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CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship

Volume 7 Number 1 Winter 2010

4 INTRODUCTION

7 VIEWPOINT

How to Treasure a Landscape: What is the role of the National Park Service?
by Brenda Barrett

16 INTERVIEW

An Interview with John O. Brostrup, HABS Photographer, 1936-1937
by Catherine C. Lavoie

ARTICLES

27 Cultural Heritage Management in Tanzania's Protected Areas:
Challenges and Prospects
by Audax Z. P. Mabulla and John F. R. Bower

46 History, Preservation, and Power at El Morro National Monument:
Toward a Self-Reflexive Interpretive Practice
by Thomas H. Guthrie

RESEARCH REPORTS

68 Before the Signatures: A New Vázquez de Coronado Site at El Morro National
Monument in West-Central New Mexico
by Clay Mathers, Charles Haecker, James W. Kendrick, and Steve Baumann

74 Starting Lasting Conversations About the Past: Public Outreach and
the Bladensburg Archaeology Project
by Michael Roller

78 Saving Sugarloaf Mound in St. Louis, Missouri
by Andrew B. Weil and Andrea A. Hunter

82 REVIEWS

Introduction

by Barbara J. Little, Editor

As the readers of *CRM Journal* and all CRM practitioners know well, cultural heritage presents us with both comforts and challenges. Our experiences with our histories can leave us both heartened and dismayed, sometimes simultaneously. For example, as a visitor to any number of parks or memorials, I can find myself impressed and inspired by the intrepid resolve of early European explorers, yet grief-stricken by the deadly, reverberating consequences of their actions for Native people.

The historian John Hope Franklin spoke about this “sense of mingled pride and sadness” apparent at many historic places, including those preserved within the national park system such as national military cemeteries and more recent additions such as the site of the Japanese internment camp of Manzanar. His observations are relevant to the broadest range of activities gathered under the rubric of historic preservation, as he calls on practitioners to consider the impact and meaning of recognized and preserved places where history happened. I quote Franklin’s words at length because they resonate with the relevance of our cultural heritage and the ways in which we learn from and commemorate it.¹

During the 1930s, the great historian, sociologist, and public servant W. E. B. Dubois wrote in his study of black reconstruction this statement, and I quote, ‘One is astonished in the study of history at the recurrence of the idea that evil must be forgotten, distorted, skimmed over. . . . The difficulty, of course, with this philosophy is that history loses its value as an incentive and as an example; it paints perfect men and noble nations, but it does not tell the truth.’

The key words are incentive and example. The places that commemorate sad history are not places in which we wallow, or wallow in remorse, but instead places which we may be moved to a new resolve, to be better citizens.

The upward progress of this nation has been achieved by the struggles of people whose heroic actions on our behalf we are learning to celebrate. Patriotism and loyalty are aroused by full sense of participation. That is why it is important for us to hear, in our parks, as in our classrooms, about labor struggles, about heroism in the achievement of racial justice, and to listen to the voices of women in their struggles.

The writer Barbara Kingsolver has expressed one of the historically entrenched dilemmas of the modern world this way: “The legacy of colonialism is a world of hurt and cross-pollinated beauty, and we take it from there.”² How we “take it from there” is a question for cultural resource practitioners to ponder.

El Morro National Monument in New Mexico is one of those places illustrating historic bravery and contemporary courage. It takes courage and resolve to listen for and acknowledge competing stories and to take seriously the continued unfolding of America’s quest for a more perfect union.

Thomas Guthrie’s case study is El Morro but his argument reaches far more broadly as he challenges us to look deeply at the layers of meaning conveyed by our presentations of history. Guthrie asks us to take the legacy of colonialism seriously and to confront it through the interpretative stories of our national parks. Guthrie’s article and the research report by Clay Mathers, Charles Haecker, James W. Kendrick, and Steve Baumann complement each other in revealing the richness of heritage at El Morro. The latter authors report on the exciting discovery of clear physical evidence within the national monument for the 1540–1542 Spanish *entrada* of Coronado. Their work follows up on a report in the Summer 2009 issue of *CRM Journal* about other Coronado-associated artifacts discovered within Zuni Pueblo. Piecing together the full landscape of this early Spanish presence in New Mexico and its far reaching effects on Native peoples is an ongoing, collaborative effort.

Indeed, it is the landscape scale of such research efforts that start to change our understanding of both past and present and the relationships between people and the land.

Brenda Barrett calls on the National Park Service to take an active leadership role in the nationwide effort to identify, protect, and sustain the landscapes we treasure. Many different groups work on various aspects of landscape preservation. Barrett sees effective collaboration as a daunting, but achievable, mission. While describing how administrative and funding tools are essential, she also writes that telling the stories may be the most powerful tool available.

The protected areas of Ngorongoro and Serengeti in Tanzania are vast, internationally treasured landscapes. Audax Mabulla and John Bower describe challenges to cultural heritage preservation and management in those protected areas, highlighting the need to integrate cultural and natural resource stewardship along with the needs of Indigenous people. Both the challenges and proposed actions will be familiar to practitioners in many countries, including the United States.

Across the globe, many local populations would benefit from more awareness about the richness of their histories. That is true not only in Tanzania but also in

Maryland, Missouri, and elsewhere. Michael Roller reports on the Bladensburg Archaeology Project, which includes archeological excavation, documentary research, and architectural inventory in this Maryland suburb of Washington, DC. The core of the project is civic engagement with and within the community to assist people in exploring and sharing their histories. Andrew Weil and Andrea Hunter tell the moving story of preservation through the purchase of Sugarloaf Mound in St. Louis by one of the descendant tribes. The Osage Nation purchased this surviving example of earthen architecture with the intention to build an interpretive center to tell the history to non-tribal local people who may be unaware of their city's deep past.

As we research, document, preserve, and interpret our heritage, we continually make connections. We pull together the recognition and management of natural and cultural resources so that we are better able to appreciate and protect the fullness of our world. We pull together the experiences, values, and expertise of ever-widening circles of stakeholders.

In this issue's interview, we celebrate both an individual's achievements and the 75th anniversary of the Historic American Buildings Survey. John Bostrup was only 20-years-old when he joined HABS as a photographer in 1936. The contributions of this young man speak well of the current emphasis on involving youth in service on public lands and in heritage preservation.

As we share, listen, and respond to the personal experiences and many stories connected to places and people, we connect past, present, and future.

Additional Note to Our Readers

I'd like to thank all of you who continue to respond to the invitation to review materials for the journal. The invitation is open: If you are interested in contributing to *CRM* as a reviewer, please contact the editor at NPS_CRMJournal@nps.gov with your name, email address, mailing address, phone number, and areas of topical and/or geographic expertise.

I am also very pleased to welcome Pat O'Brien as the Book Review Editor and Brian Joyner as Exhibits and Multimedia Review Editor. Rebecca Shiffer is now a Research Report Editor, joining Lisa Davidson and Virginia Price. Virginia Price is also filling the new position of Associate Editor.

Notes

- 1 John Hope Franklin, "Cultural Resource Stewardship" (Keynote address, Discovery 2000: The National Park Service General Conference, St. Louis, Missouri, 11 September 2000.) <http://www.nps.gov/discovery2000/culture/keynote.htm>, accessed March 22, 2010.
- 2 Barbara Kingsolver, "The Vibrations of Djoogbe," pp. 181-193 in *High Tide in Tucson: Essays from Now or Never* (New York: Harper Collins, 1995), 193.

How to Treasure a Landscape: What is the role of the National Park Service?

by Brenda Barrett

The word landscape has power. It evokes something bigger and grander than our immediate environment. It invokes the sweep of a great river valley, a vista of agricultural fields interspersed with farmsteads and small towns, a great park designed to pleasure the eye, traces of past industrial might, or even the other side of the mountain. We understand that certain landscapes have special value. The challenge is to translate such understanding into action: identify, protect, and sustain these valued landscapes for the future. Recent articles, books, and conferences have heralded a revival in this kind of visionary thinking,¹ identifying examples of large regional collaborative efforts that are underway across the nation. What better time than now to try this bold idea?

Working on a landscape scale has been advanced as a policy direction for the Obama administration. *Great Outdoors America*, the report of the Outdoor Resources Review Group, noted the importance of this work, recommending that “Federal and other public agencies should elevate the priority for landscape level conservation in their own initiatives and through partnerships across levels of government, with land trusts, other nonprofit groups, and private landowners to conserve America’s treasured landscapes.”² *Advancing the National Park Idea*,³ the report of the National Parks Second Century Commission, charged with defining the future of the National Park Service, has also strongly endorsed landscape-scale thinking. Some of the commission’s top recommendations are centered on the agency embracing a 21st-century mission by “creating new national parks, collaborative models and corridors of conservation and stewardship, expanding the national park system to foster ecosystem and cultural connectivity” and by “enhancing park protection authorities and cooperative management of large land- and seascapes.”

Whatever the term—“treasured landscape” or, more recently, “Great Outdoors America”—Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar has expressed his vision for a high level of attention to both National Park Service units and other large landscapes worthy of protection. The administration put the concept into action in 2009 with the issuance of Executive Order 13508 on the Chesapeake Bay.⁴ The new order led with a declaration that the Chesapeake Bay is a national treasure for its ecological values and nationally significant assets in the form of public lands, parks, forests, facilities, wildlife refuges, monuments, and museums.



FIGURE 1
Sailing on the Chesapeake Bay (Chesapeake Bay Program)

So the good news is that the table is set to think about really big places like the 64,000-square-mile landscape of the Chesapeake Bay and its watershed. (Figure 1) One of the challenges, out of many, in implementing this kind of effort is that many of the logical partners who care about the idea of landscape are already invested in specific historic preservation or natural resource conservation strategies. For this reason, if the public sector is going to step in and engage in this holistic landscape scale approach to our nation's special places, as the Department of Interior has been asked to do on the Chesapeake Bay, then there is a pressing need to synthesize programs and translate between the vocabulary and agendas of the different groups who want to preserve land, revitalize communities, restore historic landmarks, and save the environment. A barrier to getting started on this important work may be a lack of understanding about how existing programs deliver services and what has been ground-truthed and tested. With experience in so many of these areas, the National Park Service should take stock of all the possibilities.

The Historic Preservation Framework

The National Park Service, together with the President's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, serves as the nation's de facto cultural heritage ministry. The two agencies have developed finely tuned expertise in the classification and protection of the nation's official list of places worthy of preservation, the National Register of Historic Places.⁵ The criteria for designation and the understanding of what is significant in our nation's past have expanded from landmark properties to historic districts to larger landscapes to places that have traditional cultural value.⁶

According to the National Register Information System, as of March 16, 2010, 85,540 properties are listed in the National Register, representing over 1.5 million individual properties. The richness of information is in part due to the program's administration in partnership with states, territories, and tribes, which brings many perspectives on what is significant in the history and cultural heritage of the nation. Although the program struggles with funding issues, particularly for the many new tribal historic preservation programs, it is a good model of partnership administration.

The National Register of Historic Places also has proved to be an adaptable framework with well-supported guidance through regulations and interpretive bulletins.⁷ However, there are outer limits to the size of an area that may receive National Register recognition and with good reason. One factor is the mandates of the National Historic Preservation Act and regulations, which require federal agencies to take into account the impact of actions on properties listed in or eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. It should also be noted that an even higher standard of protection is provided by Section 4(f) of the U.S. Department of Transportation Act for federally funded transportation

projects.⁸ These regulatory requirements associated with recognizing the significance of a place or property have reinforced the careful delineation of what is identified as culturally significant⁹ and cannot be easily merged with the overarching concept of a treasured landscape. However, the information offered by the national register programs is an essential starting point for dissecting and understanding the value of any landscape.

The Potential for Land and Water Conservation

Turning to the natural world, the role of the National Park Service does not have as well-developed a framework outside of national parks themselves. This is so, even though it was the environmental and land conservation world that pioneered ecosystem thinking and concerns about biodiversity and climate change which drive much of the impetus on landscape thinking today. The only program that recognizes and designates place-based resources is the National Natural Landmarks Program. While the goal of the program is to recognize the best examples of the nation's biological and geological natural features, the program has very limited funding and only 600 properties have been included in the list of landmarks.¹⁰ Overall, the field of natural resource management has developed a vast body of research, extending from the individual species level to the characteristics of large watershed or the interrelationships of regional ecosystems. However, these well-developed concepts for recognizing places of high ecological value have not been reduced to a governmentally recognized programmatic approach.¹¹

NatureServe, which coordinates the Natural Heritage Index¹² and has members in every state, provides some uniform information on ecological values with partners in all 50 states as well other countries in the Americas. However, it is managed by a nonprofit consortium and in some states struggles for funding and identity. The land conservation movement is similarly organized around nonprofit leadership. For example on the national level, the Land Trust Alliance offers technical assistance and accreditation standards in the field. Overall the conservation movement is strongly supported by nonprofits and some outstanding state programs funded by special taxes and set-asides. One indicator of the success of the movement is growth, over the last 25 years the number of land trusts has tripled to 1,700 organizations.¹³

The National Park Service at one time had a central role in administering funds in partnership with the states and territories from the Land and Water Conservation Fund¹⁴ for the planning, acquisition, and development of natural resources for recreational purposes. As the funding for state assistance part of the Land and Water Conservation program waned and what funding remained in the program was refocused on other federal priorities, the park service was reduced to a minor player in the conservation world beyond park boundaries.¹⁵ Both the National Parks Second Century Commission Report and the

Outdoor Resources Review Committee have recommended full funding for the Land and Water Conservation Fund to benefit both federal and state programs. These recommendations may provide the National Park Service with an opportunity to build a more robust landscape-scale strategy around preserving critical habitat, open lands, and waterways for conservation and recreation both within and without park units. New ideas for conserving large land areas could be built through identifying the land conservation priorities that would connect the lands already protected by the efforts of the nation's many land trusts, the over three million acres of nonfederal land acquired in the past by the Land and Water Conservation Fund, and other public land holdings.¹⁶

The Opportunity to Coordinate State Programs

One low-cost contribution the National Park Service could make to a landscape-scale vision for resource management is a more integrated approach to the Historic Preservation and Land and Water Conservation Programs. By statute, both programs are administered as a state/federal partnership and a little cultivation of their common roots might help both programs flourish. Created in the 1960s to counterbalance the sprawling growth that was seen as diminishing the nation's cultural and natural heritage, both programs are now funded from a similar source, that is, primarily offshore gas and oil revenues. Both programs are also managed through a partnership with the National Park Service and have many parallel requirements for participation: the state governor designates a State Historic Preservation Officer¹⁷ or a State Liaison Officer for the Land and Water Conservation program, funding is provided on a matching basis, and each state must prepare a plan with substantial public involvement directing the expenditure of the federal funds that are directed to it.

However, despite the resource management goals of both programs, there has been little impetus to coordinate the substantial efforts that the states and tribes have put towards qualifying and planning for the two programs. And the individual states have a variety of conventions and funding streams that make each of their programs a little different. But the mission of the two programs have more in common than most government efforts and in reaching towards landscape work together, they might find undiscovered benefits and chances to partner on projects. In addition, most states tap into significant community development and transportation dollars to achieve their conservation and preservation goals, which may provide more opportunities to leverage mutually beneficial projects.

A good place to begin coordination would be in the required State Historic Preservation and the State Comprehensive Outdoor Recreation¹⁸ planning processes. Such coordination could lead to improved practices and more support to fully fund both programs. The National Park Service already has a leadership role in these programs, now would be an opportune time to focus

planning around the unifying idea of working in a landscape. Finally, the agency could provide a forum to share the innovative, cutting-edge ideas that are being pioneered at the state level to identify cultural and historic landscapes, conserve large landscapes through dedicated funds, and programs that link the future of communities and public lands.¹⁹

The Time to Rediscover Existing Partnerships

The National Park Service could lead by identifying the many programs in the agency's portfolio that are already operating on a landscape scale and learn how these small investments, backed by big ideas, can make a difference. One of the premier examples is the Appalachian Trail, which manages a 2100-mile cross boundary trail through a collaboration of volunteers and trail councils, with the National Park Service as a partner. (Figure 2) The trail partners are extending the value of the trail through educational and gateway community initiatives from Maine to Georgia. If just a little more attention were given to elevate and support the partnerships that manage the other 29 National Scenic and Historic Trails²⁰ that crisscross the nation, the impact on conservation and communities could be significant. This approach of involvement that engages the public beyond limits of the linear resources also could be applied to the designated waterways under the National Wild and Scenic Rivers Program. Under the program's authority, the National Park Service manages 32 of the more than 150 designated wild and scenic rivers in the nation.



FIGURE 2
Vermont's Baker Peak on
the Appalachian Trail (Laurie
Potteiger/Appalachian Trail
Conservancy)

National Heritage Areas, the most rapidly expanding of the National Park Service's landscape scale designations, with 49 authorized areas from New England to Alaska,²¹ provide another opportunity to see partnership in action. The National Park Service has been seen as an essential source of knowledge and support in planning and resource conservation expertise for the program. In turn, heritage areas have offered the agency access to empowered regional coalitions, local citizens, organizations, and government entities that collectively manage the heritage area and are responsible for its success. Most heritage areas have national park units within their boundaries and have developed mutually supportive partnerships on a regional scale. The approach has many benefits, but it is not without its challenges. The program is in need of a legislative foundation to tie together all the individual congressional designations. The growth of the program (from 18 areas to 49 areas in less than a decade) and the continued interest in designating new areas have challenged the National Park Service's ability to provide assistance. And finally, for the heritage areas to fully realize their potential, the National Park Service leadership must sustain and enhance this approach through long-term support and adequate staffing and budget.

In 2006, the National Park System Advisory Board report, *Charting a Future for National Heritage Areas*, recognized the potential for working on a grand scale

and identified steps to maximize the benefits of the partnership, noting that it is an approach that embraces preservation, recreation, economic development, heritage tourism, and heritage education and weaves them into a new conservation strategy.²²

Whether rivers or historic or scenic trails, roadways, canal systems, waterways, rail beds, or the more holistic scale of the heritage area or corridor, the National Park Service has discovered how to use regional resources as an effective organizing principle, bringing people together across political and disciplinary boundaries. These resources offer a unique opportunity to knit together a country that is challenged by fragmented local governments and different perceptions about conservation and preservation. Many of these efforts bring with them a host of partners who have pushed the agency to get involved in these special places where nature and culture combine and to look with the expressed wish of gaining the National Park Service imprimatur, as well as aid and assistance to the preservation of significant resources. These initiatives to work at larger and larger landscapes should now be embraced as the foundation of the treasured landscape idea. A historic opportunity would be missed if all this work were not folded into the way forward.

The National Park Service is only one of many players in any strategy to tackle the conservation of an ecosystem or preservation of a region's cultural heritage. However, because of its partnership with the states, tribes, and territories in the administration of both historic preservation and land and water conservation programs, the agency has a special responsibility to show leadership.²³ It has pioneered many regional initiatives around trails, waterways, and the nation's heritage. Importantly, the units of the national park system are themselves laboratories for integrated resource management because most incorporate cultural, natural, and historic values. The National Park Service has an unparalleled opportunity to use the full range of its existing partnerships, designation programs, and expertise to model collaborative landscape approaches and expand its stewardship mission both inside and outside park boundaries.

It's all about the Story

Finally, the National Park Service could lead through its demonstrated excellence in education and interpretation. This step is critical as coming to consensus on the value of a place is the first step toward taking action for its protection. The report of the Preserve America Summit, held in New Orleans in October of 2006,²⁴ revealed a much larger and more expansive definition of heritage values than are found under the current rubric of historic preservation. This expanded definition encompassed the natural and cultural as well as the historic values of the landscape, recognized living communities and diverse traditions, used heritage values, broadly writ, for the management of resources and was more centered on people and sense of place than on the features of the built environment.

One of many outgrowths of the broader view of heritage is the importance of narrative or “the story” in communicating to people where they live and how they are connected to the larger cultural landscape or ecosystem around them. In the National Heritage Areas Program, research in three different regions of the country has shown that telling the story of a region was the most essential step in engaging partners and communities across boundaries and generations.²⁵

The National Parks Second Century Commission Report recognized the power of a public armed with knowledge of the country’s history, natural resources, and “the responsibilities of citizenship.”²⁶ To have any chance of building a sense of commitment to conserve a landscape as large as, for example, the Chesapeake Bay, there will need to be a narrative to match the scale of undertaking. Although daunting, it can be done. With very limited investment, the National Park Service manages the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program to coordinate preservation and education efforts nationwide and integrate local historical places, museums, and interpretive programs associated with the Underground Railroad into a mosaic of community, regional, and national stories.²⁷ If the time is right, a compelling regional narrative might provide the tipping point for action on a landscape scale.

In Conclusion

The definition of what is in the purview of the National Park Service has always been a dynamic process, as Congress has broadened the agency’s mission from natural wonders, to historic landmarks, to outstanding recreational assets, and into the very living places in our nation and some of its hardest stories, whether the African Burial Ground in New York City or the Japanese internment camp Manzanar in California.²⁸ The expanding definition of the agency’s work has brought the National Park Service into increasingly complex relationships with the landscape, and the agency and its partners need to seize this new opportunity to revitalize existing programs that recognize, organize, interpret, and preserve the resources that the service was created to protect. Now is the time to truly treasure our landscapes.

Brenda Barrett is the Director of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Recreation and Conservation, Department of Conservation and Natural Resources. She may be contacted at brebarrett@state.pa.us.

