should be recognized, as should El Paso’s role, in Judith Baca’s words, as the “Ellis Island of the Southwest.” Baca also wants to mark early Spanish land grants.

Routes of migration

Migration has been crucial for all three groups, both to and within this country. Judith Baca would like to see the “major movements of the Mexican diaspora” presented. Inspired by Boston’s Black Heritage Trail, Joan May Cordova imagines a map showing Filipino migration routes throughout the United States. Adélar Alcantara would like to trace these migrations back to their origins in the Philippines. She would also like to mark the seasonal migrations of Filipino crop workers. John W. Franklin notes that recent research in Louisiana allows the National Park Service to tell visitors where the state’s African-American families came from.

Places of experience

Asparagus fields near Stockton, California, cotton fields in the South, salmon canneries in Alaska, agricultural labor camps, sugar plantations in Hawaii, hospitals, military bases, tenements almost everywhere, downtown neighborhoods in many American cities, dance halls in South Texas, union halls, Spanish land grants, barrios in many towns and cities, churches and lodges, sites of Filipino businesses, a carrot warehouse in Grants, New Mexico—all are places where African Americans, Mexicans, and Filipinos lived and worked in significant

numbers. Each respondent has a personal list of important sites that convey the experience of ordinary immigrants, places that offer extraordinary opportunities, in Horton's words, to "understand the people of history." (Figure 1)

Places of suffering and struggle

Many historic places associated with slavery are interpreted far better now than 10 or 20 years ago, and places connected with the Underground Railroad and the Civil Rights movement are increasingly popular. (Figure 2) Places of Mexican and Filipino suffering and struggle, however, remain largely ignored. "We should be marking...places where César Chávez worked," says Judith Baca. Refugio Rochin agrees, noting especially the 250-mile route of his march from Delano to Sacramento. Because Filipino and Mexican farm workers united behind Chávez, he has great importance to Filipinos as well. And there were other demonstrations: John Silva notes the strike at Hanapepe in Hawaii, where 25 Filipinos were killed.

Places of achievement

How many visitors know that, in the early 20th century, White House cooks and stewards were Filipino? That represents an achievement in which John Silva takes pride. Guadalupe San Miguel wants to preserve and mark Ideal Records in Alice, Texas, which played an important role in Tejano music. Rolando Romo was moved to found the Tejano Association for Historical Preservation by the destruction of the house and grave of Lorenzo de Zavala, a pivotal figure in founding the Republic of Texas.¹⁵ Fred Cordova would like to see a directory showing where the "Filipino illustrious" are buried.

In recent decades, historians have emphasized the importance of documenting the lives of ordinary people. Many have sought to go beyond chronicling

FIGURE 1

Filipinos played an important role in the development of the California agricultural industry in the 20th century. They also helped to develop agricultural labor unions. In this ca. 1930s view in California's Central Valley, two laborers take a moment to pose for a photograph during the harvest season. (Courtesy of the Alvarado Project)



FIGURE 2

Participants at the 41st annual National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) meeting in Boston, MA, in June 1950 pose before the Union Methodist Church. The meeting represents the kinds of events that led to the civil rights movement. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Roger Wilkins Papers)



the contributions of individuals. Yet many preservation advocates continue to feel that it is important to celebrate the contributions and the achievements of both the famous and the unknown. Judith Baca says that making known the “contributions made to the United States by [Mexican Americans] would be a profound statement...a critically important acknowledgement of how much has been given to this country.” The website of the Tejano Association for Historical Preservation has a page listing 82 “Famous Tejanos & Tejanas in Texas History,”¹⁶ while the home page of the website, <http://www.filipinoamericans.net>, assures readers that “Filipino Americans quietly have made their indelible marks on America as politicians, doctors, judges, entrepreneurs, singers, professors, movie and television stars, etc.”

Places of interaction

“Communities are typically studied” in isolation, says Dorothy Fujita-Rony, “but it’s the interactions that produce some of the most interesting things in American culture.” The first Asian war brides in the United States, says Dorothy Cordova, founder of the Filipino American National Historical Society, were Filipino women who married African-American “Buffalo soldiers.” Respondents note marriages between Filipinos and Mexican Americans, Native Americans and Alaskans, and Mexicans and Native Americans. There were also shared cultures, life experience, and struggle. Black Americans fought alongside Filipinos in World War II. Filipinos united with Mexican farm workers behind César Chávez. Filipinos and Mexicans “have been pitted against each other” so often, laments Angel Shaw, but the reality was different. Their “complex and intertwining” cultural histories should be presented.

Many of the nation’s leading cities offer exceptional opportunities for interpreting interactions. Fujita-Rony nominates New York City as a naval center and Chicago as a railroad hub. In Seattle, Filipinos shared a neighborhood with African Americans. The markets and plazas of southwestern towns, suggests Refugio Rochin, offer opportunities to understand the blending of Hispanic and Native-American cultures.

Spiritual places

The importance of churches in African-American history and community life is often noted. For Mexican Americans, Refugio Rochin emphasizes cemeteries that, he notes, were as segregated as the barrios in which they lived. Olivia Cadaval adds that these cemeteries are "living spaces" in which the stories of people and families who are connected continue to be played out; in preserving them, one would be "preserving the living connection."

Milestones of international relations

John Kuo Wei Tchen would like to mark Angel Island and the Presidio in San Francisco, California, launching points for the Spanish-American War and the subsequent Philippine-American War, as historic places. Judith Baca nominates the shifting borders between the United States and Mexico.

Places of education and presentation

Respondents identify two roles of historic places—to educate, and to present the group publicly, both to the group itself and to other Americans. All of the sites discussed above educate; some also present. Presentational sites need not commemorate specific events, but they should occupy prominent positions. Eric Gamalinda asks, "Why is there is no José Rizal statue in the United States, outside Hawaii?" Describing Rizal as "one of the few unifying factors that our fractious people have," Gamalinda proposes a statue in New York's Central Park, where so many heros of other nations are commemorated.

Icebergs: Hidden Dimensions of Historic Places

The value of historic places arises not only from their appearance, but also from the meanings attached to them, many of which are not visible. In this sense, historic places can resemble icebergs. While the word "association" is often used to denote ideas associated with artifacts but not directly visible in them, the meanings described by respondents go beyond what preservationists usually think of as associational significance.

Community, place, and culture

"Individual sites are important," says architect Richard Dozier, but some of the most significant speak to issues outside of themselves. He recalls the founding of Brooklyn's Weeksville Society in the 1970s. Had Joan Maynard merely wanted to preserve some houses that had survived from a 19th-century free black community, her task would have been relatively simple. What made it more difficult and has made the rewards greater, was her vision of how the houses could tell a broader story, and how that story could become valuable to Weeksville's modern-day African-American community.

Some of Dozier's larger issues relate to the experience of community. Pervasive segregation, he explains, made the historically black colleges and universities anchors for neighborhoods where African Americans could find housing, business services, and nightlife. Later, as the barriers of segregation weakened, African Americans "found they could get their photocopying done downtown...they could even live across town." The tightly knit, campus-centered communities broke apart, leaving little trace on the cityscape. Today, campus buildings are not only important historic places in their own right but also valuable clues to a different way of life. Dozier challenges historic preservation to go beyond preserving buildings to conveying the buildings' social context—to presenting something "more representative of the history."

For Jeanne Cyriaque, maintaining historical awareness of community life is an important preservation goal. She lists a range of building types—churches, schools, meeting places, downtown business rows—that typically serve as "community landmarks." If these do not survive, "we have to capture the *spirit of place*"—meaning the consciousness that a vibrant community was once present at that spot. At Springfield Baptist Church in Augusta, Georgia, for example, a community group erected a 35-foot-high "Tower of Aspiration" to "signify the many people who lived in the community."

The problem of maintaining a "spirit of place" without built resources is pressing, because powerful forces of destruction have long been aimed at African-American neighborhoods: railroads, highways, mortgage redlining, abandonment, and urban renewal. John W. Franklin would like to organize an exhibition on "all of the African-American communities destroyed by highways...and other public works projects." The threats continue, and new forces of commercial development and gentrification have joined the older ones.

The most pervasive threats to resources associated with community life are directed at urban neighborhoods. These are generally located "at the center of the city," notes Cyriaque, "and now everyone wants to live there." True, white neighborhoods experience problems such as insensitive redevelopment, but while white activists typically describe the problem as a loss of amenity or architectural quality, Karl Webster Barnes, chairman of Georgia's African American Historic Preservation Network, frames it as a "removal of cultural memory."¹⁷

Mexican-American respondents also see historic places in a larger cultural context. They too face the challenge of preserving significant places without surviving buildings. Sometimes this arises because historical experiences took place in fields or factories, rather than monumental architecture. Elsewhere, a place's importance lies in people's knowledge of the *place* itself. Judith Baca refers to this as land-based memory, or "la memoria de nuestra tierra," the title she chose for a mural at Denver International Airport. Mexican Americans'

“depth of presence” in the land, she points out, is unrivalled except by Native Americans, and “people believe that memory resides in the land.” Indeed the longevity of Mexican communities has meant not only a strong southwestern culture but distinctive local cultures as well—traditions, stories, music, and ways of making a living as disparate as farming, ranching, or cutting railroad ties. Throughout the area, she says, there are “amazing stories of regional land memory.” (Figure 3)

FIGURE 3

Places like the Trujillo Homestead juxtapose ethnic heritage and the development of the American West. A first generation Mexican American, Pedro Trujillo owned and operated this ranch in Alamosa County, CO from 1879 to 1902. Listed in the National Register of Historic Places, the ranch house, pictured here, is significant for its association with the period of contention between family owned Hispanic ranches and larger European-American ranches over land, resources, and control of the San Luis Valley. (Courtesy of Thomas H. Simmons, Nature Conservancy)



Land memory has practical dimensions too. By and large, the United States failed to honor its treaty promises to respect Spanish land grants and much land left Spanish ownership—over a century and a half after the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, says Judith Baca, “People live with this every day.” Olivia Cadaval remarks that in parts of the southwest, heritage issues revolve not around cultural identity but around land grants. Baca, Cadaval, and Rosaura Sanchez all agree that the grants should be marked. That would, at least, help to maintain the memory of deep presence in the land.

Like other respondents, Luis Francia wants “visible artifacts” to be “tied into the larger representation of Filipino heritage and culture.” As “representations of actual people and events,” Angel Shaw similarly urges that places have plaques or other information tools to build out the story. Beyond plaques, representation for Francia means preserving collections, documents, and oral histories. For John Kuo Wei Tchen, it means public education, the first step in the “real redress” of deeply divisive social problems.

Teaching with historic places

Many respondents want historic places to teach, to teach better history and more of it. Where minority groups are concerned, however, the struggle for a

full and fair interpretation can be exhausting. Two decades ago, as part of an important study carried out for the state of California, Antonia Castañeda identified a number of important Mexican-American historic sites and proposed improvements in the state's official site markers.¹⁸ Yet her impression is that little has changed.

An archeologist once predicted that the richest sites for unearthing new masterpieces of ancient Urartu culture would not be the mountains of eastern Turkey but the basements of museums, where heaps of objects awaited proper identification. In the same way, many existing historic places await proper identification. When Nicolás Kanellos notes that Spanish drama was presented at the Merced Theater in Los Angeles during the 1850s, he identifies the Merced as a Mexican-American site; tour guides can now present it as such. When John Silva points out that early Filipino sailors left statues or tabernacles at some California missions, he identifies them as Filipino sites; curators can now interpret the Filipino presence. But the missions present bigger challenges. While many of them are preserved and celebrated, notes Rosaura Sanchez, they are "mostly for tourists" and present a "quaint" view of the past.

One of the quickest ways to create "new" African-American, Mexican, and Filipino places is to interpret these groups' roles at existing sites. Filipino presence at the White House has already been mentioned. The National Park Service plans to revise its interpretation of Philadelphia's Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell to acknowledge slave quarters on the site. How much richer the story would be if it also included the Latin American revolutionary leaders and intellectuals who flocked to Philadelphia during the 19th century, inspired by the city's contribution to the cause of liberty. The story of Faneuil Hall, one of Boston's most popular tourist attractions, could be similarly enriched by including demonstrations against the Spanish-American War that took place there. If these three icons of American history can readily divulge such unexpected and important stories, how many other stories are awaiting rediscovery in historic places across the country?

Beyond telling a good story, says Nicolás Kanellos, "You have to have something for people to see" at historic sites. The best history museums are sophisticated at presenting complex stories, and historic sites can enrich their interpretation by presenting artifacts and documents more engagingly. Bookshops, too, allow site managers to put knowledge into the hands of visitors. Yet Kanellos reports that in museum and historic site bookshops across the country, "Hispanic presence is nil."

Marketing historic places

A site lives through public awareness, but respondents pointed out that awareness of sites and collections is often low. John Silva believes that historical organizations and agencies could dramatically expand their constituency by

getting the word out. In fact, the National Park Service has made a substantial effort to market its programs to African-American audiences. Virgilio Pilapil urges the National Park Service to publish a list and map of historic sites with particular relevance to Filipino Americans. There are also opportunities for many other federal and state agencies, as well as authors and publishers, for printed and Internet guidebooks, itineraries, and trails that direct travellers to African-American, Hispanic, and Filipino historic places. Substantial gains can be made by disseminating information about existing resources.

The Work Ahead: A Proposal

The question is "what next?" The answer should reflect the dynamics of the information-gathering process itself. "There is a lot of frustration out here," comments Richard Dozier. Many respondents are tired of being asked their opinion.

Disillusionment with well-intentioned fact-finding is widespread: there is skepticism about whether it will lead to action. While respondents are eager to work with the National Park Service, Gerald Poyo warns that the bureau could "do more damage than good" if it fails to follow talk with action. Poyo has a suggestion: before asking more questions, put some money on the table. Launch an initiative; then convene experts and community leaders. Very simply, respondents are saying: enough talk—now we want action.

The Federal Government, led by the National Park Service, should undertake an initiative to identify, protect, and interpret places of essential importance to the nation's diverse history. The bureau should also quickly assemble a team of experts outside of government, including historians and community leaders. No mere review committee, this group should work directly with the Federal Government in shaping and carrying out the project.

To provide a thematic focus, the Federal Government and its steering committee of volunteer advisors should consider organizing the initiative around places that reflect the interactions among (and within) ethnic or racial groups in American history. Many respondents expressed particular interest in this theme, which would have wide relevance as well as public appeal.

Although the National Register of Historic Places is a logical vehicle for such an initiative, the National Register is not under most circumstances authorized to nominate places. That is the prerogative of the states and other nominating authorities. The National Park Service could, however, provide technical assistance and encouragement, for example, by publishing National Register bulletins on identifying and evaluating places associated with African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Filipino Americans, and by offering workshops in collaboration with citizen groups.

Unfortunately, official designation standards make it difficult to recognize many crucially important sites. Most troublesome is the integrity standard, which requires that listed sites survive substantially unaltered from their "period of significance." The challenge is that many important historical experiences did not take place in buildings that have survived intact. They took place in open fields, barrios, labor camps, union halls, social clubs, street-front churches, bunkhouses, tenements, cabins, factories, and docks. Where such resources have survived, respondents want to preserve them. But where they have not, many respondents report a strong sense of connection to the places where people had lived and struggled. Jeanne Cyriaque's "spirit of place" typifies the sense expressed by many respondents that these places are hallowed by the presence of their predecessors. National Register standards that emphasize integrity of historic properties make it more difficult to honor this consciousness of place and history. Such standards also saddle preservation efforts with an unintended bias against working-class and immigrant history. These biases should be corrected: The National Register should be fully capable of recognizing the values of places and the historical connection that people feel towards them.¹⁹

As important as the National Register and other inventories of historic places are, there is much more that the Federal Government can do as part of this initiative to realize the educational value of historic places. The National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities, the Library of Congress, and Smithsonian Institution have done important work in documenting and preserving the history of diverse communities. They have much to contribute to this initiative, as do the Institute for Museum and Library Services, State Historic Preservation Offices, and state and regional arts and humanities councils. These agencies have or can create archives or databases of historical and ethnographic materials related to the sites; fund curricular materials, publications, websites, public art, or markers to increase public understanding of the sites and stories; and assist in cataloguing and conserving priceless archival and museum collections. In addition to listing places, the National Park Service itself can update exhibits, interpretation, and bookstore offerings at national parks. Whatever its precise components, the initiative should combine deep respect for the spirit of place, a rigorous commitment to history, and a passion for teaching. It should identify the places *and* tell the stories; promote bricks *and* books; preserve *and* interpret; inspire *and* educate.

The proposed initiative could culminate with the publication of "how-to" guides that citizens' groups throughout the country will be able to use for years to come. These handbooks can be modeled on the excellent guides that already exist for identifying African-American historic places, but they should also include guidelines for plaques, public art, guidebooks, curricular materials, and local preservation campaigns.

Challenges Ahead

This initiative will not, by itself, close the diversity deficit. It is a down payment. The deficit will be closed when we have a preservation system that incorporates diversity into its basic structure. Only by diversifying the profession itself, through staff jobs, contract work, and partnerships, will the discipline's resources be fully mobilized to address the heritage of minority communities. Only then will the expertise of minority communities become fully available to the preservation profession.

This work should be accelerated, but it will take time to accomplish. Meanwhile, an ambitious historic places initiative can build working relationships, marshal resources, and create institutional capacity. Most importantly, such an initiative can create a public history of the national past that reflects its true diversity. Preservationists should be satisfied with no less. Nor should the American public.

Ned Kaufman is a cultural heritage consultant based in New York City.

Notes

1. Copies of the draft Cultural Heritage Needs Assessment Report can be obtained from the Diversity and Special Projects office, National Park Service, 1849 C Street, NW (2251), Washington, DC 20240, and online at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/crdi>, select "research."
2. Carole Merritt, *Historic Black Resources: A Handbook for the Identification, Documentation, and Evaluation of Historic African-American Properties in Georgia* (Atlanta, GA: Historic Preservation Section, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, 1984).
3. For museums' responses to African-American issues, see James Oliver Horton and Spencer R. Crew, "Afro-Americans and Museums: Towards a Policy of Inclusion" in *History Museums in the United States: A Critical Assessment*, ed. Warren Leon and Roy Rosenzweig, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989).
4. *National Park Service Management Policies 2001*, Sec. 7.5.5. Quoted from Emogene Bevitt (comp.), "National Park Service Policies Regarding Native Americans, Park-Associated Communities, Public Participation, and Community Relations" (January 2003).
5. The Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places provided the number of total properties listed in the National Register and the number of properties associated with African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans as of April 20, 2004. The Keeper also stated, "Most properties are not listed by virtue of their association with a particular ethnic group—only 3,000 of the over 77,000 listings include reference to one of the seven groups for which statistics are maintained." The groups include Asian, Black, European, Hispanic, Native American, Other, and Pacific Islander. In addition, "The National Historic Preservation Act compliance process is a major driver for identifying properties and yet does not necessarily result in listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Thousands of properties are listed on state inventories and hidden away in the grey literature of National Historic Preservation Act compliance documentation that are associated with various ethnic groups."
6. National Park Service, "Cultural Heritage Needs Assessment Project: Phase I," project statement, 2002. The assessment was sponsored by the National Park Service's National Center for Cultural Resources, with advice from the Smithsonian Institution's Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage and the Library of Congress's American Folklife Center. While focusing on

historic preservation, its findings touch on park and historic site management, museum collection and curation, folklore, ethnography, and the operation of bookshops. The findings will be relevant to federal agency staff, State Historic Preservation Offices, local preservation nonprofit organizations, museums, park agencies, and researchers.

7. *Keepers of the Treasures: Protecting Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions on Indian Lands*, A Report on Tribal Preservation Funding Needs Submitted to Congress by the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior (National Park Service, 1990).

8. Miguel Vasquez, "Latinos—Viva La Diferencial!," *CRM* 24, no. 5 (2001): 22.

9. In the remainder of the article, sources for statements without footnotes are respondents to the study, who were interviewed in person or by telephone between July 2003 and March 2004. Wherever statements refer to a specific ethnic or racial group, respondents are members of that group, unless otherwise noted.

10. David Hornbeck, "Spanish Legacy in the Borderlands," in *The Making of the American Landscape*, ed. Michael P. Conzen, (New York and London, Routledge, 1994), 51-62.

11. "Poetry and the Burden of History: An Interview with Martin Espada," published on the website of the University of Illinois's Department of English at http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/poets/a_f/espada/interview.htm. I am grateful to my daughter Emily Kaufman for this reference.

12. See Eric Yamamoto, *Interracial Justice: Conflict and Reconciliation in Post-Civil-Rights America* (New York: New York University Press, 1999). Yamamoto outlines four steps to reconciliation: recognition, responsibility, reconstruction, and reparation.

13. Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (1952; New York: Vintage International, 1999), 3.

14. James Oliver Horton, "On-Site Learning: The Power of Historic Places," *CRM* 23, no. 8 (2000): 4.

15. Rolando M. Romo, "The Founding of the Tejano Association for Historical Preservation," unpublished paper.

16. The Tejano Association for Historical Preservation, Lorenzo de Zavala Chapter, <http://www.tejanoahp.org>.

17. Karl Webster Barnes, "Your Vision, Your Memory, Your Challenge: Preservation is Good for Your African American Neighborhood Revitalization," Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division, *Reflections* 2, no. 4 (September 2002): 6.

18. See *Five Views: An Ethnic Sites Survey for California* (Sacramento, CA: State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation, 1988).

19. For a sampling of some of the building types associated with outsider ethnic groups, see *Five Views*. For a discussion of the integrity criterion, particularly as it relates to industrial buildings, see Ned Kaufman, *History Happened Here: A Plan for Saving New York City's Historically and Culturally Significant Sites* (New York: Municipal Art Society, 1996), pp. 48 ff. For traditional cultural places, see Patricia F. Parker and Thomas F. King, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 38. For a discussion of traditional cultural properties within the general context of preserving sites associated with tradition, see Ned Kaufman, "Places of Historical, Cultural, and Social Value: Identification and Protection," *Environmental Law in New York* 12, no. 11 (2001): 211-12 and 224-33, and 12, no. 12 (2001): 235 and 248-256.

Innovative Methods for Documenting Cultural Resources: Integrating GIS and GPS Technologies

by Deidre McCarthy

In historic preservation work, accurate locational data is a critical element in understanding past lifeways. Geographic clues about environmental and human influences on cultural resources significantly affect the preservation and management of sites. A geographic context provides preservationists with a different perspective on cultural resources. If preservationists rely solely on traditional documentation, such as measured drawings or photographs, these geographic clues may be lost and important contextual information or associations may be overlooked.

Traditionally, the National Park Service's Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), Historic American Engineering Record (HAER), and Historic American Landscapes Survey (HALS) produce paper documentation that is available for public use at the Library of Congress. At the Cultural Resource GIS Facility (CRGIS), geographic information systems (GIS) and global positioning systems (GPS) enhance traditional documentation methods, allowing for better analysis, clearer understanding of resources, and broader participation in preservation planning.