Notes

- 1 McKinney, Matthew J. and Shawn Johnson, *Working Across Boundaries: People, Nature and Regions*. Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy and Center for Natural Resources and Environmental Policy, University of Montana, 2009. Steiner, Frederick R. and Robert D. Yaro. “A New National Landscape Agenda: The Omnibus Public Land Management Act of 2009 is Just a Beginning.” *Landscape Architecture* 99 (June): 70-77. Both works have built on years of work. Some of these efforts have also translated into calls for action and other resources. For web-based resources, see <http://www.lincolninst.edu/subcenters/regional-collaboration/>

- 2 *Great Outdoors America*, report of the Outdoor Resources Review Group may be found at <http://www.orrgroup.org/>
- 3 *Advancing the National Park Idea: National Parks Second Century Commission Report* (National Parks Conservation Association 2009) The report and the accompanying eight committee report may be found at <http://www.npca.org/commission/>. The quotes that follow are from page 17.
- 4 President Obama issued the Executive Order 13508 on *Chesapeake Bay Protection and Restoration* on May 12, 2009 at Mount Vernon overlooking one of the bay's mighty tributaries the Potomac River.
- 5 <http://www.nps.gov/nr/> and <http://www.achp.gov/>. All cultural or historic units of the National Park System are also listed in the National Register of Historic Places.
- 6 NPS Bulletin 38 "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties," Parker and King 1990. <http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb38/>.
- 7 <http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/index.htm>
- 8 <http://www.environment.fhwa.dot.gov/4f/index.asp>
- 9 While these provisions have undoubtedly preserved thousands of historic places, any expansive recognition of large landscapes and cultural regions is hampered by the understandable concerns of federal agencies and the many recipients of their largesse that they will be burdened by additional reviews and requirements. Additionally, the limits on funding levels for historic preservation grant assistance and the need to control the impact of federal tax credits for historic rehabilitation project also reinforce the need for selectivity. Direct federal aid to historic properties not under the ownership of the National Park Service is already very circumscribed. The Save America's Treasures Grants (not to be confused with the treasured landscape idea) are only available to properties that meet the criteria for National Historic Landmarks, the highest level of recognition.
- 10 According to the program's 2008 annual report, it employs one fulltime staff person and has a budget of only \$500,000. <http://www.nature.nps.gov/nnl/>
- 11 The Environmental Protection Agency's earlier proposal for environmental mapping and the program and the Department of Interior proposal for a national biological survey were not able to move forward. Steiner and Yaro, *A New National Landscape Agenda*, 72.
- 12 www.natureserve.org
- 13 www.landtrustalliance.org
- 14 Information on the history and current status of the National Park Service's role in the Land and Water Conservation Fund can be found at <http://www.nps.gov/nrcr/programs/lwcf/>. For information on the history of the program, see <http://www.nps.gov/nrcr/programs/lwcf/history.html>.
- 15 Within the National Park Service, the successful Natural Resource Challenge has directed significant appropriated dollars to natural resource research and restoration. One of the recommendations of the National Parks Conservation Association's National Parks Second Century Commission report speaks to the desirability of increasing the park service's role beyond park boundaries: "To strengthen stewardship of our nation's resources, and to broaden civic engagement with and citizen service to this mission. . . The Congress of the United States should: Encourage public and private cooperative stewardship of significant natural and cultural landscapes. Using the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act as a guide, enact legislation providing the National Park Service with authority to offer a suite of technical assistance tools, grants, and incentives—including enhanced incentives for conservation easements—to encourage natural resource conservation on private lands." (*Advancing the National Park Idea* (2009), 44).

- 16 The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the organization that advises UNESCO on natural heritage listings, classifies the wide variety of protected areas that are found across the globe. These range from natural and wilderness areas that are strictly managed for environmental and ecosystem values (Category Ia and Ib) to protected landscapes and seascapes (Category V) that recognize the importance of the interaction of people and the land in creating a valuable resource. Category V landscapes have the virtue of recognizing the importance of places “where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character” and incorporate in their recommended management objectives the need to support the social and cultural fabric of communities (<http://www.iucn.org/>).
- 17 Tribes are also important partners in the administration of the federal historic preservation program. Tribal Historic Preservation Officers are appointed by the tribe’s chief governing authority. <http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/tribal/thpo.htm>
- 18 Recently the National Association of Outdoor Recreation Resource Planners has been looking at ways to improve the impact of State Comprehensive Resource Plans (SCORP) on state and federal policies. <http://www.narrp.org/>.
- 19 A number of states have significant programs to identify historical and cultural landscapes, one example is the Massachusetts Historic Landscape Preservation Initiative, (<http://www.mass.gov/dcr/stewardship/histland/histland.htm>) One of the most robust land conservation programs is Great Outdoors Colorado, which funds significant land conservation with lottery revenues <http://www.goco.org/>. Pennsylvania has developed a Conservation Landscape Initiative (CLI) as a place-based approach to coordinating the state’s programs and strategic investments in seven distinctive regions of the commonwealth based on collective decision making and with a focus on linking public lands with their neighboring communities (<http://www.dcnr.state.pa.us/cli/index.aspx>).
- 20 <http://www.nps.gov/nts/info.html>
- 21 <http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageareas/>
- 22 *Charting a Future for the National Heritage Areas*, National Park System Advisory Board (2006), <http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageareas/NHAREport.pdf>
- 23 I feel empowered to comment on these issues as a member of a small club who has served as both a Deputy SHPO (Director of the Bureau for Historic Preservation in Pennsylvania 1980-1984, 1986-2001) and Assistant State Liaison Officer (Director of Recreation and Conservation in Pennsylvania 2007 to present) with a transitional stint as NPS National Coordinator for Heritage Areas (Washington, DC 2001-2007).
- 24 *Findings and Recommendations of the Preserve America Summit*, President’s Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, Washington, DC (2007), <http://www.achp.gov/>.
- 25 Daniel Laven reports on the importance of telling the story of a region as the most important method to engage people in a large landscape, as described in *Valuing Heritage: Re-examining Our Foundations*, Barrett, Brenda in Forum Journal, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Vol. 22, No. 2, 30-34. (2008). Also see Tuxill, J., Mitchell, N., Huffman, P., Laven, D., Copping, S., and Gifford, G. *Reflecting on the Past, Looking to the Future: Sustainability Study Report: A Technical Assistance Report to the John H. Chafee Blackstone River Valley National Heritage Corridor Commission*, Tuxill, J., Mitchell, N., Huffman, P., Laven, D. and Copping, S., *Connecting Stories, Landscapes, and People: Exploring the Delaware & Lehigh National Heritage Corridor Partnership* (2006), and Tuxill, J., Mitchell, N., Huffman, P., and Laven, D. *Shared Legacies in the Cane River National Heritage Area: Linking people, Traditions and Landscape* (2008). All by the Conservation Study Institute, Woodstock, Vermont.
- 26 *Advancing the National Park Idea* (2009), 16.
- 27 <http://www.nps.gov/history/ugrr/>
- 28 African Burial Ground (www.nps.gov/afbg/index.htm) and Manzanar (www.nps.gov/manzan/index.htm)

Interview with John O. Brostrup, HABS Photographer, 1936-1937

by Catherine C. Lavoie

October 13, 2009 witnessed the passing of John O. Brostrup who, in 1936 at only 20 years of age, was hired by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) of the National Park Service to create large-format, black and white images of historic structures within the Washington, DC Metropolitan area.

Brostrup was born in Omaha, Nebraska on May 9, 1915. In 1936, in the midst of America's Great Depression, he moved with his mother, Margareth Nielsen Brostrup, to Washington, DC in hopes of finding work. He worked for HABS from 1936-1937. It was in Washington that he met and married Patricia Nason, with whom he later had two children. After serving in the U.S. Army during World War II, Brostrup moved to Rochester, New York, where he worked many years for the Kodak Corporation, but he never forgot his experience with HABS.



FIGURE 1
HABS photographers John Brostrup and Jack Boucher are awarded the St. George's Awards at the Prince George's County Historical Society's annual (April 2002) meeting. Susan Pearl, Historian for Prince George's County Historic Preservation Commission, is presenting the award. John Brostrup is in the middle.

His many photographs can be viewed through the HABS collection within the American Memory, Library of Congress website. Brostrup's photograph of the Decatur House in Washington, DC (HABS No. DC-16), taken in 1937, is said to have served as the model for the 1971 U.S. postage stamp entitled "Historic Preservation" in recognition of the burgeoning national movement.

Prior to the arrival of Brostrup to the Washington, DC, district office of HABS, staff architects had been photographing historic buildings since the program's inception in 1933. However, most lacked the skill needed to produce clear, high-quality images for the record. Brostrup's photographs demonstrate both technical skill and a keen eye to composition. He photographed approximately 200 structures, capturing this area—much of which was still largely rural—at the end of an era, before it was transformed by a postwar construction boom and today's suburban sprawl. For many of the buildings, Brostrup's photographs are the only record that remains.

Created as a Depression-era, New Deal program, the early HABS initiative mobilized approximately 1,000 professionals to produce hundreds of sheets of measured drawings, large-format photographs, and historical data pages on a large array of building forms. By examining extant materials, such as the instructional bulletins that were sent to the field teams and some correspondence, a general understanding of how the program operated can be ascertained. However, less is known about the all important perceptions, and the day-to-day responsibilities, of those individuals entrusted with undertaking the actual recording. That is why HABS was so pleased to have the opportunity to interview Brostrup and to publish this interview

as part of a commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the HABS program. Through his reminiscences, we gain insight into his work, and the work of the many dedicated individuals who gave life to the HABS vision.

The Interview¹

This interview of Brostrup was conducted April 22, 2002, by photographer Jack E. Boucher (JEB) and historian Catherine C. Lavoie (CCL), both of HABS.

CCL: Can you tell me how you found out about HABS?

JOB: Yes, the *Evening Star* at that time was the prominent Washington newspaper. I had just arrived in Washington the previous Christmas 1935 and had never been east of Chicago in my lifetime. I'd had a few years of professional photography in Omaha, Nebraska and so I was just casually reading the paper one day and I noticed a little two-paragraph news article. It wasn't even a help wanted ad. It described the opening of an office in Washington to study early American architecture. They would be doing architectural drawings, photography, and history of the prominent buildings, and even utilitarian buildings, in the area. I so went down right away to investigate and was almost hired on the spot for the photography position.

CCL: Who hired you?

JOB: Tom Waterman [HABS Assistant Program Director], I think, was my first contact at the national office, and he sent me up to—I think it was 1708 I Street—to Delos Smith, [at the HABS Washington, DC District office]. He probably was the one who made the final decision.

JEB: Thomas Waterman was an architect.

JOB: Yes, he was a major architect on the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg.

CCL: And Delos Smith? What can you tell us about him?

JOB: Delos was the manager of the HABS [Washington, DC District] office.² He was a wonderful man! He had training in architecture from where, I don't know. Delos assembled some wonderfully different individuals! I hope you won't mind a reflection back to Delos Smith. We had in the office there a secretary who did all the typing, for everybody, the historic records, etc. Her name was Beverly Langmeade. She was a charmer, and she kept the office awake and alive! She served Delos very well—most of the time. Well, he had a paper come back to him that he had dictated. He had dictated “the façade was decorated with a Palladian window.” Well, in Gregg shorthand the characters for decorated must be very similar to “destroyed.” So she had written, “The facade was *destroyed* by a Palladian window!” Being the kind, gentle man that he was—

and challenging her to look back at her notes—he wrote, in the margin “not quite clear.” That’s a true story!

CCL: So who did you report to directly?

JOB: Delos [Smith].

JEB: What brought you to Washington?

JOB: My mother and I moved to Washington [together]. My father passed away when I was four and she never remarried. And so we eventually moved to Washington. She was out of work—we were very poor people—and she got a civil service job with the Federal Trade Commission. Everything got better when we came east. Horace Greeley said, “Go west young man, go west!” but we did the opposite and everything got better! I met my wife in Washington and our children were born there. We lived on Emerson Street, in the northwest. It was one block from the original Hot Shoppes; there was only one back then, on Georgia Avenue and 14th Street.

CCL: During what time period did you work for HABS?

JOB: Well I was hired in March, I believe, of 1936 to the end of 1937.

CCL: We know that you worked in Prince George’s County; in what other areas did you work?

JOB: Well, Montgomery County; we covered just short of Baltimore, some work in Annapolis, and down [in the] counties adjoining Prince George’s County.

JEB: How old were you when you started photographing for HABS?

JOB: Twenty. I was born in 1915, so it was a little before my 21st birthday that I started.

CCL: In what area were you formally trained?

JOB: I took a correspondence course [in photography offered] out of New York. That course provided the 5” x 7” camera, and the text books; that was about three or four years prior to coming to Washington. I also had one year of college, in the liberal arts.

CCL: Did you have any prior training, experience, or just an interest in, architecture or history?

JOB: Yes, not anything formal, but that has been one of the hazards of my life! I have been interested in too many areas, but I have *always* loved beautiful buildings.

CCL: What kind of photographic projects were you working on before you started with HABS?

JOB: My initial exposure to photography was as an unpaid, underage youth while living in Omaha, Nebraska. My mother worked for the Union Pacific Railroad, down in the yards—not in the upper headquarters—in a building that housed the photography lab on the second floor. I was very fortunate [through that connection] to come under the tutelage of the photographer for the Union Pacific Railroad, Burt Roha. To keep out of mischief in those days everybody worked on Saturday from 8:00 to 1:00. Everybody did. There was not a 40-hour week until FDR [Franklin Delano Roosevelt was president]. So to keep me out of mischief, on Saturdays I took the streetcar down about 9:00 to the rail yards. I was just a clean-up and “go-for” for Burt Roah. He produced photographs on polished ferrotype tins; these were black enamel tins used in the days before chromium in order to get a high gloss on the prints. He was a fine man, very wise and very patient. He exposed me to photo-graphy and I’ve never turned back! Then, starting about when I was 17 or so, I had my own little photographic business in Omaha before coming to Washington.

CCL: What were you told about the goals of, or the philosophy behind, the HABS program when you started?

JOB: Well, it was by induction I think, because everyone had an enthusiasm for their work as described to them, probably by Delos [Smith].

CCL: So were you given any particular instructions about what you should do?

JOB: No, because there was nobody else, no other photographer there but me. Although—yes—there were the formal instructions provided by the national headquarters, and they prescribed 5” x 7” images.

CCL: What did the government provide you with in the way of supplies, means of transportation, or anything of that nature?

JOB: We had to drive our own cars with a very minimal provision for mileage. I drove a four-door passenger car that was at least four or five years old. The camera had to be provided by the photographer. I guess I was issued the film down at the Interior building. We were sort of subcontractors, although we were paid by the Interior Department.

CCL: When you were traveling for HABS, did anybody travel with you, and if so, who?

JOB: I would say that not more than half the time I worked alone. Always in Prince George’s County I’d have [HABS architect] Forrest Bowie with me.³ Occasionally

FIGURE 2

Decatur House, National Trust for Historic Preservation, 748 Jack, Washington, District of Columbia, DC. HABS DC, WASH, 28-9, John O. Brostrup, Photographer, January 1937. (Courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service)



he would go on other projects, but not generally. Sometimes I had architects with me that were assigned to do the drawings; we all worked as a team.

CCL: Who selected the actual buildings to be photographed?

JOB: Well, of course, I will confine my answer to just this area, was a combination probably of Delos Smith, Forrest Bowie, and Thomas Waterman.

CCL: Do you know what criteria they used to make their building selections?

JOB: I would anticipate that it was the quality of the structure, in the case of the houses.

JEB: I was wondering if you had what we would today call a “Go-for” to help you with your work?

JOB: The answer to that is absolutely no! Jack, we’re talking about a totally different time frame than you are working in. This was the Depression, everybody had to be independent and do their own thing or they didn’t survive!

CCL: Did you have owner consent prior to going to a site, or were you sometimes just finding structures of interest along the way?

JOB: All my work was assigned. I never worked independently without direction from Delos [Smith] or Tom Waterman.

CCL: What was your typical day like?

JOB: Well, I’d like to describe a typical day of photographing in Prince George’s

County. I would leave home in the District of Columbia and drive 20 miles to meet Forrest Bowie at [his home,] Mount Lubentia. Forrest Bowie worked primarily as an architect, but he knew all the roads and he had the contacts through his family with many of the owners of the properties, aunts and uncles and cousins and so forth, so that we were able to gain entrée into these houses. We are talking about the days before expressways, so I'd leave pretty early in the morning to get to Forrest's house about 8:00 or 8:30 at the latest. And he would have previously contacted the owners and gotten agreement to get in. We would photograph all day and sometimes we would go back to Mount Lubentia for a delightful lunch. Oh, I remember those [days] with pleasure!

CCL: Did you meet any of the property owners, and if so, what was the reaction of most of them to what you were doing?

JOB: Almost always they were not in the house. Very rarely did I meet them, but when I did they were most hospitable and understood the aims and goals of the project.

CCL: Did you ever collect historical data or interview owners about the history of their house?

JOB: No, that was all Forrest's job. My work was not related to the gathering of historical information; my job was to be a photographer. But that brings up a very interesting point. I have long thought that was the weakest link in the operation of the HABS program. They concentrated heavily on the architecture because of the origins starting with the AIA (American Institute of Architects). And then came the drawings and the photographs [which in my mind] were secondary in importance, but the history gathering, I feel, had a lot yet to be developed.

CCL: Who was doing the drawings?

JOB: Well, there were about five or six architects in the district office. There was William Woodville, a resident of Georgetown; there was Forrest [Bowie], I think there was a Neil Sparks, I can't remember the others.

CCL: Was there much interaction between you and the architects?

JOB: Well, just small talk and lunches together, nothing professional other than they did their job and I did mine. Occasionally they would ask me to take a photograph of a particular feature of note.

CCL: They were all working in an office located in the District of Columbia?

JOB: Yes, they all worked at 1708 I Street, I think it was. Those were innocent times. In the summer time we had an organ grinder that would stop you—we were on

the second floor—and [he would] grind on with his monkey on his shoulder. We would pitch out coins and the monkey would go down and pick them up and put them in a little tin can on the [grinder's] other shoulder. This is just one of the reflections that I have of happy, innocent, simple times.

CCL: How did you feel about what you were doing? Did you have a sense that you were doing important work?

JOB: I knew the buildings were important. I could sense the importance of the major buildings, of course, but even the minor buildings—the kitchens, the slave quarters—they served an important part of the economics of running the plantation or even a private home. I have always liked history in general—not specific to areas or structures. I just enjoy history! I want to get back to that point about fleshing out the family, the families and how they influenced the architecture, the construction, the choice of properties. It ties in so importantly to the architecture of the houses. How did this property that we are in right now [Marietta] first get purchased, and how did the family develop the resources to build this magnificent house? I think that relates to the story of the Historic American Buildings Survey!

CCL: You won't get any argument from me! What was the condition of most of the buildings you were photographing?

JOB: Well, none of them were in the condition that they are in now. None! You bring up an interesting point. I did some work for Henry du Pont when he was still in residence at Winterthur. At that time he was gathering paneled rooms and that magnificent Mount Morency stairway in the entrance hall. And [People thought,] here was this Yankee du Pont up there in the North Country stripping our southern houses of their paneled rooms and taking it up there! Most of those [historic interiors] would have disappeared [were it not for du Pont]. Now, we have the Essex Room, a paneled room, and lots of [other] wonderful things preserved under ideal conditions.

CCL: Were most of these buildings you photographed suffering from Depression-era neglect?

JOB: Absolutely, there was no question that many of these buildings were suffering under the Depression. A gentleman at the awards dinner yesterday had copies of my pictures of his family property [from that period], and it was *absolutely* just about to collapse. And the details—the archways and [other architectural elements] . . . they were just marvelous! The house was in a condition at that time that if someone had seized upon it, it could have been saved, but nobody had the money.

CCL: I assume that many of the houses you photographed did not have the comforts that we consider necessary today, like central heat and electricity; is that true?

FIGURE 3
*Small Cabin, Aquasco,
 Prince George's County,
 Maryland. HABS MD, 17-
 AQUA, 4-1, John O. Brostrup,
 Photographer, October 1936.
 (Courtesy of the Historic
 American Buildings Survey,
 National Park Service)*



JOB: Well that is true, but even in those days—in the Depression era—they did not have the comforts they'd enjoyed maybe ten, fifteen, or even thirty years earlier than that. It was the Depression time; everything was falling apart! Even the so-called wealthy people were neglecting their homes. That's why so many of the homes that I photographed have since disappeared. It speaks to the importance of preservation *from here on*.

JEB: Were you able to use your own creative, artist judgment in your photography?

JOB: I appreciate your comments. I didn't feel I had any specific creative or artistic [ability]. I just did the best I could, but nobody gave me any direction.

CCL: I noticed that you honed in on certain elements, not just architectural elements, but construction details.

JOB: Oh! That might have had an origin in [the fact] that both of my grandfathers were house builders. I never thought about that! Of course I visited a few of those [houses], and that [exposure] probably showed up in work. My grandfather on my mother's side, we lived two blocks from them . . . he did a nice job. I never thought about that!

JEB: Did you know any other photographers that did work for HABS in this area? Or were you inspired by any others?

JOB: I didn't know any other photographers that worked for HABS *anywhere*. But I knew of Francis Benjamin Johnston. Oh my goodness—what an incredible person! She had a long history of photographing early houses before HABS, maybe twenty, thirty years [before]. She was the *real* pioneer in historic American architecture photography. Her work was marvelous. She was a great inspiration to me.

JEB: What kind of camera did you use in your photography work for HABS?

JOB: The 5" × 7" folding camera that came with the photographic course, the correspondence course; that was the package. I don't remember the brand, but it came with everything I needed. They [even] supplied the black cloth! You have to cover the ground glass that the image is being photographed on with a black cloth to exclude all the ambient light to be able to see that image.

CCL: Because it was the Depression, were the quantities of film limited, or did they ask you to limit your views?

JOB: No. I didn't shoot two of anything, but they didn't ever ask me to limit my film use.

JEB: How did you develop your film?

FIGURE 4
View of Stair from Third to Fourth Floor in the Cloisters, Saal, Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. HABS PA,36-EPH,1B-33, John O. Brostrup, Photographer, November 1936. (Courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service)



JOB: I had to set up my own darkroom in my home on Emerson Street.

JEB: Did you deal with your interior shots using existing natural light or did you use artificial lights?

JOB: A combination; I had my own lights, my own cords. This might be an interesting story—it's not here in Prince George's County, but . . . we went up as a team—Tom Waterman, some architects, and myself—to photograph the two Mennonite structures at Ephrata [Cloisters in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.] Have you ever been up there and seen those; the separate ladies' building and the men's building? They are quite high, and [have] very small little cell-like rooms, and that steep stairway! Well, I didn't come anywhere near prepared to run extension cords through that mileage building! Someone said I could get some cords down at the hardware store. Well, what they had were the Christmas lights for the streets of Ephrata, and [inside the buildings there was] an open socket every two feet. I strung those [Christmas lights] all through that building, and we didn't have any problem!⁴

JEB: Did you ever use flash bulbs in your work?

JOB: Yes, but not related to my HABS work. I sometimes used a technique where, [say] you have a long hall, you flash some down there, and then you come back a few feet and flash some more [and so on].

JEB: We still use that technique; we call it "painting with light." Did you remain a photographer throughout your lifetime?

JOB: After HABS, I did work in private industry—all related to photography. I spent four years in World War II in the Navy, and I was hired as a photographer second class because of my experience, right on the few days after V-J Day. After 1956, I had joined the Eastman Kodak Company. I was always a technician and interested in camera work. After my three months training they said, "We think you might do well in marketing." I said, "You have got to be kidding!" I didn't think that I was a people person at all. I liked to be in the darkroom or behind the camera. So I did [go into marketing]. I worked in New York City of all places, and I loved it! Marketing!

CCL: Did your interest in historic architecture continue?

JOB: Always! I have always had an interest!

JEB: The last question that I want to ask you is if you can recall any extraordinary experiences you might have had while photographing for HABS?

JOB: No, [I don't recall any] right at the moment. I think the extraordinary experi-

ence that I gained in my two years with HABS is the totality of the program and how that affected my appreciation of these buildings. [I thought about] the people that lived in them and created them. The lift [that I got from them]—if these walls could talk! I would love to be able to know more, and I come back to the filling out of the historic records. I'd like to go back to one of my favorite houses, Mount Lubentia, to elaborate on that. You can understand why I have such a love for that house. Forrest Bowie was my associate in my work that I did, not only in Prince George's County, but in others parts of Maryland. We had our planning sessions there before we went out for the day or next week's work. It is such a magnificent building! When I went out there at the invitation of the current owners on Friday with my son and daughter-in-law—that is a moment that I will never forget! The entry doorway—magnificent! And the library—that buffet cabinet! And of course [talk about] the fleshing out of the history of the families; 300 years in one family before an out-of-family purchaser came along! That in itself is remarkable. So that is the answer to your question, a lifetime of researching, photographing, and loving these homes!

Notes

- 1 Susan Pearl, historian for the Prince George's County Historic Preservation Commission, arranged the interview and it was sponsored by its parent organization, the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (MNCPPC). The interview was conducted at Marietta, the c.1812, Glenn Dale, Maryland home of Gabriel Duvall, chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court during the early 19th century. Brostrup traveled from his home in Rochester, New York at the invitation of the Prince George's County Historical Society to accept the St. George's Day Award presented to him at their annual awards ceremony and dinner, for his contributions to the history and documentation of the county's landmarks. The interview was conducted the following day. The interview was transcribed at this time for the purpose of honoring Brostrup.
- 2 Delos Smith was the District Officer for the HABS program in Washington, DC and the surrounding counties. The HABS program was run out of the National Park Service's Branch of Plans and Designs in Washington, with Thomas Vint as chief. Working for Vint were HABS program director, John P. O'Neill and assistant director, Thomas Waterman. While the Washington office provided general oversight and direction, the program was run through field offices nationwide by AIA appointed District Officers, such as Delos Smith.
- 3 Forrest Bowie was one of the architects hired by the Washington, DC District officer to produce drawings for HABS in that region.
- 4 Brostrup took over 100 views of buildings within the Ephrata Cloisters complex, including inscriptions stenciled on the walls and historic images of non-extant structures. The makeshift lighting worked fine; not a single Christmas light is visible! See HABS No. PA-320 (and 320-A through L).

Cultural Heritage Management in Tanzania's Protected Areas: Challenges and Future Prospects

by *Audax Z. P. Mabulla and John F. R. Bower*

Tanzania is a country of remarkable variety in physical and cultural geography that includes a vast array of natural and cultural heritage resources. (Figure 1) To safeguard its rich and diversified natural heritage, Tanzania has set aside a protected area network covering about 28 percent of the total land area. The network comprises the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (1 percent), 12 national parks (4 percent), 31 game reserves (15 percent), and 38 game controlled areas (8 percent). Of the protected areas, 19 percent is under wildlife protection, whereby no permanent human settlement is allowed, while the remaining 9 percent consists of areas wherein wildlife coexists with humans.

The vast extent of protected areas strongly suggests that a substantial amount of the nation's cultural heritage is located within them. Being located in protected areas should indicate that the cultural heritage resources are relatively undisturbed and safe. However, we observe that cultural heritage resources are seriously endangered in Serengeti National Park (SENAPA) and Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA). In the next section, we briefly review the natural and cultural heritage resources of these two protected areas and identify some of the recent activities that threaten their survival.

Serengeti and Ngorongoro's Unique Heritage

Natural Heritage

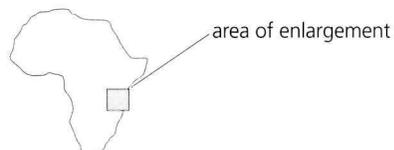
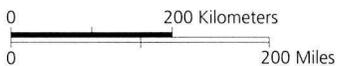
SENAPA is located in three regions, namely, Mara, Mwanza, and Shinyanga regions in northern Tanzania. Established as a national park in 1951, it was designed to promote conservation of wildlife and other natural resources, as well as to advance tourism. SENAPA is the best known, and probably the most important, park in Tanzania. Its main features are its annual migration of large ungulate herds, the sizes of which are unparalleled elsewhere worldwide¹, and its open, rolling grassland plain combined with hilly woodlands. In terms of habitat variation, species diversity, and sheer biomass, SENAPA is one of the great natural wonders of the world.

The NCAA may be viewed as an ecological extension of SENAPA. It is located in the Arusha region in northern Tanzania, and was established in 1959 as a multiple land use area designed to promote tourism and conservation of wildlife and other natural resources, as well as the interests of Indigenous resident pastoral people². The NCAA is unique in the world for its scenic beauty, spectacular

FIGURE 1: MAP OF TANZANIA SHOWING AREAS WITH NATURAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE



- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|
| ◇ Dinosaur Fossils | 1 Arusha NP | 8 Ngorongoro Crater |
| ▲ Hominid Fossils | 2 Gombe Stream NP | 9 Ruaha NP |
| ● Stone Age Sites | 3 Katavi NP | 10 Rubondo Island NP |
| ○ Iron Age Sites | 4 Kilimanjaro NP | 11 Selous Game Reserve |
| ⋯ Rock Art Sites | 5 Lake Manyara NP | 12 Tarangire NP |
| ◆ Burial Cairns | 6 Mahale Mountains NP | 13 Serengeti NP and Maswa Game Reserve |
| + Swahili Settlements | 7 Mikumi NP | |



Original map courtesy of the authors

wildlife, and important cultural heritage resources. One breathtaking feature of the NCAA is the Ngorongoro Crater, a collapsed caldera of a once massive volcano. The caldera's floor is about 18 kilometers in diameter, forming a circular enclosed plain of about 250 square kilometers.³ A soda lake and several natural springs and swamps are scattered within. The NCAA also is home to a substantial population of Maasai herders living on traditional cattle and small stock husbandry.

Together, SENAPA and the NCAA support the world's greatest concentration of wildlife, including both herbivore and carnivore species. The NCAA's short grass plains are the wet season grazing and birthing grounds for the majority of the famous Serengeti-Maasai Mara migratory herds of wildebeest, gazelles, and zebra. Because of their rich, diversified natural heritage, UNESCO has inscribed SENAPA and NCAA on the World Heritage List in 1981 and 1979, respectively, under natural criteria. Together, they form the largest biosphere reserve in the world. Due to international recognition of the natural resources they protect, SENAPA and NCAA are one of the most renowned tourist attractions in the world. Moreover, the two areas serve as laboratories wherein scientists conduct research on various aspects of human and wildlife existence in their natural and cultural contexts.

Cultural Heritage

SENAPA and NCAA are also known for their rich and diversified cultural heritage. The Tanzanian government has indicated its intention to re-nominate NCAA to the World Heritage List to consider cultural criteria.⁴ Two of the most famous paleoanthropological sites in the world are found within these protected areas. Olduvai Gorge is 100-meters deep and spans 46-kilometers east-west. The exposed two-million-year sediment accumulation within the gorge contains an extensive vertebrate fossil record (including hominids), together with a cultural and paleoclimatic record of central importance to the study of human evolution. More than 60 hominid fossils have been recovered from Olduvai Gorge, so far. These are attributed to *Australopithecus (Paranthropus) boisei*, *Homo habilis*, and *Homo erectus*. The cultural record ranges from stone artifacts of the Oldowan culture, dating to about two million years ago and characterized by choppers and other large core tools, to the small microlithic tools of the Later Stone Age about 45,000 years ago.⁵ In fact, Olduvai Gorge is the type-site for the earliest evidence of human technology, the Oldowan stone tool techno-complex.

The Plio-Pleistocene site of Laetoli is located 36 kilometers south of Olduvai Gorge in a rolling, open plains setting of the Serengeti ecosystem and may be viewed as contiguous with Olduvai Side Gorge. Laetoli is famous for two remarkable discoveries by the late Mary D. Leakey. First are the over 20 fragments of post-cranial bones, jaws, and teeth of an ape-like human ancestor known as *Australopithecus afarensis*.⁶ Dating to 3.7 million years ago, *A. afarensis* was,

until 1995, our earliest known ancestor. The second important discovery is several trails of footprints made by three *A. afarensis* individuals, about 3.7 million years ago.⁷ The footprints were impressed on a fine-grained volcanic ash and constitute some of the world's strongest evidence regarding the origin of human ability to walk upright bipedally.⁸ (Figure 2, 3) Of course, animal trackways and raindrop imprints are also well preserved in the same horizon. All these discoveries are important landmarks of paleoanthropology.

Other important cultural heritage resources of later periods in SENAPA and NCAA are stone artifacts of the Middle and Later Stone Age, as well as Pastoral Neolithic traditions; human skeletal remains from various, more recent periods; rock art that includes drawings and engravings; a wide range of wild and domestic faunal remains; and pottery and iron implements. These are known from a handful of locations in the NCAA, including Olduvai Gorge, Laetoli, Nasera rock shelter, and the Ngorongoro crater floor. They have also been found in scattered locations within SENAPA, including excavated sites, such as those at the Loiyangalani River, Seronera Lodge, Gol Kopjes, Sametu Kopjes, as well as numerous surface find spots.⁹ The cultural heritage of later prehistoric periods ranges in age from about 200,000 years ago to the present.¹⁰ Contemporary Maasai material culture and indigenous knowledge is also an important dimension of the cultural heritage in these areas. Apart from their scientific value, such resources have high potential to enhance the tourist attraction of SENAPA and NCAA.¹¹

Despite the inherent scientific, conservation, and management value of the SENAPA and NCAA cultural heritage resources, they are at greater risk today than at any other time in history. Because of unawareness, misunderstanding, neglect, and management conflicts, the resources are exposed to inadvertent destruction through construction of roads, lodges, airstrips, dams, and other similar land developments. Given the extent of the areas in question, the apparent abundance of cultural resources within them, and the meager research effort that has so far been directed toward their investigation, it seems obvious that such destruction may obliterate a major portion of Tanzania's cultural heritage, severely damaging both paleoanthropological inquiry and the protected areas' tourism potential.

Challenges Facing Cultural Heritage Management in Tanzania's Protected Areas

Cultural heritage management (CHM) is an important public policy issue, both at the international and national levels. At the international level, UNESCO and the World Bank have been the leading agencies in preparing and adopting guidelines on the management of natural and cultural heritage.¹² Among other things, the two international bodies require investors to undertake Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) to ascertain expected impacts on the environment due to socioeconomic developments, and to prevent destruction

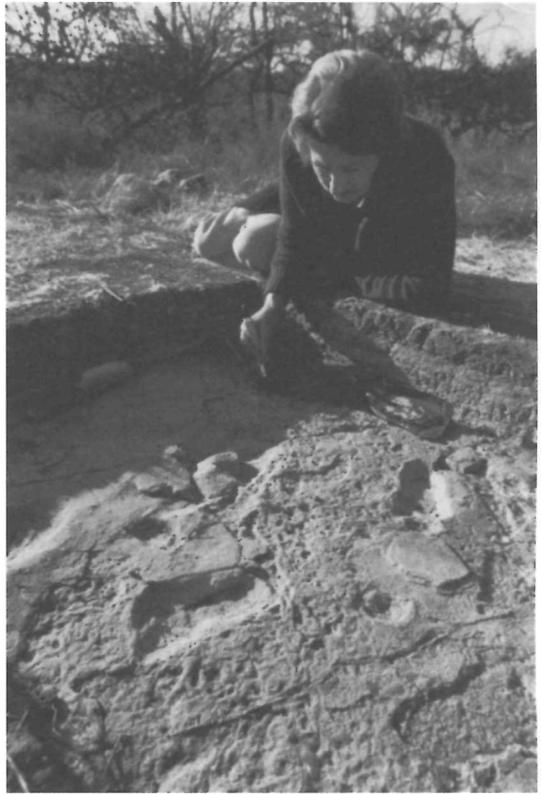


FIGURE 2
A close view of
3.6-million-year-old hominid
footprints at Laetoli in
Tanzania. (Courtesy of Tom
Moon/©The J. Paul Getty
Trust [2010]. All rights
reserved. Image reproduced
with permission of the
Tanzanian Department of
Antiquities.)

FIGURE 3
Mary Leakey in front of the
Laetoli hominid footprint trail
in 1978. (Courtesy of Bob
Campbell)

or damage. Screening for potential impacts on cultural heritage through the Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment (CHIA) is an important part of the assessment, and, if necessary, detailed studies are required to specify negative impacts and prepare mitigation measures.

At present, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) is responsible for the management and conservation of Tanzania's cultural and natural heritage resources. Within the Ministry, the Director of Antiquities is charged with management and conservation of immovable and movable tangible cultural heritage, while the Director General of the National Museum and House of Culture is responsible for the movable cultural heritage stored in museums. The management of natural resources is the responsibility of the Directors of Forestry, Beekeeping, and Wildlife. The Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA) and NCAA fall under the Director of Wildlife. (Figure 4)

The Antiquities Act of Tanzania, enacted in 1964 (amended in 1979 and 1985), is the basic legislation for the management, protection, and preservation of movable and immovable tangible cultural heritage resources. The act protects all *relics* that were made, shaped, carved, inscribed, produced, or modified by humans before 1863. Also, the act protects all *monuments* (buildings, structures, paintings, carvings, and earthworks) made by humans before 1886. In addition, the act protects all objects such as wooden doors or doorframes that were

FIGURE 4: THE MINISTRY OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND TOURISM ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



This organizational chart shows the Department of Antiquities in relation to other departments in the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism that are concerned with heritage resources. (Courtesy of the authors)

carved before 1940. Under the act, the Minister responsible for antiquities is empowered to declare protected status for any object, structure, or area of cultural value. The act vests the Department of Antiquities ownership of tangible cultural heritage resources. Moreover, the act prohibits the sale, exchange, and export of such cultural heritage resources without a permit. Also, it regulates cultural heritage resources research undertakings. Research on immovable heritage resources is licensed by the Director of Antiquities, while that of movable resources stored in the museum is licensed by both the Director of Antiquities and the Director General of the National Museum and House of Culture. In addition, all management and use of tangible cultural heritage resources are controlled and authorized by the Director of Antiquities. The act forbids activities which might disfigure or destroy cultural heritage resources and imposes sanctions and punishment for offenders in the form of fines, imprisonment or both.¹³ Unfortunately, however, the penalty clauses in the current situation are not effective deterrents.

At the national level, the Antiquities Act of 1964 is the principal legislation dealing with cultural heritage resource management in Tanzania. Among other things, the act specifies the need for CHIA. The Director of Antiquities is identified as the act's administrator and therefore is responsible for ensuring such pre-development impact assessments are properly conducted. In addition, the Director of Antiquities should ensure that resources found in an area of impact are scientifically examined, and if necessary, that mitigation measures are undertaken prior to initiation of development work.

Unfortunately, because the process of conducting a CHIA is not explicit in Tanzania's cultural heritage legislation,¹⁴ CHIA is often left out or minimized in EIAs. In recognition of this fact, the newly formulated National Cultural Policy includes a chapter on the conservation and management of the country's cultural heritage resources. This chapter stipulates that cultural impact assessment should be mandatory prior to undertaking development. However, in the recent scramble for development, cultural heritage resources are regarded as low priority, and many new projects continue to be carried out in Tanzania without CHIA. The nation has yet to develop a comprehensive national inventory register of its cultural heritage, and a large part of the heritage remains archeologically *terra incognita*. Therefore, any activity resulting in disturbance of the land surface is likely to threaten yet unidentified and undocumented cultural heritage properties.

In Tanzania, the national economy substantially depends on heritage-based tourism, especially natural heritage resource tourism. In recent years this economic need has spurred construction of many new lodges and other infrastructure in the national parks. For instance, two upscale lodges have recently been constructed in SENAPA and NCAA, respectively. Unfortunately, no CHIAs were conducted prior to those constructions, despite previous salvage recovery of abundant and varied cultural material during the construction of the Seronera Wildlife Lodge in SENAPA.¹⁵

Some of the tourist camping sites in SENAPA are located on archeological sites (e.g., the Nguchiro camping site) and vehicle tracks also take a toll on cultural heritage material in protected areas. With increasing numbers of tourist and park vehicles, cultural materials are frequently exposed and trampled along vehicular tracks. For instance, in 2000, one of us (Mabulla) conducted a surface survey along the track from Seronera to the Moru Kopjes. The survey consisted of a linear transect defined by the section of the track that falls between the Seronera and Loiyangalani rivers, a distance of about 20 kilometers. A total of 19 sites were discovered, more or less evenly divided between Middle Stone Age and Later Stone Age occurrences. Vehicular trampling threatens all of these sites, as well as numerous others in SENAPA and the NCAA.

Perhaps the most devastating threat to cultural heritage resources in protected areas is quarrying for road gravels. The problem is widespread. Because park employees are not aware of the rich cultural heritage preserved in their parks, some important archeological sites are being destroyed. One telling example shows the severity of the threat. One of us (Bower) found a rare, well-preserved, and culturally stratified site at the Naabi Hill Gate in SENAPA in 1977. However, when we visited the site in 2000, we found that it had been entirely destroyed by quarrying. In fact, driving on the main tracks in SENAPA, one can observe numerous stone artifacts in the road bed, suggesting that the road gravels are frequently quarried from archeological sites.