Beyond computerized cartography, GIS software represents real-world features in individual map layers according to feature type, such as roads, building footprints, or county boundaries. By stacking map layers, users view the layers geographically in relationship to each other and to the Earth. Databases attached to each map layer contain information or "attributes" that describe what each map feature is, allowing users to query the data based on text descriptions or the geography itself.

GPS is a satellite-based navigation system used to collect accurate geographic coordinates for GIS map layers. Achieving sub-centimeter detail, GPS works by triangulating the position of a receiver on the Earth using satellite signals. Together, GIS and GPS greatly improve the accuracy of resource mapping, in addition to enhancing traditional documentation, by linking drawings or photographs to geographic locations providing critical contextual information.

HABS/HAER/HALS/CRGIS is applying these technologies to ongoing documentation projects. Focused on documenting historic resources through measured drawings, photographs, and written histories, HABS/HAER/HALS/

CRGIS is pursuing new methods of recording sites using GIS and GPS for analysis as well as public access to traditional documentation products.

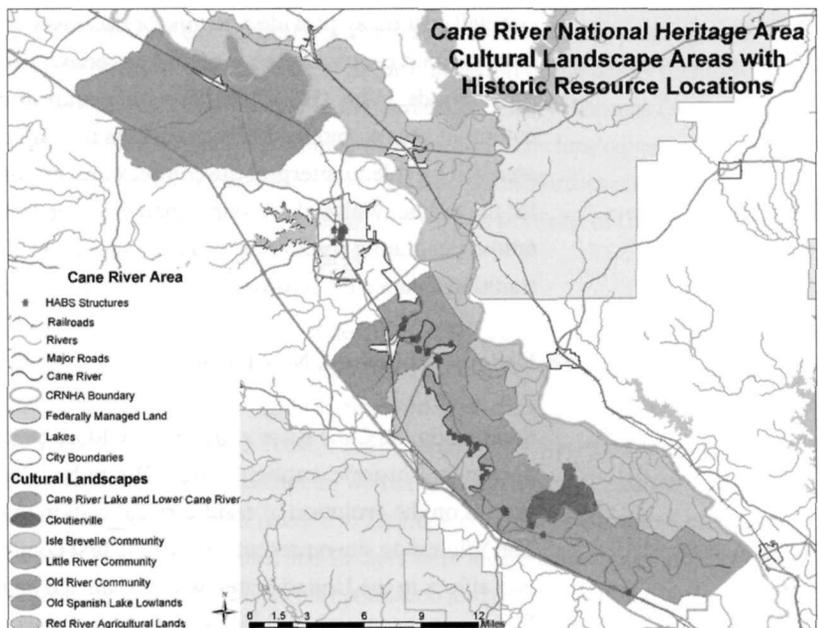
Cane River National Heritage Area, Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana

In 2002, CRGIS began working with HABS to create a geographic information system, as opposed to static maps, for Cane River National Heritage Area. GIS can be a powerful tool for planning, resource management, and education, working towards the goal of linking historical documentation to reveal a complex multicultural landscape. With the final product, users will be able to visualize landscape change over time and document the history of the heritage area through a variety of data types, such as drawings, photographs, historic maps, and other GIS data layers.

CRGIS is using several methods to build the GIS tool for the heritage area. Beginning in 2002, CRGIS collected locations of historic resources using GPS, generating detailed coordinates for each site. In 2003, CRGIS gathered approximately 100 data layers from other sources to provide reference information, such as parish boundaries, geologic features, demographics, and aerial imagery. Additionally, CRGIS created new data layers to help tell the story of the area, such as historic property boundaries. Finally, in 2004, historic maps will be scanned as images and oriented to the Earth, or "geo-referenced."

A powerful tool for managing complex landscapes, GIS currently shows the historic resources documented by HABS within the context of the modern landscape, such as road networks, as well as within the historic landscape. CRGIS will also link HABS drawings or photographs to each resource loca-

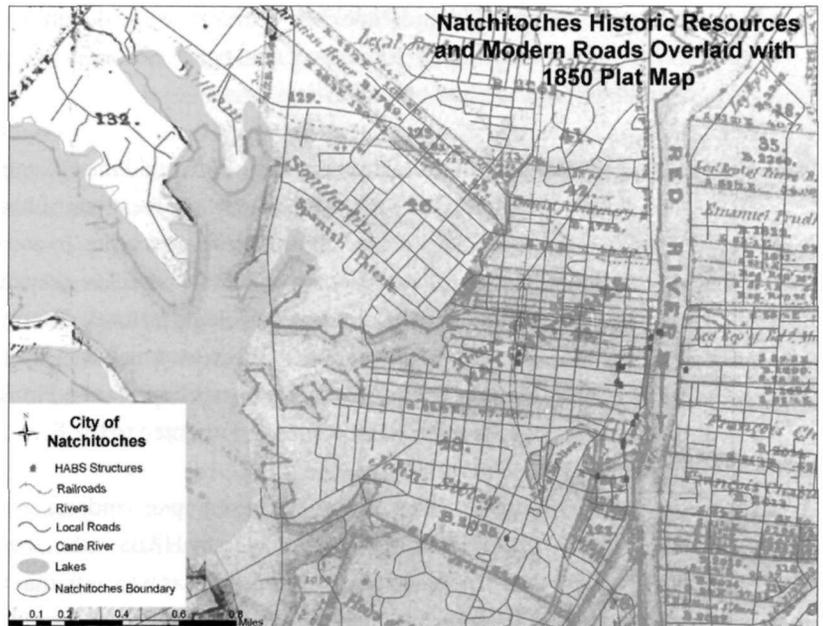
FIGURE 1
Selected data layers from Cane River National Heritage Area GIS show the locations of historic structures documented by HABS in relationship to cultural landscape boundaries and modern features. (Courtesy of CRGIS, National Park Service)



tion. Additional resource attributes allow users to query the data and produce maps showing features color-coded by construction date or period of significance. (Figure 1)

The ongoing work to add geo-referenced historic maps will allow users to expand their analysis of the landscape. Overlaying current tax parcel maps with 19th-century property boundaries, for instance, will help the heritage area locate significant historic resources within the modern landscape and target specific areas for protection. (Figure 2)

FIGURE 2
A geo-referenced 1850 plat map overlaid with modern features and historic structures illustrates key locations in the city of Natchitoches within the Cane River National Heritage Area. (Courtesy of CRGIS, National Park Service)



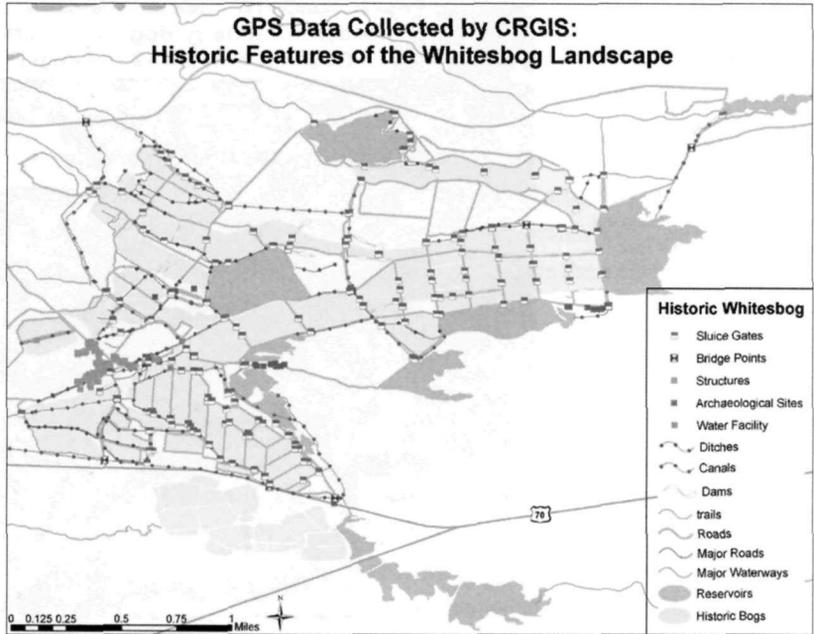
GIS will eventually provide a means for users to watch the landscape change from the 18th century to the present by overlaying data layers from different time periods. Using GIS to identify significant resources will promote the protection of sites within the heritage area. As the GIS data expands, the heritage area will be able to interpret the complex and important history of the region for the public. With GIS, resource managers can build on the HABS documentation, integrating it with other data sources and expanding the utility of the traditional paper-based products as a more responsive planning tool.

Historic Whitesbog, New Jersey

Building on the Cane River experience, CRGIS began a project in 2003 to document a historic cranberry bog in Whitesbog, New Jersey, as part of a HALS project on the evolution of cranberry cultivation practices and technology. The Whitesbog site represents one of the first commercial cranberry cultivation efforts in the United States, which spawned an important industry for the New Jersey economy. Standard HABS/HAER methods, including detailed

FIGURE 3

This view of the GPS data layers collected at Whitesbog documents the historic landscape features. (Courtesy of CRGIS, National Park Service)



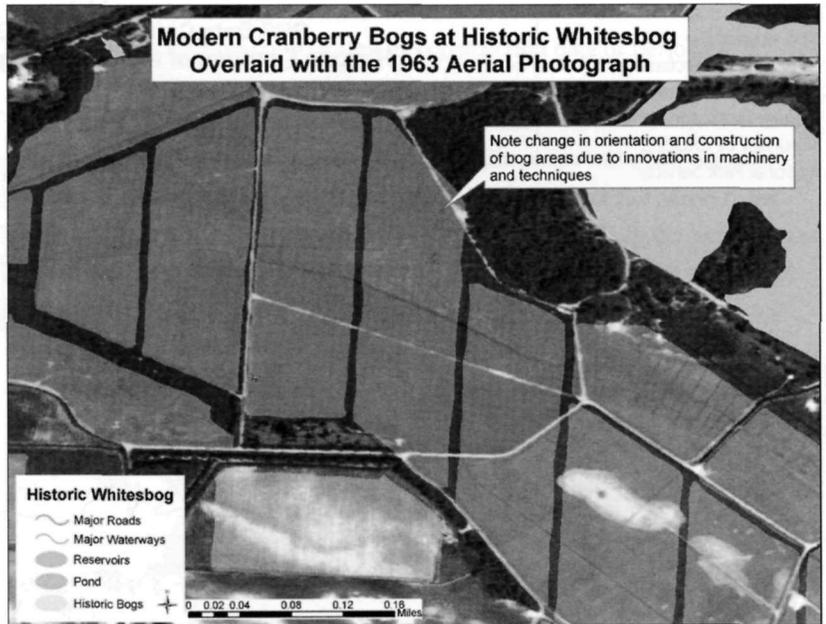
measured drawings and photographs, could not adequately capture the complexity of such a large landscape. The addition of GPS and GIS to the documentation process added an entirely new aspect to the HALS documentation methodology.

Colonel James Fenwick began producing cranberries in the Whitesbog area as an experiment in the mid-19th century. Gradually, Fenwick transformed the property by constructing sophisticated canal systems and water control mechanisms to make the cranberry harvest successful. In the late 19th century, J. J. White took over the operation, expanding Whitesbog. White's machinery innovations brought technological advances to the sorting, packing, and storage of cranberries, as well as to the cultivation of the plants themselves, altering the entire landscape. In the mid-20th century, Thomas Darlington took over the business continuing the tradition of technological innovation by developing new harvesting and picking devices, further changing the landscape. Today, the state of New Jersey owns portions of the land that are still operated as cranberry bogs.

CRGIS captured the significant features of the current and historic landscapes to document the changing technology of cranberry cultivation and the resulting change in the highly engineered landscape. In cooperation with the Whitesbog Preservation Trust, CRGIS used GPS to map the critical engineering elements of the landscape as well as associated historic features. Focusing on the water movement needed to facilitate cranberry cultivation, the canals, ditches, sluice gates, dams, and bridges were located. Surveyors also collected information, such as the current condition and operational status of each feature, as well as its original period of construction. (Figure 3)

FIGURE 4

A geo-referenced 1963 aerial photograph overlaid with current cranberry bog features at Whitesbog illustrates changes in bog structure and harvesting technologies between 1963 and the present. (Courtesy of CRGIS, National Park Service)



Modern aerial photographs overlaid with GPS data proved invaluable in the GIS project. These images provide context for the cultivated areas, show the natural flow of water systems, and help to explain how the landscape functions as a whole. Historic aerial images oriented to the Earth, overlaid with modern images, help to fill in the development of the area, showing the locations of features that no longer exist. Similarly, overlaying the boundaries of the currently cultivated bogs with the historic images graphically illustrates the changes in bog construction resulting from changes in harvesting machinery. (Figure 4)

In 2004, CRGIS is creating GIS tools to help the Whitesbog Preservation Trust display and interpret the Whitesbog landscape and technological innovations. Similar to the Cane River National Heritage Area project, the Whitesbog data will help with managing the historic features and landscape elements. Ultimately, the combination of GPS and GIS will provide HALS with new methods of documenting large landscapes.

World Guide to Covered Bridges

GIS may also serve as a new method to disseminate existing HABS/HAER/HALS documentation to a wider audience through Internet mapping applications. In 2003, partnering with HAER, the Federal Highway Administration (FHA), and the National Society for the Preservation of Covered Bridges, CRGIS began a project to bring the HAER covered bridge documentation to the Internet through a web page offering interactive mapping capabilities. Based on the ongoing HAER covered bridges recording project, the project seeks to provide updated bridge conditions together with documentation in

the HAER collection. The FHA will host a database containing the World Guide to Covered Bridges information and links to HAER documentation for the bridges through web-based GIS.

CRGIS will complete the conversion of the paper World Guide to Covered Bridges to an interactive web-based database in fall 2004. Combined with locational information gathered from existing sources and GPS, web page users will be able to search for specific bridges, update the information about each bridge, share photographs, and view maps.

GIS and GPS as Documentation Tools

As documentation tools, GIS and GPS provide perspective and context for historic preservationists who are considering all types of landscapes. As a communication tool, GIS supplies a means to make powerful, visual, and quantifiable presentations to the public and to those responsible for protecting cultural resources. Projects such as Cane River, Whitesbog, and the covered bridges show that using GPS improves the accuracy of cultural resource locational data and that GIS can serve as an instrument to ensure better cultural resource management. Additionally, the ability of GIS to integrate a variety of data and documents adds value to historic maps and traditional documentation. The flexibility of these tools allows preservationists to communicate more effectively, ultimately resulting in better protection of the nation's cultural heritage.

Taking advantage of these technologies opens the way for HABS/HAER/HALS/CRGIS to document large resources yet preserve the details of each feature, visualize patterns over time, and explore different resources. Ultimately, GPS and GIS will enhance the utility of the entire HABS/HAER/HALS/CRGIS collection and attract new audiences.

Deidre McCarthy is a GIS specialist with the Cultural Resource Geographic Information Systems Facility, a component of the HABS/HAER/HALS/CRGIS Program. She can be reached at (202) 354-2141 or deidre_mccarthy@nps.gov.

Presenting Race and Slavery at Historic Sites

by *Michèle Gates Moresi*

The public presentation of slavery and race relations in the United States is a delicate topic that conjures conflicting emotions and ideas. While new scholarship continues to reveal the complexity of how Americans experienced slavery, most Americans regard slavery as an antebellum southern phenomenon, significant but not central to the development of the United States. However, slavery was a significant economic and social institution throughout the colonies in the 18th century, and continued to be the backbone of national and international trade for the United States through the first half of the 19th century. The cultural legacy of slavery continues to shape race relations in this country, defining the social, political, and economic meanings of race.¹

Slavery is a topic that is addressed in dozens of parks in the National Park System. Some parks are well known and deal with colonial history, such as Colonial National Historical Park in Jamestown, Virginia, and Independence National Historical Park, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Others deal with plantation slavery, such as Natchez National Historical Park in Natchez, Mississippi, or slavery on a small farm at Booker T. Washington National Monument in Hardy, Virginia. Still others involve the violent struggles to end slavery, like John Brown's Fort at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park in West Virginia, and the numerous Civil War battlefields that are national parks.

The research project, "Presenting Race and Slavery at Historic Sites," will survey visitors and staff interpreters at three national parks that represent different aspects of slavery in America—Frederick Douglass National Historic Site in Washington, DC; Arlington House, the Robert E. Lee Memorial in Arlington, Virginia; and Manassas National Battlefield Park in Manassas, Virginia. Information collected will be used to better understand visitor experiences and expectations about the interpretation of slavery.

The Douglass home commemorates the life and work of a former slave who freed and educated himself and dedicated his energies to protest slavery and discrimination against African Americans. Arlington House preserves the home of a family that had direct ties to the Washington-Custis families, was the former home of the commander-general of the Confederate Army, and is surrounded by the land that became a burial ground for Union soldiers and eventually Arlington National Cemetery. Manassas is a Civil War battlefield, the site of the first battle between Union and Confederate forces in 1861.

*This research project is a cooperative effort of the National Park Service, the Center for the Study of Public Culture and Public History of the George Washington University, and the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers. The project builds on previous independent surveys conducted by Professor James O. Horton and a team of graduate students at Monticello (the home of Thomas Jefferson), Colonial Williamsburg, and Gettysburg National Military Park. The team conducted surveys of visitors and interpreters about the content of self-guided and guided tours.

The surveys were prepared in consultation with a sociologist in order to elicit basic information about what a visitor saw, heard, or read at the site; what visitors thought about the things they saw, heard, or read; how the information presented compared to what they already knew about slavery; and their opinions about the experience. The new surveys will be similar. The purpose is to obtain substantive responses from visitors so that they are encouraged to express their ideas. Also, we hope to learn about visitors' expectations of how slavery is presented at a particular site.

Some general findings about the presentation of slavery at Gettysburg, Williamsburg, and Monticello are possible. First, visitors are more receptive and interested in the topic than one might expect. Second, staff interpreters love their jobs and are excited to use new material in ways that engage visitors. Finally, discussing slavery and race relations can be difficult: talking about it in the past is hard because dealing with it in the present is challenging. Each of the surveys at the Douglass home, Arlington House, and Manassas will have their own findings. What will be most interesting are the similarities and differences in visitor perceptions at the three historic sites.

In addition, every historic site has unique characteristics that shape the methods and results of the endeavor. At Gettysburg, the presence of a large cemetery and numerous monuments to individual infantries render it a memorial to the sacrifice of thousands of young lives. Approaching visitors to talk about slavery was a delicate situation for the interviewers since the atmosphere evoked the notion of "hallowed ground," and interviewers were careful not to intrude upon the visitors' experience.

Thus far, preliminary research has involved initial contact with site staff, learning about the site, and documenting and reviewing current interpretive practices. Later this year, a research fellow will lead a survey team to conduct interviews at Arlington House. Information gathered from this research will be used to brief onsite interviewers and incorporated into the project's final report, which will include historical context of the site and descriptions of how slavery is interpreted. The final report will be available through the Social Science Program and the National Center for Cultural Resources, both of the National Park Service.

The current project will help park staff understand the expectations and perceptions of park visitors. Earlier surveys showed that a visitor's grasp of slavery and its significance to a particular site depended upon the interpreters and the time that they spent with visitors. Handbooks and exhibit labels are essential, but it is up to the interpreter to make a personal connection with the visitor. Gathering information from the public—whether from a park visitor or by reaching out to a nearby community—is useful in measuring a park's performance.

The results of the surveys will provide valuable information for historians and historical interpreters who are studying this complex history. The project also presents an opportunity for dialogue among National Park Service historians, other cultural resources personnel, and Professor Horton and the research team on ways to enhance historical interpretation.

Michèle Gates Moresi is a historian with the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers and works with the National Center for Cultural Resources of the National Park Service. She can be reached at michele_gates_moresi@contractor.nps.gov.

Note

1. James Oliver Horton's article, "Presenting Slavery: The Perils of Telling America's Racial Story" in *Public Historian* 21, no. 4 (Fall 1999): 19-38, provides a discussion of the significance of presenting slavery at historic sites and how the legacy of slavery is relevant to contemporary society.

Studying Civil Rights and Racial Desegregation in the Pacific Northwest

by Turkiya L. Lowe

Since the authorization of the Racial Desegregation of Public Education theme study by Congress in 1998, the National Park Service has documented historic properties across the nation associated with civil rights and desegregation in public schools. Much of the focus of the early work was on historic properties associated with African-American communities. However, given the multiracial demographics of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington, research and identification expanded to places associated with Native Americans, Mexican Americans, Chinese Americans, and Japanese Americans, as well as African Americans. The purpose of the current project is to develop a database of Pacific Northwest historic places that may be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places or designated as National Historic Landmarks under this theme.

Professor Quintard Taylor of the University of Washington and the author conducted a survey of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington to determine whether there were any previously unidentified properties associated with civil rights and desegregation, and therefore important to African Americans, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, Chinese Americans, or Japanese Americans. To assist in creating this preliminary list of potential historic places, inquiries were made to State Historic Preservation Offices, state historical societies, preservation organizations, private nonprofit groups, museums, and schools, as well as to knowledgeable individuals. An extensive, although not exhaustive, annotated bibliography was prepared that covers the three states and the cultural groups that participated in civil rights activities in the Pacific Northwest.

The preliminary list of potential sites consists of 4 properties in Idaho, 45 properties in Oregon, and 25 properties in Washington. The periods of significance vary, largely depending on the ebb and flow of civil rights activity as well as the race or ethnicity of the community under review. For example, the most significant period of African-American civil rights activity occurred in Washington during the 1960s and 1970s. The challenges to racial discrimination focused on desegregation of public schools, open housing, and access to jobs. For civil rights activism by Japanese Americans, the most intense activity in the region occurred during the 1940s and 1950s, focusing on the fight against evacuation and internment during World War II and the struggle for a Federal Government apology and restitution after the war.

Portland, Oregon, provided the greatest number of potential historic places, most of which are located in the neighborhood called Albina. Historically, Albina was a majority African-American neighborhood where migrants moved after World War II in search of economic opportunities offered by Kaiser Shipyards. The large number of potential historic properties associated with civil rights and desegregation in the Albina neighborhood suggests the possibility of a multiple property nomination.

Several historic places are already listed in the National Register—like the International District in Seattle, but not for civil rights history. For these, amendments to their original nominations are recommended. However, the majority of the properties are not already listed and some may be significant at the national level. For example, the Shungo and Mitsu Hirabayashi House and Farm in Auburn, Washington, is already listed in the King County Landmarks and Heritage Program Inventory for its association with Shungo Hirabayashi's legal challenge to internment and military restrictions of Japanese Americans during World War II. In 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned his convictions for failing to comply with these restrictions. This court case, along with two other successful Japanese-American challenges to Executive Order 9066, which authorized Japanese-American internment, led to passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988. The act gave each surviving internee a formal apology from the United States Government and a \$20,000 lump-sum payment.

Idaho produced the smallest number of potential historic places due in part to its smaller and more dispersed population. Historical and archeological sources detail the presence of racial conflict in the state, especially between white settlers and the Nez Perce, 19th-century Chinese mine workers, early 20th-century black strikebreakers, Chicano sugar beet workers, and mid-20th-century Japanese internees. However, civil rights activities appear to be centered on individual resistance, rather than organized resistance. Individual efforts have been difficult to document for National Register purposes.