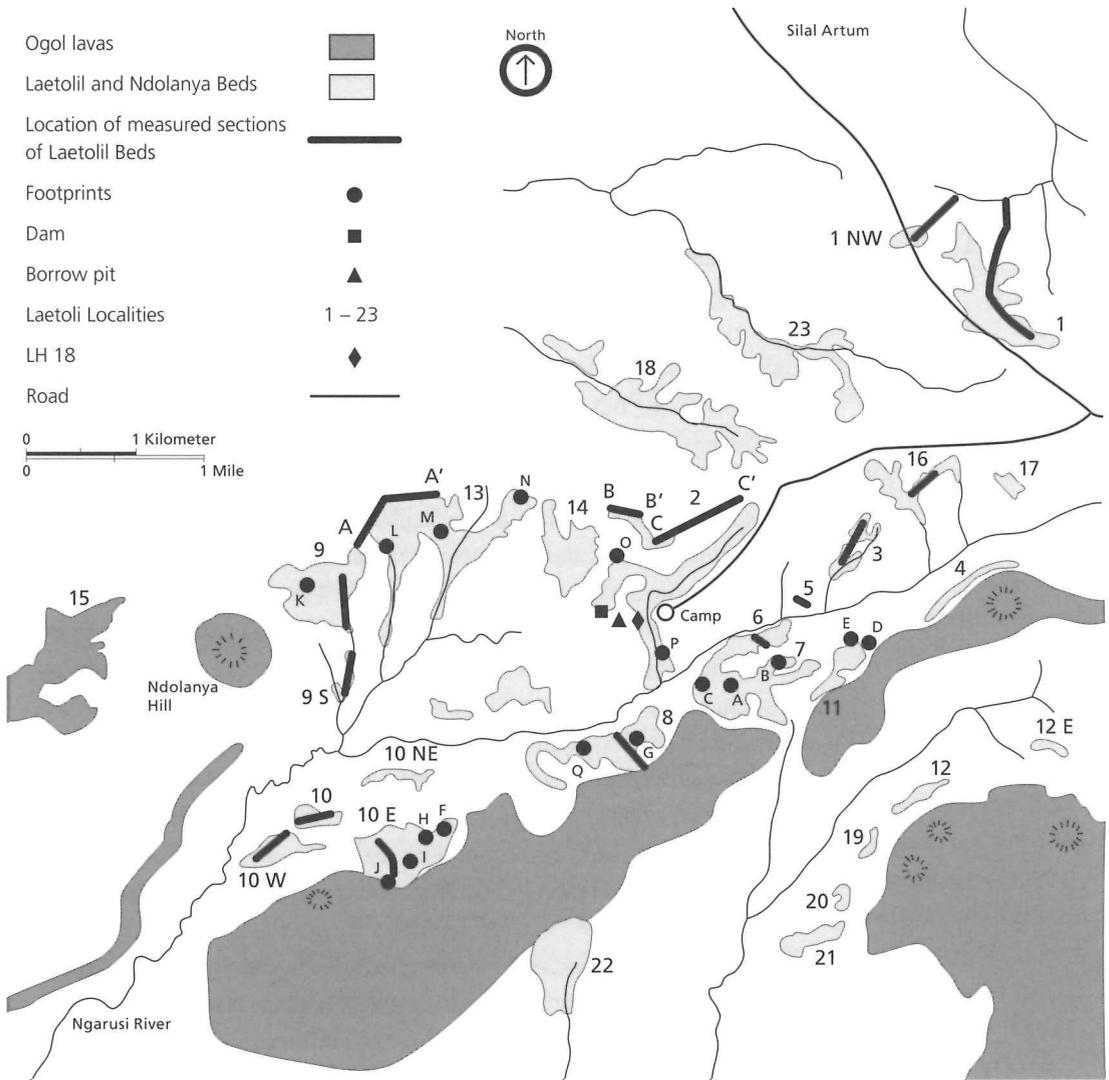
Another cause of cultural heritage destruction in protected areas is the construction of earth dams. Recently, a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), the Ngorongoro Pastoralist Project (NPP-Ereto), built an earth dam in the NCAA. The dam is intended to trap water during the rainy season for use by the local Maasai and their livestock during the dry season. Unfortunately, this dam was built in the Laetoli Plio-Pleistocene site. As a paleoanthropological site, Laetoli is composed of several sediment exposures, known as localities, each of which bears fossils and artifacts. As mentioned earlier, Laetoli is unique in that it contains tracks of hominids and other mammals and birds that are reliably dated to about 3.6 million years ago. The dam was built in 2000 at Locality 2, about two kilometers from the famous hominid trackway that Mary D. Leakey discovered in 1976.

After undergoing a period of neglect, the Laetoli hominid trackway at Locality 8 was recently re-excavated, conserved, and reburied by the Getty Institute of California.¹⁶ In an attempt to increase the local community's awareness of the site, the NCAA and other local officials, school children, teachers, Maasai elders, and the community at large were invited to visit the hominid trackway during the conservation efforts. To reinforce the significance of Laetoli to the community, Maasai elders conducted a traditional ceremony to bless the site. Local guards were hired to look after it and a house was built for them nearby. In addition, monitoring strategies were cooperatively arranged among the local guards, Olduvai Gorge antiquities employees, the Director of Antiquities in Dar es Salaam, and NCAA.

Such efforts are important but they were not enough to ensure the preservation of cultural heritage resources. Despite these efforts, heavy earthmoving machines were brought in and a dam was built in the center of Laetoli. Although one of us (Mabulla) reported the matter to the Director of Antiquities and NCAA, it was, by then, too late as construction was almost complete. Several meetings involving the department of antiquities, NCAA, NPP-Ereto, ward officials, village heads, politicians, the local Maasai and archeologists from Dar es Salaam, were aimed at determining just what went wrong. Both lack of communication and competing priorities between development and preservation were to blame for the situation. Archeologists and antiquities officials' claim that it was a great mistake to build a dam at a unique heritage site was countered by the claim that Laetoli was not as important as the dam. Various officials claimed lack of knowledge either about the site or the location of the dam. In the end, the issue remained unresolved and no one was held responsible for violating antiquities legislation. (Figure 5)

The construction of the dam has wreaked havoc on important cultural heritage resources that could have contributed to our knowledge and understanding of human biological and cultural origins. In an area where water quantity and quality is unpredictable, the dam will attract more people, as well as livestock,

FIGURE 5: MAP OF LAETOLI PLIO-PLEISTOCENE SITE SHOWING DAM AND BORROW PIT LOCATIONS



The borrow pit sediments belong to the lower and upper Ngaloba Beds, dating from about 400,000 to 200,000 years ago,¹⁷ the later of which have yielded remains of "archaic" *Homo sapiens* (LH 18) and artifacts of Middle Stone Age tradition.¹⁸ The heavy earthmovers had broken most of the bones and artifacts and had also inverted the embankment soil, thus destroying the stratigraphy and thereby the contextual integrity of the materials. (Original map courtesy of the authors)

to the Laetoli area. Consequently, trampling effects and small-scale farming will increase in an area that is legally protected as a cultural heritage site. Moreover, the flood threat during years of good rainfall cannot be ruled out. As this example dramatically underscores, Tanzania's cultural heritage is at great risk, particularly where it should not be so, that is, in protected areas. In the following sections, we examine the situation in Tanzania in broader perspective, concluding with a remedial agenda for Cultural Heritage Management within Tanzania's protected areas.

Varied Perceptions of Heritage Resources in SENAPA and NCAA

Both SENAPA and NCAA contain rich and diverse natural and cultural resources with outstanding scientific, aesthetic, economic, cultural, and historic importance. Both SENAPA and NCAA are valuable entities, not only to Tanzania and its local communities, but also to the international community.¹⁹ This being the case, the international community (including donors, lobbyists, scientists, and tourists) might be expected to press for conservation and management measures aimed at long-range survival of cultural and physical resources within the heritage sites.²⁰

Nationally, Tanzania values SENAPA and NCAA as major earners of foreign exchange through tourism. As a result, conserving physical resources, promoting tourism, and providing and/or encouraging the provision of facilities for the promotion of tourism have been the main functions of both TANAPA and NCAA.²¹ After the formation of SENAPA in 1951, legislation was passed that restricted human entry and settlements, and banned traditional hunting, cultivation, and livestock keeping in the park. Consequently, the Maasai people born in SENAPA were moved to the NCAA, which was created in 1959 as a multiple land use area dedicated to the promotion of natural and cultural resource conservation, as well as human development.²² Today the NCAA is home to about 42,000 Maasai pastoralists. (Traditionally, they are pastoralists, but they also practice small-scale subsistence agriculture to supplement dairy products.) The Maasai people value the NCAA as an irreplaceable grazing resource for their cattle. Furthermore, they are aware of the aesthetic and economic values of the NCAA and have a long-standing attitude of moral responsibility towards NCAA and its wildlife.²³

Clearly, SENAPA and NCAA are of significance to many different groups. Each of these groups perceives the physical and cultural heritage resources of SENAPA and NCAA differently. As a result, the history of the two areas is a narrative of struggles between groups seeking to pursue subsistence, economic, academic, or leisure interests. Currently, the main competing interests over the use of land in SENAPA and NCAA are between pastoralists on the one hand, and heritage resource managers (including scientific researchers, international donors, and environmental lobbyists) and tourists, on the other. Maasai pastoralists in the NCAA want more land-use rights, greater human and livestock security (including health, education, food, veterinary services, and employment), and water development for livestock and domestic use.

In recent years, water development has been critical to the Maasai of NCAA. When they were moved from SENAPA, the Maasai community was to be compensated in the form of water supply provisions in the NCAA.²⁴ However, the majority of the water supply systems constructed by the Serengeti Compensation Scheme, and later by NCAA, are non-functional, and those functioning are shared among wildlife, livestock, and humans. Thus, the water system is not only unsafe for

humans, but also inadequate to meet the needs of the NCAA's human and livestock populations. In an effort to alleviate this situation, NPP-Ereto has constructed new dams aimed at providing water for both livestock and humans in the NCAA.

Substantially at odds with the indigenous perception of SENAPA and NCAA are the views of heritage resource managers, scientists, conservationists, and the tourism industry. In general, these groups would prefer to minimize the indigenous human presence in favor of wildlife. Particularly influential in this regard is the tourist industry.

Given its ability to generate foreign exchange and employment, tourism is emerging as a new impetus for economic growth in Tanzania.²⁵ As a result of rapidly increasing investments in the tourist sector and the establishment of government policy initiatives in support of tourism, there has been a dramatic increase in tourist arrivals, from 295,312 in 1995 to 528,807 in 2004, such that the country's target is to attract one million arrivals by 2010. The tourism industry makes a significant contribution to the economy, accounting for nearly 10 percent of national output (GDP) and representing some 40 percent of total foreign exchange earnings from the export of goods and services.²⁶

In Tanzania, approximately 60 to 70 percent of tourism is based mainly on wildlife attractions. Activities related to tourism are largely concentrated in the northern wildlife circuit, where the richness and diversity of wildlife, ecology, and landscape, combined with relatively well-developed infrastructures, have led to the establishment of SENAPA and NCAA. But such an accomplishment depends largely on providing facilities that contribute to an outstanding tourist experience. Thus, SENAPA and NCAA each contain at least four upscale tourist lodges and several permanent tented camps, special campsites, and public campsites. These and the game viewing areas are connected by networks of well-maintained gravel roads. Because of the importance of tourism in the national economy, such facilities are often provided at the expense of cultural heritage resources that are destroyed or impaired by construction.

A Global View of Cultural Heritage Management

While the CHM issues we have experienced in Tanzania spring more or less directly from particular circumstances in the areas where we work, they are by no means restricted to that part of the world, having been reported from locations scattered throughout Africa, other Third World regions, and also in highly developed nations. A global perspective on CHM problems can illuminate our concerns, as well as enable our problems to reflect back on the general state of CHM undertakings. In developing a global perspective, we have focused on three broad topics: CHM in relation to development, CHM in protected areas, and CHM infrastructure.

CHM and Development

The current CHIA process, aimed at protecting cultural resources from inadvertent destruction, almost inevitably leads to conflict between economic development projects and the entities concerned with CHM. This is because any agency involved in a development project, whether its role is administrative, political, or commercial, must invest considerable effort and expense in planning a project whose ultimate viability will, in some measure, depend on the outcome of a CHIA study. Thus, without more effective coordination, agents of development are likely to perceive CHM as, at best, a costly nuisance, and at worst, an obstacle in the way of essential economic improvement.

Both cultural heritage managers and developers bear responsibility for resolving conflicts. For example, as MacEachern²⁷ has indicated, while it may be difficult for archeologists to accept a ranking of sites as part of a CHIA and prioritize conservation efforts accordingly, such an approach may prove essential to the fulfillment of CHM objectives. This consideration needs to be taken into account in any serious effort to resolve Tanzania's CHM issues. On the other side, if developers initiated CHIA early in the planning process, there would be more opportunities for resolving conflicts prior to investing too much time and money into ill-advised projects.

CHM in Protected Areas

Cultural Heritage Management challenges in protected areas, such as certain parks and nature reserves, are largely rooted in the fact that preservation is primarily concerned with natural, rather than cultural, resources. In addition, the preservation effort is often aimed at entertaining tourists to a degree that approaches, or even surpasses, the goal of protecting wildlife. Thus, CHM efforts in protected areas are frequently confronted by a "double whammy" wherein saving animals is given precedence over saving archeological remains, and rampant development of tourist facilities (roads, lodges, viewing areas, etc.) intensifies the destruction of cultural heritage material.

Further complicating the CHM situation within protected areas is the fact that their status as sanctuaries for natural and/or cultural heritage has been challenged by those who argue that the areas should be opened to use by humans who suffer at the expense of wildlife conservation. Such challenges run the gamut from such illegal activities as wildlife poaching,²⁸ to formal petitions for the removal of protected status. As an example of the latter, Kenya's Amboseli National Park was recently downgraded to a national reserve and turned over to a governing body drawn from the Maasai people, who are the area's pre-colonial inhabitants.²⁹

Human occupants, understandably, tend to be primarily interested in their own daily lives and well being. They may be unaware of their living area's protected status or of the preservation rationale that has been applied to the lands in

which they live. They may have limited motivation for honoring, much less actively engaging in, the protection of heritage material.³⁰

Conflicts arise because various constituents have quite different goals and objectives. Our experience in northern Tanzania's protected areas leads us to the conclusion that each situation presents a more or less unique set of difficulties, such that it is virtually impossible to generalize about coping strategies. However, we can at least isolate one essential ingredient for dealing with the full range of CHM problems in protected areas. We have found that, no matter what specific issues arise, they must be approached with a view toward patient, sometimes painfully tedious, education *on both sides* of the issue.³¹ In other words, we find that resolution of competing claims depends, not only on providing a detailed explanation of the relevant preservation rationale, but also on listening carefully to the objections raised by those who CHM undertakings might affect. In the long run, such education could be enormously facilitated by its extension into adult curricula.³²

CHM Infrastructure

The effectiveness of any kind of CHM project depends critically on its organizational framework, including research and curatorial staff, facilities, funding, and administration. Unfortunately, there are shortcomings in some, if not all, of these areas throughout the Third World and in many developed countries as well. One of the basic needs in Tanzania is the establishment of a national inventory database of cultural heritage resources.

The most significant problem regarding research and curatorial personnel appears to be a pervasive lack of CHM training. Thus, while African university graduates in archeology are generally competent in field and laboratory research, they are often inadequately trained for CHM work. The obvious solution would be to add a substantial array of CHM coursework and field experience to the university archeology curriculum. Of course, this is much easier to envision than to put into effect, for it entails not only a major curriculum restructuring, but also retraining of faculty and the building of necessary instructional infrastructure, all of which would require large funding increments. The same applies to the (sometimes desperate) need for improved field equipment, research laboratories, and curatorial facilities, whether located in a museum or on a university campus.

Supplying the funds needed to carry out a program of this sort would present many Third World nations with an insurmountable fiscal challenge. However, there is at least a glimmer of hope, thanks to some recent developments in the CHM practices of southern African countries. Among the more encouraging of these is the establishment in South Africa and Botswana of the principle that development projects subject to cultural resource clearance are required to pay for mitigation. It might be possible to dedicate a portion of the proceeds to the

enhancement of CHM infrastructure. Along these lines, it is advisable that parks should be required to dedicate a small percentage of their tourist fees to support CHM projects within their borders. Ultimately, of course, any such initiatives will need to be established by governments, a fact which underscores the vital importance of engaging the interest of government agencies and politicians in CHM issues.

Future Prospects of Cultural Heritage Management in Tanzania

We can identify five major categories of need for the proper management of heritage resources. These are: 1) education about cultural heritage throughout Tanzania society, 2) enforcement of laws and improved legislation concerning CHIA, 3) coordination of roles and responsibilities among various constituencies and among natural and cultural resource managers, 4) training for CHM specialists, and 5) research on archeological heritage. Because the kinds of issues we face in Tanzania are evident in various other parts of the world, remedies proposed here may point the way toward improved CHM in other nations.

Education

Like the citizens of many nations, most Tanzanians do not have adequate information about their rich and diversified cultural heritage. Many do not comprehend the immense contribution of Tanzania's cultural heritage to an understanding of human origins and history. Education and outreach programs for both children and adults could help to avoid the inadvertent destruction of cultural heritage in protected areas.

It is important to raise awareness of cultural heritage throughout Tanzania, touching all age groups and community categories.³³ At a glance, this may seem a simple undertaking. In reality, it will be expensive in terms of financial resources and personal commitment of time and energy aimed at eliciting the assumption of responsibility for CHM by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, other government and non-government conservation institutions, and Tanzanian archeologists.

Law Enforcement

Although the cultural heritage is legally protected, the law that requires developers to conduct CHIA has yet to be adequately elaborated. Under the Antiquities Act, a developer who incidentally exposes a cultural resource during development activities is supposed to stop and report the discovery to the Director of Antiquities. The Director of Antiquities is then required to visit the site, evaluate the resource's cultural significance, and make appropriate recommendations. This legal requirement is problematic because developers might either not recognize the resource's cultural value, or not report the evidence to the Director of Antiquities.³⁴ Without proactive policies and a legal basis for CHIA, rampant development will continue to ravage Tanzania's cultural heritage. Therefore,

there is a need to revise the Antiquities Act to include legislation that stipulates mandatory CHIA prior to project implementation and requires developers to meet the costs of such activities.

Coordination

Separate government entities and different statutes manage the cultural and natural heritage resources. The Director of Antiquities, which manages cultural heritage, is a government department, while natural heritage is managed by two separate autonomous state-owned organizations: TANAPA for Game Reserves and National Parks and NCAA for the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA). But TANAPA and NCAA both share responsibilities with the Director of Antiquities for managing cultural heritage in their respective areas. Accordingly, the management in protected areas is complicated by overlapping jurisdictions and inconsistent cooperation among responsible parties. The result of such confusion is illustrated by the construction of a permanent tourist tented camp, in 1993, at the rim of Olduvai's main gorge³⁵ and its later relocation to the Kelogi Hills. The Kelogi Hills contain rock art and other cultural heritage resources, and are located within a five-kilometer area around Olduvai Gorge, an area that is legally protected because of its cultural importance. Yet, NCAA gave permission to build the camp without authorization from the Director of Antiquities.

In addition, the lack of cooperation and coordination between stakeholders, that is, several government departments and public institutions, on the one hand, and the general public, on the other, result in conflicts and inefficient cultural heritage management. Managing the cultural and natural heritage under one institution³⁶ with protective legal status would lead to a more effective and streamlined oversight of cultural and natural heritage resources. Including archeology as an integral part of the administration of TANAPA and NCAA at levels ranging from headquarters to field staff would greatly reduce the unintended destruction of cultural heritage and will improve the working relations and cooperation between the Director of Antiquities, NCAA, TANAPA, and cultural heritage researchers and managers. Moreover, it will facilitate efforts to build a national cultural heritage inventory and database.

Coordinating the management plans and legal status of entities that are now separately responsible for natural and cultural heritage would alleviate the current overlapping jurisdictions and poor cooperation between the Director of Antiquities, on the one hand, and TANAPA and NCAA, on the other.

Training

Proper management of cultural heritage resources in protected areas is also hampered by the lack of trained cultural heritage specialists. Neither NCAA nor TANAPA has archeologists on staff to recognize such resources and recommend measures for reducing or eliminating impact during construction and other earthmoving activities.

Improving training for CHM specialists will require universities to establish CHM teaching programs at the certificate and diploma levels for personnel who would fill the CHM positions we are advocating. This type of training will also benefit the personnel who are currently working in the cultural sector, but lack the basic professional and technical skills their duties require, and, at the same time, lack qualifications for university degree courses. Training a cadre of junior staff that in essence deals daily with the activities of CHM would greatly improve the management of cultural heritage in protected areas and Tanzania in general.

Archeological Research

Finally, we wish to stress that the term CHM encompasses a wide range of activities aimed at using cultural heritage resources responsibly so as to ensure not only that they are conserved for future generations, but also understood in depth and applied to contemporary scientific and socioeconomic purposes. This is, after all, a concern related to what has been recognized as one of the basic human rights, our cultural rights³⁷. Accordingly, TANAPA and NCAA should encourage archeological research in the parks, controlled areas, and game reserves, and should institutionalize archeology in their scientific planning, development, and management decisions. This approach will not only help prevent park and game personnel's unwitting destruction of cultural heritage in protected areas, but also create opportunities to enhance tourism experiences and improve our understanding of ecosystems within the protected areas.

It is worth emphasizing that virtually the only way to obtain information about the ecological history of protected areas, and hence the natural and cultural processes that continually shape and reshape their constituent ecosystems, is through archeological investigations aimed at recovering data about human activities, climate, and non-human organisms over time spans measured in millennia. Such data should ultimately reveal ecosystem dynamics that unfold over very large time scales and are therefore inaccessible to research focused on the present. Thus, the attempt to manage protected ecosystems with a view toward their long-term well-being depends largely on archeological inquiry.

The long-range survival of Tanzania's cultural heritage depends greatly on implementing the kinds of measures we are recommending, as well as others that may arise from experience with the kinds of CHM programs we are advocating.

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History, Preservation, and Power at El Morro National Monument: Toward a Self-Reflexive Interpretive Practice¹

by *Thomas H. Guthrie*

In recent decades the National Park Service has begun to interpret a wider and more inclusive American history, one that has been not only triumphant but also painful, at least for some. At historic sites across the country, the perspectives of marginalized peoples and expressions of national shame increasingly coexist with (or, in some cases, altogether displace) more heroic stories of American glory. The interpretation of slavery at Civil War battlefields, Indian massacres, the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, the history of racism and the Civil Rights Movement, and women's history are a few examples. This more inclusive approach to historical interpretation has largely resulted from political pressure from underrepresented groups, trends in the discipline of history, and the rise of multiculturalism as a political philosophy.

In the context of this recent interest in more critical approaches to history, the park service must also begin to interpret its own place in the history of American national expansion and its own institutional power. It should also consider “deconstructivist” approaches in the social sciences that question interpretive authority and the relationship between knowledge and power. Such approaches call for an interpretation of interpretation, a self-reflexive and self-critical stance toward any object of study. The idea is that our own social position significantly affects our perspective as researchers and the kind of knowledge we produce. It follows, then, that knowledge production, far from being objective or neutral, is always embedded in relations of power since it involves the imposition of one perspective over others. Interpretation is particularly powerful when it comes with institutional backing, such as a book published by a professor at a prestigious university or an exhibit at a National Park Service visitor center. Recognizing these conditions, we have an intellectual, ethical, and political obligation to expose our own situated positions and the ways in which we have entered into and sustained power relations through the work of interpretation.

Through a critical reading of El Morro National Monument in western New Mexico, this essay explores the power of interpretation and the power that precedes interpretation—power rooted in assumptions about history and preservation that often seem common-sensical. I adopt a visitor's point of view, concentrating on the visitor center at El Morro, a two-mile trail that provides access to the monument's cultural resources, interactions with interpreters, and textual material available at the monument or on the park service website.²

However, as a cultural anthropologist studying the politics of heritage preservation and interpretation in New Mexico, I have not been a typical visitor at El Morro. I approach monuments and historical sites with an academic eye. In addition, my scholarship has shaped and been shaped by my own political inclinations, particularly my critical view of colonialism and my tendency to sympathize with colonized peoples. The following analysis, then, does not represent neutral, disinterested social science (which I doubt exists, despite our best efforts at objectivity). Readers should consider the weaknesses and partiality of my argument. Someone who has actually worked for the National Park Service, someone with a different set of experiences, someone trained in a different field would surely perceive El Morro differently than I do. Because we are all able to see some things and not others, considering multiple perspectives is vital, and I offer the following analysis as one interpretation among many.

This leads me to a point of clarification. It is not my aim to criticize individuals who have worked at El Morro in the past or who work there now. The National Park Service is fortunate to have a dedicated and intelligent work force, from its central offices to its most far-flung units. I am consistently impressed with the park service employees and volunteers I meet across the country, including those I have met at El Morro. In fact, interpreters at El Morro have already initiated one major component of the changes I advocate in this article. However, I want to focus attention not on the individuals responsible for preservation and interpretation at El Morro but on the institutional context within which they have worked. I do this for several reasons. First, we are all part of larger social systems that influence us in countless ways, some of which we are unconscious of. People working at El Morro have not only faced bureaucratic limitations (such as tight budgets) but have also inherited (and sometimes confronted) institutionalized ways of thinking and doing their jobs. Second, our actions often have unintended effects of which we are unaware. The implicit message of American supremacy I hope to illuminate at El Morro is the subtle (even subliminal) effect of practices that have sedimented over time and therefore cannot simply be attributed to individuals and their deliberate efforts. Third, approaches to preservation and interpretation at El Morro have been typical within the national park system, both in technique and emphasis. This suggests that crediting or blaming individuals for what goes on there is less important than understanding larger institutional patterns. While my analysis focuses squarely on El Morro National Monument, it has implications for historical interpretation at other historical sites within the national park system.

It is also important to recognize, however, that individuals working together self-consciously can help to bring about beneficial change. Likewise, individual parks can serve as models for new interpretive approaches within the national park system. El Morro has already begun to demonstrate this potential by pursuing a more self-reflexive interpretative program. At the end of this article I will discuss what the park service has already accomplished; what a more self-

critical interpretative practice might look like; and how such an approach can advance the historical, educational, and political mission of the National Park Service.

El Morro and its Colonial Context



FIGURE 1
El Morro, the bluff
(Courtesy of the author)



FIGURE 2
The pool at the foot of the bluff
(Courtesy of the author)



FIGURE 3
Exposed ruins of A'ts'ina on top of bluff
(Courtesy of the author)

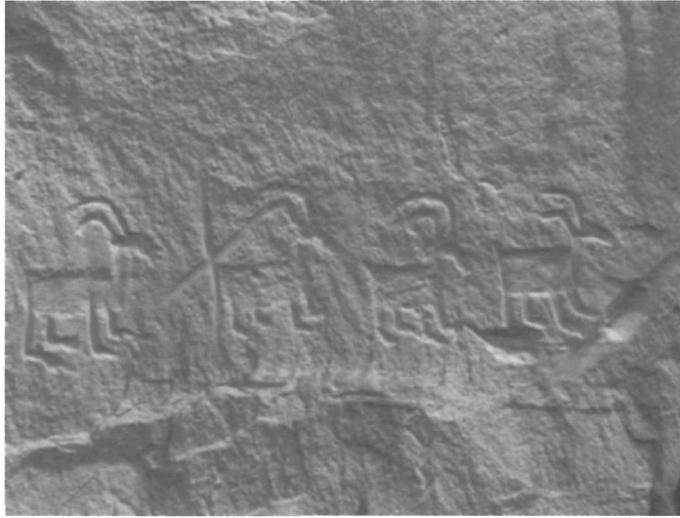
The focal point of El Morro National Monument, which is about a two-hour drive due west from Albuquerque, is a sandstone promontory (*“el morro”* means “the headland” or “the bluff” in Spanish). (Figure 1) At the foot of this bluff lies a deep pool of water that is fed by snowmelt and rain. (Figure 2) The only reliable source of water within a 30-mile radius, the pool attracted human beings to this place for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. Ancestral Puebloans built stone dwellings on top of the bluff sometime in the late 1200s, which they moved away from in the 1300s. The remains of a village called A'ts'ina, which included more than 800 rooms, are still visible at the monument today. (Figure 3) The location of the pool ensured its continued importance over time. El Morro lay on the route between Acoma and Zuni Pueblos. Spaniards (who first wrote about the pool in 1583) stopped there on their way between the Rio Grande and the western Pueblos, and American settlers passed by the rock on their way west. Probably the most interesting feature of El Morro, though, is the rock itself, which Americans dubbed “Inscription Rock” because its base contains more than 2,000 petroglyphs and inscriptions. (Figure 4) Many of those Puebloan, Spanish, and American people who were attracted to this place because of its water left their mark on the rock.

Thanks to these inscriptions, El Morro rewards visitors with both spectacular scenery and fascinating history. Yet the way in which people have understood their place in history, that is, their historicity, and their relationship to this location has changed significantly since the 16th century. I believe that this transformation in historical consciousness, in which the National Park Service has played a key role, is particularly important because it tells us something about colonialism in New Mexico. For if Spaniards *made* history at El Morro, Anglo Americans have *preserved* it, and I want to suggest that both of these attitudes toward history represent an assertion of dominance in the region.

American colonialism in the Southwest does not have an end point in the past; it is not over yet and New Mexico is not “post-colonial” in any straightforward sense.³ Political and economic conditions in the region provide ample evidence of this point. Native American and Hispanic communities tend to be impoverished and politically marginalized. Indians still have to negotiate their sovereignty with the federal government as “domestic dependent nations,” while Hispanics continue to fight for land rights guaranteed under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848. Water rights remain highly contentious in the Southwest, and their adjudication requires courts to plumb the region’s double colonial history to determine prior appropriation. In fact, everywhere we turn in the Southwest

FIGURE 4

Petroglyphs are among more than 2000 carvings on Inscription Rock (Courtesy of the author)



today we discover that the myth of “tricultural” harmony belies social, political, and economic hierarchies that remain characteristically (though complexly) *colonial*.

Although (or, as it turns out, precisely because) the National Park Service has focused its interpretative efforts at El Morro on Ancestral Puebloans, Spanish colonizers, and 19th-century American explorers, I will argue that the practice of preservation and interpretation at the monument has subtly reinforced American political power in the Southwest, relegating Indians and Hispanics to a past that is over and done with while making American ascendancy seem natural. Another way to put this would be in terms of visibility: while the park service has rendered earlier historical periods at El Morro imminently visible, its own significant interventions—informed by culturally specific values and assumptions—remain much less so, and thus relatively unassailable. In short, I want to suggest that Americans have asserted their dominance in part by taking themselves out of history and out of sight.

A critical interpretation of power at El Morro therefore requires an examination of two principles that guide much of the park service’s work and that often go unquestioned: preservation and a form of multiculturalism that shifts attention from dominant to subordinate groups and that tends to be more celebratory than critical. The counterintuitive argument I want to make is that both principles have played a part in perpetuating American hegemony in the Southwest. If this is the case, I suspect it is *not* what employees at El Morro intended (in fact, I would not be surprised if most preservationists and advocates of multiculturalism found this claim repugnant). In order to substantiate this argument, I first need to contrast how Spaniards and Americans understood their place in history and asserted their presence at El Morro.⁴ This historical detour will eventually lead me back to park service interpretation.

Spanish Colonization

When Spanish explorers first arrived in New Mexico in the 16th century they encountered Puebloan peoples whose ancestors had been living there for thousands of years. Juan de Oñate established the first Spanish colony in New Mexico in 1598, north of Santa Fe. Initial Spanish colonization was brutal; the Europeans were intolerant of Pueblo religious practices, and eventually, in 1680, the Pueblos united to expel the colonizers from their homeland. The Pueblo Revolt is one of the most important and successful indigenous uprisings in North American history, and Pueblo peoples today consider it an essential first step toward their cultural survival. However, the Spanish returned in 1692 under the leadership of Diego de Vargas to re-conquer the region.

Although El Morro and the western Pueblos were on the periphery of Spanish colonial activity in New Mexico (which centered on the Rio Grande), the rock became a record of Spanish colonization both before and after 1680. We think it was Oñate who made the first written inscription on the rock, upon his return from an expedition to the Gulf of California in 1605. (Figure 5) In translation, it reads, “There passed this way the Adelantado Don Juan de Oñate, from the discovering of the South Sea, on the 16th of April, 1605.”⁵ “Adelantado” was a title held by Spanish conquistadors who served the Crown as explorers, military commanders, and governors (the term implies going before or advancing). Various versions of the phrase “*pasó por aquí*” (“passed this way” or “passed by here”), which Oñate used, appear all over the rock.

Numerous Spanish expeditions, both military and evangelical, passed by the rock in the 17th and 18th centuries and left inscriptions, many of which are self-aggrandizing. Some of the inscriptions are purely personal (names and dates). Others explicitly chronicle the work of colonization: exploration and the subjugation and missionization of Indians. Consider this anonymous inscrip-

FIGURE 5
Juan de Oñate inscription,
1605 (Courtesy of the
author)



tion: “Captain-General of the Provinces of New Mexico for the King our Lord. He passed by here in returning from the pueblos of Zuni on the 29th of July of the year 1620, and he put them at peace at their petition, praying his favor as vassals of His Majesty, and anew they gave obedience. . .”.⁶ An inscription from 1632 marks the passage of a group of soldiers on their way to Zuni to avenge the death of a priest.⁷ Diego de Vargas made a record of his reconquest: “Here was the General Don Diego de Vargas, who conquered for our Holy Faith, and for the Royal Crown, all the New Mexico, at his expense, Year of 1692.”⁸ To cite one last example: “Year of 1706 on the 26th of August passed this way Don Feliz Martínez Governor and Captain-General of this realm to the reduction and conquest of Moqui [Hopi] and... Reverend Father Friar Antonio Camargo Custodian and Vicar.”⁹

It seems to me that these Spanish colonists etched their names and left messages in the rock not only to document their personal “place in history,” so to speak, but also to leave a record of Spanish colonial activity across the region and, indeed, to stake Spain’s claim *to* the region. Inscribing their names in this rock was thus similar to erecting a flag (or cross), leaving an indelible reminder that they had been there, that they had claimed this place.¹⁰ Colonization involved not just acts of exploration and conquest, suppression and domination, but also a wide array of symbolic assertions of power. For instance, historical geographer Richard Francaviglia has noted the importance of map making in the Spanish colonization of the Southwest, highlighting the relationship between representation and power.¹¹ As Spanish explorers, conquistadors, soldiers, and priests literally made history at El Morro, they asserted their authority over both time and space. When Dan Murphy (in a booklet published by the Western National Parks Association and sold in the El Morro gift shop) calls the rock “one of the significant documents of Southwestern history” and “the Southwest’s most permanent history book,” he implicitly confirms the relationship among writing, history making, and colonial power in the Southwest. Describing El Morro as the place “where history began in America” has a similar effect.¹²

American Colonization

The year 1744 marks the last Spanish-language inscription at El Morro, and there are no inscriptions clearly from the Mexican period. Mexico declared its independence from Spain in 1821, and regional hostilities between Mexico and the United States culminated in 1846 with the Mexican-American War. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo brought an end to the war in 1848 and the cession of a vast territory including New Mexico to the United States. Thus began the second colonization of New Mexico. The coming of the railroad in the 1880s spurred Anglo settlement of the Southwest, and land ownership and water rights quickly became contentious. Indians were attacked, dispossessed of their lands, and subjected to decades of forced assimilation. Meanwhile, Spanish and Mexican land grants were largely broken up, leaving Hispanic communities

disenfranchised, with limited political and economic power. Both Indians and Hispanics have accommodated, adapted to, and resisted American authority in complex ways.

In the 19th century, the Americans who passed by El Morro tended to be part of either military campaigns against Indians, survey teams charting possible rail routes and the position of the new national border, or emigrant trains headed west. The fact that it is often difficult to distinguish scientific expeditions from military campaigns, since the army employed surveyors, geographers, artists, and other specialists to study and document the newly acquired territory, is a perfect example of the relationship between knowledge production and power. Inscriptions at El Morro bear testament to each of these pursuits, all of which were facets of American national expansion. The inscriptions thus provide a document of American colonial activity in the region, just as the Spanish inscriptions did.¹³ So throughout the 19th century we see Americans recording their presence and asserting their authority over the Southwest in precisely the same way as their predecessors had.

A sense of racial superiority helped to justify American control of the Southwest. For example, visitors to El Morro today learn about Edward F. Beale, who supervised an experiment to see whether camels could perform well in the desert Southwest. (Beale fought in the Mexican-American War and became the superintendent of Indian affairs in California and Nevada.) The caravan passed through El Morro in 1857, and upon his return from California in 1858, Beale visited Inscription Rock again and made this report:¹⁴

Inscriptions, names, and hieroglyphics cover the base, and among the names are those of the adventurous and brave Spaniards who first penetrated and explored this country, with dates as far back as 1620. The race has long ago passed away, and left no representative of Spanish blood behind them. Those with us looked with listless indifference at the names of the great men of their nation, and who made it famous centuries ago, cut by themselves upon this rock, and turned off to take charge of the mules, which is about all even the best of them are fit for.

Beale's glorification of Spanish conquistadors was typical of this period. But note how he, in an apparent contradiction, simultaneously erased people of Spanish descent from the New Mexican landscape and denigrated those who remained. (Perhaps Beale intended to contrast "noble" Spaniards and "degenerate" Mexicans, which would also have been typical.) The way in which Beale relegated Hispanics to the past and portrayed them as incapable of appreciating the historical significance of the rock foreshadowed future interpretation at El Morro, as we will see. Notably, the visitor center at the monument today highlights Beale's interesting camel experiment (which ultimately came to nothing) but omits his blatant racism.

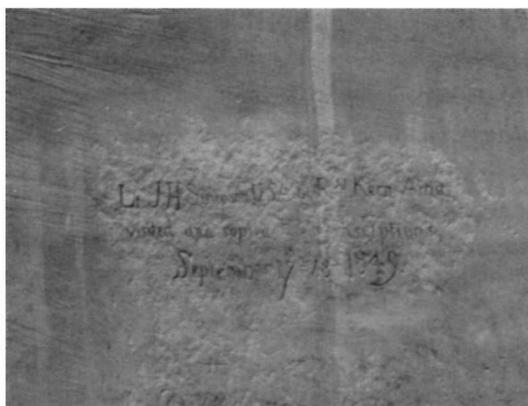
“Here Were Indeed Inscriptions of Interest”

Despite similarities between Spanish and American colonialism in the Southwest, from the very beginning there was an important difference in the way Americans thought about history at El Morro. In fact, I want to suggest that the first English speakers to visit the rock inaugurated a new way of establishing colonial authority in New Mexico. In 1849, just a year after the United States officially acquired the territory, an army expedition set out from Santa Fe to make a treaty with the Navajo at Canyon de Chelly and to bring them under the jurisdiction and control of the United States. Lieutenant James H. Simpson of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, and Richard Kern, an artist from Philadelphia, were part of the expedition, and on their way back to Santa Fe they made a detour past El Morro.¹⁵ The reason for the detour, significantly, was not the pool of water that had attracted visitors in centuries past but the inscriptions on the rock, which their guide promised were worth seeing.¹⁶ Simpson was not disappointed when he reached the rock:¹⁷

The fact then being certain that here were indeed inscriptions of interest, if not of value, one of them dating as far back as 1606, all of them very ancient, and several of them very deeply as well as beautifully engraven, I gave directions for a halt—Bird [Simpson’s servant] at once proceeding to get up a meal, and Mr. Kern and myself to the work of making facsimiles of the inscriptions.

The men spent the next day completing their documentation of the inscriptions and then, before departing, added their own inscription to the rock: “LT. J.H. Simpson U.S.A. and R. H. Kern, Artist, visited and copied these insc[r]iptions, September 17–18 1849.” (Figure 6)

FIGURE 6
Simpson and Kern
inscription, 1849
(Courtesy of the author)



This was likely the first English-language inscription on the rock, and it represents a transition in historical sensibility. Simpson and Kern left a record of their presence just as previous travelers had, but they also *made* a record of the previous inscriptions, which they considered interesting. In fact, the message that they left pointed to the record that they made. Their participation *in* history

was thus subordinate to their documentation *of* history. And in documenting the Spanish *past* at El Morro, they simultaneously marked the beginning of the American *present*.

El Morro began to fall off the map when the Santa Fe Railroad bypassed it in the 1880s. No longer a significant oasis for cross-country travelers, it soon entered its modern historical period. As Americans continued to document and publish records of the inscriptions¹⁸ the rock's reputation as a historic site grew. In order to understand how Simpson and Kern's documentarian impulse and sense of history may have represented a new, implicit expression of colonial dominance we must look to the 20th century, when the National Park Service completed the transformation of El Morro's meaning and historicity. In the next section I return to the issue of interpretation, suggesting that, until recently, interpretive patterns at El Morro have perpetuated and expanded assumptions about American ascendancy in the Southwest.

Fixing History at the National Monument

The practice of preservation and interpretation at El Morro has, for more than a century now, largely confirmed that New Mexico's Pueblo, Spanish, and early American inhabitants are historical while treating 20th-century Americans as if they were beyond history, simply modern. This interpretive pattern effectively normalizes the political presence of Americans in the Southwest by deflecting critical attention from Anglo preservationists. I doubt this interpretive effect is intentional, and there is certainly no explicit celebration of American modernity at El Morro. Nevertheless, the message visitors encounter has until very recently been remarkably consistent. (The next section discusses notable updates at El Morro that could inspire other units in the park system to change the ways they approach interpretation.)

First consider an inaugural policy. El Morro was one of four national monuments established in 1906 after the passage of the Antiquities Act.¹⁹ From that point on, the Federal Government prohibited any new inscriptions on the rock, although the policy was not enforced until the 1920s. Early park superintendents worked both to preserve early inscriptions and to erase those post-dating the monument designation, demonstrating a self-conscious, bureaucratic attempt to manage the site's historical meaning and period of significance. Specifically, these new policies and procedures effectively fixed the meaning of the monument as a historical record. As El Morro became an officially designated historic site, it was taken out of history, its historical significance fixed in the past.²⁰ Whereas Spanish explorers and missionaries made their mark on the rock in a sort of living, evolving history that had no stated ending point, representatives of the American government prohibited this practice, although the park service has extensively inscribed the *monument* in other ways.²¹

Interpretation at the monument visitor center has tended to entrench this understanding of history. The NPS unigrid brochure and a Western National Parks Association booklet²² both summarize El Morro's history up to the 1880s. The exhibit in the monument visitor center, created in the 1960s, does not even make it that far. It covers the Puebloan occupation of the bluff in the 13th century, Spanish colonization, the Pueblo Revolt, the reconquest, American colonization, and Beale's camel expedition. The final panel discusses 19th-century military campaigns against the Navajo and Apache, concluding, "in time all of the tribes were conquered."²³ A video ends with the establishment of the monument in 1906, when further inscriptions were prohibited. And Slater includes in his book little more than a paragraph on the history of El Morro after the designation.²⁴ All of these sources leave visitors with the impression that the history of El Morro ended when it became a national monument, if not several decades before.

This historical bracketing is represented differently in a small, temporary exhibit titled "Let the Rock Tell the Story." The display represents five "eras" of El Morro's past stratigraphically, through horizontal illustrations of what El Morro might have looked like. The top layer, "El Morro in the Present Era" includes this caption: "Today is a time of preservation, protection and understanding. The beauty of the rock stands before us and is forever changing." Photographs of wildlife and park service employees working on the monument illustrate this period. The second layer, "El Morro in the Cultural Era," represents the monument from Puebloan occupation through the 1800s with a montage drawing of a pot, conquistador's helmet, and emigrant's trunk, each in front of the bluff. The three bottom layers describe the geology and paleontology of El Morro in the Tertiary, Cretaceous, and Jurassic eras (from 65 to 170 million years ago).