The National Park Service is soliciting comments from State Historic Preservation Officers and other interested parties on the list of potential historic places and the annotated bibliography. The next phase of the project calls for further investigation of identified properties to determine whether the properties have sufficient significance and integrity to warrant National Register listing.

Turkiya L. Lowe is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Washington. Copies of the documents discussed in this report can be requested via email from Lowe at tlowe8@u.washington.edu or the project coordinator, Gretchen Luxenberg, Pacific West Region, National Park Service, at gretchen_luxenberg@nps.gov.

Reviews

BOOKS

Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies
After J. B. Jackson

Edited by Chris Wilson and Paul Groth. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003; x + 385 pp., notes, photographs; cloth \$49.95; paper \$19.95.

In 1951, at the age of 41, John Brinckerhoff Jackson began publishing the periodical *Landscape*. Educated at the University of Wisconsin, Harvard College, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Jackson was trained to understand cultural landscapes during his service as a combat intelligence officer in northern France during World War II. Discharged from the army at the war's conclusion, he drove across the United States in a surplus jeep and embarked upon his life-long mission to decode America's built form. Jackson communicated his findings through his magazine and in books including *American Space* and *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*.¹ *Everyday America*, edited by Chris Wilson and Paul Groth, is a celebration and analysis of the impact Jackson has had upon a broad range of scholars.

As an editor, Jackson defied disciplinary boundaries. His magazine generated a constituency of architects, historians, geographers, folklorists, sociologists, city planners, journalists, and others. These readers and the authors that Jackson published did not share a methodology, but instead found common ground in a belief that insights into culture, history, and ideology could be reaped through close attention to the spaces constructed, used, and populated by everyday Americans. Jackson and his cohorts, whom geographer Jay

Appleton dubbed the "landscape movement," viewed the countryside as a palimpsest upon which layers of meaning had been inscribed throughout history.

In the late 1960s, Jackson was invited to teach at both the University of California, Berkeley, and Harvard University. Although he taught at two of the most prestigious institutions of higher learning, he distanced himself from academia just as he had rejected the strictures of disciplinary boundaries. From a self-imposed position of marginality, Jackson challenged his readers, colleagues, and students to look critically at their surroundings and parse the dialectic between cultural forces and built forms.

The 17 essays in this inspiring interdisciplinary collection, edited by 2 of his accomplished proteges, indicate that Jackson profoundly influenced how Americans view their surroundings. The book is noteworthy for both the stature of its contributors and for the range of disciplines they represent. The authors include Denise Scott Brown, partner in the internationally renowned architectural firm of Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates; Patricia Nelson Limerick, a preeminent historian of the American West; Pierce Lewis, the influential cultural geographer; and Gwendolyn Wright, distinguished analyst of domestic spaces and architectural history. Although many contributors were Jackson's colleagues or students, participation by younger emerging practitioners indicates that his ideas continue to shape the discourse.

Everyday America has a tripartite structure.

The book opens with essays about Jackson and his

work. This section includes, among other pieces, the editors' overview of Jackson's life and opus, Limerick's humorous analysis of his methods, and Scott Brown's memoir of her interactions with "Brinck," as he was known to his friends and colleagues. The volume's core focuses on the pedagogy of cultural landscape studies within diverse disciplines. Pierce Lewis, for example, explicates an exercise he uses at Pennsylvania State University to challenge beginning geographers to engage with the landscape. Other contributors discuss teaching and learning à la Jackson, as journalists, historians, and architects. The essays in the final section build upon concepts derived from Jackson's work to expand academic understanding of the dynamics shaping America and Americans. These investigations touch upon disparate topics such as department store contributions to women's suffrage in the early 20th century, landscape architecture of corporate headquarters on urban peripheries, inadequate property boundaries for encompassing ecological systems in the American West, and historical forces that locate medical facilities in the nation's strip malls.

The book's interdisciplinary nature is one of its great gifts. The multiple authorial voices meld into a provocative dialogue that could be likened romantically to an urban market or an ideal academic conference. Simultaneously, the lack of disciplinary boundaries contributes to a disjunction arguably characteristic of Jackson himself. Like Jackson, and like the field of cultural landscape studies more broadly, the works in this volume are inspired by both description and proscription, meaning that, at times, arguments are presented at cross-purposes. Some authors wish simply to limn reality as complexly as possible; others investigate the landscape to find models for designing improved spaces. Roadside mini-malls are celebrated for demonstrating the vitality with which Americans continue to embrace the automobile. Also in this collection, commercial activity enacted on a city's residential stoops and front porches is heralded as a model for a new, more social, pedes-

trian-based urbanism. These two hats—scholar and designer, analyst and reformer—do not always fit comfortably on the same head: yet this process of applying their insights in the public realm keeps geographers, historians, and other academics civilly engaged.

This book is not an introduction to the field of cultural landscape studies, nor will it instruct the uninitiated in the practice of landscape analysis. Books such as *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes* edited by Paul Groth and Todd Bressi, the classic *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* edited by geographer D. W. Meinig, or John Stilgoe's highly accessible *Outside Lies Magic* fill that niche.² For those, however, who daily grope with questions of how to explicate the built environment, whether they are professionals or students, this book will be valuable for understanding the dynamics that have shaped our profession and work. Having labored in the shadow of Jackson's inspiration for 20 years, this reviewer was gratified to gain a better understanding of Jackson's biography and the intellectual context in which he worked. At times, reading this book was like attending a family reunion and garnering valuable insights into my own personality by hearing relatives talk about my parents' youth and by meeting cousins who previously had been strangers.

Although J. B. Jackson did not single-handedly create cultural landscape studies in the United States, he profoundly shaped the field and its practitioners. This volume moves the endeavor forward by focusing a critical eye on his legacy. In the years to come, insights gained from it will inform increasingly complex readings of the built forms surrounding us.

William D. Moore

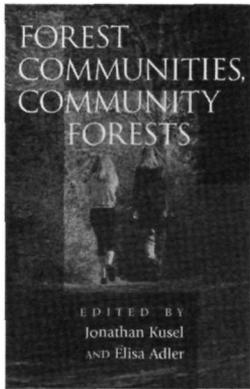
University of North Carolina at Wilmington

1. John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *American Space: The Centennial Years, 1865-1876* (New York: Norton, 1972) and *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984).

2. Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi, eds., *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); D. W. Meinig, ed., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); John R. Stilgoe, *Outside Lies Magic: Regaining History and Awareness in Everyday Places* (New York: Walker & Co., 1998).

Forest Communities, Community Forests

Edited by Jonathan Kusel and Elisa Adler. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003; 192 pp., notes, references, index; cloth \$60.00; paper \$21.95.



Editors Jonathan Kusel and Elisa Adler offer 12 case studies that validate an important trend in American forestry: community-based public involvement in the planning, use, and management of forest ecosystems. The citizen groups, public-private partner-

ships, and nongovernmental organizations presented in these essays provide convincing evidence that an inclusive, collaborative approach offers hope for neglected or mismanaged forests, or for people who are locked in conflict over forest use. This optimism is the book's greatest strength and its most important contribution. Those who are engaged in such struggles, or who are hesitant to participate, are the readers who will benefit most.

To their credit, the editors and contributors are careful to identify places where the goals of these organizations remain unrealized. Most of the essays underscore the critical balance between healthy communities and healthy forests, and reveal the futility of emphasizing one at the expense of the other. Sam Burns, who writes about New Mexico's Catron County Citizens Group, states it well: "one cannot heal the land while

destroying a community." For all these reasons, the book is to be commended.

Initially, the book's title requires explanation to better guide prospective readers. Seeds of the book were sown at the Seventh American Forest Congress, which convened in Washington, DC, in 1996. The congress established a Communities Committee to consider, among other things, links between forests and the vitality of rural and urban communities. The essays gathered by the committee examine many different types of forests across the country. Among those represented are New York City's Catskill and Delaware watersheds spreading across 35 communities in upstate New York, the Hoopa Reservation in northwestern California, Aitken County in northern Minnesota, the Upper Swan Valley in Montana, and the Willapa Hills of southwestern Washington State.

Town forests or municipal forests, terms that describe woodlands owned and managed by local governments, are omitted in this volume. Such forests multiplied in number during the first decades of the 20th century, principally in New England and a few other northeastern states. The U.S. Forest Service briefly participated in the town forest movement, offering its own definition of community forests in 1939 and expanding the term to include land owned by county governments or community organizations such as churches and schools. A separate U.S. Forest Service program, Urban and Community Forestry, emerged several decades later, and Ann Moote's essay, "Revitalizing Baltimore: Urban Forestry at the Watershed Scale," begins to explore some of these realms.

Not surprisingly, the communities of forest users—or forest communities—are quite different. In New Mexico, for example, Catron County encompasses 7,800 square miles but has a population of only 3,000 people. Sixty-five percent of the land is owned and managed by the Federal Government, including the Gila National Forest (3.3 million acres), and within it the Gila Wilderness. Loggers,

ranchers, environmentalists, U.S. Forest Service rangers, and wildlife are the principal forest users, but economic, political, and social conflicts have forced ordinary citizens to become participants as well.

By contrast, the Beaver Brook Association, a small nonprofit conservation organization, holds 2,200 acres of the Merrimack River watershed in southern New Hampshire. The land is a forest reserve amid suburban sprawl, and the woodland is managed as open space for recreational activities and wildlife habitat. Selective logging pays management costs.

Although distances among the many different forests and forest users are enormous, the authors tie them neatly together with a common thread: the inventive and energetic makeup of the various organizations. The book is worth reading for this reason alone. Selecting a single example is probably unfair, but events in Minnesota illustrate the type of collaboration possible among government, nonprofit, and private sectors. There, the Aitken County Land Department obtained sustainable forest certification from Smartwood, a Vermont-based program of the international nonprofit Rainforest Alliance. Eric Bloomquist's Colonial Craft, a progressive wood products manufacturer, aided the county's goals by agreeing to purchase only certified timber.

Despite the book's many strengths, several weaknesses are apparent. Implicit throughout the case studies is the inability of existing government programs alone to solve complex problems involving forest ecosystems. This can often be true, especially where conflicts between jobs and resources become acute. Other government programs should explore ways to help community models grow and flourish.

Many New England municipal governments already offer similar models in the form of town forest committees or conservation commissions.

Membership in these groups reflects diverse points of view, and committees provide a permanent structure that can survive the inevitable decline in energy among members, or their changing perspectives. As some contributors observe, maintaining the momentum of community-based organizations is crucial and sometimes difficult.

Jonathan Kusel states the case much too narrowly when he concludes that community-based involvement in natural resource management is a relatively new phenomenon. In truth, many parts of New England have been active in this area for most of the 20th century. In Calais, Vermont, for example, proceeds from timber harvesting on the Gospel Hollow Town Forest are given to the local conservation commission. In Groton, Massachusetts, the town forest committee has successfully managed periodic timber sales since 1926. Many of these town forests are simply progeny of much older 19th century public woodlands managed by local governments. Models such as these continue to offer valuable lessons and should not be overlooked.

Finally, the potential for community involvement in forest management can be strengthened by a multi-disciplinary approach that recognizes forests as both cultural and natural resources. A few of the articles, notably the one devoted to the forests of the Hoopa people in northern California, emphasize strong cultural ties. However, readers seeking forest history and a sense of place may be left wanting more. This is not so much a criticism of this book as it is a plea for writers in both fields to be cognizant of the other and to search for ways to expand community involvement.

Robert L. McCullough
University of Vermont

The Promise of Cultural Institutions

By David Carr. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003; 213 pp., notes, appendices, index; cloth \$69.00; paper \$24.95.

What does the future hold for museums and other cultural institutions in the digital age? During the past decade, the information revolution has radically altered conceptions of culture and individual experience. With a computer hooked to the Internet, a person can view many museums' collections, take virtual tours of exhibitions, perform text searches of facsimiles of Shakespeare's folios, follow streams of music of the centuries, or create an anthropological investigation of historic sites from around the world, all from the comfort of one's home or office.

The Internet is only part of the intense mediation of culture—accelerating, amplifying, and distancing people from tangible, authentic experiences of art and artifact. Museums, libraries, and many other cultural institutions have undergone a radical displacement of function. In any public library, the change over a single generation is evident, from an oasis of quiet study and reflection to a bright and loud cyber-center where books are secondary to the glow and hum of Internet stations.

In his new collection of essays, David Carr from the School of Information and Library Sciences at the University of North Carolina acknowledges the information glut with an appeal to every thinking person: "Our task is to slow down the information revolution." Our cultural institutions, he argues, may be the last, best hope for individuals to escape the giddy and fast-paced effects of media to arrive at a "working sense of identity and integrity." The book is a call to our museums and related organizations to live up to their role in the heuristic relationship of user and institution: "The purpose of the museum, at its best is, like the purpose of a great educator, to cause some kind of troubling incompleteness for the user,

and so to inspire human pursuit and gradual change."

This moral imperative lies at the heart of Carr's brave and compelling book. It challenges museums to be true to their responsibilities to individuals (especially children) and communities, to be open and emancipatory, to educate and engage as collaborative environments. Carr's views of the differences between schools and cultural institutions as learning environments are particularly useful.

Within the context of these broad concerns, Carr uses particularly apt examples to look at pragmatic approaches to the design of physical space and placement of objects. In one of the more practical essays, "The Situation that Educates," he draws upon theories of learning and cognitive psychology to outline an approach for institutions to better understand their mission and purpose, and to design for more mindful uses. The initial part of the process is to construct three overlaying maps of their collections: physical, conceptual, and cognitive. Organizations should re-think their collections and develop a "concept inventory" of the physical space and objects in that space, which would in turn provide a clear idea of the "conceptual density" of a given organization. What do we have, why would people want to use the collection, and how should we design the flow of experience? Moving beyond the matter of exhibition design, this approach encompasses all aspects of the environment from the nature of signage to a process for developing collaboration and dialogue among users and cultural institutions. One remarkable and simple suggestion is to create a staff position within museums that parallels the function of a reference librarian, who would be on call to interact with users, answer questions, and point out other pathways to knowledge.

Carr insists that cultural institutions function as learning environments to encourage a culture of inquiry and connection with others. He also puts particular emphasis on the roles and responsibili-

ties of users. Carr takes seriously the notion of reciprocal public trust. He believes that rule one for cultural institutions is to “rescue users” from being baffled, uncertain, or put off.

In order to become great cultural institutions, the institutions must become engaged users as well. Carr asks users to become “inspired learners,” to move through the experience more actively, attempting to understand the given framework, and go beyond artifacts and walls to be independent and curious thinkers. As important as the obligation of museums to “live up” to user needs, each visitor is also asked to take the risk of being changed by the learning encounter. In the best scenario, the visitor will move from the passive experience engendered by the media to engage in a two-way street of “alternatives, tension, and trouble.” Cultural institutions should “trouble us, and so assist us in becoming who and what we are meant to be.”

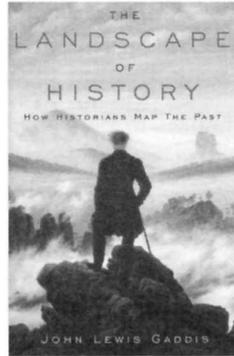
The Promise of Cultural Institutions troubles as well. Drawing on extensive scholarship on how people actually learn, Carr asks us to reconsider the relationship between the user and institution as primarily cognitive and open-ended. Carr posits fundamental questions about an endangered relationship of user and institution and asserts that both parties are responsible for the future of museums, libraries, and other collections. Neglecting the deep questions that this book raises would be a mistake for any leader of a cultural institution.

Keith Donohue

National Archives and Records Administration

The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past

By John Lewis Gaddis. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002; 182 pp., illustrations, notes, index; cloth \$23.00.



In *The Landscape of History*, John Lewis Gaddis offers an insightful glimpse at what historians do. Based on a series of lectures given by the author at Oxford University, the book offers a welcome introduction to historical

methodology and an overview of the state of the art. In this short and thought-provoking book, Gaddis tackles many critical issues about the precision of historical methodology and the objectivity of history in a very accessible and often witty manner.

Gaddis claims that historians are reluctant to make their methods explicit for fear that their writing might resemble the design of the Pompidou Center in Paris where all sorts of ducts, conduits, escalators, and other building systems run outside of the building. He remarks that this reluctance also causes confusion about what historians do and how they do it. Rather than describing in detail how historians ponder evidence and construct narratives, Gaddis attempts to show how historical methodology is as legitimate as scientific methodologies by illustrating many parallels between the methodology of history and those of astronomy, geology, and paleontology.

The idea that legitimacy in science can only be achieved by moving towards predictability is outdated as Gaddis points out. While many disciplines in the political and social sciences still hold to reductionist models established in the 19th century, the adoption of an evolutionary model by many

disciplines in the natural sciences has brought about revolutionary change. Some of the catalysts for this change, as Gaddis observes, were the advent of chaos and complexity theories in the 1970s, which eroded many of the assumptions of older scientific models.

Gaddis also embarks on an eloquent exposition of the question of uncertainty in history and begins to counter the post-modernist critique of history. Historians, he writes, "can never actually rerun history any more than astronomers, geologists, and paleontologists, and evolutionary biologists can rerun time." Thus, history can only represent the past, and no matter how close the representation resembles the reality, the fit can only be provisional. Yet, even poor representations, as time goes by and as witnesses disappear, often become the reality. Historians may make the past legible but in doing so they also imprison it. While this is not done with malignant intent, the reader would be well served to know how a particular history was constructed.

The pursuit of history, as Gaddis sees it, is a work in progress. Richer, more complex, views can be constructed as new material surfaces. The task is not simply to give new answers to old questions, but also to ask new questions. Just as uncertainty cannot be taken out of history, neither can the particular perspective of the historian. Every work of history makes a moral judgment either explicitly or implicitly, consciously or unconsciously. The issue then is not how to avoid making judgments, but how to make them responsibly.

Gaddis's exhortation to historians to make their methods more explicit is particularly intriguing and leaves much room for expansion. A more elaborate treatment of the topic in a similar didactic style would be very useful, especially for the general reader. It would be interesting to know how, for example, when reading a piece on the Cold War, an uninitiated reader may evaluate the historian's methodology and what additional insight might be gained.

The broad scope of Gaddis's observations makes this book engaging for the cultural resources practitioner and for others interested in history. His observations invite us to question many commonly held assumptions about how we see and interpret the past. For this reason, the book can be particularly useful for those entrusted with preserving and interpreting important aspects of our national heritage. This book urges us to remember that making the past legible must be pursued without forgetting that no matter how perfectly the pieces may fit together, history is only an approximation. No matter how perfectly detailed our historical tableau it is only a representation. Finding the gaps in the stories and making them visible is also important so that new generations may continue to look for answers and pose new questions.

Antonio Aguilar
National Park Service

*Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life
in the Eastern Bloc*

Edited by David Crowley and Susan E. Reid.
Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 2002; 288 pp., illustrations, photographs, notes, indices; cloth \$75.00; paper \$25.00.

Last year, the film *Goodbye Lenin* was a big hit in European theaters. It portrayed a son's attempt to recreate life in East Germany for his mother who had emerged from a coma unaware (and unprepared) for news that the Berlin Wall had fallen. Around the same time, a museum called the Documentation Center on Everyday Life in the G.D.R. (German Democratic Republic) opened in Eisenhüttenstadt, and a postwar Polish steel town, Nova Huta, built in Stalin's Socialist Realist style began offering guided tours.

These examples show an emerging interest in daily life in socialist Eastern Europe, an era that until recently many tried to forget. Popular curiosity has been matched by the recent work of material culture, architecture, landscape, and art history scholars. A 2001 issue of the *Journal of Architectural Education* and a 2001 conference at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology explored socialist attitudes towards architecture, city planning, and space. A series of books from Berg Publishers, including *An Archaeology of Socialism* and *Style and Socialism*, has expanded our understanding of how socialist attitudes affected the lives of ordinary people.¹

Berg's latest book, *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc*, collects 10 essays that discuss how the postwar governments of Eastern Europe sought control over public sites and private spaces and how, in some instances, citizens challenged that control. Edited by British scholars, David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, *Socialist Spaces* includes work by authors from a range of disciplines that examine topics from monumental sculpture to vacation homes to interior decoration, from Latvia to Prague to Sevastopol. This broad approach traces similarities in the way Eastern Bloc governments defined and created space. It also reveals significant variation in the local priorities and impediments—ethnic antagonisms and lack of economic or material resources—encountered by the socialist governments as they shaped the landscape after seizing power.

Whether monumental or modest, new construction, urban planning, and the creation of material culture (such as furnishings and home decor) were predicated on environmental determinism—a belief that one's surroundings shaped individual thought and action. By creating uniquely socialist spaces imbued with ideology, Eastern Bloc governments expected to “organize the psyche of the masses.” Many of the essays in *Socialist Spaces* document the efforts to create a new socialist citizenry through

architecture. Susan Reid discusses how this social engineering began with youth at the Pioneer Palace in Moscow (a large campus for the “boy scout”- and “girl scout”-like club), designed to instill collective attitudes, devotion to socialism, and optimism about the future of the Soviet Union. Abundant murals and monumental art created an educational “force field” that young pioneers could not help but absorb.

Reuben Folkes writes of how, after taking power, Hungarian socialists reprogrammed public squares replacing nationalist monuments with statues that were more politically and ideologically appropriate. Olga Sezneva presents the case of Kaliningrad, which until the end of World War II was the German city of Königsberg. There, physical reminders of the city's German past were demolished or left to molder; new construction was designed to integrate the city with the rest of the Eastern Bloc through standardized building forms.

Soviet authorities desired central control over the form and meaning of the built environment, whether it was public buildings, parks, apartments, or monuments. Several authors in *Socialist Spaces*, however, challenge the conventional assumption that the Eastern Bloc was monolithic with each country and city sharing an experience conceived, promulgated, and imposed from above. Karl Qualls writes about the Russian port of Sevastopol, where local officials and residents resisted efforts for a radical reorientation of their city and instead negotiated a balance between Moscow's demand for oversight and their own interest in preserving historic places.

While socialist governments may have intended one meaning for a particular place or building form, the local population often had ways to subvert that meaning, retain earlier meanings, or invent entirely new meanings. In one example, Mark Allen Svede discusses a statue of Lenin in central Riga that, to the Soviets, implied domination over this formerly independent state. But

Latvians found angles to photograph the statue so that Lenin's figure appeared to be waving to a surviving Orthodox cathedral down the street.

A number of essays address public spaces central to the identity of the socialist city. Others explore the relatively new terrain of personal space and the intersection between a collective ideology and individual privacy. Discussions of Warsaw apartments by David Crowley, Russian and Czechoslovak vacation homes by Stephen Lovell and Paulina Bren, respectively, and Soviet communal apartments by Katerina Gerasimova present socialist incursions into spaces formerly considered private. Communal apartments, with shared bathroom and kitchen facilities, for instance, reduced the space that could be called one's own. The distinction between public and private and the degree of government interest in the latter remained in flux, depending upon location, the prevailing political climate, and available resources.

Although state-built apartment blocks imparted a dulling sense of standardization, Crowley shows how officially sanctioned publications encouraged Poles to overcome austerity with creative, resourceful decoration that claimed the interiors as individual and private spaces. After the Prague Spring was crushed in 1968, the Czechoslovak government allowed a boom in private vacation homes, hoping to quiet unrest and encourage political compliance.

These essays advance our understanding of how Eastern Europe's built environment reflected the tumultuous changes following World War II and how central planning reflected socialist ideology and aspirations. The essays show everyday citizens grappling with the socialist spaces that resulted, alternately accommodating them, subverting their intended goals, or negotiating their effects and meanings. The essays reinforce the idea that the perception and meaning of a particular space varies among different parties and often differs from that intended by the designer. The authors move beyond a strict architectural history to

explore how the architecture affected the lives of ordinary people. They show that despite attempts to create new socialist environments, Eastern Bloc governments were unable—as the events of 1989-91 confirmed—to create a wholly socialist population in the process.

With the break-up of the Eastern Bloc, there was an earnest movement to again erase the reminders of the previous political order. Cities were full of renamed streets, plinths were missing busts, and plans were underway for major reconstruction. Today, Eastern Europeans are still dealing with the effects of socialism on their environment; the tendency is often to expunge or conceal. These moves are often dictated by aesthetics and the shoddy condition of surviving socialist architecture as much as by ideology. As bitter memories of the period fade—in some cases to be replaced by a growing nostalgia—it will be interesting to see how the region's historic preservationists confront the postwar socialist landscape. Publications like *Socialist Spaces* lay the groundwork for a critical reexamination of these built environments and suggest that their multifarious meanings will continue to evolve.

Chad Randl
National Park Service

1. See the *Journal of Architectural Education: Political Change and Physical Change in Eastern Europe* 54, no. 4 (2001); Victor Buchli, *An Archaeology of Socialism* (Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 1999); Susan E. Reid and David Crowley, eds., *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe* (Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 2000).

Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post-Bellum Landscape

By Paul A. Shackel. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003; xvii + 243 pp., photographs, references, index; cloth \$70.00; paper \$26.95.

The history of historic places associated with the Civil War reflects an ongoing struggle over how to commemorate sites of conflict. Paul Shackel, a University of Maryland anthropologist, examines contested public memories of four historic sites associated with African-American history and the Civil War: John Brown's Fort and the Heyward Shepherd Memorial in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia; the Shaw Memorial in Boston, Massachusetts; and Manassas National Battlefield Park in northern Virginia. In *Memory in Black and White*, Shackel emphasizes the importance of recognizing the role of conflicting memories in site management and interpretation.

Harpers Ferry National Historical Park provides the setting for Shackel's first two case studies. He starts by looking at the history of the engine house of the town's U.S. Armory, used as a fort by the militant abolitionist John Brown during his 1859 raid. During the late 19th century, Shackel writes, "public memory [of the Civil War]...was being transformed from that of a conflict about abolitionist ideals to that of a war of bravery and loyalty to a cause." African Americans resisted this change, instead making the fort an icon of their efforts to remember slavery's causal role in the war. The 1906 Niagara Movement meetings—the precursor to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)—and nearby Storer College, an African-American institution, reinforced the fort's iconic status. Still, white writers and civic organizations used the fort as a symbol to denigrate the 1859 raid and its legacies.

Manager of the fort since 1955, the National Park Service moved the fort nearer to its original location in 1968. Shackel asserts that through the move

the "federal government incorporated a fringe symbol into its main ideology" to assuage the racial tensions of the King and Kennedy assassinations. Shackel writes that today the fort is one of the few historic places in the United States where African Americans can "relate to the moral struggles of the Civil War."

Shackel also studies conflicts over the myth of the faithful slave represented in a memorial to Heyward Shepherd in Harpers Ferry's lower town. Members of John Brown's party shot Shepherd, a free African American who worked as a baggage handler for the railroad, as he investigated inoperative telegraph lines and train delays. After the war, Shepherd became a symbol used by white journalists to "justify the existing social system and to demonize John Brown." To this effect, in 1931 the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Sons of Confederate Veterans placed a memorial statue near John Brown's Fort dedicated to Shepherd and enslaved African Americans who remained loyal to their owners during the Civil War. Immediately, the African-American press and the NAACP decried the memorial, which along with much of the lower town eventually became part of the park in 1953.

Shackel describes various treatments of the memorial, from covering it with plywood to uncovering and interpreting it with an outdoor interpretive panel. He also examines the efforts of various groups to influence National Park Service policies and interpretation, noting that as "long as the monument stands in Lower Town Harpers Ferry, its meaning will be contested and its place within the national public memory challenged."

Shackel turns to the conflicting interpretations of symbol and meaning in his discussion of Augustus Saint-Gaudens's memorial to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, the first African-American regiment recruited during the Civil War. After discussing the creation of the 54th Massachusetts and its service during the war, Shackel considers public percep-

tions of the monument. Scholars and public figures see the Shaw Memorial as both racist and racially inclusive. Writing in 1913, art historian Charles Caffin viewed it as a racist sculpture because a white officer riding a horse above his marching black regiment creates an informal color line.

Booker T. Washington viewed the monument positively, as a memorial to a man "idolized" by African Americans. According to Shackel, late 20th-century writers disagree with Caffin. Shackel cites Kirk Savage's claims that Saint-Gaudens's representation of the soldiers as individuals makes the monument non-racist.¹

Shackel includes an extensive history of the monument's origins, noting that the Shaw Memorial is one of only a few 19th-century Civil War monuments depicting African-American soldiers. His discussion turns too quickly from the monument's 1897 dedication, however, to commemorative activities in the 1980s and 1990s, neglecting memories of the monument during the first eight decades of the 20th century. Was it a site of pilgrimage similar to John Brown's Fort? How did or does its northern location affect its place in public memory? How does the military status of Shaw and the regiment's volunteers influence perceptions of the monument?

Shackel's final study examines issues affecting the preservation and interpretation of Manassas National Battlefield Park. After describing the roles of race and Confederate memorialization in the park's history, Shackel draws on Joan Zenzen's 1995 administrative history, articles from local newspapers, period letters from the park's archive, and *Confederate Veteran* magazine to examine the effects of race on the preservation and interpretation of one of the park's most significant African-American resources, the Robinson farm.² The "white" Henry house, rebuilt after the war, receives more visitation than the Robinson farm site, which burned in 1993. Shackel believes that the Robinson farm is an excellent park resource that shows the challenges faced by African Americans living in the postwar former Confederacy. He wonders why the

local African-American community remains disengaged from park interpretations, but offers no answers. A National Park Service website, activated since the book's publication, features the Robinson farm (<http://www.cr.nps.gov/aad/robinson/index.htm>).

Shackel concludes his book with a general discussion of public memories of conflict, especially the Civil War, at other historic places. He provides short summaries of how several neo-Confederate groups work to rebut efforts to diversify interpretation. An epilogue contains short descriptions of activities at historic places commemorating social conflict that challenge previously dominant consensus interpretations of divisive events. He also provides ideas for site managers and interpreters in shaping management approaches and creating programs.

Shackel reaffirms that different groups ascribe different meanings to the same historic places, a valuable lesson to reassert to historic site managers and interpreters. However, some poor editing and the use of older secondary source materials are disappointing. Nonetheless, Shackel's book provides inspiration for future research. Who are the "many" who consider John Brown "one of the most controversial abolitionists in American history"? Have unnamed park historians at Manassas truly been "unwilling to expand the interpretation of the park to include a more dynamic social history" of its 19th-century residents? Who were the "boarders who lived and worked in Harpers Ferry" in the 19th century? Shackel reviewed eastern sites; are his assertions relevant to western or southern sites, or to places important to other ethnic groups? The questions provoked by Shackel's work provide several directions for further research in the varied perceptions of cultural commemoration in the United States.

Edward J. Roach
National Park Service

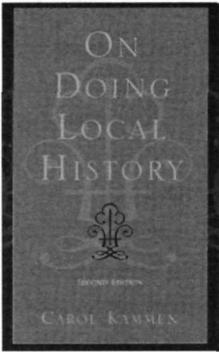
1. Charles Caffin, *American Masters of Sculpture: Being Brief*

Appreciations of Some American Sculptors and of Some Phase of Sculpture in America (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1913); Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldier, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

2. Joan Zenzen, *Battling for Manassas: The Fifty-Year Struggle at Manassas National Battlefield Park* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998). The most-often cited newspaper articles come from the *Manassas Journal*, and after 1951, the *Journal-Messenger*.

On Doing Local History

By Carol Kammen. Second Edition; Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press and American Association of State and Local History, 2003; 189 pp., notes, index; cloth \$70.00; paper \$24.95.



Carol Kammen's *On Doing Local History* is a rare book, a sophisticated methodological study aimed at amateur historians who search out their communities' past. In the rush by historians to professionalize the field, amateur practitioners have been left out of

conversations concerning the nature of historical knowledge and the art of interpretation. In its second edition, *On Doing Local History* seeks to remedy that situation, offering amateur historians a thoughtful discussion of the "conditions and traditions" under which they labor.

To be clear, Kammen's book is not a "how-to" manual. While she teaches readers how to interrogate sources and ask probing questions, she does not focus on the nuts and bolts of historical research. As Kammen acknowledges, those looking for research assistance might consult the *Nearby History Series* published by AltaMira Press and the American Association for State and Local History or the *Encyclopedia of Local History*, which

Kammen co-edited with Norma Prendergast.¹ Instead, *On Doing Local History* focuses on issues of interpretation, inspiring local historians to practice their craft with self-awareness and deliberation.

On Doing Local History begins with a history of local history. Fraught with commercialism, boosterism, and self-interest, local history's past proves more interesting than one might imagine. By examining the limitations of the different groups who produced local history, Kammen also demonstrates why contemporary authors should not rely on earlier works as their models. Explaining that a community's relationship to the past changes with new social and cultural concerns, Kammen encourages contemporary writers to tackle subjects ignored by earlier authors. Indeed, Kammen suggests that writers create what she calls an "anti-index," a list of topics left out of existing histories. By examining the patterns and themes of their anti-indexes, Kammen believes writers will locate their own interests and ideas. For those who do not go to these lengths, Kammen also provides lists of suggested and neglected subjects. These include local politics, labor, domestic life, the recent past, and crime.

Kammen's exhortation that local historians expand their subject matter runs throughout the book and represents one of her most valuable contributions. By encouraging local historians to ask questions and seek new sources, Kammen introduces them to the techniques and concerns of social history, which include sensitivity to ethnic and racial groups, the working class, and women. In addition, Kammen confronts the cultural construction of historical knowledge saying that recorded history happens "in the mind of the historian" and is thus "subject to the interests, intelligence, and even the preoccupations and era of each individual historian." Kammen explores such theoretical material with concrete examples and accessible language. For example, she uses the Enola Gay controversy to explain how different groups can forge divergent histories out of a single event.

Kammen provides valuable advice about working and writing in the public sphere. Because local historians' subjects of study often coincide with their audiences' interests, Kammen argues that they have a tendency to "self-censor," to ignore controversial or divisive topics in favor of those promoting a positive community image. Communities often believe that local history should be "promotional of place" and historians who fail to live up to this injunction might very well find privately held records closed to them. But while Kammen cautions against violating individuals' privacy, she rallies against the notion that history must be complimentary: "In presenting local history as always positive, we deny the fact that the past was as controversial and complicated as we know the present to be." By frankly discussing both the pressures and responsibilities associated with working in a community, Kammen provides local historians the strength to stand by their convictions.

On Doing Local History is filled with other nuggets of good advice, from how (and why) to credit your sources, to the importance of reading historical scholarship outside of your geographic scope, and the value of sharing ideas with other community scholars. Extensively revised, the new edition reflects Kammen's years of experience in the field and responds to current concerns. For example, Kammen adds an important discussion of roadside historical markers in which she demonstrates the misleading and even damaging histories that can be produced with a selective presentation of the facts. Kammen also peppers her new edition with fresh suggestions for promoting local history. One of my favorites is for a national document exchange day in which local historians trade documents relevant to each other's locale.

While *On Doing Local History* is invaluable for its intended audience, its worth for professional historians is more limited. Graduate students in public history will find Kammen's advice on working with communities helpful, as will traditional students looking for straight-talk on professionalism and

historical practice. But for historians trained in social history, Kammen's book will offer little that is new. While one can hardly expect the book's approach to appeal to all audiences, Kammen might have tackled the difficult issue of the professional historians' role in local history. Kammen takes on this subject when she criticizes professional historians for their failure to "share in the study of local history," but ultimately she fails to articulate why or how professionals should get involved.

Recent scholarship in the field of public memory shows that Americans need to examine the value of local history. In their much-cited study of popular perceptions of the past, Roy Rozenzweig and David Thelen found that only 4 percent of their national sample ranked their communities' past as "most important" in comparison to the pasts of family, nation, and racial or ethnic group.² While more work needs to be done to encourage Americans to appreciate their communities' stories, *On Doing Local History* has the potential to make local history both socially relevant and politically powerful.

Briann G. Greenfield
Central Connecticut State University

1. David E. Kyvig and Myron A. Marty, *Nearby History: Exploring the Past Around You*, 2nd Edition (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press and American Association of State and Local History, 2002); Carol Kammen and Norma Prendergast, eds., *Encyclopedia of Local History* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press and American Association of State and Local History, 2000).

2. Roy Rozenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

Interpreting Historic House Museums

Edited by Jessica Foy Donnelly. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002; 326 pp., illustrations; cloth-bound \$70; paperbound \$24.95.

The editor of a book of essays faces a great challenge: bringing together many contributions into one coherent volume. The difficulty of the task is increased when the contributions were originally presentations at a conference. The leap from spoken to written word can be dramatic. The coherence of *Interpreting Historic House Museums* is all the more impressive considering that the papers were presented at separate conferences held at the McFaddin-Ward House in Beaumont, Texas, in 1995 and 1998.

The variety of the essays is one of the strengths of this volume. The 14 essays range from the historical to the managerial and to hands-on interpretation, but its two universal themes are the necessity of planning and research. Jessica Foy Donnelly, curator of collections at the McFaddin-Ward House for 12 years, has shown herself to be highly skilled at editing such collections. *Interpreting Historic House Museums* is the third volume to emerge from a series of symposia at the McFaddin-Ward House. *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services*, was co-edited with Thomas Schlereth, and *The Arts and the American Home, 1890-1930*, was co-edited with Karal Ann Marling. Donnelly edits and introduces the present volume, and does so very capably.

Patrick H. Butler III, a trustee of the Historic Alexandria Foundation and an all-around museum hand, provides a broad context for the essays that follow. He begins the collection with an essay considering the place of the house museum within the museum community. He first recounts the history of the historic house museum, interweaving it with the history of the historic preservation movement. Butler then considers in greater detail issues facing present and future historic house museums, sug-

gesting that museums can continue to grow and improve while reminding us that pinched financial times raise the question of sustainability as never before.

Several of the essays deal with interpretation planning. Barbara Abramoff Levy, who has worked as director of education and interpretation at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, stresses the importance of advance planning, including analysis of the site, the selection of the planning committee, and how the work should be scheduled. She emphasizes the ongoing nature of research at historic house museums, acknowledging that interpretive work is a continuous process. "In some ways," she notes, "the most difficult aspect of interpretation planning is choosing what not to interpret."

Sandra Mackenzie Lloyd, who has co-authored with Levy a book on developing tours, shows how such ideas can be applied in her essay "Creating Memorable Visits." Lloyd discusses the planning process at Cliveden, a National Trust property in the Germantown section of Philadelphia, where she served as curator of education. She describes the interpretation when the house first opened to the public in 1976, which emphasized the great Georgian house, the Battle of Germantown with which it was associated, and the house's collection of decorative arts. Lloyd then explains the process for developing new themes, which included a historic structure report and a National Endowment for the Humanities planning grant. One of the great strengths of Lloyd's essay is her discussion of the roads not taken and why they were not chosen.

Rex M. Ellis, vice president for the historic area at Colonial Williamsburg, discusses how curators can bring African-American history and culture into their interpretation. He speaks with authority, having been behind "The Other Half Tour," Williamsburg's first initiative to interpret the lives of the enslaved population. He emphasizes the importance of interpreters who are armed with

“the best information and interpreting skills possible” and of outreach programs such as Monticello’s program to compile oral histories from the descendants of those who were enslaved on Thomas Jefferson’s estate. Ellis insists that museums must proactively plan for controversy and, “instead of shying away from controversy...museums should embrace it for the lessons it can teach.” At the same time, interpreters should address universal topics and good stories to which all visitors can relate. In the end, though, the most important lesson for Ellis is recognizing that the number of smiling faces leaving the site cannot be the measure of a historic house’s success. Sometimes history is disturbing, and a visitor who is not disturbed in some way clearly has not gotten the message.

Perhaps the most ambitious essay in the volume is by Debra A. Reid, who teaches history at Eastern Illinois University. “Making Gender Matter” is an extended analysis of whether the traditional concept of women as rulers of “the domestic sphere” might actually minimize the complexity of women’s relations with the world beyond the home. This question is of considerable import for historic house museums. Reid thoroughly assays academic writing on the subject, but also discusses strategies at many historic sites, including Plimoth Plantation in Massachusetts and Conner Prairie in Indiana. She explores strategies for incorporating women in sites generally seen as dominated by male historical figures, such as military sites like Fort Ticonderoga in New York.

Catherine Howett’s essay meditates on the necessity of interpreting the landscape setting of historic houses, and on the difficulty of such interpretation. Howett makes a case for the landscape as an essential primary source, expressive of the values of those who shaped it. Howett cautions that no one historic period’s design should be privileged to the point that it compromises the integrity of significant design features from other eras. She also notes that criticism of the historic preservation movement in general and Colonial Williamsburg in

particular has led to a sort of “Williamsburg paranoia,” a demand for rock-solid evidence for landscape restorations, lest the landscape architect be accused of indulging in romantic fantasy.

Nancy E. Villa Bryk, curator of domestic life at the Henry Ford (previously known as the Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village) outside of Detroit, Michigan, explains how a curator can infuse a historic house with characters and activity. Bryk acknowledges that curators run up against a dearth of documentary evidence, and she takes on the challenge of explaining not simply how to create a furnishings plan, but how that plan must be intimately connected to the interpretive schema. Bryk proposes that a “moment-in-time installation” can often meet this need, using as examples the historic houses at Greenfield Village, most notably the New Haven, Connecticut, household of the lexicographer Noah Webster.

Even the very best historic house installation is useless if visitors cannot get through the door. Valerie Coons McAllister, who has worked at Old Sturbridge Village, Winterthur, and Colonial Williamsburg, tackles the relationship between accessibility and historic preservation. She provides a brisk summary of the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act and explains that its section on historic buildings was based on the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act. McAllister then discusses several techniques used at Old Sturbridge Village, including new road surface treatments that improve wheelchair accessibility in bad weather, and recounts the rationale behind using a wooden ramp at the Salem Towne House and an earthen incline at the Asa Knight Store. Other issues, such as access to second-floor spaces, are not so easily resolved, but McAllister offers a number of ideas.

Another veteran of Old Sturbridge Village, Margaret Piatt, discusses how to engage visitors through effective communication. Her essay deftly blends autobiographical stories with communication theory. She recounts her adventures as “a tour

guide prodigy”—giving her first tour at age five—and her three summers as a teenage tour guide. Piatt discusses how to improve vocal skills, use gestures, and even ways to relax tense tour guides, before providing a succinct eight-point checklist on how to organize the content of a tour.

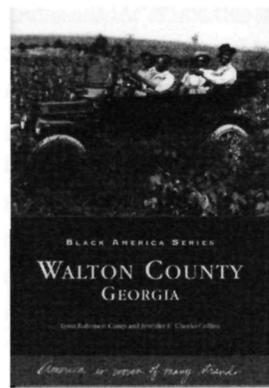
The three final essays directly address educational programs that take full advantage of research and planning. Jamie Creedle, director of museum education at Stan Hywet Hall and Gardens in Akron, Ohio, provides a catalogue of “programs that work” with a refreshingly wide variety of locales and budgetary ranges. Meggett B. Lavin, retired curator of education and research for Drayton Hall near Charleston, South Carolina, discusses seven tools that any historic house should have in its “tool kit for interpreters.” And Patricia Kahle, director of Shadows-on-the-Teche in New Iberia, Louisiana, documents the evolution of educational programming at Shadows, including programs on the everyday life of a 19th-century child, on architecture, and on local African-American history using oral history research.

Authors of such essays often achieve little more than reporting on how things are done at their museum. Happily, the contributors to this volume have such a broad frame of reference and such a wealth of experience that the discussion is never provincial or prosaic. This volume is profitable reading for museum administrators, curators, educators, interpreters, and students who hope to work in a historic house museum.

Kenneth Hafertepe
Baylor University

Walton County Georgia

By Lynn Robinson Camp and Jennifer E. Cheeks-Collins. Black America Series, Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2003; 128 pp., photographs, bibliography, notes, index; paper \$19.99.



As a sign of growing interest and pride in local and ethnic histories, *Walton County Georgia* makes a major contribution towards filling the gap in the dearth of recorded African-American history in Walton County archives and libraries.

Jennifer Cheeks-Collins is the author of two previous volumes in Arcadia Publishing's Black America Series. Co-author, Lynn Robinson Camp, a native daughter of the region, began planning a pictorial documentation of her hometown at an early age. Her personal ties to the area and sense of place lend an engaging authenticity to the book. The authors relied on a rich mixture of biographies, church histories, newspaper articles, obituaries, notes, resumes, souvenir booklets, and “verbal lore” for background. In the end, oral history combines with an impressive collection of photographs to create a homespun perspective on African-American life in the county.

Through their particular prisms, local histories illuminate much larger historical themes, and *Walton County Georgia* is no exception. With chapters arranged by subject, such as Church and Religion: Keeping the Faith, The Civil Rights Era: Remembering the Struggle, Business and Economy: Owning Our Own, and Everyday People, the book is a vibrant testament to the complex fabric of the lives of African-American families in small southern towns from the postslavery era to the present.

Although other recent local visual and oral histories, such as *Memphis in Black and White* and *Prince George's County Maryland*, include stronger historical narratives, *Walton County Georgia* is accessible and a pleasure to read, and compares favorably with any of its ilk. The book is certainly on par with Cheeks-Collins' previous books, *Gwinnett County Georgia* and *Madison County Mississippi*. This book is equally comparable to the pictorial history of a colorful and distinct Appalachian area of northeast Georgia, *Union County Georgia*, authored by the Union County Historical Society.¹

Certain events, especially those that shock and horrify, overshadow other realities in the story of a community. Walton County has long endured the aftermath of a brutal lynching in 1946. Two young black couples, George and May Murray Dorsey and Roger and Dorothy Dorsey Malcom (reportedly 7 months pregnant), were beaten and shot hundreds of times in broad daylight by a mob of unmasked men. The local white power structure successfully kept the perpetrators from being brought to justice, and the case remains unsolved. However, the case fueled civil rights activism all over the country. National media attention was instrumental in President Truman's commitment to civil rights legislation and the racial integration of the United States armed services. Yet, in defiance of the county's lingering stereotypical legacy of violence and racial hostility, *Walton County Georgia* is a celebration of the region's heritage. Devoting a short chapter in homage to those who lost their lives, the pages balance anguish with joy.