What strikes me about this exhibit is that it contrasts "the present era" with "the cultural era." Here we find a visual representation of the idea that not only is our current "time of preservation, protection and understanding" beyond history, but it is also beyond culture.²⁵ This is a well-worn understanding of (colonial) modernity: modern Europeans and Euro-Americans, unlike "traditional" societies and earlier Western societies, are no longer defined or bound by culture or time. This display in the visitor center therefore illustrates not a curious word choice but a much broader cultural pattern, even if it was intended to be simply an exhibit about geology.

This cultural pattern is racialized in the Southwest, where the idea of "cultureless" Anglos relates to the invisibility and privilege of whiteness.²⁶ In New Mexico, tourists often consider Native Americans (and, to a lesser extent, Hispanics) to be colorful and interesting. They stand out, especially in comparison to Anglos, who are generally assumed to lack ethnicity. The whiteness of Anglo Americans helps to account for their invisibility in tourist imagery. Another way to make this point would be to say that Indians and Hispanics are *marked* by

their difference while Anglos are *unmarked*. Marking in this sense represents an assertion of power, because the unmarked category remains the standard or norm (that is, Anglos are *just* normal, modern) against which others are measured (the others are different, strange).

The problem with these interpretive elements, as I see it, is not simply that they are incomplete, but that they effectively perpetuate American colonial power in the Southwest, albeit implicitly and inadvertently. This is despite the fact, or, rather, because of the fact, that the park service has tended to lift up New Mexico's Indian, Spanish, and early American history at the monument while demurring from interpreting its modern American history. This historical bracketing has two effects. First, New Mexico's Indian, Hispanic, and territorial "periods" are firmly fixed in the past. Their historical significance has been confirmed, but they are also relegated to history. They are over and done with, literally set in stone and in history books that have been closed. There is hardly any visual or textual acknowledgement at the monument today that Native Americans and Hispanics even survived into the 20th century (a serious shortcoming that the park service has made progress in correcting at other parks). Second, modern American history and culture, characterized by a preservationist ethic, remain living and vibrant, not quite historical at all. They are associated with New Mexico's present and future. (Even references to the Puebloan, Spanish, Mexican, and American "periods" in the Southwest reinforce this sequential, progressivist narrative.) The American vantage point is taken for granted and naturalized at the monument, where American preservationists, having stepped out of the scene, remain hidden and therefore beyond critique.

It may seem like this truncated historical narrative and the "invisible" power I am associating with it are fairly innocuous, especially in comparison to the blatant racism, violent domination, and ethnocentrism of the 19th century. Yet the fact that this interpretive pattern comes on the heels of American conquest is significant. A brief consideration of continuity and change in the history of colonialism in the Southwest may therefore help to clarify my argument. El Morro illustrates a trend in the history of European and Euro-American colonialism evident in many parts of the world. Over time, we often see a shift from colonial domination that is based on coercion and overt acts of violence to colonial domination based on consent and culturally sustained inequality. Scholars often refer to this second form of power, which operates through culture and seemingly natural social arrangements, as hegemony. One characteristic of the transition from coercive to hegemonic colonialism is a changing relationship between visibility and power, which I believe the history of El Morro illustrates. If early colonizers in New Mexico endeavored to make themselves and their authority visible and to erase the presence of the colonized (symbolically if not literally), later colonizers attempted the opposite. Both techniques represent an assertion of power, though in different ways.²⁷

El Morro does therefore demonstrate significant change over time, but it also reveals startling continuity: overt and hegemonic forms of domination differ, but they are both forms of domination.

The subtlety of this power-through-preservation makes it difficult to perceive and thus to criticize. And the fact that this new form of colonial entrenchment is often unintentional or counter-intentional makes it even harder to believe. Yet often our actions and the cultural patterns we unconsciously perpetuate have unintended consequences of which we are unaware. It is precisely the subliminal, invisible, unintentional, and counterintuitive nature of the power I am attempting to illuminate that makes it significant and worth studying.

Toward a Self-Reflexive Interpretive Practice

So what policies and practices would I recommend instead? First of all, I am not suggesting that the park service repeal its prohibition of new inscriptions. Doing so might revive a more vibrant, living kind of history at the monument, a history in which we participate as active agents, an open-ended history that is not yet finished or determined. Visitors might even glean a more authentic understanding of the experiences of those who passed by this very same place long ago.²⁸ And who is to say that the name of someone who died 300 years ago is more important than my name, or my child's? Allowing new inscriptions would certainly result in the loss of older ones (the monument receives 35,000 visitors a year), but such loss happened in the past, is inevitable in the future, and could be mitigated through documentation.

Still, the prohibition makes sense to me, and I am glad that we can still see all those engravings from the past. Not only are the inscriptions interesting, they can teach us something about people who came before us and the history of the Southwest. Happily, the park service has provided two boulders outside of the visitor center and a sign that reads, "Carve your initials on this typical piece of local sandstone, if you must—but please remember: it is against the law to carve anything on Inscription Rock itself!"²⁹ (Figure 7) Visitors can also "inscribe" their names in the monument's registry.



FIGURE 7
Boulders available for inscription outside the visitor center (Courtesy of the author)

Rather, I urge the NPS to continue in the direction it has charted in recent years, interpreting the monument's own history, historicizing preservation, and moving toward self-exposure. The first logical step in this process, already underway at El Morro, is to do away with the historical bracketing I described above and to include the management of the park in the historical narrative conveyed to visitors. This more inclusive interpretation does more than bring the monument's history "up to date." More fundamentally, it conveys to visitors that Anglo preservationists are just as embedded in culture and history as were Ancestral Puebloans, Spanish colonists, and early American explorers. Interpreting 20th-century cultural history means that preservationists at El Morro

no longer occupy a privileged position above (or outside of) culture and history, the “present era” of (nothing but) protection and understanding.

The park service has recently made great strides in interpreting the history of the monument and providing visitors with a more complete understanding of this place. A temporary display in the visitor center developed for the centenary of the monument (“El Morro National Monument: 1906–2006”) included 19 black-and-white and color photographs of the monument since its designation (including pictures of people working at the monument), copies of two documents relating to the monument’s establishment and administration, and four laminated pages with text.³⁰ Two of these pages described the creation of the monument in 1906 and what it was like to live and work at El Morro in the early 1900s. A third discussed cultural resource management:

Early efforts to protect inscriptions from the elements of nature included covering the carvings with paraffin, chiseling grooves to reroute water flows and darkening and deepening inscriptions with hard pencils to offset the erosion that was occurring. These first, well intended though intrusive attempts to preserve the inscriptions ended in the 1930s. However, erosion and weathering continue to pose the ultimate challenge to the National Park Service mission of preserving cultural resources in perpetuity while allowing natural processes to occur.

The sign went on to discuss the treatment of the ruins on top of the bluff. The fourth page explained several major alterations to the pool in the 1920s: “The first custodian enlarged the catchment basin to provide more water for area ranchers and their stock, and erected a dam which would help retain water otherwise lost in runoff.”³¹

When I returned to El Morro in 2008 this display had been broken up.³² The sign about the pool had been moved to above the water fountain, and a kiosk near the front of the visitor center featured displays on technical preservation problems, the history of the monument’s visitor centers, life at the monument in the early 1900s and preservation efforts in the 1920s (both from the centennial display), and improvements to the monument during the New Deal. Parts of the centenary display had also been mounted in the campground.



FIGURE 8
A wayside exhibit on recent methods of preserving El Morro’s history (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

New wayside exhibits installed during the summer of 2008 extend this interpretation of the monument’s history. (Figure 8) Four of the eight new signs focus exclusively on park history and management (including the topics noted above) and a fifth mentions them. And a new walking guide for the Inscription Rock trail mentions changes to the pool in the 1920s and 1940s, early “well-intentioned but intrusive” preservation attempts, and the erasure of inscriptions.³³

Perhaps even more importantly, interpretive rangers *talk* to visitors about the history of the monument (and have been doing so since at least the early 1990s).

On the two-hour guided hike I went on in 2008, the ranger began by reminding us that Inscription Rock was a “historical document” and not a “living document” and that new inscriptions were strictly prohibited. (She disgustingly told us about and later pointed out a very recent inscription—“Alex + Bree = BFF”—that she said she would gladly erase herself.) But her well-informed narrative frequently turned to the 20th century (the construction of the dam, New Deal projects, early and current preservation efforts, the paving of the highway, controlled burns, visitor antics, etc.). When we got to the top of the bluff, another ranger (who happened to be Zuni) told us about ongoing work on the ruins.³⁴ Neither ranger ever came close to suggesting that the history of the monument was over. Quite the contrary, the 20th and 21st centuries were alive with activity in their accounts.

Finally, the park service website includes several pages on preservation challenges at El Morro³⁵ although most emphasize technical problems rather than park history. One page gives a brief history of park service buildings at the monument, concluding, “The 1939 sandstone residence now serves as the administrative offices for El Morro. Today it is, as well as the Mission 66 visitor center, as much a part of El Morro’s history as the inscriptions themselves.”³⁶

In my view the new visitor center exhibits, the new wayside signs, oral interpretation at the monument, and the park service’s website significantly enrich interpretation at El Morro in that they historicize and humanize the monument’s early custodians (who made some decisions that seem regrettable in hindsight) and call attention to current management challenges. As I suggested above, these new interpretative initiatives do much more than update or supplement a historical narrative. More importantly, they break open a historical barrier that has indirectly supported the authority and presence of the Federal Government in the Southwest for decades (even if they were not created for this purpose). They also demonstrate that the park service can effectively and successfully pursue more self-reflexive interpretation.

As with any work in progress, there is still room for improvement. The effect of the older interpretive elements I discussed in the previous section (all of which are still in use) will not be easy to overcome. Compared to the larger and more visible permanent exhibit in the visitor center that ends with the conquest of the Navajo and Apache, the temporary displays are marginal. In addition, not all visitors will spend time talking to interpreters, which underscores the significance of textual and visual interpretation.

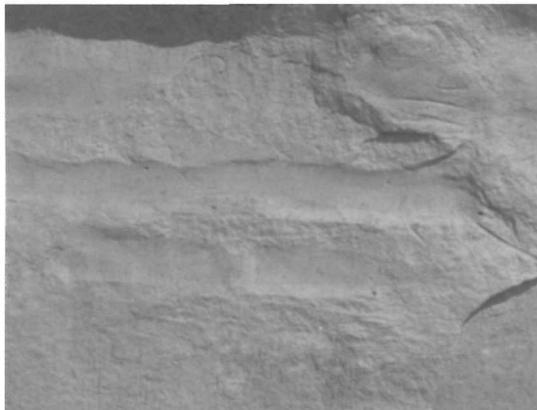
It will, of course, take time and money to continue to improve interpretation at the monument. The park service has already taken, and surely will continue to take, interim steps in its interpretive program. For example, while waiting for funding for a new exhibit, it may be possible to supplement an outmoded display with an interpretation of interpretation. Small and inexpensively produced

signs posted at the beginning, at the end, or throughout the exhibit could inform visitors about the age of the display, comment on particularly problematic segments, or provide alternative perspectives. Historicizing and deconstructing the authority of park service interpretation would promote critical thinking and may even encourage visitors to consider what it takes to support park service interpretation.

I believe the park service must continue to expand its interpretation of monument history. Consider, for example, Slater's commentary on the erasure of inscriptions in the 1920s:³⁷

Ironically enough, the greatest single act of damage to the rock took place after the establishment of the Monument. About 1924 an attempt was made to cleanse the rock of countless worthless signatures by rubbing them out with sandstone. In the course of this ill-advised project many valuable inscriptions were erased, and the beautiful sandstone was so disfigured as to draw questions, from the most casual visitor, as to what happened.

FIGURE 9
Erased inscriptions
(Courtesy of the author)



Erased sections are indeed evident all over the rock today (Figure 9), and in my experience the park service acknowledges and explains them³⁸ but does not *interpret* the process of erasure or treat the erased sections as an educational opportunity. The point is not simply to disclose embarrassing missteps but to encourage visitors to think critically about preservation, historical sites, and park management (which is, after all, funded by taxpayers). Nor is it sufficient to interpret the *early* history of the monument but to leave more recent practices untouched (which might actually shield the current administration from scrutiny).

I particularly like the open-ended questions that conclude a two-page brochure on preservation challenges at El Morro available on the park service web site: "We must ask ourselves what treatments are acceptable and how far we will go to delay the inevitable. Cover the rock wall with glass? Remove the inscriptions

and place them in a museum? Or should we allow nature to take its course?”³⁹ These are excellent questions, difficult to answer and bound to get visitors thinking. In my view they do as much as, if not more than, exhibits that *inform* visitors what the park service is already doing in terms of preservation.

In fact, I would like to see the park service pursue this kind of open-ended interpretation even further, focusing critical attention on not just the *techniques* but also the *philosophy* of preservation. While this approach would be appropriate at any historic site, it is especially relevant at El Morro since it would provide visitors with a more complete understanding of the rock’s history. Preservation and the prohibition of further inscriptions were, after all, historical. Indeed, the 1906 prohibition seemingly points to a radically new way of thinking about this place and its history, yet today it is mentioned matter-of-factly, if at all, in descriptions of the monument. If the park service already interprets the cultural significance of the rock for Pueblo Indians and Spanish colonists, why not interpret its significance for 20th-century Anglos as well? Each of these groups has had a different relationship to the rock, and contrasting the three perspectives would be fascinating.

I suspect that the only reason preservation has not been held up for inspection is because it has been taken as a rational, natural, and self-evident stance, beyond history. Yet we know now that historic preservation is not a natural response to the world but one that has arisen in particular cultural and historical circumstances.⁴⁰ This peculiar cultural response to this place deserves interpretation simply because it is a part of history, even if we still consider ourselves to be living in a “time of preservation.”

The park service should minimally explain and interpret preservation at El Morro to visitors. Why preserve this site? The answer to this question may not be as obvious as it seems, and the park service should be able to provide some specific answers. If interpreters begin to treat preservation as a cultural rather than natural response to the rock, then they will need to justify preservation to visitors. Making an explicit argument for preservation will help the agency spread the preservation ethic since visitors will become able to *make sense* of preservation rather than simply receiving it as a passed-down mandate. Yet the more the park service denaturalizes and justifies preservation, the more some visitors may begin to *question* it. This possibility may seem scary or even threatening to the park service, but if preservation is a good idea it should be able to withstand scrutiny. Furthermore, I submit that a thinking visitor is always a better visitor.⁴¹ Visitors might begin to call into question their own assumptions, and those of the government, about “history” and the government’s management of historic sites. They would certainly be better informed and better able to appreciate this place, its ongoing history, and the work of the National Park Service.

Advantages of Self-Critical Interpretation

In conclusion, let me summarize what I consider to be three advantages for the park service of self-critical or self-reflexive interpretation at El Morro and beyond. First, interpreting the more recent past (in the case of El Morro, its history since 1906) will result in a more complete historical understanding. Much of the historical interpretation at El Morro currently may leave visitors with the impression that the site's history ended when it became a national monument, which of course is not true. National Park Service management, itself an unfolding process, is part of, not beyond, history and thus deserves interpretation too. At El Morro this potential is particularly intriguing because of parallels and contrasts between Spanish and American colonization.

Second, self-reflexive interpretation serves the park service's mission as an educational institution. This mission is dear to me as a teacher. In the classroom, I believe that my most important task is not to provide information to my students but to encourage them to think critically about the world in which they live (especially about present-day social arrangements). Too often students forget content (sometimes as soon as the exam is over!), but if we teach them how to think, what kind of questions to ask, and how to look beneath the surface of complex situations, they can use these skills throughout their lives. The National Park Service has the opportunity to get visitors thinking and to challenge their preconceived assumptions and values at every single unit in the country, which may be more important than presenting them with straightforward historical narratives (history is rarely straightforward anyway) or cultivating an uncritical patriotism. The agency is already doing this to a certain extent, of course, but interpreters and educators can more consistently emphasize *critical* reflection.

Prioritizing critical thinking over the acquisition of information may also help to alleviate concerns that limited time and space make it unrealistic to expand historical interpretation. Discussing a monument's recent history even briefly will likely mean that interpreters have less time to talk about its "core" historical significance, the reason it was designated a monument in the first place. Yet as I have argued in this article, it may be appropriate to rethink what makes individual parks and monuments significant. Their significance may lie as much in the present as in the past, and it surely evolves over time. At El Morro, I believe that 20th-century American colonialism is no less significant than the history of Puebloan occupation, Spanish colonization, or 19th-century American exploration.

Third, there are also civic benefits to self-critical interpretation. Encouraging visitors to think critically about the National Park Service itself would lay the foundation for a more democratic and just public history. Keeping in mind that the park service has been a part of American history reminds us that it is and has been an agent of the Federal Government, for better and for worse. While

the park service has not always represented all Americans, as a federal agency it *must* do so today. The park service has already begun to acknowledge the contributions and perspectives of minority groups in the United States, a process that must continue. But the agency has not adequately owned up to its own role in the oppression and marginalization of some of those groups in the past and present. The relocation of Native Americans and others in order to create parks and their subsequent exclusion from these “wilderness” areas are well-known examples of this colonial history.⁴² Interpreting the history of the National Park Service is particularly timely as the agency’s 2016 centennial approaches.

The park service has also been responsible for more subtle, often unintentional, forms of domination. Historicizing and revealing the politics of park management thus has the potential to disrupt Eurocentric policies and practices and to make space for all Americans within the national park system. The self-critique I am proposing might therefore help the park service to broaden its visitorship. At El Morro, imagine a Hispanic visitor encountering a federal agency that is willing to tell the story not only of brave conquistadors and intrepid camel-drivers but also of American racism and a set of policies and practices that implicitly elevated the position of Anglo Americans in the Southwest. (Is anger ever an appropriate emotion at national monuments?) Imagine a Native American encountering a narrative that subjects 20th-century Anglos to the same scrutiny as other groups. This self-reflexive interpretation would no longer implicitly privilege Anglos as the representatives of a triumphant modernity while relegating Indians and Hispanics to the past. So long as interpretation at El Morro perpetuates the assumption that Anglo preservationists are beyond culture and history, and so long as Anglos maintain the privilege of invisibility, the monument will continue to marginalize visitors who do not identify with the dominant group.

Multiculturalists committed to highlighting the lives, experiences, and perspectives of marginalized groups might object to this suggestion to focus more attention on powerful white people. Ironically, however, spending more time talking about 20th-century Anglo Americans at El Morro could help to *equalize* the various groups associated with this place. My point is not that the park service is wrong to interpret the history of Puebloan and Spanish peoples at El Morro (which of course it should) but that it must no longer implicitly treat 20th-century Anglos as cultureless, normative, and simply “modern.” For too long this interpretive pattern has confirmed the association of Indians and Hispanics with New Mexico’s past and Anglos with its present and future. A corollary to this point is that the park service must also make it clear that Native Americans and Hispanics did not die out but inhabit the Southwest in the 21st century as modern-day peoples.

American democracy is built upon the ability of the people to question their government, and a federal agency that actually encourages, rather than avoids,

this questioning is truly inspirational. National parks and monuments reach their full potential when they become forums where Americans can safely and respectfully encounter and talk about difficult and divisive issues. El Morro National Monument certainly has the potential to foster this kind of civic engagement.

El Morro is a true gem within the national park system, one definitely worth caring about. If older interpretive practices at the monument—typical of National Park Service interpretation in their emphasis—effectively extend the history of American colonialism in the Southwest, the advancement of a self-reflexive interpretive program might enrich historical understanding, promote education, and nurture democracy and equality on federal land.

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Notes

- 1 I gratefully acknowledge the thoughtful comments of Damon Akins, Barbara Little, Dwight Pitcaithley, Dick Sellars, Cathy Stanton, and two anonymous reviewers on previous drafts of this article. I extend special thanks to Kayci Cook Collins (Superintendent of El Malpais National Monument and El Morro National Monument) and Leslie DeLong (Chief of Visitor Services and Facilities at El Malpais and El Morro), who not only provided helpful feedback but were gracious, friendly, and supportive in the face of critique.
- 2 I have visited El Morro four times since 2001, each time paying close attention to the interpretive narrative conveyed to visitors. During each visit I talked to rangers and hiked the two-mile trail, following along in the guide book available to visitors that interprets points along the way (on my most recent visit I hiked the trail in a group with a ranger). This trail, the visitor center, a picnic area, and a campground round out visitor opportunities at the 1,279-acre monument. I have also talked about interpretation with the monument's superintendent and the chief of visitor services. This investigation is part of a larger and ongoing research project on the politics of heritage preservation and interpretation in northern New Mexico, with a focus on projects involving the National Park Service. See Thomas H. Guthrie, *Recognizing New Mexico: Heritage Development and Cultural Politics in the Land of Enchantment* (University of Chicago, Ph.D. dissertation, 2005).
- 3 What "post-colonial" means and how that term might apply to settler colonies such as the United States are both theoretically debatable. See Stuart Hall, "When Was 'The Post-Colonial'? Thinking at the Limit," pp. 242-260 in *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons*, ed. Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti (London: Routledge, 1996).
- 4 The significance of El Morro for ancient and modern Pueblo peoples, as well as how these groups transformed the rock, is an important topic that deserves careful consideration, but my analysis begins with Spanish colonization.
- 5 John M. Slater, *El Morro: Inscription Rock New Mexico: The Rock Itself, the Inscriptions Thereon, and the Travelers Who Made Them*. (Los Angeles: Plantin Press, 1961), 7.
- 6 Slater, 8.
- 7 Slater, 10.
- 8 Slater, 13.