The strength of the book is its well-rounded portrayal of community spirit. Regional appeal is undeniable, yet a broader audience might be reached if the authors had made more of a connection relating local events to universal currents in United States history, such as the violence and barriers faced by African Americans in the South during Reconstruction, or the dashed hopes of black veterans upon returning from patriotic and

courageous service in World War II. In the chapter titled "Education: Black Schools and Their Legacy," nothing is mentioned of the monumental confrontation during the years of school integration, or of the racial backlash that followed the 1954 *Brown v. Board* decision.

The book is a useful model for those in the cultural resources field searching for ways to include the many histories of a particular region in a truly representative interpretation. Certainly in the case of *Walton County Georgia*, a broader local audience will be reached than a traditional written history of the region allows. Most importantly, *Walton County Georgia* empowers the African-American community to write its own history, from its unique perspective. The photographs catalog the joy of weddings, social events, graduations, and proud young veterans returning from service, as well as the struggle of those battling for civil rights. Pain and sadness are represented in the pages, yet the reader closes the book with an overwhelming sense of the fortitude of people in their daily lives, complete with disappointments and failures, but who triumph over the obstacles. And it is generally the "everyday people" who make lasting changes. *Walton County Georgia* is a chronicle of the endurance, achievement, and enjoyment of life of African Americans in rural Georgia, and a welcome addition to the archives of local history.

Mary Anne Hamblen

McDaniel-Tichenor House Museum

1. Beverly Bond and Janaan Sherman, *Memphis in Black and White* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2003); Carolyn Corpening Rowe, Jane Taylor Thomas, and Beverly Babin Woods, *Prince George's County Maryland* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2003); Jennifer Cheeks-Collins *Gwinnett County Georgia* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2002) and *Madison County Mississippi* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2002).

Quincy's Market: A Boston Landmark

By John Quincy, Jr. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2003; 237 pp., large format, photographs, drawings, notes, bibliography, index; cloth \$29.95.

Since the 1970s, American cities have renovated their historic marketplaces in an effort to revitalize public space, stimulate economic growth, and improve the supply of fresh food. *Quincy's Market* is an account of this phenomenon in Boston where in 1976 the Rouse Company adapted the magnificent granite buildings and cobblestone concourses of the historic Faneuil Hall Market into space for specialty shops, restaurants, pushcarts, and fast-food stalls. *Quincy's Market* also tells the story of the colonial origins of the marketplace, its major expansion under Mayor Josiah Quincy (1772-1864) in the 1820s, and the gradual decline and deterioration of the market until it was redeveloped.

Food marketing in Boston had its origins around the Town Dock, where merchants conducted open-air sales for the convenience of the colonists. Door-to-door peddlers rounded-out the city's food marketing and distribution system. Bostonians held steadfast against a regulated market system with fixed locations until 1740, when Peter Faneuil, a wealthy Boston merchant, offered to pay for construction of a combined market house and town hall. Faneuil Hall, named for its benefactor and designed by the Scottish-born painter and architect John Smibert, opened two years later. The rapid growth of the town demanded yet more merchant quarters and meeting space, prompting the city to engage Charles Bulfinch to enlarge the combination town hall and market in 1805.

The greatest single expansion of the market district began in 1823, when Mayor Quincy launched a massive and controversial urban renewal project just east of Faneuil Hall. Quincy commissioned Alexander Parris to design a new granite market

house flanked by a row of standardized warehouses. Quincy Market, as it was popularly known, was a masterpiece of civic design and served as Boston's chief food distribution center for the next 125 years. By 1950, the market had noticeably deteriorated as a result of city neglect, suburban flight, and competition from supermarkets. Close to being demolished, it was saved when federal, state, municipal, and private agencies joined forces to redevelop it into one of the country's first festival marketplaces.

John Quincy, Jr. tells the story of this familiar landmark with engaging detail and a wide breadth of illustrations. Complementing the text are excellent drawings by architectural illustrator Gary M. Irish that carefully guide the reader through the evolution of the market buildings and district, particularly in its early years. Readers will also find many reproductions of historic prints, paintings, and maps, and shocking photographs of the deteriorated state of the buildings in 1970, along with sketches and models presented to the Boston Redevelopment Authority. The author makes excellent use of prosaic material such as 19th-century ledger books, city council minutes, and government reports to make this an engaging read. Particularly graphic is the detailed account of the market's construction in the 1820s, including the water problems encountered during excavation, the transportation of granite from Quincy, Massachusetts, and even the cost of rum for the workers.

This reasonably priced book is handsome and well-designed. Illustrations have clear captions and are placed strategically throughout the book to complement the text and to give the reader a clear visual sense of the market's evolution. The book concludes with a helpful author's note that describes his painstaking hunt for the early 19th-century architectural plans, including his successes and failures, as well as a bibliography with an impressive list of unpublished sources.

The author makes no secret (how could he?) of his familial relationship to, and his admiration for, Mayor Josiah Quincy. Thankfully, however, the glorifying remarks about Mayor Quincy, whose ghost inspires the author “to this very day,” are limited to the introduction and conclusion. This reviewer finds it odd that the author fails to recognize, or even mention, Josiah Quincy (1802-1882), son of the mayor who built the market. Although best known as the president of the Boston Social Science Association, Quincy the son was also mayor of Boston from 1845 to 1849. He, too, took great interest in Faneuil Hall Market, defending it against accusations of price fixing and the sale of bad meat. In 1876, he gave a speech at the market’s semi-centennial celebration in which he credited the market’s success to the vision of his father. Perhaps history has written off Quincy the son because of his less popular opinions, such as his arguments for state ownership of the railroads and his crusade for cooperative banks. Be that as it may, the reader learns little of the market’s lively and contentious history during the second half of the 19th century.

Some mention of parallel market projects outside of Boston would have placed the story of Quincy Market in better context. In the 1820s for example, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC, like Boston, were also involved in market expansion projects, as were other cities throughout the country. And Boston was by no means alone in the 1970s, when it finally dealt with the future of a declining public market that still held meaning and value to the community. Around the same time, Pike Place Market in Seattle and Philadelphia’s Reading Terminal Market were saved from the wrecking ball. These institutions chose different paths from that taken in Boston—preserving not only the historic market buildings but also the principal functions of a public market.

Quincy’s Market demonstrates that public markets are rich cultural resources for the study of local, architectural, and urban history, as well as for the

study of historic preservation. Public markets are more than building types. They are dynamic institutions deeply tied to the history and values of the city. In the 19th century, they were testimony to the dedication of the municipality to ensure healthful food at affordable prices. Their decrepit state by the 1950s and 1960s was testimony to everything that was going wrong with American cities. Today, Faneuil Hall Marketplace may attract tourists, but its rehabilitation has proven to be a limited solution to preserving the true value of a public market.

Helen Tangires
National Gallery of Art

Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community, 1940-1965

By Xiaojian Zhao. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002; xvii + 265 pp., illustrations, tables, notes, glossary, bibliography, index; cloth \$59.00; paper \$22.00.



The history of the Chinese in the United States is entwined in American concerns about race, class, and gender. Because most Chinese who entered the country before World War II were male, the study of Chinese-American women has

been slower to develop than other areas of the field. This work, therefore, makes an important contribution to our understanding of the Chinese-American experience, especially in terms of women’s history, and the time period it covers, perhaps the most under-studied period in Chinese-American history.

American anxieties over Chinese immigration centered on labor competition and racial animosities. These anxieties manifested themselves in gendered concerns over the presence of Chinese immigrant women whom many Americans believed were innately disposed to prostitution. In 1875, Congress passed the Page Law that prohibited the immigration of Chinese contract laborers and prostitutes. However, since American officials often believed that most, if not all, Chinese women were or were going to become prostitutes, this law had the effect of barring most Chinese women from entering the country. Seven years later, the Chinese Exclusion Act barred the immigration of Chinese laborers for 10 years, and forbade those already in the country from bringing their wives and denied them naturalization. These two laws shaped the class and gender composition of Chinese immigrants into a predominantly male, small merchant and labor community. This gender imbalance and the passage of anti-miscegenation laws barring Chinese and white marriages stunted the growth and development of Chinese-American families.

Despite these restrictions, Zhao demonstrates that Chinese immigrants devoted considerable effort to gain entry for Chinese women into the United States. Appreciating the American legal system, Chinese immigrants and their allies petitioned the courts on behalf of those denied landing because they were accused of prostitution. Unable to prove that the women were ever involved in prostitution, the state had to allow many to land. However, the process of proving one's innocence was often so humiliating and onerous that many Chinese women chose not to go through the ordeal. Realizing how difficult it was for women to enter, Chinese immigrants tended to facilitate the immigration of males, presuming that they would have an easier time gaining entry, and once here, would have a better chance of finding employment.

America's entry into the World War II was a turning point for Chinese Americans. As Zhao documents, many women from Chinese immigrant

communities contributed to the war effort by working in the defense industries or by joining the military. In both cases, it was often the first time that they were employed outside of Chinatown. They proved to a broader American society that Chinese Americans could perform with distinction, contributing to the improved image of Chinese Americans that developed during the war.

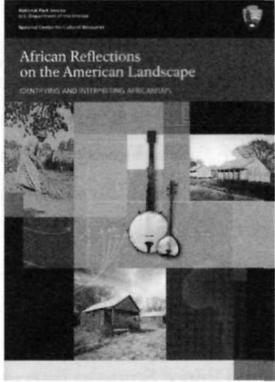
In 1943, the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed allowing more Chinese to enter the country and naturalization of Chinese immigrants. As the war ended, the War Brides Act and subsequent amendments allowed Chinese Americans who had served in the military to bring their wives to the United States. This influx of women had a profound impact on the Chinese-American community as new families were formed and the American-born generation increased. But, as Zhao points out, most of the so-called "war brides" were not new wives but women who had been separated from their husbands in the United States due to exclusion restrictions.

Zhao extends her study beyond the close of the war to document the difficulties these women faced as they adjusted to new lives in the United States. Many had not seen their husbands for years and had to adjust not only to married life but to an alien society as well. Moving through the Cold War era, Zhao demonstrates how the Chinese-American community once again came under scrutiny because of suspected Communist sympathies. But in the long run, Chinese Americans were able to prove that they did not pose a threat and wanted to contribute to American society as Americans. Skillfully blending archival materials, oral histories, and secondary sources, Zhao offers us an insightful glimpse into a community in transition. This book is recommended to everyone interested in documenting and interpreting the Chinese-American experience.

K. Scott Wong
Williams College

*African Reflections on the American Landscape:
Identifying and Interpreting Africanisms*

By Brian D. Joyner. Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2003; 64 pp., maps, tables, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index; paper, free of charge.



In his 1925 poem “Heritage,” the black New York City public schoolteacher and writer Countee Cullen (1903-1946) plaintively asked, “What is Africa to me?” Brian Joyner’s follow-up to the National Park Service’s 2001 conference on

“Places of Cultural Memory: African Reflections on the American Landscape” vibrates with a salient though unarticulated question that might be framed as, “What is America to me?”

From his position in the office of Diversity and Special Projects in the National Park Service’s National Center for Cultural Resources, Joyner aimed to highlight West and Central African cultural contributions to the built environment in the United States—at least as cultural resource programs have documented and recognized them. The undertaking is simultaneously ambitious and modest, for while confined to places recognized by the National Park Service, it probes a conflicted past and reaches beyond the position of race in United States history to touch the core of America’s character and the cast of its culture.

Joyner’s undertaking contrasts with discussions of European contributions to America. The reality of a conscious re-creation of European community resonates throughout the United States in place names such as New England, New Rochelle, New York, Portsmouth, Paris, and Rome. From architecture to folklore to linguistics, Europe’s position in America’s sense of self has been central. But to

what degree has such centering resulted from psychological self-serving or from tangible fact?

Until almost 1900, the Americas were a child of forced immigrants from Africa and indigenous peoples. The size of Africans’ and Indians’ share in and subsidy of the European-ruled New World has since been an issue more of politics than of actual measuring.

Standing apart as something of an exception to New World polities where people of color predominated in the populations, the United States has long inhaled and exuded an air of being “a white man’s land.” What has come to be called “political correctness” may have shifted the terms of speech at different times, but the substance has been consistent. The question hardly arises anew as to what enslaved Africans carried from their mother continent to the Americas in their heads and hearts and then made material again in shaping the New World environment in general and the United States built environment in particular.

The West and Central African catchment areas where the bulk of the peoples enslaved in the United States and its colonial predecessors originated had cultures rich in science and technology. The peoples dragged here brought knowledge with them. Such knowledge *taught* colonial planters in the Carolinas and Georgia how to produce rice, for example, as historian Daniel C. Littlefield documented in his now-classic 1981 book, *Rice and Slaves*.¹

In summary fashion, Joyner selects and sketches United States places of Africanisms, defined as “elements of culture found in the New World traceable to an African origin.” The definition is historian Joseph E. Holloway’s, from *Africanisms in American Culture*, which aimed at “a new and comprehensive examination of Africanisms in America and especially the United States.”² Joyner diagrams the architecture of shotgun houses and other arrangements of space. He savors diet—

gumbo, okra, rice, and other foodstuffs and foodways. He fingers fiddles and other instruments and arts. He reaches to religion and cosmology. He notes language elements. In all he suggests a tracing to African origins and, in perhaps the book's best contribution, he lists historic properties, arranged by program and state, where the National Park Service has documented Africanisms. He points to rich cultural sites such as New Orleans' Congo Square and New York City's African Burial Ground and Louisville's Smoketown Historic District.

Sweeping in time and space within 4 chapters and a bare 50 pages of text, Joyner skirts much of the complexity and overt contentiousness of his subject. His first chapter introduces terms and conditions for understanding the African presence in America. His second and longest chapter identifies specific sites where the National Park Service has documented Africanisms on the American landscape. Then he offers a chapter on interpreting African cultural heritage at historic sites. The last chapter is an appendix listing a bibliography and National Park Service properties that document or recognize Africanisms. Throughout, Joyner skips mechanics of cultural continuity or survival. His interest appears more in "what is" than in "how" Africanisms came to be in these places.

Writing for the general reader, Joyner leaves unmentioned in his text many issues of methods and meaning. His endnotes go a bit deeper and do well at pointing to appropriate literature. He offers most to readers interested in locating historic places of African-inspired cultural expression. He offers least to readers seeking guidance in discussing how to identify, measure, and interpret cultural continuity or distinctiveness. Or to readers interested in shifting historical consciousness.

Joyner declares that "Africanisms must become much more visible to historic preservation/cultural resource practitioners. In order to reach this visibility, preservationists must direct their efforts toward non-European historical sources." The goal

is worthy. His work reveals a diverse and inconsistent array that leaves much distant and isolated at present. It shows, too, that sensitivity alone will not suffice.

Only gently, if at all, does Joyner stir outmoded assumptions and too dominant visions of America's having a unilineal cultural descent from Europe. The joinder of issues here is not one of the persistency of African ways; it is not one of rhetoric or arts, language, religion, nor of abstract or generic transmission of traditions. The fundamental discussion lies beyond recognizing and identifying African linkages in the culture of the United States. It lies in interpreting the links. And that matter is ultimately political, for it reaches backward and forward to the power relations that have defined the identity and image of the United States.

The easier part in identifying elements in the built environment is what we see. The harder part is what we say about what we see. And there Joyner offers too little. Perhaps there are only questions to be raised: Who do Americans think they are? Who do Americans think America is? Who do Americans think made America what it is—and how? In that context we may ask: To what have African Americans given shape with their backs and hands, with their hearts, minds, and souls?

Thomas J. Davis
Arizona State University

1. Daniel C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981; Reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

2. Joseph E. Holloway, ed., *Africanisms in American Culture* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991).

Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums

By Jennifer L. Eichstedt and Stephen Small. Washington, DC, and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002; 300 pp., illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index; cloth \$45.00.

Representations of Slavery is a comprehensive and stark assessment of plantation museums in the southern United States. During 1996 to 2001 the authors and their graduate students visited 122 plantation museums in Virginia, Georgia, and Louisiana. The authors also conducted research at sites in five other states: Florida, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. All of the museums studied were plantations during the period of slavery.

The study condemns 83 percent of the plantation museums as historic sites that avoid or trivialize issues of slavery, oppression, and racism as legitimate parts of their historical narratives. By doing so, these museums, the authors believe, perpetuate the notion that a legitimate national history is possible without grappling with the presence and experience of people of color. They bluntly state their case at the outset—

Our primary arguments in this book are that most of the sites we have explored in depth tell a story of American history that centers around whites, males, and elites, and that these sites erase or minimize the presence, labor, and lives of enslaved Africans and African Americans. We argue that these sites work to construct and maintain public white (male-dominated) racial identities that both articulate with and bolster a sense of (white) pride in a partial history of freedom, democracy, and hard work. In this story, slavery and African Americans are presented as almost incidental to the growth of the South and, by extension, the United States.

A second point is that in “most cases” the museums they studied “confine to oblivion, the system

of slavery and the presence of those enslaved.” Finally, that “racialization processes work in various locations, linked by shared and often overlapping ideologies and representations, to produce and reproduce racialized inequality and oppression.”

Before beginning their analysis, the authors redefine identifiers they see as most appropriate and sensitive when referring to slave owners and slaves. In their terminology, slave masters are *master enslavers* and slaves are *enslaved Africans*. Their reasoning relates to the traditional way these terms have been perceived over time. Within the field of race studies, they and colleagues such as Michael Banton, Robert Miles, Bell Hooks, and Leon Higginbotham, all contend that in order to understand the damage done by such racialized traditional terms, we must “remove language that continues to mask systems of domination.” Many of the sites in this study are dedicated to the founding fathers; throughout the book the authors remind the reader that the founding fathers may have been great leaders but they were also enslavers.

Eichstadt and Small acknowledge the responsibility and power museums have in teaching us about the past, and the responsibility we have as a society to understand the master narrative of our nation. But they contend that too many museums are wrapped up in platitudes that are dedicated to telling a story that supports the glory of the United States: the significance of democracy; the importance of civility, gentility, and hospitality; and the white forebears who made it all possible.

The authors argue that in the scenarios they observed, the enslaved are only important to the extent that they perpetuate the legacy of “the great white men” who are presented as the true heroes of the growing republic. Whether in Virginia, Georgia, or Louisiana, enslaved Africans and African Americans who are mentioned at all are described as the “faithful old retainers,” “loyal slaves,” or “grateful servants” who were important

because they assist in memorializing the "true" heroes.

Does the fact that George Washington, Patrick Henry, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and their contemporaries were "master enslavers" negate the significance of what they contributed to the evolution of the republic? The authors would probably answer, "No." However, the appropriate balance that both condemns and praises our founding fathers has not been reached. Although most museums are not consciously avoiding the issue, they are on the front lines dealing with visitors who are neither traditional students nor captive audiences. Visitors are consumers who in most cases have paid a price for their continuing education (and want to enjoy the time they spend as well). This reality forces many institutions into a position of relying on traditional stories and methods of programming, and exhibiting their histories with the sensibilities of their primary audiences in mind. They institute programming that does not offend, accost, argue, shame, or otherwise drive paying visitors away. Their very existence depends on their ability to bring more visitors through their doors.¹

Is it possible for museums, whether mainstream or culturally specific, to effectively balance a credible telling of the African and African-American story during the period of enslavement in the United States and remain financially solvent? Can they be legitimate stewards of the history they purport to teach about the development of America? These are questions the authors do not address in any comprehensive way but simply state, we must try.

Would an increasing number of visitors go to museums if they were told a story that was more in keeping with the harsh, stern, brutal, and oppressive system of servitude that pervaded the South? There is little evidence to support that notion, even if we assume more minorities would visit museums that present such a history.

A survey by Randi Korn and Associates presents some useful information about visitor interest in the content of stories told at these kind of sites. Despite results indicating that most visitors express a low interest in African-American history, further analysis suggests that African Americans as well as whites prefer stories that are more balanced. Korn asserts, "in general, respondents were less interested in African American history compared to other subjects."² However, Korn acknowledges the importance of communication, engaging presentation methods, and interactivity when dealing with such controversial subjects. But she stops short of saying that a more comprehensive African-American narrative at the sites tested would enhance visitation.

Eichstedt and Small look at museums through the narrow lens of academe. They ignore (or minimize) the primary mission and reality of most museums, especially given the current economic climate: survival. While their analysis is comprehensive, credible, and factual, they found no museums that lived up to their standards, which may indicate more than neglect, trivialization, or racism. Rather, it may indicate the authors' lack of understanding or refusal to acknowledge what is feasible at plantation museums.

There are formidable realities that Eichstadt and Small's study does not consider: paying customers who will walk away if they are confronted with topics that they do not want to see, dwindling resources, and questionable research (though this should be less the case given the voluminous body of work just in the last decade). In addition, gun-shy administrators who are afraid of offending their customers and who have not yet changed their definition of success to include the type of probing, pricking, and compelling programs that full inclusion obviates, perpetuate the interpretive practices condemned in this book. Plantation museums must continue to push the envelope in the history they present about the lives of enslaved Africans, but the practical realities they face will

continue (despite the admonitions of Eichstadt and Small) to hamstring a fuller presentation of the good, the bad, and the ugly.³

Rex Ellis

Colonial Williamsburg

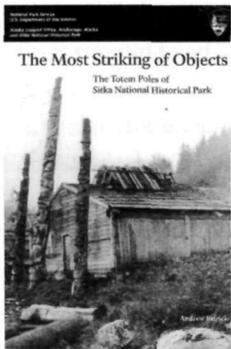
1. The work of Diane Swann-Wright at Monticello (Virginia) and Dorothy Redford at Somerset Place (North Carolina) are two such examples of plantation museums that constantly push the envelope and refuse to be satisfied with traditional narratives. The experience of enslaved Africans and African Americans is a story they strive to include consistently at their sites.

2. Randi Korn and Associates, Inc., *Charleston Report*, (2001), 2. Prepared for the Historic Charleston Foundation, Drayton Hall, and the Gibbes Museum of Art, this study was designed to provide the three clients with information about visitors to Charleston, South Carolina, in general and visitors to the three respective institutions in particular. Between February 2000 and March 2001, Korn interviewed 1,859 respondents.

3. Gordon S. Wood's article, "Never Forget: They Kept Lots of Slaves," *New York Times*, December 14, 2003, offers a case in point relating to current scholarship and discussions on the centrality of slavery to understanding the motives of the founding fathers.

The Most Striking of Objects: The Totem Poles of Sitka National Historical Park

By Andrew Patrick. Anchorage, AK: National Park Service and Sitka National Historical Park, 2002; 194 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography; paper, free of charge.



In *The Most Striking of Objects: The Totem Poles of Sitka National Historical Park*, Andrew Patrick describes a preservation conundrum that has lasted more than a century. Totem poles of southeastern Alaska constitute a unique cultural expression, yet

carved, wooden, earth-fast objects have a limited lifespan. How, then, to preserve such important artifacts? Is carving a replication an acceptable form of preservation? Patrick discusses this and other alternatives in his history of a well-traveled collection of totem poles.

In 1901, Alaska District Governor John G. Brady collected more than a dozen totem poles and shipped them to St. Louis for exhibition at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Brady, a former Presbyterian missionary who had been instrumental in encouraging the Americanization of Indians, used their now-abandoned heritage as an advertisement for Alaska. His concern for Alaska Natives' welfare was apparently genuine, and the poles' owners willingly gave them to him for display. Brady promised that after their display he would erect the totem poles in Sitka, then the capital of the district.

In Sitka, the poles were artistically but nontraditionally placed on a winding path along the shore, on land with both Tlingit and Russian associations. The Tlingit in Sitka, however, had not traditionally constructed freestanding totem poles, which had been the work of Tlingit and Kaigani Haida Indians who lived farther south. The Federal Government designated Sitka National Monument in 1910 but gave it little or no funding, and for three decades the poles languished, deteriorating. New Deal-era employment programs hired Alaska Native carvers who began repairing and replicating the poles, igniting the controversy over their proper treatment.

The New Deal projects during 1939-40, supervised by the U. S. Forest Service, included both restoring—by the removal of decayed portions and insertion of replacement pieces—and recarving. This produced an entirely new but identical pole, which Patrick argues is a method of preserving the images while sacrificing the actual wood. In 1940, the first new pole, commemorating the history of Sitka, was carved, although not placed in the park because it

was seen as inappropriate. In the late 1960s, the National Park Service consulted stewards of other totem pole collections, undertook a survey, and developed broad preservation outlines. Following designation of Sitka National Historical Park in 1972, a number of preservation methods were attempted, such as chemical preservatives, continued recarving, and new commissioned poles. Patrick is convinced that the National Park Service finally has the solution; he praises current preservation techniques, which include metal caps on the tops and raising the pole a few inches off the ground. No original poles survive outdoors.

The objects' complicated significance clouds the preservation picture. To the Tlingit and Haida, totem poles had multiple functions: to recognize a family, to honor the dead, to refer to a story, to express achievement and status, to commemorate a potlatch, and even to ridicule. The poles consisted of figures, usually animal or human, sometimes fantastical, in a stacked and sometimes interlocking arrangement. Patrick argues that totem poles are not pieces of art; they are closely tied to a specific place, people, story, and/or event. The totem poles at Sitka are removed from all of those connections. Even as long ago as 1940, ethnographer Viola Garfield was unable to trace these poles' histories. Their erection at world's fairs is anomalous, but expected; their erection in a woodland setting is disorienting. Detached from place and family, the poles gain new value as isolated works of art.

Andrew Patrick tells this story well and does not avoid the complications. He devotes one chapter to an explanation of totem poles and another to the broad cultural transformations of southeastern Alaska Natives during the 19th century. He then traces the poles from southeastern Alaska to St. Louis and back to Sitka, from original to repaired to recarved. Patrick includes summaries of academic arguments, such as the controversial concept of "totemism" and the debate over whether totem pole carving predated contact with westerners (he concludes that it did). Footnotes and bibliography

add to the value of this work. The book concludes with an appendix that gives specific information about each pole; cross-references to the historic photographs in the chapters would have helped here. It is also not until the appendix that the reader knows just how many poles are in the Sitka park; Patrick leaves this vague because the number fluctuates due to sales, deterioration, and acquisition.

Generally, Patrick's emphasis is on the collection as a whole and he shies away from analysis of individual poles. He hazards no guess as to any pole's connotation, allowing only that the poles have multiple meanings, often deliberately obscure. He does not analyze any of the poles as artifacts, describing their images or considering their workmanship. Ultimately, he fails to capture the poles' majesty, either the power they have as artifacts or their value to us as cultural statements.

The book is well illustrated, with a number of historic photographs that show the poles in their original locations: lining the shore in front of plank houses; in their incongruous settings at world's fairs, including the 1964-65 New York World's Fair; their preservation needs, as recorded during the New Deal; and in the park, with tourists posing beside them. There are also a few color photographs, unfortunately not as sharp as the black-and-whites, that introduce a topic Patrick avoids. The Sitka poles were at times heavily painted in contrasting colors; the historical accuracy of this treatment is not discussed.

The Most Striking of Objects raises a number of intriguing questions which will be of interest to all preservationists. What methods of interpretation and preservation are appropriate for artifacts so dependent on place for meaning? What should be done with deteriorating original poles that have been replaced? Should heroic measures be undertaken to preserve the reconstructions? Should the Sitka poles be interpreted less for the poles themselves, but rather as an inspiration for new carving?

These questions, answered differently through the 20th century, have fortunately been recorded and debated by Andrew Patrick.

Alison K. Hoagland
Michigan Technological University

*Tribal Cultural Resource Management:
The Full Circle to Stewardship*

By Darby C. Stapp and Michael S. Burney. Heritage Resources Management Series, Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002, xiv + 246 pp., bibliography, tables; cloth \$70.00; paper \$24.95.

Not every professional has the privilege to work directly within an ethnic or cultural community. Cultural anthropologists and folklorists reach out as ethnographers—living in, documenting, and analyzing communal practices, processes, and traditional culture. To enter a community, spend extended periods of time studying some aspect of a community, and to be accepted while retaining the role of an outsider is a treasure bestowed on few scholars. The relationships established and maintained after the term of fieldwork are a privilege.

Tribal Cultural Resource Management is the work of two scholars who share such a privileged position in working with Native American communities. The book provides a detailed historical background of the topic illustrated by a case study. It also has a practical guide for beginning a tribal cultural resource management program and delves into the future of cultural resource management among North American tribes.

This book is a compelling example of how collaboration between Native Americans and non-Indian scholars in cultural resource research and management has changed significantly in the last 20 years.

The Indian rights movement and heightened cultural awareness of the scholarly community influenced these changes in the 1980s.

Archeologists became more concerned with the cultural process than with chronology, function, and distribution of styles.

Three themes pervade the book. A broad overarching premise that “cultural resource management is more about people than about places and artifacts” is repeated consistently throughout. Secondly, the authors hold that there is a strong relationship among cultural resource stewardship, artifacts from the past, and cultural survival. Finally, they assert that “people who care about cultural resources must be involved if the resources are going to be preserved, protected, and made accessible.”

The first four chapters provide a detailed discussion of Native American archeology spanning from the 18th-century explorations of mounds in the eastern United States to practices at the end of the 20th century. The authors discuss issues of stewardship and the different governmental entities created to care for places and artifacts. The work of cultural anthropologists is also detailed. Native American involvement with scholars and their pursuits close each chapter.

Tables provide a useful chronological list of historic events alongside Native American events, anthropological and archeological events, and cultural resource management events. The reader can see at a glance that in 1849 with the creation of the U.S. Department of the Interior, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (created in 1824) was moved from the War Department to the Interior. In 1906, Congress chartered the Archeological Institute of America, enacted the Antiquities Act, and created Mesa Verde National Park (before the National Park Service was established in 1916). The frequent sidebars adding different voices from the past to the discussion are a strength of this volume, especially for students and others entering the field.

The authors' experience in Oregon and Washington State with the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation is presented as a case study. Stapp and Burney were responsible for establishing the tribal cultural resource management program for the tribes. Their mandate and achievements were immense. Among their early activities were providing education, training, and employment for tribal members. They created cultural resource inventories on the reservation and assisted with the burial of human remains. They also participated in several joint projects with federal agencies including the U.S. Forest Service and the U.S. Department of Energy. This is an excellently constructed case study to use as a model.

This valuable book continues with guidance on how to create and manage a tribal cultural resource management program and the essential role of consultation. Key issues in developing a program are knowledge of the laws, networking with outside entities working on tribal land, and training. These issues are significant, not only when starting tribal cultural resource management programs. They reflect the common sense needed to work in developing outreach efforts in any cultural community.

The authors' discussion of the consultation process is enriched by descriptions of two situations. First is a recounting of ongoing intertribal meetings at the federally owned Hanford site in southeastern Washington State. Consultations with neighboring tribes began when the nuclear facility was developed in 1942. Despite input from tribal leaders, digging and other destructive activities were conducted in prohibited areas such as cemeteries. By the 1980s, however, as government attitudes toward Indian concerns changed, offending use of sacred land diminished.

The second is a more recent case of a private land-use project in Colorado. The responsible company contacted tribal leaders at the outset of their project, first conducting informational meetings at tribal centers. Then, tribal leaders were invited to the

site and their perspectives shaped the proposed work. From the consultation process, the United Tribes of Colorado was created. This intertribal organization continues to work with public and private entities on land-use issues.

Tribal Cultural Resource Management is about inclusion, consultation, networking, and adopting sensitivities. The final chapter reasserts the vital need for collaboration. Through sincere, consistent outreach and collaboration, the treasure of privilege is conferred. This is an excellent source book for students learning about cultural resource management issues related to Native American archeological remains and present-day Native Americans. It is also a good source for tribal leaders as they establish their own cultural resource management programs.

Annette B. Fromm

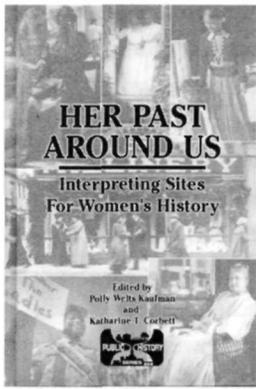
The Deering Estate at Cutler

Her Past Around Us: Interpreting Sites for Women's History

Edited by Polly Welts Kaufman and Katharine T. Corbett. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 2003; viii + 261 pp., photographs, notes, suggested readings, index; cloth \$33.50.

Few sources could weave such wide-ranging yet closely related women's issues into one text as does this collection of 11 essays recounting the stories of Native American women, colonial settlers, pioneer mothers, domestic immigrants, and wives of presidents. Their stories—in their homes, in their gardens, and in cemeteries—are skillfully recounted in each essay. Readers are led to the realization that without the stories of women's lives, American history has been one-dimensional, clouded by half-truths, and shrouded to exclude most things feminine.

The strength of this book lies in its impressive and thought-provoking suggestions for examining hidden stories of race and gender at historic sites. This comprehensive collection explores diverse and compelling subject matter that is sometimes controversial. As a history text or reference, these essays look at individuals and groups of women who have participated in creating the past. They offer scholars the opportunity to examine the diversity in women's contributions that encompass family, work, and community life.



Although each chapter is uniquely structured with notes, lists of public art, or extensive lists of suggested readings, it reads as one voice, recounting stories almost lost and urging research into corners yet unexplored. Barbara J. Howe offers suggestions for incorporating women's history into public events; adding multiple perspectives may move celebrations from tradition and symbolism to a reality sometimes hard to acknowledge. Eileen Eagan's chapter on the use of public art offers challenging ideas on how to honor women's lives in ways that reconfigure history. She traces the changing public attitudes toward women's history from the Puritan dissenter, Anne Hutchinson, to the Vietnam Women's Memorial.

These essays suggest alternative ways to view women's lives, the contributions they have made, and their imprint throughout history. Bonnie Hurd Smith tells us that unraveling women's lives can be frustrating. Few women were literate or left written records. This text offers new and creative ways to glimpse and interpret the lives of these women. National Park Service historian Tara Travis discusses how Native American women connect with and engage their culture by weaving canyon landscape designs in their rugs. These rugs, sold in the trading

posts, offer more insight into Navajo women's culture than simply their creativity.

Several chapters recommend new methods of research that reach beyond the traditional written records. Pamela K. Sanfilippo, park historian for Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site, explains how archeological investigation of White Haven, the childhood home of Julia Dent Grant, the wife of General, and later President, Ulysses S. Grant, enhances understanding of the Grant family as well as their enslaved servants. Her multidisciplinary approach of combining archeology, architectural analysis, and oral history provides researchers a more comprehensive basis for understanding their subject.

In Margaret Lynch-Brennan's chapter on Irish domestic servants, we are reminded that most histories have focused on the effects of immigrant men in politics; ignored are the female live-in domestic servants who worked in the homes of presidents and noted individuals such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Lynch-Brennan suggests several themes educators might use to direct students to nontraditional areas of study, including the economic and social reasons for immigration, the cultural and material world left behind and the new world encountered, and the advantages offered to both the employers and the young girls entering service.

The chapter on creating women's history trails written by Polly Welts Kaufman introduces readers to the pride and respect for diverse places and peoples that can be fostered by new interpretive content and strategies. Kaufman emphasizes the importance of developing historical context, cultivating community involvement, and identifying representative women along with notable women.¹

Still other essays encourage the reader to look where one has never looked before. One chapter commemorates the roles of women in major historical events, such as Sarah Fulton's role in organizing the Boston Tea Party. Another discusses rein-

terpreting historic house museums and women's history in 19th-century cemeteries and gardens. To borrow from interpreter Doug Capra, each story is not simply a tidbit of interesting fact but another bead strung on a thread, each thread a strand in the fabric that binds our national story.²

This collection blends sites, ideas, and suggestions, and provokes not only those working to interpret women's history but those seeking to understand a holistic story. This is an important book for those who manage historic sites and a challenge to educators and visitors to demand to hear the stories previously hidden in attics and basements, traditionally ignored and considered minor. Any great nation that survives and thrives must pay respect to the full memory of its past. One finishes the collection knowing that without the entire story, including the unsavory aspects, our history would be forever incomplete, limiting our understanding of the potential for America's future.

Sandy Brue

National Park Service

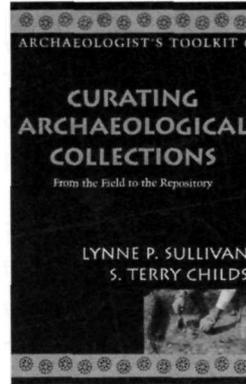
1. Polly Welts Kaufman is the author of *National Parks and the Woman's Voice: A History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).

2. Doug Capra, "Tour Boats and Buses and Trains, Oh My!: Interpretation in the Land of Oz," *2002 Interpretive Sourcebook*, Proceedings of the National Interpretive Workshop (Boulder, CO: Interp Press, 2002), 18.

*Curating Archaeological Collections:
From the Field to the Repository*

By Lynne P. Sullivan and S. Terry Childs.
Archaeologist's Toolkit Vol. 6, Walnut Creek, CA:
AltaMira Press, 2003; 160 pp., appendix, bibliography,
index; cloth \$65.00; paper \$22.95.

Any registrar or collections manager knows that the care of archeological collections is a continuing



challenge because of understaffing, underbudgeting, and overcrowded storage areas. This problem is pervasive throughout the museum field.

Cogently written and well presented, *Curating Archaeological Collections* provides a background on how this crisis started,

how it got out of hand, and what can be changed. For archeologists and museum professionals this book provides direction towards ensuring the preservation of archeological collections.

The authors emphasize that proper care and management of archeological collections is the responsibility of many including federal, state, and local agencies; historical societies; and archeologists. The authors provide an excellent history of archeological curation in order to show what has led to the current crisis. As a result, the authors focus on the management aspects of curation.

The authors believe that archeologists need to be aware of "the archeological collection" before they actually collect it. Stressing preparation and planning for artifact care before going into the field, the authors show how archeologists can develop a significant and meaningful collection. While written with the archeologist in mind, this book is useful for curators as well. It helps them understand the complexities that make up archeological collections. The two groups need to coordinate and develop shared goals because significant collections consist not just of the artifacts, but also associated records.

While the authors devote a chapter to repositories and their function and standards, they do not elaborate on what some call "official" repositories and their accountability. Most states have official repositories, such as state museums, where all professionally excavated archeological collections that

meet certain criteria are deposited. The authors note that curators and registrars should try to work with the archeologists and State Historic Preservation Offices to establish criteria for the eventual curation of a collection. This kind of relationship early in the curation process is critical to addressing some of the current problems.

Curation policies and guidelines on collections care and management must also be communicated to field archeologists well in advance of projects. Discussions among the repository, archeologists, and state agencies can help shape project research designs to focus more on curation. With that said, any repository needs to be vigilant in their policies and guidelines when accepting archeological collections.

A good deal of literature exists on the subject of curating archeological collections. However, this book goes beyond mere reference work and provides direction towards resolving the current crisis. Presently, there are resources generated by committees, discussion groups, and conference sessions devoted to the subject that may not get disseminated to repositories, historical societies, and field archeologists. With the publication of *Curating Archaeological Collections* and the entire Toolkit Series from AltaMira Press, a much wider audience is reached.

This book has an extremely handy appendix containing a list of Internet sites that provide useful information on curation policies, laws, and regulations. References provide another research avenue for both contract archeologists and museum professionals to examine literature on collections care and management.

This book is useful to any registrar, collections manager, curator, and field archeologist. It should also be used in archeology methods and cultural resource management classes. The valuable lessons presented will assist archeologists when planning excavations and processing artifacts, and help

repositories better care for and manage their collections. With ever increasing and encroaching development, the need to improve communication and training in the management, collection, and care of our diminishing cultural heritage is urgent. As the authors state, "it's about what our progeny will inherit."

Gregory D. Lattanzi
New Jersey State Museum

The Consequences of Past Stonecleaning Intervention on Future Policy and Resources

By Maureen Young, Jonathan Ball, Richard Laing, Pauline Cordiner, and Jeanette Hulls. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2003; 223 pp., illustrations; paper £27.00.

Maintenance and Repair of Cleaned Stone Buildings

By Maureen Young, Jonathan Ball, Richard Laing, and Dennis Urquhart. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2003; 86 pp., illustrations; paper £15.00.

Building Stones of Scotland

By Ewan Hyslop and Andrew McMillan. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2003; 33 pp., illustrations; paper £10.50.

For a nation that is approximately the size of Maine and the population of Minnesota, Scotland's investment in historic preservation research and technical assistance is, quite frankly, phenomenal. The three publications discussed in this review are a sample of what Historic Scotland has in store for those of us curious about and dedicated to contemporary preservation practice.

Historic Scotland is the government agency responsible for protecting and promoting

Scotland's built heritage. In the early 1990s, two offices of Historic Scotland—Technical Conservation, Research and Education Group (TCRE) and Heritage Policy Group—launched two remarkable series of publications on heritage conservation. Both series are well prepared and beautifully produced. All titles are available from Historic Scotland (<http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk>). Although a few topics in the series are specific to Scotland, our North American colleagues will recognize most topics as useful in their own work.

Three recent publications in the TCRE series address the preservation and conservation of stone buildings: *The Consequences of Past Stonecleaning Intervention on Future Policy and Resources*, *Maintenance and Repair of Cleaned Stone Buildings*, and *Building Stones of Scotland*. The books form a sequenced suite that frames and answers questions about the consequences of previous and future stone cleaning and repair, principles and advice for the “aftercare of cleaned stone buildings,” and the availability of stone for preservation work.

The authors of *Consequences* state three pairs of research objectives: first, to determine the direct effects of stone cleaning on stone decay and to prepare a useful model of performance and life-cycle costs of continued maintenance; second, to scientifically investigate stone decay to determine its nature and causes and to correlate the study results with the effects of stone cleaning; and third, to evaluate practitioners' need for matching stone for repair purposes and make recommendations.

The cleaned/non-cleaned comparisons and their relationship to preservation and life-cycle costs are the heart of the matter. Data for the study were gathered through questionnaires, interviews, building descriptions, and facade assessments. The case study examined pairs of cleaned and never-cleaned granite and sandstone building facades. The authors' research showed that cleaned and repaired sandstone facades have significantly higher incidences of decay than non-cleaned ones. In

the long-term, sandstone facades that have been treated required significantly more repair and treatment than facades that have never been treated.

Cost consequences are similar. Since cleaned sandstone facades require repair at higher rates than non-cleaned ones, the long-term extent of stone decay—including repairs due to the eventual results of aggressive cleaning—“would lead to an overall financial loss.” Short-term property value increases that may result from cleaning will be offset by the long-term costs of repairing damage.

What created this unfortunate cycle of damage and repair? As TCRE Director Ingval Maxwell describes the situation in his introduction to *Consequences*, “From the 1960s the cleaning of masonry buildings for aesthetic, commercial and sociological reasons became common place. As a result, and due to a lack of awareness of the potential damaging consequences of the different cleaning processes, much harm was unwittingly inflicted on the stone. Unfortunately, this approach continued for several decades.”

Today, perhaps, the industry is changing. In *Consequences*, a survey of architects experienced with historic structures shows that more than half did not conduct stone cleaning work and about one fourth recognized stone cleaning as potentially damaging to a building. Further, the authors state, “as a consequence of previous research and product developments, [cleaning] methods...have undergone significant changes over this 25 year time period [prior to 1999]. The most aggressive methods of the past (e.g. high pressure grit blasting and highly concentrated chemical cleaning agents) are now seldom employed. Where the cleaning method is significantly different, the post-cleaning behaviour of a recently cleaned façade may therefore differ from that of a similar façade cleaned 25 years ago.”

This is tempered, however, by less promising news. The authors point out that although stone cleaning

methods adversely affect stone facades and create long-term damage to stone, the public and building owners generally view stone cleaning favorably because a clean facade reflects well on the building's owner. And more not-so-good news: competent repairs of damaged facades are not cheap, "the long-term effects of stonecleaning on requirements of stone for repair will be significant," and "[p]lanning for material sourcing is currently required to ensure that necessary repair is not hindered by a basic lack of resources, funds or skills."

Recognizing that damage induced by inappropriate cleaning cannot be reversed, the question for preservationists is how to proceed. Historic Scotland sees two possibilities: public education and ongoing research.

Maintenance and Repair follows lockstep the conclusions of *Consequences*. This advice manual tackles the emerging problems of treated historic buildings. The authors address past, present, and future cleaning by providing pointed and practical advice to practitioners reminiscent of what the National Park Service provides through the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation and *Preservation Briefs*. For example, the authors state, "Stone cleaning should always be carried out using the gentlest method...Stone decay is a natural process whose progress may be accelerated or retarded, but never completely halted...Complete soiling removal is not normally possible or desirable and should not be attempted...If short-term gains are outweighed over a time by subsequent losses, then the rationale supporting the initial work is clearly flawed." The publication concludes with a "Check List of Good Practice" that cites important issues necessary to address the consequences of stone cleaning.

For both lay and practitioner readers, *Maintenance and Repair* interprets the scientific data in *Consequences* with clear illustrations of the mechanisms and effects of decay. *Maintenance and Repair* links observed effects to probable causes, potential

long-term effects, and appropriate treatment choices (including, importantly, "none").

Maintenance and Repair makes clear the limits of current preservation practices and the need to plan for the future. The authors state that poor quality stone repairs exacerbate damage and urge developing a strategic plan that considers the long-term life of Scotland's stone buildings.

Building Stones of Scotland is a first step toward meeting the challenge of securing an adequate supply of stones for proper repairs. The report summarizes a pilot investigation into existing and missing data on Scottish building stones, and the types of information that would be useful to practitioners. The report makes four principal recommendations for future publications to aid practitioners: a publication that synthesizes existing and new data on Scottish building stones; technical manuals on stone types, properties, use, and performance; a series of regional guides to Scottish building stones to provide more detailed analysis of building stones and quarry sources; and a stones database.