- 9 Slater, 18.
- 10 All societies inscribe their presence on their surroundings, though in very different ways, as will become clear once we consider NPS activity in the 20th century.
- 11 Richard Francaviglia, “Elusive Land: Changing Geographic Images of the Southwest,” pp. 8–39 in *Essays on the Changing Images of the Southwest*, ed. Richard Francaviglia and David Narrett (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 13–16.
- 12 Dan Murphy, *El Morro National Monument* (Tucson: Western National Parks Association, 2003), 3, 11; Kit Carson, *New Mexico’s Inscription Rock: “Where History Began in America!”* (New York: Vantage Press, 1967). Like Murphy, Kit Carson (not the famous frontiersman but perhaps his grandson) conceived of Inscription Rock as a historical text. Carson, 14, explained that all those who inscribed their names on the rock “left a lasting registration which has resulted in colorful history, almost a paragraph—topic by topic—of America. The unintentional picture they left in passing has become a history as legend in time becomes lines in the same volume...” Yet the “history” that most commentators associate with El Morro—almost always a chronological, linear story that begins with Native Americans, proceeds through Spanish colonization, and ends with Anglo Americans—contrasts with the rock itself. The rock does not contain a linear, chronological record. Rather, the inscriptions are all mixed up, even superimposed on one another. Furthermore, there are numerous examples of annotations and deletions (see Slater, 8, 20), evidence that if the rock is a historical record, it has been edited and contested over time. This jumbled record is clear in the guide books that highlight points of interest along the trail at the foot of the rock (see *El Morro Trails: El Morro National Monument, New Mexico* (N.P.: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, n.d. [1998 printing]); Abby Mogollón, *Guide to the Inscription Trail: El Morro National Monument, New Mexico* (N.P.: Western National Parks Association, 2008); Slater, 53–75), but most of the narratives visitors encounter rearrange the inscriptions to produce a straightforward chronology. My point here is that “history” (a story we tell about the past) is an interpretation, not something found chiseled in stone. Conflating the work of interpretation with its object (as Murphy and Carson do) naturalizes “history” and conceals the partiality of interpretation. After all, alternative histories could be gleaned from the rock if the inscriptions were left jumbled. Perhaps El Morro conveys a story not of linear progression but of violence (people scraping their names over other people’s marks), ephemerality, or simply disorder.
- 13 John Slater notes that the name of Kit Carson (the famous frontiersman and Indian fighter) once graced the rock. Although it was erased, “Carson, being a good soldier, had a reserve—an inscription on the walls of Keams Canyon in the Navaho country” (See Slater, 45). I heard a ranger at El Morro say that it was a former Navajo NPS employee who had erased Carson’s inscription, presumably as a political statement.
- 14 Edward F. Beale, “Wagon Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River,” Letter from the Secretary of War, Transmitting the Report of the Superintendent of the Wagon Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River. U.S. 35th Congress, 1st session, H. Exec. Doc. 124, 1858, 85.
- 15 James H. Simpson, *Navaho Expedition: Journal of a Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Navaho Country Made in 1849 by Lieutenant James H. Simpson*. Edited and annotated by Frank McNitt (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964 [1850]), 125–137.
- 16 Simpson’s party spent an entire afternoon copying the inscriptions before setting off to inspect the ruins on top of the bluff. It was only then that the explorers found, “canopied by some magnificent rocks and shaded by a few pine trees, the whole forming an exquisite picture, ...a cool and capacious spring—an accessory not more grateful to the lover of the beautiful than refreshing to the way-worn traveler” (see Simpson, 128). Simpson’s journal makes it clear that the discovery of this “accessory,” as significant for its aesthetic as its practical value, was of secondary interest.
- 17 Simpson, 127.
- 18 Slater, 38, 48, 49.

- 19 Land acquisition and the control of resources in the name of preservation or conservation (authorized by the Antiquities Act and other laws) were a more direct form of American colonial domination than the interpretive practices I discuss here but are beyond the scope of this article.
- 20 See Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 149-176, who has shown that heritage is always constructed in the present through processes of exhibition and display that entail the kind of fossilization evident at El Morro (see also Guthrie, 104-60). See Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1999 [1976]), 43-45, who has elaborated a complementary theory of tourist sites, arguing that they must be framed and decontextualized in order to be perceived as attractions.
- 21 Signs dot the landscape of the monument, from the "El Morro National Monument" sign on the highway to directional signs and signs pointing out plant life to appeals and prohibitions ("El Morro Nat'l Monument is part of America's heritage. Please help protect it"; "It is unlawful to mark or deface El Morro rock"). If, as I suggested earlier, all cultures mark (and construct the meaning of) their territories, this bureaucratic, institutional inscription illustrates social conditions at the turn of the 21st century just as the petroglyphs and Spanish inscriptions illustrate earlier periods.
- 22 Murphy.
- 23 The panel states, "The Navajos surrendered in 1864 and more than 8,500 were forced to make the long walk of exile to Fort Sumner in eastern New Mexico. After much suffering, they signed a final treaty in 1868 and were allowed to return to their homeland. Peace was established." It is possible to read the panel as being either sympathetic to the Indians or triumphalist (or both).
- 24 Slater, 49-50.
- 25 The use of the term "era" and the comparison of historical periods to geological eras further emphasize the difference between the "present" and "cultural" eras and the naturalness of the distinction. The exhibit is also vaguely evolutionary. In the corner of each of the five era signs are footprints: reptilian prints in the bottom two, a mammalian paw print in the middle, a bare human footprint in the "cultural" era, and a boot print in the "present" era. This iconography dangerously combines a narrative of species evolution and a historical narrative in such a way that it becomes possible to interpret the latter in terms of *cultural* evolution (the relationship between people who wear boots and people who walk barefoot is like the relationship between mammals and reptiles).
- 26 Sylvia Rodriguez, "Tourism, Whiteness, and the Vanishing Anglo," pp. 194-210 in *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*, ed. David M. Wrobel and Patrick T. Long (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001).
- 27 The theory of the colonial and tourist gaze (an institutionalized way of looking that reinforces power relations through objectification) further helps to explain this relationship between visibility and power (see Sylvia Rodríguez, "The Tourist Gaze, Gentrification, and the Commodification of Subjectivity in Taos," pp. 105-126 in *Essays on the Changing Images of the Southwest*, ed. Richard Francaviglia and David Narrett (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1994). Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995 [1975]) has shown that rendering a subordinate group of people (such as prisoners) visible facilitates their discipline and control. I do not mean to imply that coercive and consensual forms of power are necessarily sequential or that the latter always supplants the former; both may be in operation at the same time.
- 28 Compare Carson, 16-18 and see also Murphy, 3, 15.
- 29 I found further evidence of the enduring desire to leave one's mark in a concrete drainage ditch along the trail between the visitor center and Inscription Rock. Several initials (including "K. A. Adams / Maint.") and the date 1996 were carved in the concrete. Also see Carson, 15, 19.
- 30 In addition to this display, a brochure entitled "Celebrating 100 Years of the Antiquities Act 1906-2006" was available to visitors when I visited in 2007 and provided basic information about America's first preservation law and the establishment of El Morro National Monument.

- 31 The guidebook visitors follow as they explore Inscription Rock notes that the dam was lined with concrete in 1942. (See *El Morro Trails*, 6.) Also, an internal document states that the construction of the dam and the subsequent rise in water level threatened a number of inscriptions (See National Park Service, El Morro National Monument, “First Annual Centennial Strategy for El Morro National Monument,” Document (2007) available at http://www.nps.gov/elmo/parkmgmt/upload/ELMO_Centennial_Strategy.pdf. Accessed March 6, 2009.)
- 32 Ironically, the temporary centenary exhibit (an example of a new kind of interpretation at El Morro) took the place of the more old-fashioned “Let the Rock Tell the Story” exhibit, which was remounted after the centenary exhibit was dismantled.
- 33 Mogollón.
- 34 Later the chief of visitor services at the monument told me that Pueblo people were maintaining a living relationship to this ancestral site through their work with the park service.
- 35 See, for example, National Park Service, El Morro National Monument, “Inscription Preservation,” Document (2009) available at <http://www.nps.gov/elmo/naturescience/inscriptionpreservation.htm>. Accessed March 6, 2009.
- 36 National Park Service, El Morro National Monument, “Indoor Activities,” Document (2009) available at <http://www.nps.gov/elmo/planyourvisit/indooractivities.htm>. Accessed March 6, 2009.
- 37 Slater, 49–50.
- 38 See, for example, Mogollón.
- 39 National Park Service, El Morro National Monument, “Monitoring and Preservation.” Brochure (2005) available at <http://www.nps.gov/elmo/naturescience/upload/Monitoring%20and%20Preservation.pdf>. Accessed March 6, 2009.
- 40 Outside the recent history of the West, other cultures have revered innovation and the new or cycles of change, preferring to demolish or recycle remnants of the past; and within Western societies certain segments of the population have always cared more about preservation than others. See, for example, Max Page and Randall Mason, eds, *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2004) and Patricia L. Parker, *Keepers of the Treasures: Protecting Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions on Indian Lands*. (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1990).
- 41 This suggestion complements one of El Morro’s goals for the National Park Service’s Centennial Initiative: “We want the future to have many ingredients from the past—a broad community of stewards (employees, volunteers, neighbors, visitors, tribal peoples, scholars, artists, children and seniors) to study, to share, to question, to challenge, to fix, to honor, to innovate” (See NPS 2007). Education is a principal theme of this document.
- 42 Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God’s Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2000); Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Robert H. Keller, and Michael F. Turek, *American Indians & National Parks* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998); Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Although the park service and other federal land management agencies have begun to make some progress in recent years, they still have a long way to go in addressing these past injustices. In fact, the very notion of “federal land” raises vexing moral questions when we acknowledge that other people (now called “affiliated groups”) had significant material and cultural ties to land and natural resources claimed by the federal government under varying circumstances. Some, but by no means all, of these groups were Native American. My discussion of justice at El Morro leaves aside for now these crucial concerns, focusing exclusively on interpretation.

Before the Signatures: Evidence of the Vázquez de Coronado Expedition at El Morro National Monument, West-Central New Mexico¹

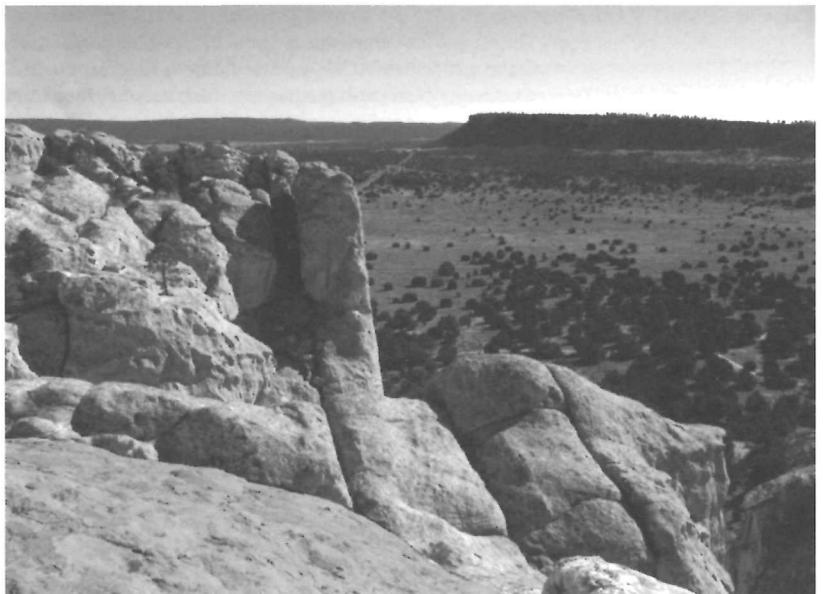
by Clay Mathers, Charles Haecker, James W. Kendrick, and Steve Baumann

Over the last four centuries, the site of Inscription Rock—also known as El Morro National Monument—has become a *signature* historical monument in both a literal and figurative sense. Lying close to the Continental Divide and located along the well-traveled prehistoric routes between the Pueblos of Zuni and Acoma in west-central New Mexico, Inscription Rock has attracted a wide range of prehistoric and historic-period occupation. The large concentration of petroglyphs and engraved signatures on this imposing sandstone promontory bear witness to the frequency of these visits and activities,² and gave rise to one of the site's more popular names.

Two Ancestral Pueblo sites on the mesa top are believed to have been occupied from c. 1275 to 1350³ and Native American petroglyphs along the base of Inscription Rock range from the 13th and 14th centuries⁴. The earliest known European inscription at the site dates to 1605.⁵ Don Juan de Oñate, the first Spanish Governor of New Mexico, visited the El Morro area in that year and engraved a dated memorial following the return of his expedition from the *South Sea* (that is, the Gulf of California).⁶ (Figure 1)

During the last 500 years, a number of important factors have made El Morro an attractive location for travelers: the excellent grazing resources in the

FIGURE 1
Landscape of El Morro in
west-central New Mexico.
(Courtesy of the authors)



El Morro Valley, the large pool of water or *tinaja* located at Inscription Rock, the shallow playa lakes that appear periodically in the immediate vicinity, the shelter afforded from bitterly cold west winds, and the site's proximity to the well-traveled routes between Zuni and Acoma.

Until November 2007, the earliest known physical trace of a European presence at the site was the 1605 Oñate inscription. Although historical documents suggest visits by earlier 16th-century Spanish *entradas*⁷—particularly the 1583 expedition led by Antonio de Espejo⁸—no material evidence of these expeditions had ever been identified at El Morro National Monument.

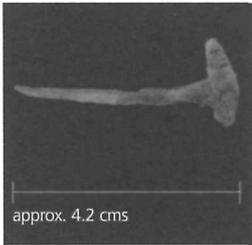


FIGURE 2
Caret-headed nail: one of the artifacts recovered at El Morro linking the park with the 1540-1542 Coronado expedition. (Courtesy of the authors)

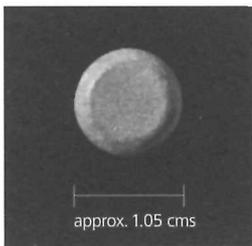


FIGURE 3
Lead (or copper alloy) scale weight or coin weight recovered at El Morro: one of the artifacts recovered at El Morro linking the park with the 1540-1542 Coronado expedition. (Courtesy of the authors)

Following work directed by Charles Haecker in late 2007, funded by the National Park Service (NPS) Heritage Partnership Program and facilitated by El Morro National Monument's Heritage Preservation Division, dramatic new evidence emerged linking El Morro with the earliest major Spanish *entrada* in the desert Southwest: the 1540-1542 expedition of Capitan General Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. A range of metal artifacts recovered during this three-day investigation point to the presence of the Vázquez de Coronado expedition. These artifacts include three caret-headed nails, a lead (or copper alloy) coin or scale weight, an unusual wrought iron awl or needle, and a small wrought iron chain. Although a number of other Spanish Colonial objects were found in the course of this preliminary survey, such as a rose-head nail, a cast iron escutcheon plate, and two wrought iron nail shafts, none of these artifacts can be dated more precisely at this time. (Figures 2, 3)

Caret-headed nails are considered some of the most diagnostic artifacts associated with the expedition of Vázquez de Coronado, since they are found on a variety of other sites linked with this *entrada* in both New Mexico and Texas⁹. Furthermore, caret-headed nails were found at the Governor Martin site, near Tallahassee, Florida – a location widely believed to be Hernando de Soto's 1539-1540 winter camp¹⁰. In addition, Mathers and Haecker¹¹ have demonstrated recently that caret-headed nails are not only known in a variety of contexts in Central-South America and Europe during the late 15th and early 16th centuries, but that these nail forms appear to be largely, if not altogether, absent in later 16th-century and early 17th-century contexts in many parts of North America. While further research remains to be done, these patterns appear to be widespread and may be applicable not only to the American Southwest and Southeast, but to areas further afield as well.

The lead (or copper alloy) scale weight or coin weight found at El Morro during our survey bears a striking resemblance to an object recovered by Kathleen Deagan at the site of Concepción de la Vega (c. 1496-1502) in the Dominican Republic. The close morphological correspondence between these two artifacts, and their similar function, was confirmed by Deagan after examining photographs of the El Morro weight (pers. comm., March 2009)¹². In addition, a small

wrought iron chain, with three closed links and one terminal link left open to form a hook, matches some of the morphological and metrical characteristics of 16th-century chains found elsewhere in the Southwest and in the United Kingdom¹³. Significantly, the closest parallel to the El Morro chain—with respect to manufacturing technique, size, and shape—comes from an unpublished chain recovered from the Jimmy Owens site in the Texas Panhandle, a confirmed Vázquez de Coronado campsite. The form and rather diminutive size of the chains from El Morro and Jimmy Owens strongly suggest their use as horse gear and possibly as bridle chains¹⁴. Finally, a wrought iron awl or needle with a grooved head found at El Morro has close parallels with a wooden artifact derived from a well deposit at St. Augustine, Florida which dates to 1575 (Deagan pers. comm., March 2009)¹⁵.

Together with the presence of caret-headed nails, these objects imply a Spanish/European presence at El Morro in the first half of the 16th century and strongly suggest an association with the 1540-1542 *entrada* of Vázquez de Coronado. Contemporary historical documents indicate that after spending four months at the Zuni Pueblos between July and November 1540, the approximately 2800 members of the expedition began to move in a number of separate parties from the Zuni area to the Tiguex (Southern Tiwa Pueblo) region, near present day Albuquerque¹⁶. Guided by Natives and no doubt using existing trails where possible, it is widely believed that components of the Vázquez de Coronado expedition traveling from Zuni to Tiguex would have followed routes that took them through the El Morro area. The next Spanish expedition to enter New Mexico and the desert Southwest between 1581 and 1582 was a far smaller party of some 31 individuals lead by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado and Fray Agustín Rodríguez¹⁷. The Espejo party that visited El Morro in spring 1583 was smaller still, numbering some 21 individuals¹⁸. It is our belief that during the four decades or more that separate the Vázquez de Coronado *entrada* from a series of later 16th-century expeditions in the American Southwest (including Sánchez Chamuscado-Rodríguez and Espejo, amongst others), there were a number of detectable changes in material culture. When Early Contact Period assemblages in the American Southwest are examined more systematically, and compared with both contemporary and later assemblages elsewhere, we believe the distinctions between earlier and later 16th-century assemblages (that is, before and after 1550) will become clearer. As recent work is beginning to demonstrate, regional and interregional comparative work of this kind has the potential to contribute significantly to our understanding of the Early Contact Period as a whole¹⁹.

Future investigations at El Morro National Monument are planned to identify and evaluate possible encampment areas associated with the various components of the Vázquez de Coronado *entrada*—large and small—that may have visited the area between the summer of 1540 when they entered New Mexico, and the spring of 1542 when the expedition returned to México. In the mean-

time, El Morro National Monument now has additional historical significance as a site linked with one of the most dramatic and transformational moments in the history of the desert Southwest: the 1540-1542 *entrada* of Vázquez de Coronado.

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Notes

- 1 The authors would like to extend their profound thanks to following individuals whose support and expertise contributed significantly to this research.

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Our particular thanks go to the following experts in early European colonial artifacts who helped enormously with identifications, advice and references: Kathleen Deagan at the Florida Museum of Natural History, Gainesville, FL; Steve Wernke and William Fowler at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN; John Connaway at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, MS; Jeffrey Mitchem at the Arkansas Archeological Survey, Parkin, AR; Jeb Card at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL; Nancy Marble at the Floyd County Historical Museum, Floydada, TX; William Botts and Wade Stablein at the National Park Service, Padre Island National Seashore, Corpus Christi, TX; Jonathan Damp at Humboldt State University, Arcata, CA; Robin Gavin at the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art, Santa Fe, NM; Cordelia Snow at the Archaeological Records Management Section, Santa Fe, NM; Julia Clifton at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Santa Fe, NM; Frances Levine at the Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe, NM; David Snow at Cross-Cultural Research Systems, Albuquerque, NM; and David Phillips and Ann Ramenofsky at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM.

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- 2 John M. Slater, *El Morro, Inscription Rock, New Mexico. The Rock Itself, the Inscriptions Thereon, and the Travelers Who Made Them* (Los Angeles, CA: The Plantin Press, 1961) 49; Polly Schaafsma, *Rock Art In New Mexico* (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of New Mexico, 1992) 25, 148-150.
- 3 Richard B. Woodbury, "Columbia University Archaeological Fieldwork, 1952-1953," *Southwestern Lore* 19 (1954): 11; Richard B. Woodbury, "The Antecedents of Zuni Culture,"

Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, Series 2, 18 (1956): 557-563; Richard Woodbury and Natalie F.S. Woodbury, "Zuni Prehistory and the El Morro National Monument," *Southwestern Lore* 21 (1956): 56-60.