Such a comprehensive and systematic approach to stone cleaning and repair is characteristic of all of TCRE's and Heritage Policy Group's publications. As demonstrated by the three books discussed here, the methodology and research behind the publications are highly competent, and the interpretation and advice for the practitioner are clear. The publications in TCRE's and Heritage Policy Group's series are recommended for researching particular questions posed by a project, or for commencing or supplementing a preservation practitioner's technical library.

John Robbins
National Park Service

EXHIBITS

1816 Georgetown: Building the Modern House

Tudor Place Historic House and Garden,
Washington, DC. Curators: Melinda Linderer and
Chris Wilson

April 9, 2003–December 31, 2004

1816 Georgetown: Building the Modern House both commemorates the 200th anniversary of Tudor Place, a historic house in Georgetown, and explores why Martha Custis Peter and Thomas Peter chose the location and style of their early 19th-century home in the new federal district. The clever title nicely encapsulates the notion that even the antique was once contemporary. In 1816, the architecture style now known as neoclassicism was “just considered modern.” This idea serves to remove the patina of nostalgia from the historic house to reveal a more engaging cultural dimension.

The marriage of Martha Custis and Thomas Peter in 1795 merged two prominent families. Martha was the granddaughter of Martha Washington and step-granddaughter of George Washington, and Thomas was the son of Robert Peter, the first mayor of Georgetown and one of the original landowners who ceded land for the creation of the federal city in the 1790s. In 1799, the couple purchased land in Georgetown Heights and hired preeminent architect William Thornton to design their home. Through a series of designs executed between 1808 and 1813, Thornton engaged the Peters in a dialogue before deciding on the neo-classical design, marked by geometric forms and “austere, unadorned surfaces.” Design elements from the ancient republics of Greece and Rome were considered appropriate for the new republic.

The attractive exhibit, incorporating decorative arts, manuscript materials, household goods, prints, engravings, and photographs culled from the extensive Tudor Place collections and on loan from other institutions evokes the Peters’ elite

social status and their life at Tudor Place. We learn that the Peters purchased 8 1/2 acres in the most desirable suburban area of Georgetown Heights, just north of the port and commercial center, upon receiving an \$8,000 inheritance from George Washington’s estate. One of the exhibit’s richest primary sources is an 1848 guide to Washington, which describes Georgetown Heights as “lofty eminences” along which “gentlemen of wealth have built their dwellings, and cultivated beautiful and extensive gardens.” Tudor Place’s gardens remain a central element of a visit to the site.

The Peters’ wealth and prominence is evident everywhere in the exhibit’s material culture, from the French tureen and sauceboat given by Washington to his step-granddaughter to a blue glass fingerbowl that belonged to Martha Washington. As executor of Martha Washington’s estate upon her death in 1802, Peter arranged a private sale for friends and family before the public auction. Included in the exhibit is a list in Peter’s hand of the items that he and his wife purchased at the sale.

As the exhibit explains, the Peters’ inherited wealth and status made a stylish home a necessity. Built with entertaining in mind, Tudor Place centers around public spaces: a saloon flanked by a formal drawing room and the parlor/dining room. Maintaining the large home and entertaining required help; the “help” that ran this and many other houses in the capital was the enslaved labor of African Americans. By 1820, as the exhibit notes, the Peters owned 14 enslaved persons—6 adults and 8 children—some bequeathed by Martha Washington in her will.

In its emphasis on social and cultural history, *1816 Georgetown* is a welcome complement to the interpretation provided on the house tour, which concentrates largely, although not exclusively, on genealogy and decorative arts. The exhibit serves as a basic introduction to the meaning of architectural style. However, in attempting to present

sizeable ideas (according to a press release, “the social, economic, and political climate of the early 19th century”) in a small installation (the gallery is 400 square feet), the exhibit is necessarily limited in scope. Given that the visitor stands in Tudor Place, the curator might have skirted space limitations by directing visitors to labeled architectural elements in the house.

For those interested in Washington, DC, history or fine arts of the era, several artifacts are noteworthy: a rarely exhibited 1795 portrait miniature of George Washington by Walter Robertson of Philadelphia, Thomas Peter’s flute, and a Charles Bird King portrait of William Thornton (circa 1810-1820). My favorite object in the exhibit is an edition of the 1792 Andrew Ellicott map of the plan for Washington, published in Philadelphia by Thackara and Vallance and based on L’Enfant’s design. Printed in sections and pasted on sheets of linen, this map was easily portable and able to stand up to multiple foldings—ideal for its use in real estate sales. Like the notion of the “modern” 1816 home, this map reminds visitors of the early decades of the developing national capital city and the prevailing aspirations for the new republic.

Laura Burd Schiavo
The City Museum of Washington, DC

Bittersweet: Japanese American Legacy and Resilience

Los Altos History Museum, Los Altos, CA.
Curators: Allyn Feldman and Toshiko Furuichi Kawamoto

August 14-November 22, 2003.

Increasingly during the past several years, cultural historians have revisited the issues surrounding the U.S. Government’s internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. A recent spate of

museum exhibits testifies to this renewed interest. As home to a sizable Japanese-American community both during the internment period of 1942-1945 as well as today, California leads the way in exhibits dealing with the subject.

The Los Altos History Museum takes a unique approach in its exhibit, *Bittersweet: Japanese American Legacy and Resilience*. Curated and developed by collections and exhibits manager Allyn Feldman and consultant Toshiko Furuichi Kawamoto, the exhibit chronicles the story of the internment through the perspective of several local Japanese-American families. This personal approach reduces the large, somewhat complex topic to a more accessible story. Including the periods prior to internment and following the return of the evacuees to society at the end of World War II extends the exhibit storyline and places the Japanese-American internment in context.

The first Japanese immigrants settled in the Los Altos area at the end of the 19th century. Working primarily as farmers, the Japanese families became part of the larger agricultural movement in the Santa Clara Valley. During the valley’s rapid agricultural growth between 1879 and 1909, the cultivation of fruits and vegetables jumped from 4 percent to 50 percent of all crops grown in California. The exhibit illustrates the industriousness of the Japanese community at this time and effectively personalizes their experiences through photographs and a discussion of family life.

The signing of Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, shattered this seemingly idyllic life, setting in motion the relocation of people of Japanese ancestry, American citizens and noncitizens alike. The exhibit interprets the implementation of the order by focusing on personal experiences recorded by families during relocation, internment, and return.

The internment section of the exhibit looks solely at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in

Wyoming where all of the Los Altos evacuees were sent. The photographs bring the conditions at Heart Mountain to life. In particular, an enormous photographic panel serving as the backdrop for the section shows the camp barracks with a snow-covered Heart Mountain looming in the background, evoking the isolation and bleakness of the barren landscape. Hansel Mieth and Otto Hagel, two *Life Magazine* photographers assigned to document life at Heart Mountain, took most of the photographs on exhibit.

The internment section of the exhibit is the same dimensions as an average barrack "unit"—approximately 16 by 20 feet—complete with a cot and a trunk. This design forces visitors to confront the reality of the confinement of a family and invites viewers to linger in the restricted space and "experience" internment.

The return of the evacuees to Los Altos was not a seamless transition because many local residents were hesitant to welcome their Japanese neighbors back. But, through perseverance and resilience, the returnees confirmed their national allegiance to a skeptical public and adjusted their skills to the changing world. During the postwar period, the Santa Clara Valley's agricultural economy became more diversified. Several exhibit panels discuss Los Altos Japanese-American families and individuals whose businesses range from jewelry stores to landscaping services.

Although the subject of Japanese internment during World War II has reemerged as a popular topic within the California cultural community, *Bittersweet: Japanese American Legacy and Resilience* succeeds in distinguishing itself through its special handling of the topic. By focusing on internment and its consequences on a specific community, the subject is rendered more personal to the audience. The U.S. Government's internment of thousands of Japanese during World War II remains one of the darkest periods in modern American history, but this exhibit manages to send

the visitor home with a positive message. Modern images of Japanese families in this region of northern California illustrate the families' resilience in confronting racism and prejudice, and their commitment to creating opportunities for future generations.

Dwyer Brown
San Francisco, CA

Taste of the Table: Ceramics in Early Maryland

The Homewood House Museum, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD. Curator: Diana Edwards

September 4–November 30, 2003

The Homewood House Museum is on the campus of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore and was a wedding present in 1801 from the wealthy Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his son, Charles Carroll, Jr. The museum is an appropriate venue for the exhibit, *Taste of the Table: Ceramics in Early Maryland*, that features ceramics from the 1720s to the 1830s, when Baltimore was at its height as a leading cultural and urban center. *Taste of the Table* is one in a series of special exhibits reflecting on the cosmopolitan lifestyle of Homewood House's occupants.

The historic residence is considered to be one of the "finest surviving examples of federal period architecture," and today's visitors are transported to the early 19th century. From the luxury furnishings in the various rooms to the well-polished metal wares, there is an aura of formality and domesticity, necessary attributes for the exhibit.

The exhibit's historical and narrative arc follows the privileged diners in the Maryland area, such as the Carrolls, the Calverts, and the Stones, first families of the new nation. The exhibit covers a range of availability, technology, and craftsmanship, from



These ceramics from the *Taste of the Table* exhibit illustrate the kinds of fine porcelain used in Baltimore, MD, from the 1720s to the 1830s when the city was at its height as a leading urban center. (Courtesy of the Homewood House Museum)

formal tea service to water pitchers, from stoneware to porcelains. The earliest works exhibited are low-fired ceramic pieces, such as the partially reconstructed English imported delftware plate with a crude image of a mermaid, dating from 1720-1725. This type of object was commonly found on the waters' edge in establishments like Rumney's Tavern in London Town.

Some early 19th-century objects represent the competing interests of ornament and function. The English porcelain dessert service of Alexander Brown, with gilt lace and the family crest of a feline paw hovering over a ring of olive leaves and pawing a severed human hand, is contrasted by the splendid golden earth tones of a higher quality Chinese vase, elegantly depicting a landscape. Later, mass-produced imports were intended to meet the demand for durable and inexpensive wares.

To place the ceramics in context of the colonial and postcolonial society and economy requires a discussion of inventories, both probate and unregistered, to understand the underlying cost of the prized possessions. Although Maryland had a fair amount of trade in various goods, none was as lucrative or unpredictable as tobacco. Enslaved labor working tobacco fields produced the means for acquiring these luxury items. The tour guide pointed out a favorite Chinese porcelain, decorated with crenate edging and an extravagantly painted likeness of the cash crop, an object that particularly symbolizes the growing wealth in 18th-century Maryland. Nearby are large creamware jugs that

Carroll descendants claim were used to serve cider to the servants in the fields of the Carroll estates.

Taste of the Table demonstrates the ongoing interest in ceramics and the economy and culture that supported their acquisition. Although the exhibit brochure provides more detailed discussions on the objects and their context, the exhibit text could have benefited from more description of pieces such as the delightful French biscuit porcelain set of figures representing gods and goddesses on the dining room table. As evocative as the ceramics are, the exhibit's poor lighting make viewing the pieces difficult. And some objects and their labels are placed too low to read or too high to view their details.

Upon exiting the exhibit and a tour of the house, I felt that I had learned so much, yet wanted to know more. A quote from Robert Hunter came to mind: "Archeology often provides more questions than answers." A number of subplots are hinted but not addressed. The bricks that comprise the major building material are a form of ceramics as well. Who fired the clay and assembled the red brick house? For this exhibit, the envelope of the home provides the perfect context for broader interpretation.

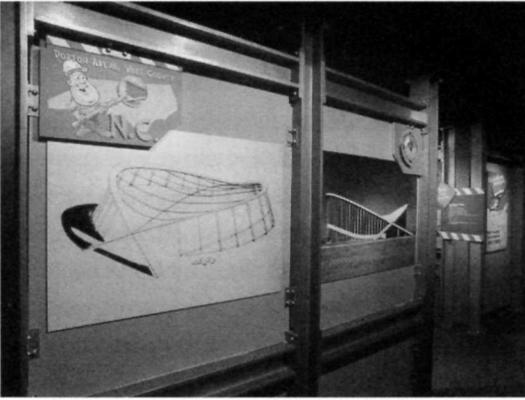
Douglas A. Williams
Morgan State University

Man Made Marvels

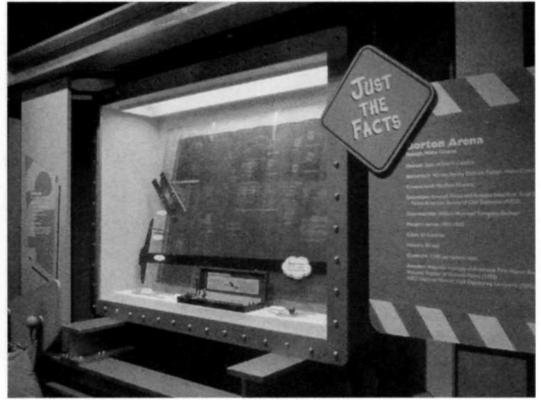
The North Carolina Museum of History, Raleigh, NC. Exhibit team: Martha Tracy, leader; Jim Cowels, designer; Christopher Graham, curator; Darryl Ketcham, graphic designer; and Wesie Sprunt, registrar

March 2002-September 2005

Traditional museums face a brave new world in the 21st century. Fighting the instant virtual gratification



The display panels show a drawing and photograph of the J.S. Dorton Arena in Raleigh, NC. In 1957, the American Institute of Architects considered the arena one of the ten most significant “buildings of the future” in the United States. (Courtesy of North Carolina Museum of History)



The curators use draftsman’s tools and blueprints to explain the work that goes into creating a building such as the Dorton Arena. Steel detailing and construction-site signage appeal to the museum’s younger audience. (Courtesy of North Carolina Museum of History)

of the information superhighway and the attention span of a sound bite culture, museums must come to terms with new audiences and new exhibit formats. Occasionally this means delving into topics not usually associated with a particular type of museum. The North Carolina Museum of History has taken up this challenge. In 2002, the museum opened *Man Made Marvels*, an exhibit unlike any previous at the institution. With the statement that “math+science=history,” the museum “departed from the traditional historical narrative...to demonstrate how civil engineering has helped shape our state.”

Man Made Marvels is a unique exhibit for several reasons. First, the idea came from members of the North Carolina chapter of the American Society of Civil Engineers. Second, a group of eighth-grade students from an area charter school were consulted about aspects of the proposed exhibit during the design phase. Finally, the exhibit features ambitious interactive elements.

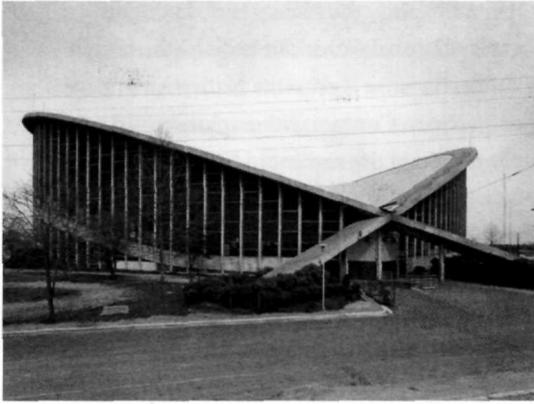
The exhibit team took care to choose four principal examples of engineering accomplishments in three geographical regions of the state. The mountainous western portion of North Carolina is represented by two marvels, the Fontana Dam (1941-1945) and the Lynn Cove Viaduct (1978-1983); the

central piedmont area by the J.S. Dorton Arena (1951-52) on the North Carolina State Fairgrounds in Raleigh; and the coastal region with the relocation and preservation of the 1870 Hatteras Lighthouse (1999).

Hard-Hat Harry and other cartoon characters guide visitors through *Man Made Marvels*, introducing the four featured structures. The exhibit text explains the engineering concepts that undergird the construction of the structures. Accompanying each of the principal examples are drawings or models, as well as interactive elements that help to interpret basic engineering principles.

To explain the principles of dam construction, for example, a Fontana Dam model fills with real water. Visitors are asked to select which of three retaining wall shapes will restrain the water. Choose either of the incorrect shapes and the dam drains rapidly, accompanied by the sound of rushing water. For the relocation of the Hatteras Lighthouse, visitors use a hand crank to move a miniature girder and the surrounding sand under the structure, which is viewed through a Plexiglas-covered cross-section.

There is much to recommend *Man Made Marvels*. The overall design is innovative, and the cartoon



An ingenious construction in steel, glass, and concrete, J.S. Dorton Arena represents one of several engineering marvels in North Carolina featured in the Man Made Marvels exhibit. (Courtesy of JoAnn Sieburg)

characters are an appealing and effective means of presenting complex engineering concepts. The large-scale color activity guide, entitled “Movin’ & Shapin’,” is an excellent aid to further understanding these design marvels. Most importantly, the exhibit engages middle-school children, challenges them to think about the man-made world around them, and hopefully inspires a few to consider careers as engineers.

The exhibit falls short in one main area, however. Despite being mounted in the North Carolina Museum of History, there is a surprising lack of historical context for these engineering marvels. This is particularly unfortunate as each of the examples chosen are so closely linked to major aspects of North Carolina’s social and economic development.

As an example, there is scant historical context for the J.S. Dorton Arena, named by the American Institute of Architects in 1957 as one of the ten most significant “buildings of the future” in the United States. Built as a livestock-judging pavilion for the annual state fair, the design was conceived by internationally known architect Matthew Nowicki, then on the faculty of the School of Design at North Carolina State University. Nowicki designed Poland’s Pavilion for the 1939 World’s Fair and was on the team of architects that designed the

United Nations complex in New York. Nowicki died tragically while the design for the arena was still on the drawing board, and the project was completed by another North Carolina architect, William Henley Deitrick. The arena’s innovative tensile steel-supported roof served as inspiration for other landmark buildings of the era, including Eero Saarinen’s TWA terminal in New York and the Houston Astrodome. Strangely, the exhibit does not mention the structure’s importance as an architectural landmark. As a result, the exhibit is not as engaging to an adult audience as it could be.

Man Made Marvels is an excellent exhibit that shows how museums can reach beyond traditional parameters to engage new topics and audiences. Preservationists will be intrigued. The approach is fresh and creative, and helps to bring the North Carolina Museum of History into the 21st century.

Kenneth Joel Zogry

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The Henry Hall of the American Indian

Schiele Museum of Natural History and Planetarium, Gastonia, NC. Curators: Steve Watts, Missy Turney, Ann Tippitt, and Alan May

Permanent exhibit

Since the Schiele Museum of Natural History was established in 1961, it has been a steward of Native American material culture. Founders Bud and Lilly Schiele donated agricultural tools, jewelry, and other items from Native groups across the country to form the basis of the museum’s collections. During the late 1970s to late 1980s, the Schiele Museum, located in Gastonia, North Carolina, sponsored southeastern Native American heritage festivals. Currently, the museum conducts ethnographic research with the local Catawba tribe as a part of its ongoing relationship with the Native American community. Residing



Two visitors use the interactive touch screens to access information on Southeast American Indian culture. (Courtesy of the Schiele Museum of Natural History)



A diorama of a Tlingit plank house is located in the center of the photograph, and to the right is an artifact display, both from the Northeast exhibit area. (Courtesy of the Schiele Museum of Natural History)

in 1,600 square feet of gallery space within the museum, the Henry Hall of the American Indian builds on the Schiele Museum's commitment to Native American cultural heritage.

Named for James Henry, the son of long-time patron, Mrs. Dougie Henry, the Henry Hall of the American Indian provides a glimpse of the diversity of Native American cultures. The curators chose to focus on two cultures from each of the five major sections of North America: Southeast (Cherokee and Calusa); Northeast (Seneca and Adawa); Southwest (Hopi and Apache); Plains (Lakota and Hidatsa); and Far West (Tlingit and Paiute). Artifacts displayed throughout the exhibit represent other Native cultures as well.

Opened in 2001, the Henry Hall distinguishes itself from traditional American Indian ethnographic exhibits because it presents Native American perspectives. Contact with explorers and traders, who provided the earliest historical reports on Native Americans, had an impact on those cultures. The Henry Hall exhibit illuminates these facts, but also addresses a more fundamental issue. Native American views of nature and society differ from views of their European and American counterparts. Those differences are not due solely to technology, but are based on different world-views and, therefore, yield different historical messages. To address these issues, a Native American Advisory Committee helped the museum to develop mutually acceptable policies and procedures for collections, exhibitions, and programs.

The Henry Hall features objects that illustrate Native cultures' unique and ongoing economic, social, and spiritual connections with the land and water. Artifacts, architectural models, and dioramas illustrate the diversity of lifeways of Native Americans throughout the country. The exhibit demonstrates to visitors that in every ecological region of the continent, American Indians developed different and dynamic cultural technologies and these changed in response to social and environmental change. Items such as Tlingit bentwood boxes, on loan from of the Alaska State Museum, and eastern Cherokee baskets from the museum's ethnographic collections provide two examples.

Tlingit artisans created bentwood boxes using the centuries-old technique of bending cedar planks with steam and relief cuts and sewing the ends together to create the four sides of the box. A top and bottom are fashioned to finish the box. They range in size from one quart to 50 gallons, were used to transport foodstuffs or luxury items, and provide storage. Artisans painted some with sacred symbols to protect the contents. The tradition has been revived among northwestern Native Americans, who are connected through the practice of their craft with their ancestors.

Similarly, the Cherokee basketry tradition dates back more than 500 years. The Cherokee baskets are woven of rivercane, white oak, and hickory bark. The baskets were used to store household items, hold fishing and hunting supplies, and gather foodstuffs, and were frequently traded with the surrounding settler community. They vary in size and style, from small “market” baskets to double-walled “coffin” varieties, and are dyed with pigments from indigenous plants. The tradition adapted new materials as it traveled with the Cherokee from the southeastern states on the Trail of Tears to Oklahoma. The two examples on exhibit illustrate how ecology and geography created distinct artisan traditions to address similar needs.

Other exhibited objects include an Algonquian style birchbark canoe, Hopi jewelry, Calusa tools on loan from the Florida State Museum, and Arikara Indian pottery on loan from the Carnegie Museum of Natural History. Dioramas or scale miniatures depicting Native community life place objects within the context of their environments. In addition to traditional curatorial presentations, each regional exhibit module contains Encounter Panels that provide interactive touch screens with video presentations on Native American language and music.

Visitors will leave the Schiele Museum’s Henry Hall of the American Indian with an increased knowledge and appreciation of the people and the diverse societies that shaped our nation’s past. Because the exhibit is not artifact-heavy, the exhibits do not divert attention to objects rather than the people who made them. Preservation professionals will find a wealth of ethnographic material regarding Native Americans in the Henry Hall, making it a worthy addition to the Schiele Museum.

Jefferson Chapman
University of Tennessee

WEBSITES

ICCROM: International Centre for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
<http://www.iccrom.org>

ICCROM; accessed January 8 and 13, 2004.

Established in Rome, Italy, in 1959, the International Centre for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) was formed to promote the conservation of all types of cultural heritage, both moveable and immovable, and is one of the few organizations of its type with a worldwide mandate. An intergovernmental organization, 100 member states support ICCROM. The Secretary of State is the official United States representative to ICCROM.

The ICCROM website offers two major services to online users: technical publications and training announcements. The first is a comprehensive online catalog. Although text heavy, it allows for fast downloading of papers in its archives on a range of heritage preservation subjects. The online catalog is extensive and supplemented by links to reference materials at other heritage organizations. It covers topics such as brick, clay, stone, as well as authenticity, theory, and history.

The website allows quick access to information about ICCROM’s training programs, such as Project Terra, which addresses the conservation of earthen architectural materials and practices. ICCROM courses are impressive in their breadth and complexity—from heritage planning and policy, to the history of craft traditions, to conservation techniques for textiles, paint, or stonework. ICCROM’s website also serves as a center for information on conferences in its member states, such as a conference on ancient sites on the Silk Road in Duhuang, China, and the International Rock Art Congress in Agra, India.

The website highlights ICCROM’s efforts to train and expand the pool of heritage professionals in

developing nations. In North African countries for example, ICCROM provides workshops and symposia on multiple disciplines. The website describes the organization's efforts to form a network for indigenous professionals to help them care for their cultural heritage.

With so much to offer, there are some drawbacks. Centralizing large quantities of information through a single entry portal appears to be problematic in maintaining current information on all of the pages. For the programs offered in North Africa, there are direct links to websites developed by organizations in these countries. However, for courses in the United States and United Kingdom, there are brief and incomplete contact information and course listings. Of the seven references reviewed, the most current listing was 2002.

ICCROM's website is a valuable resource of information that is unavailable elsewhere and provides a central access point for programs and professionals in many countries.

Michael Hill
Shaw Eco-Village

The Ethnography of Lewis and Clark: Native American Objects and the American Quest for Commerce and Science

http://www.peabody.harvard.edu/Lewis_and_Clark

The Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University; accessed May 29, 2003, and January 13, 2004.

2004 marks the bicentennial commemoration of the westward journey of Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and the members of the Corps of North West Discovery. To commemorate this event, Harvard University's Peabody Museum offers an online ethnographic account of the

Lewis and Clark expedition. *The Ethnography of Lewis and Clark: Native American Objects and the American Quest for Commerce and Science* website focuses extensively on material artifacts gathered during the journey and provides a "valuable lens through which to investigate the history of early ethnographic collecting, display, and museum building in the United States." It complements the Peabody's exhibit, *From Nation to Nation: Examining Lewis and Clark's Indian Collection*.

The website presents comprehensive documentation of the expedition from its origins in 1803 to the 2004 commemoration. Co-authored by Rubie S. Watson and Castle McLaughlin, the site's Introduction provides a concise summary of the expedition's mission and a brief historiography of the journey itself. It also provides insights into methodological resources, such as field journals, vocabulary lists, direct observations, direct questioning, and illustrations. In addition, the Introduction highlights material artifacts, such as hide clothing, woven hats, bows, and arrows; and the wealth of cultural traditions investigated during the expedition, such as technology, tribal political organization, ceremonial smoking, food preparation, economic organization, and gender roles.

The Objects section is exceptional in its rich details and presentation. Twelve items from the Peabody's Lewis and Clark collection are featured, each with at least one image and a short narrative. Each narrative frames the featured object by describing its origins and cultural significance. The narratives address cultural practices such as gift exchanges, flood plain horticulture, and military battles. Detailed views of the objects allow for a greater appreciation of the objects' rich colors and textures. Quotes and illustrations from the expedition's field journals provide contemporary ethnographic data.

The site's Map section helps the viewer visualize the routes between Missouri and Washington. The Resources section provides links to other sites on

Lewis and Clark, such as films, the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, and a list of suggested reading and references.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition website is easy to navigate and user-friendly. It offers high-quality, high-resolution images for many of the objects featured at a click of the mouse. The site's technical accessibility and straight-forward language appeals to a broad audience—from travelers wishing to learn more about the expedition's route to students and their parents, educators, scholars, and cultural preservationists.

Lewis and Clark presented the ethnographic objects collected either directly to President Thomas Jefferson, who authorized the expedition, or to the Charles Wilson Peale Museum in Philadelphia, which is the oldest public museum in the United States and was the national repository prior to the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution in 1846. Jefferson exhibited some his objects in his "Indian Hall" at Monticello and transferred others to the Peale Museum. Upon Jefferson's death, the rest of his items were sent to the Peale. By 1899, 1,400 of these valuable ethnographic resources made their way from the Peale Museum to the Peabody Museum.

Through a creative and scholarly blending of text and visual representations, the website provides insight into an awe-inspiring expedition to the northwestern United States.

Tracy R. Rone
Emory University

National Association for Interpretation

<http://www.interpnet.org>

National Association for Interpretation; accessed December 12, 2003.

Uniformed rangers and costumed guides are some of the most visible representatives of the interpretation profession, working at state and national parks, house museums, and outdoor museums throughout the country. Other members of this profession provide guided tours at museums, libraries, and archives. They stand at the frontline of the public's desire to learn more about the history of significant places.

The National Association for Interpretation (NAI) is dedicated to advancing heritage interpretation, with an emphasis on professional development and certification. Operating from its headquarters adjacent to Colorado State University in Fort Collins, Colorado, the association serves approximately 4,500 members around the world. Its membership includes those who work at parks, zoos, museums, nature centers, historic sites, and aquaria. Through its partnership with Colorado State University's Department of Natural Resource Recreation and Tourism, the association trains future interpreters through internships and work-study arrangements.

The association defines interpretation as "a communication process that forges emotional and intellectual connections between the interests of the audience and the inherent meanings in the resource." This process begins with experienced and professional interpretative staff members. The process culminates in a more informed public and improved resource stewardship.

The association's website offers information on professional development opportunities, ranging from annual and regional conferences to specialized workshops. It operates a certification program for heritage interpreters, interpretive guides, interpretive managers, interpretive planners, and inter-

pretive trainers. For students, the website provides a list of colleges and universities that offer academic training in interpretation. To keep members current on changes in the field, the website also posts commentaries on evolving issues and policies.

Regional organizations and sections that serve as specialized networks address specific areas of interest. For example, the African-American Experience section addresses the challenges of interpreting controversial topics and inspiring appreciation of the topic. Other sections include a Spanish language website and network, the Council for the Interpretation of Native Peoples, and Interpretation and Tourism.

The website provides resources and information on a field that is sometimes taken for granted, yet vitally important in fulfilling a major purpose of historic preservation. As stated in the preamble to the National Historic Preservation Act, "the preservation of this irreplaceable heritage is in the public interest so that its vital legacy of... educational... benefits will be maintained and enriched for future generations."

Suzanne E. Copping
*National Conference of State Historic
Preservation Officers*

The Chicago Historical Society
<http://www.chicagohistory.org>

The Chicago Historical Society; accessed
January 4, 2004.

The Chicago Historical Society (CHS) is one of the Nation's premiere historical repositories and a role model for its sister institutions in the United States and abroad. Its visitors range from professional and amateur historians to secondary school teachers and students, curiosity seekers attracted by the fas-

inating artifacts in its collections, and prospective brides and grooms interested in renting the museum for wedding receptions. The society's website delivers it all with flair in an informative and clear format. Most importantly, the site is an excellent resource for professionals in the fields of historic preservation and cultural resources management.

For researchers, the website offers access to the ARCHIE database (Access for Researching Chicago Historical Information Electronically), which contains records for about 30 percent of the organization's entire collection, or about 6 million of the 20 million historical documents and artifacts. This includes most of the collection's photographic materials and selected materials. ARCHIE gives researchers a variety of search options and provides quick responses to queries.

The website also provides links to other online catalogs and repositories such as the Illinois State Historical Library, city directories, the U.S. Census Bureau, and the Library of Congress. A link to the Commission on Chicago Landmarks website connects researchers to *Your House Has a History*, a guide to obtaining archival resources such as building permits, indexes, tract books, and construction reports.

Through its History Lab program, the website provides a series of lesson plans for secondary teachers. Written by the society's teaching fellows, lesson plans are based upon primary sources in the society's collection. The lesson plans are available under six topics: *America's Documents of Freedom*; *African American Life in the Nineteenth Century*; *Civil War: Up Close and Personal*; *Chicago's World's Fairs*; *Face-to-Face with the Great Depression*; and *History through Opposing Eyes: America and Protest*. The website provides a list of Illinois State goals for education fulfilled through these lesson plans and other student programs that the organization offers. Although the lesson plans draw from Chicago history, they are excellent teaching tools for educators in any community.

Information about the society's current exhibits is available on the website with online walk-through and image galleries for some of the exhibits. Currently this section includes *Welcome to Harold Washington: The Man and the Movement*, which commemorates the 20th anniversary of the historic 1983 election that made Harold Washington Chicago's first African-American mayor.

The Online Projects section demonstrates the society's commitment to finding alternative ways to provide information to its constituents. With a vast collection, but limited resources, the society has partnered with other institutions to develop useful and fascinating web-based products. For example, the society teamed up with several organizations, including the University of Houston and the National Park Service, to create *A House Divided: America in the Age of Lincoln*. This website provides essays and biographies, an interactive timeline, links to primary sources, lesson plans, and reference materials. With funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the society digitized a portion of its collection of more than 55,000 images of urban life captured between 1902 and 1933 by photographers employed by the *Chicago Daily News*. The digital images are maintained by the Library of Congress and accessible through its American Memory website.

For those interested in slightly bizarre Americana, the website offers *Wet With Blood*, an online project created in partnership with Northwestern University, where historians and forensic scientists investigate the authenticity of Lincoln assassination relics. By clicking through *What George Wore and Sally Didn't*, visitors will see some of the Chicago Historical Society's more offbeat artifacts, including John Dillinger's death mask.

In terms of design, the orange-dominant color scheme is invigorating, and the sleek forms used throughout the site create a fresh backdrop for the information. Although the Chicago Historical Society's business is the past, the organization deft-

ly uses the tools of the Information Age through its website to further our understanding of the Windy City and America at large.

Sarah Dillard Pope
Virginia Main Street Program

Finding Family Stories

<http://www.janm.org/exhibits/ffs/galindex.html>

Japanese American National Museum, California African American Museum, the Chinese American Museum, and the Self Help Graphics & Arts, Inc.; maintained by the Japanese American National Museum; accessed July 9, 2003.

Finding Family Stories is an online exhibit developed through collaboration among several Los Angeles museums to give artists a primary voice in addressing the common themes of family, community, and history. The *Finding Family Stories* project began in the aftermath of the 1992 Los Angeles civil unrest that followed the arrest of Rodney King. Initiated as an Arts Partnership Project in 1995, the California African American Museum, the Chinese American Museum, the Japanese American National Museum, and Self Help Graphics & Arts, Inc., sponsored an exhibit of contemporary art, which became the catalyst for dialogue about what it meant to be part of Los Angeles during the events of the mid-1990s.

Between 1995 and 1998, the *Finding Family Stories* project circulated among several sites to encourage audiences to traverse throughout the many layers of Los Angeles and discover new places, neighborhoods, and experiences. The project allowed people to interact outside the limited and defined boundaries of race, ethnicity, class, and sexual orientation, and encouraged the viewer to consider his or her own family histories comparatively.

Now through the digital exhibit *Finding Family Stories*, the visitor may read narratives by artists on the theme of family and view the artists' interpretive works. Narratives include a short story by Luis Alfaro entitled, "Everybody Has a Story: Who's Listening?" Mr. Alfaro focuses on his personal life downtown, particularly on the seemingly mundane corner of Los Angeles's Pico and Union Streets. "I wanted to be like the *sobadora* in the Projects, a vessel of memory, who could pass along all the important things", the author says. "I wanted to ask questions and I wanted to look for answers. And wouldn't you know that the 17 years since I have been gone from that place, that is all I write about. That corner in Pico-Union."

Another reflective story by Roberto Bedoya, "Shoulder to Shoulder," evaluates an America that is "increasingly more ethnically diverse and, in turn, culturally complex." Bedoya captures the spirit of finding family stories within an "aesthetic utopia realized in the acts of sharing." The "we" of Southern California "escapes finessing but grows in multiplicity and possibilities." How many languages are spoken in the Los Angeles United School District? How is my family like your family? How is it different? How are stories told among Jewish-American, Native-American, and Asian-American communities related?

Sandra de la Loza develops her piece, "Brothers 2002," by sifting through family photographs. The influence of her Los Angeles-born parents who came of age during the Zoot Suit/Pachuco era of the late 1940s is evident in the artist's work. She refers to the "Americanization of programs in public schools designed to erase traces of 'Mexican-ness':" To de la Loza, "Family and community have been created from their place in the world, to allow a representation that is as dense, thick, and multi-layered as the landscape we navigate through."

In contrast, Michael Massenburg explores his family's beginnings from the African slave trade to the present. Although the family survived and

prospered by maintaining a sense of hope and spirituality, Massenburg's assemblage piece, "In Time," expresses what he defines as "empty spaces." "Regardless of the stories I've discovered," he says, "I want more. I want the stories that make sense to me. Through the process, I learned how precious time is, for when we die, our stories go with us." His work searches for answers to fundamental questions: "What is still missing? What can I put in the empty places to bridge it all together?"

Dominique Moody's piece, "Tales of a Family Tree," captures a sense of family through images that convey not just a view of a face or a figure, but an experience to touch our emotions. To Moody, her art resonates "because of the stories it tells—personal experiences with universal meanings, junctures at which people meet and transcend the barriers of the written word." But how does family influence the individual? How does the individual influence family? What is our role within this group? What experiences bind us to one another? "We are family and yet we are at times strangers separated by time and distance."

While the artists' expressions and interpretations in the *Finding Family Stories* website range from abstract forms to literal assemblages, these and other individuals share a common theme of family stories. The common bond of family is organized through the interaction of the artists, organizations, and the public. Intangible cultural heritage and its expression within a community is examined. The responsibility is for us, the outsider, to discover our own family complexity within the universal experiences of place and community.

Gerry Takano
TBA West, Inc. San Francisco

*National Park Service Archeology and
Ethnography Program*

<http://www.cr.nps.gov/aad/index.htm>

National Park Service; accessed May 28, June 30, July 5-7, and December 4, 2003.

Interested in learning more about African-American history or the first Americans? Lost your copy of the 1906 Antiquities Act? Trying to locate archeological sites at a national park near your home? Look no further than the website for the National Park Service's Archeology and Ethnography Program. With a mix of direct content and links to articles, technical reports, distance learning curricula, legislation, and related preservation websites, this portal provides a comprehensive guide to some of the programs and resources administered by the National Park Service.

Through the use of thematic links and menus, the website connects audiences with abundant content. The home page navigational options include a Features menu that links to special topics, a pull-down Quick Menu, and a list of links that organizes content into broad themes. A series of additional links provides access to resources for professional and non-professional audiences. The What's New link describes recent additions to the site and an overview of content contained within each thematic section.

Current features include The Robinson House, which is highlighted on the home page. Owned by a free black family in 19th- and early 20th-century Manassas, Virginia, the Robinson House played an important role in the First and Second Battles of Manassas. The site presents an overview of archeological research conducted following a 1993 fire at the house. Traditional archeological information from field excavations and material culture analyses is offered. A more interesting presentation is a series of photographs and line drawings linked to a timeline, which proves to be an effective interactive tool for tracing the evolution of the house.

Contemporary documentation and contributions from Robinson family descendents help bring the story of the house alive, and a bibliography for those interested in further exploring African-American history and archeology is also available.

Sites and Collections provides in-depth content for professionals through a series of thematic links. Topics include looting and site protection, public education, and submerged resources with links to articles, technical information, and related sites. The Peoples and Cultures page addresses the ethnography program in the national parks and provides links to recent research projects.

A section called For the Public offers bibliographic information and links to related sites. Topics include a guide to national, state and regional parks, museums and online exhibits, volunteer opportunities, certification programs, statewide events, and archeology-focused media such as books, videos, magazines, and websites. These links are far more content-rich and sophisticated than others on the site.

Two distance-learning modules, Archeology for Interpreters and Managing Archeological Collections, provide comprehensive summaries of their topics. The former is an in-depth, online tutorial in archeology, covering methodologies, interpretive strategies, ethics, and biases. It includes Try It Yourself exercises in the methodology sections with links to off-site resources, which supplement the text with animations or problems to solve. Managing Archeological Collections is designed for curators, providing layered information on the current state of curation, collections management, legislation, access to collections, technology, and future directions. The bibliography includes some downloadable articles, while the links page highlights funding sources, online catalogues, exhibits, and digital archeological resources.

Given the sheer volume of information available, navigation presents some challenges within mod-

ules, to external links, and across the entire site. There is a lack of visual continuity in some areas because content generated from several sources has been merged. Older design schemes clash with the pleasing pastel coloring of more recent modifications. Kennewick Man is given its own link from the home page, rather than placed within the navigational structure reserved for other reports. Currently, the site map offers the best way to quickly assess the information available, and understand how it is organized, and navigate the site.

The Archeology and Ethnography website presents a rich and varied array of resources for archeologists, ethnographers, preservation professionals,

and non-professionals. The designers deserve much credit for organizing an overwhelming mass of data into a site with a high degree of visual and technical coherence.

Technical reports, legislation, standards and guidelines, databases of archeological resources, preservation-related articles, many other useful guides, bibliographies, and links have been organized in a site that will literally take you weeks to explore, but only moments to bookmark.

Barbara J. Heath

Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest

Letters

Readers may submit letters to the editor (see contact information on page facing table of contents). The letters should include the writer's name, address, and daytime telephone number for confirmation. Letters may be edited for publication, and not all letters will be published. If a letter pertains to an article or review, the editor may forward the letter to the author for reply.

Origins of the Title "State Historic Preservation Officer"

Your interview with Russell Keune (*CRM Journal*, Fall 2003) brought back almost-forgotten names and memories from the early days of the federal historic preservation program. When I opened the western office of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the state liaison officer for historic preservation in California was William Penn Mott, then director of the state's Department of Parks and Recreation. He was also the state liaison officer for the then Bureau of Outdoor Recreation grants program. He had a large staff administering the millions that the state received for the bureau, but only a three-person staff administering the state's historic preservation program.

Any letters that I wrote to Bill Mott as state liaison officer for historic preservation would be first sent to the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation program head and eventually, several weeks later, get to the state's historic preservation program staff. I experienced similar problems in other states where no

one seemed to know who the historic preservation officer was. In February 1973, I traveled to Washington, DC, for the annual meeting of the historic preservation officers. I told the National Park Service officials of the problem I had encountered with the title and recommended that they consider changing it to "State Historic Preservation Officer." The next morning, the title was recommended to the gathering and they voted for the change. Those were the days.

Louis S. Wall
Engineering Field Activity West
Naval Facilities Engineering Command
Daly City, California

Mission 66 Initiative

As both a former student and graduate architect employed by the National Park Service during the late 1950s and early 1960s, I read the article, "Mission 66 Initiative" (*CRM Journal*, Fall 2003) with interest. While this article focused primarily on the buildings and related facilities produced by Mission 66, there is another historical dimension to be considered—the people employed during Mission 66.

Mission 66 made a significant contribution to the development of the professional disciplines of architecture, archeology, and history as they related to historic preservation. During its 10-year history, it probably represented the largest and most signifi-

cant national employment opportunity for individuals pursuing their interest in historic preservation.

The expanded Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) afforded a generation of undergraduate, graduate, and architecture students a broad array of work experience with a wide range of buildings and structures in national parks. Many of us went on to professional careers with the National Park Service after graduation. HABS also attracted university faculty members who served as team supervisors and became founders of university degree programs in historic preservation. Several became leading administrators of public agencies and private organizations.

Mission 66 also led to the hiring of highly specialized craftspersons in the traditional building arts. I recall attending the summer "Carpenter Carnivals" held at Independence National Historical Park in the early 1960s. The hands-on demonstrations brought together craftspersons, architects, and architectural historians for a shared learning experience.

Many National Park Service professionals from this period were later the founders of today's Association for Preservation Technology International. Much of the research on early American buildings and building technology found its way into the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* and other periodicals.

My first introduction to Mission 66 occurred during a 10-week period in the summer of 1958 at the then Harpers Ferry National Monument. As a young student architect, my time at Harpers Ferry was an important introduction to how historians, archeologists, architects, and building craftspersons were integrated into a large-scale preservation project. It was an enriching educational experience that could not have been provided in an academic classroom.

Russell V. Keune
Arlington, Virginia

*Comments on the inaugural
issue of CRM Journal*

I just wanted to congratulate you on the new look for *CRM*. I've been a longtime reader, though I'm not in the cultural resources business (just an interested layman), though I guess my own magazine counts as a cultural resource of some kind. Anyway, good luck with the new enterprise.

Cullen Murphy
Managing Editor
The Atlantic Monthly

I wish to congratulate you on the first issue that is most impressive both of its content and its appearance. With best wishes for what is going to follow this promising beginning.

Eduard F. Sekler
Professor of Architecture, Emeritus
Graduate School of Design
Harvard University

On behalf of the faculty, staff, and students in the School of Architecture and Allied Arts at the University of Oregon, I wish to thank you for our copy of the inaugural issue of *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*. This journal will be a great addition to our library and, I'm sure, enjoyed by many. Great job!

Robert Z. Melnick
Dean
School of Architecture and Allied Arts
University of Oregon

Common Ground: Preserving Our Nation's Heritage

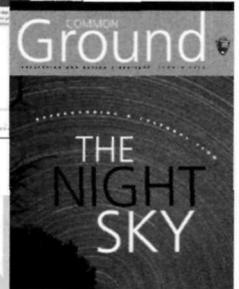
Award-winning quarterly magazine on trends and research in preservation, with news, features, and interviews with leaders in the field.

To subscribe or read the latest issue, go to www.cr.nps.gov/CommonGround



www.cr.nps.gov/CommonGround

COMMON
Ground



Heritage News

Monthly e-newsletter with information on grants, laws, policies, and activities of interest to the heritage community.

Go to www.cr.nps.gov/HeritageNews to subscribe or read the latest issue.

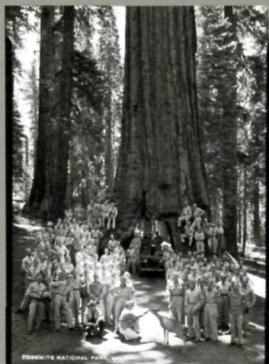


www.cr.nps.gov/HeritageNews

Heritage
News



CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship
National Park Service
1849 C Street, NW (2251)
Washington, DC 20240-0001



COVER

Photographer and California native Ansel Adams (1902-1984) captured this memorable moment on film for the National Park Service in 1943 while accompanying the 273rd Field Artillery Battalion of the U.S. Army on a visit to the Wawona Tunnel Tree in Yosemite National Park. Formed in March 1943 at Camp Beale near Sacramento, the 273rd headed off to war in Europe in June 1944, where it served under the command of another California native, General George S. Patton, and played an important role in the Allied victory over Nazi Germany at the Battle of the Bulge. Adams, an avid conservationist whose love affair with Yosemite Valley began when he was a teenager, devoted his talents and time to the preservation and interpretation of Yosemite, Kings Canyon, and other special places.

(Courtesy of the National Park Service Historic Photograph Collection.)