- 4 James E. Bradford, *An Archeological History of El Morro National Monument*, Report Draft on File, National Park Service Intermountain Archeology Program, Cultural Resources Professional Paper 71 (Santa Fe, NM: National Park Service, 2007).
- 5 Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991) 175.
- 6 Herbert E. Bolton, "Father Escobar's Relation of the Oñate Expedition to California," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 1st Series, 5 no. 1 (1919): 19-41; George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico 1598-1628*. Part II. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940. Volume VI (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1953) 1012-1031.
- 7 *Entrada* - entry into, and direct reconnaissance of, new territory by a European-led expeditionary group.
- 8 Evidence for a visit to El Morro by the expedition of Antonio de Espejo in spring of 1583 is compelling. The narrative account of Diego Pérez de Luxán, a member of the Espejo party, suggests it is very probable that this group did camp in the El Morro area (see George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo 1582-1583 as Revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, A Member of the Party* (Los Angeles, CA: Quivira Society Publications. Volume I. The Quivira Society, [reprinted New York, NY: Arno Press, 1930 [1967]]) 35, 88. Traveling from the Pueblo of Acoma to the Zuni area in March of 1583, Pérez de Luxán indicates—

We set out from this place [El Elado] on the eleventh of the month and marched three leagues and stopped at a waterhole at the foot of a rock. This place we named El Estanque del Peñol. (Hammond and Rey 1930 [1967]:88)

- 9 Bradley J. Vierra, ed., *A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Campsite in the Tiguex Province*, Laboratory of Anthropology Note 475 (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of New Mexico, 1989); Bradley J. Vierra, "A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Campsite in the Tiguex Province: An Archaeologist's Perspective," in Bradley J. Vierra, ed., *Current Research on the Late Prehistory and Early History of New Mexico*. Special Publication 1 (Albuquerque, NM: New Mexico Archaeological Council, 1992) 165-174; Bradley J. Vierra and Stanley M. Hordes, "Let the Dust Settle: A Review of the Coronado Campsite in the Tiguex Province," in Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *The Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva: The 1540-1542 Route Across the Southwest* (Niwot, CO: The University Press of Colorado, 1997) 249-261; Donald J. Blakeslee, and Jay C. Blaine, "The Jimmy Owens Site: New Perspectives on the Coronado Expedition," in Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *The Coronado Expedition from the Distance of 460 Years* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2003) 203-218; Jonathan E. Damp, *The Battle of Hawikku, Archaeological Investigations of the Zuni-Coronado Encounter at Hawikku, the Ensuing Battle, and the Aftermath during the Summer of 1540*. Zuni Cultural Resources Enterprise Report 884, Research Series 13 (Zuni, NM: Zuni Cultural Resources Enterprise, 2005); Clay Mathers, Phil Leckman, and Nahide Aydin, "'Non-Ground Breaking' Research at the Edge of Empire: Geophysical and Geospatial Approaches to Sixteenth-Century Interaction in Tiguex Province (New Mexico)," Paper Presented for the Symposium *Between Entrada and Salida: New Mexico Perspectives on the Coronado Expedition*, Charles Haecker and Clay Mathers, organizers. Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Conference, Albuquerque, New Mexico, January 12, 2008.
- 10 Charles Ewen, "The Archaeology of the Governor Martin Site. The Data," in Charles R. Ewen and John H. Hann, *Hernando de Soto Among the Apalachee: The Archaeology of the First Winter Encampment* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1998) 59-98.
- 11 Clay Mathers and Charles Haecker, *Social and Spatial Modeling of Historic Period Expeditions at El Morro National Monument (El Morro, New Mexico)* (Denver, CO: National Park Service,

- forthcoming); Clay Mathers and Charles Haecker, “Between Cibola and Tiguex: A Vázquez de Coronado Presence at El Morro National Monument, New Mexico,” in Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *The Latest Word from 1540: People, Places, and Portrayals of the Coronado Expedition* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, in preparation).
- 12 Our thanks to Kathy Deagan for her help in identifying this object and its possible functions. Also, see Kathleen Deagan, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800, Volume 2: Portable Personal Possessions* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002) 261, Figure 12.19, object in three o'clock position.
 - 13 In addition to the chain from the Vázquez de Coronado site of Jimmy Owens in the Texas Panhandle, there are examples with similar characteristics from the wreck of the Spanish vessel *San Esteban*, which went down near Padre Island, Texas in April 1554—see J. Barto Arnold and Robert Weddle, *The Nautical Archaeology of Padre Island: The Spanish Shipwrecks of 1554* (New York, NY: Academic Press, 1978) 234-235, Figure 23c. Another parallel comes from a chain attached to a forked stirrup suspender (iron) derived from excavations by the Museum of London in the waterfront area of Southwark on the River Thames. The chain associated with the iron stirrup suspender from Southwark has ‘figure 8’-shaped links similar to the El Morro chain and was found in a refuse dump with ceramics dating to c. 1575-1600—see Geoff Egan, *Material Culture in London in an Age of Transition: Tudor and Stuart Period Finds c 1450-c 1700 from Excavations at Riverside Sites in Southwark*. Museum of London Monograph 19 (London, UK: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2005) 164-165, Figure 165–Object #854 AB092.
 - 14 We are particularly grateful to our colleague, William Fouts at the National Park Service, Lassen Volcanic National Park, Mineral, CA, for his expertise in horse gear and for his considerable support for our research.
 - 15 While Kathy Deagan suggests the wooden awl from St. Augustine was used for producing nets or baskets, Mathers and Haecker (in preparation) believe that the metal awl or needle from El Morro was likely to have been employed for leather working. The possible use of wrought iron awls for the production of durable leather and other footwear, particularly *aparagates* (hemp sandals), is a suggestion made by Richard Flint some years ago in a review of the material inventory of the Vázquez de Coronado expedition (see Richard Flint, *The Pattern of Coronado Expedition Material Culture: A Thesis*. M.A. Thesis Presented to the Graduate Division of Behavioral Sciences, New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas, NM. 1992: 45-46). Because of the large number of expeditionaries participating in this entrada, the duration of the expedition, the expansive area covered, and the difficult terrain that was often traversed, the need for repairing and creating footwear on a regular basis would have been significant. Durable tools such as wrought iron awls and needles would have been particularly useful in piercing hide and in threading plant fibers and sinew through small openings in leather soles to create sandals.
 - 16 Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1542. “They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects”*, (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005) 400-402.
 - 17 George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico 1580-1594: The Explorations of Chamuscado, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, Morlete and Leyva de Bonilla and Humaña*. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940. Volume III. (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico, 1966)
 - 18 George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico 1580-1594: The Explorations of Chamuscado, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, Morlete and Leyva de Bonilla and Humaña*. 18
 - 19 For example, see Clay Mathers, Jeffrey M. Mitchem and Charles M. Haecker, eds., *Native and Imperial Transformations: Sixteenth-Century Entradas in the American Southwest and Southeast*. (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, forthcoming). 818.

Starting Lasting Conversations about the Past: Public Outreach and the Bladensburg Archaeology Project

by Michael Roller

The Cultural Resources Section of the Maryland State Highway Administration (SHA), the Center for Heritage Resource Studies (CHRS) at the University of Maryland's Department of Anthropology, and several other community partners designed the Bladensburg Archaeology Project as a collaborative partnership to investigate the historic resources of the town of Bladensburg, Maryland in advance of the upcoming War of 1812 Bicentennial. The town, a seemingly ordinary suburban community located approximately two miles to the northeast of the Washington, DC border, has a rich and varied history that stretches back 250 years. The project includes a civic engagement component that directly involves the community in this process. Since the initiation of the project in spring 2009, archeologists and historians from the SHA and CHRS have investigated two major archeological sites, conducted documentary and deed research, and compiled architectural inventories in the town.



FIGURE 1
The former historic core of Bladensburg, Maryland has been transformed by industrial development and modern roads. Here the Magruder House, site of a Bladensburg Archaeology project excavation in spring 2009, is shown in context along Bladensburg Road (Route 450) with the Kenilworth Avenue (Route 201) overpass in the background. (Photo courtesy of the author)

The richness of Bladensburg's archeological resources is often a surprise to its residents. Myriad social and demographic changes have created a diverse community with a large population of new immigrants. Older residents often express concern over the difficulty of sharing the importance of the town's historic identity with newer residents. While nearby National Park Service and Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M-NCPPC) resources such as Anacostia Park, Kenilworth Park and Aquatic Gardens, and Anacostia Waterfront Park preserve aspects of surrounding landscape and recreational space, much of the former historic landscape in the town's core has been obliterated by industrial and commercial development. (Figure 1)

Founded as a tobacco trading port in 1742, Bladensburg predates the nation's capital by nearly 60 years. It is believed that by the third quarter of the 18th century, the port exported more tobacco than any other in Maryland.' The town's location near major transportation routes connecting Annapolis, Baltimore, Upper Marlboro, Alexandria, and Washington, DC also made it a convenient stopping point for travelers, including President George Washington, who recorded a visit in his diary in May 1787. As a result of its strategic location, Bladensburg served as the site of a pivotal battle during the War of 1812. The Americans, outmanned and outgunned, were ultimately defeated in the Battle of Bladensburg, resulting in the British crossing the Anacostia and burning Washington, DC on August 24, 1814.

Despite efforts at dredging, agricultural runoff irreparably filled the Anacostia with silt by the mid-19th century, preventing ships from reaching the port.² In subsequent years Bladensburg served as a recreational destination for city dwellers, a rural exurbia for wealthy landowners and, eventually, a suburban bedroom community for federal workers. Today, crisscrossed by transportation routes and swathed in late-20th century industrial and commercial development, the long historical origins of the town are heavily obscured to the casual observer.

The public outreach component of the project began a few weeks before excavations commenced. Using the model of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project (HCAP), an ongoing CHRS project that includes strong community involvement at all stages of research, the project began with an initial public history workshop.³ Workshop organizers communicated the plans and goals of the project to the community, received feedback, and encouraged a collaborative and open dialogue. The workshop included a talk about local history followed by a group discussion about the project.

The Cultural Resources Section of SHA, led by Chief Archaeologist Julie Schablitsky, began excavations at the Magruder House in May 2009. The oldest standing structure in Bladensburg, the Magruder House, is a one and a half-story stone dwelling built for wealthy merchant William Hilleary around 1742.⁴ Following a Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey, the crew excavated shovel tests and test units. Public site tours, press tours, and news releases accompanied this work. (Figure 2) The investigation recorded artifacts and features dating to the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, as well as Archaic and Woodland period Native American occupations. Throughout the process staff maintained a project blog with daily updates collected from each member of the field crew. Through the blog, researchers answered questions from the community and from a wider public audience.

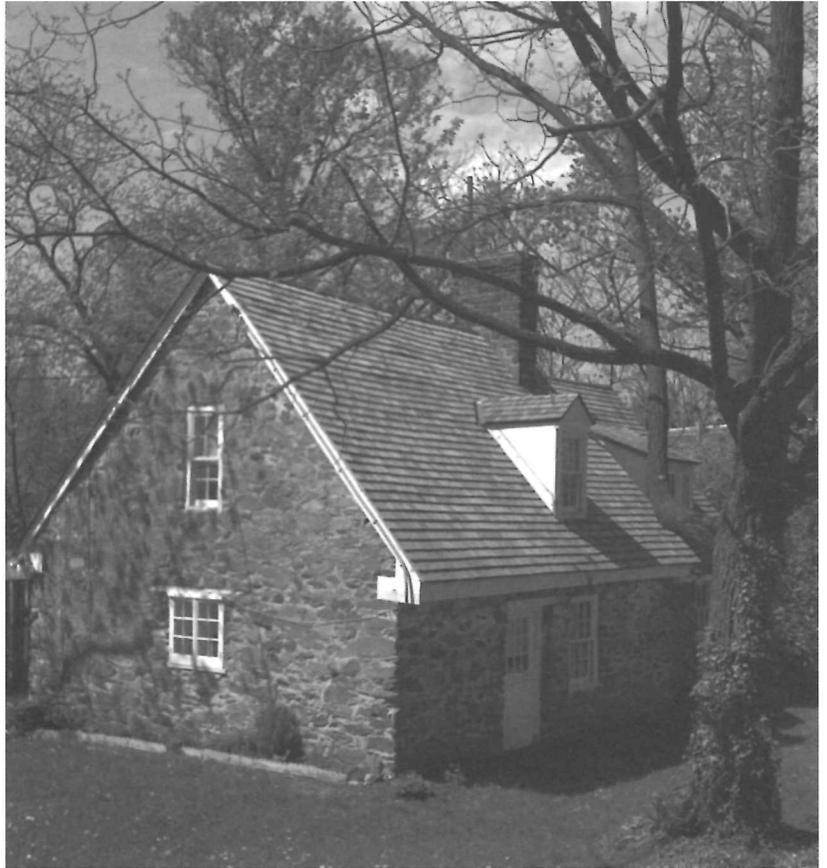


FIGURE 2
Project archeologists excavated the yards around the Market Master's House (c. 1760) in Bladensburg during summer 2009. (Photo courtesy of the author)

In June 2009, CHRS archaeologists joined the SHA crew to investigate the grounds around a c. 1760 stone structure known as the Market Master's House.⁵ (Figure 3) When the town of Bladensburg was laid out into 60 original plots in 1742, the first buyers were required to erect a building to maintain ownership of the land. This diminutive dwelling meets those minimum requirements of "a tenatable House with one Brick or Stone Chimney thereto, that shall cover 400 square F[ee]t of Ground."⁶ Historical research revealed that, besides a domestic and commercial function, the Market Master's House likely served as a post office.⁷ If this use can be proven through archeological evidence, this building is one of the oldest standing post offices in the United States. Like the Magruder House work, open site tours, electronic documentation, and public presentation of results accompanied the excavations. Upon completion a second workshop allowed members of the community to provide feedback, view artifacts, and discuss local history.

FIGURE 3

Project staff and local residents screen for artifacts at the Market Master's House as part of a series of public programs that included open site days, tours, and public history workshops. (Photo courtesy of Julie Schablitsky)



The two months following excavations involved the usual process of artifact preparation and cataloging. Blog posting and public events accompanied these activities as well. Although insufficient time had passed to produce fully analyzed scientific results from an archeological excavation, this opportunity to publicly demonstrate the process of archeology was key to project goals. Project staff attended numerous community events, celebrations, and meetings. At these events, researchers presented artifacts and archeological observations fresh from the field to the community in order to engage and invite interpretation. The hope is that in demystifying the process of doing archeology, the public will understand how it works, why it is important, and how it can be useful.

The archeological process cannot discover or create heritage; the living community must engage in a dialogue with its past. The Bladensburg Archaeology Project explored historic resources in the town with a particular emphasis on civic engagement through a variety of media and events. These methods facilitated a conversation between researchers and residents necessary for an understanding of a common heritage. In cases such as Bladensburg, where development has obscured or fragmented the historical landscape, an engaged archeology can help researchers foster interpretation, appreciation, and stewardship of local history. This knowledge aids those communities in making future choices that will protect and nurture their heritage.

Michael Roller is a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Maryland, College Park. The project blog can be accessed online at: <http://www.bladenarch.blogspot.com>.

Notes

- 1 Marina King, "The Tobacco Industry in Prince George's County, 1680-1940," in *Historic Contexts in Prince George's County: Short Papers on Settlement Patterns, Transportation and Cultural History*, (Upper Marlboro, MD: Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 1990), 69-71.
- 2 Susan Pearl, "Early Towns in Prince George's County, 1683-1787," in *Historic Contexts in Prince George's County: Short Papers on Settlement Patterns, Transportation and Cultural History*, (Upper Marlboro, MD: Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 1990), 4.
- 3 David Gadsby and Robert Chidester, "History from the Bottom Up: A Research Design for Participatory Archaeology in Hampden-Woodberry, Baltimore, MD," (Center for Heritage Resource Studies, 2005). <http://www.heritage.umd.edu/CHRWeb/AssociatedProjects/Hampden.htm>
- 4 Catherine C. Lavoie, "Magruder House, 4703 Annapolis Road (Bladensburg Road), (HABS No. MD-616), 1990. Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.
- 5 Marina King, "Market Master's House," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (Upper Marlboro, MD: Prince George's County Historic Preservation Commission, 1989).
- 6 This research comes from the following work in progress: Laura H. Hughes et al. "Compliance Report and Historical Research for the Market Master's House, Magruder House, and the George Washington House, Bladensburg Prince George's County, Maryland" (Manuscript in progress prepared for the Maryland State Highway Administration, 2009). The evidence for this claim comes from several newspaper articles and court cases that suggest that Benjamin Lowndes, owner of the Market Master's house and postmaster of Bladensburg, may have operated the post office from this location. Future archeological excavations may prove this fact.
- 7 Bacon's Laws of Maryland, *Archives of Maryland Online* (75: 2006), 451-452.

Saving Sugarloaf Mound in St. Louis, Missouri

by *Andrew B. Weil and Andrea A. Hunter*

As the oldest human-made structure in St. Louis and the last Native American Mound in what was once known as “Mound City,” Sugarloaf Mound links the present with the past. Sugarloaf is likely a Woodland Period burial mound or a Mississippian platform mound, and dates to a time when the region was home to thriving and highly advanced Native American cultures long before the arrival of European and African people.¹

When the French began construction of what would become St. Louis in 1764, the future city contained possibly hundreds of mounds. While many were relatively small burial mounds situated on the bluffs overlooking navigable waterways, there was also a major Mississippian civic-ceremonial complex located just north of the Gateway Arch. The North St. Louis Mound Group included over 25 mounds systematically arranged around public plazas. This substantial site was presumably tied to two other nearby Mississippian centers: the little-known East St. Louis Mound Group and its famous relative, Cahokia (a UNESCO World Heritage Site).

By the late 18th century these Mississippian cities had been long abandoned. Yet French cartographers recorded the unusual earthen structures as prominent features on the landscape. The mounds also are visible in several early representations of the city, such as John Caspar Wild’s 1840 lithograph of the city’s north riverfront. By this time, however, Missouri’s first governor, among others, used the mounds as platforms for their houses. A beer garden was placed on one and the city’s first reservoir on another. By 1875, the mounds were nearly completely destroyed.

The lone survivor is Sugarloaf. Its location at the edge of a steep bluff several miles from downtown insulated Sugarloaf from industrial and developmental pressures that swept away the other mounds. Not altogether unscathed, in 1928, a house was erected on its top. The house on Sugarloaf was occupied continuously until 2008, when the property was offered for sale.

A coalition of concerned groups and citizens, including the Landmarks Association of St. Louis and the Osage Nation, coalesced around the cause of preservation, an outcome dependent on acquisition of the mound. Consensus grew over the best possible future for Sugarloaf. Its advocates sought first to protect it and then to celebrate its significance by educating the surrounding community about the history of Native American settlement in the area.

The Osage Nation bought Sugarloaf in August 2009. They did so because of their deeply held, historic ties to the St. Louis area. This connection is revealed through tribal oral traditions and is documented in scholarly investigations. Over the years, ethnologists and historians have interpreted and published tribal oral histories pertaining to the migrations of the Osage and closely related tribes: the Kaw, Omaha, Ponca, and Quapaw.² Together these four tribes, with the Osage, make up what is known as the Dhegiha Sioux language subgroup.³

In the latter part of the 19th century, ethnologist James Dorsey collected oral histories of migration stories from Dhegiha-speaking tribal members.⁴ Dorsey was told that in the distant past, all five Dhegiha tribes were once one nation that lived east of the Mississippi River in the vicinity of the Ohio River. The people migrated together, until they reached the Mississippi River, where the first segregation occurred. The people descending the river were called the Quapaw, meaning “the down-stream people.” Those ascending became the Omaha, or “those going against the wind or current.”⁵ The ancient Omaha, composed of the Omaha, Osage, Kaw, and Ponca, traveled up river until they reached the mouth of the Missouri and they dwelled near present-day St. Louis for many years. How long they stayed in the area as one tribe varied, with each present-day tribe venturing west and north at intervals. Only when the Osage occupied southwest and south-central Missouri does the historic record of the tribe begin. Thus, for the Osage, the migration stories indicate that among the Dhegiha, the Osage inhabited the St. Louis region for the longest period of time.

From the 1920s onward, the archeological record and identity of the Osage have intrigued scholars. As recently as 1993, Susan Vehik and Dale Henning (separately) reassessed the Dhegiha origins studies. They examined current archeological data and scrutinized all lines of evidence to determine Dhegiha origins. Vehik reasoned that even given some differences between the Dhegiha tribes’ migration stories, “all of the available oral histories from the Dhegihan Sioux center on the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri rivers.”⁶ According to Vehik, a Dhegiha origin from the Ohio Valley accounts for the wide-ranging similarities among the Dhegiha tribes and also between the Dhegiha tribes and the Mississippi Valley Siouan, Algonkian, and even some of the southeastern groups.⁷ Henning came to a similar interpretation. He relied on the tribes’ own migration legends, linguistic analyses, history, and ethnohistory, and concluded that an ancestral Dhegiha locus is most likely in the Ohio River Valley with the tribes migrating west of the Mississippi River and then splitting into their respective tribes.⁸

In the past decade and a half, other anthropologists and archeologists proposed a Dhegiha affiliation to the earthen mounds located in the St. Louis area. In many instances they specifically cited the Osage as the tribe with a strong association with the St. Louis/Cahokia Mississippian culture.⁹ Besides migration traditions, the evidence examined included: the use of mounds, house struc-

ture, village organization, war trophies, combat weaponry, subsistence practices, iconography (pottery, ceremonial objects, and rock art), religious practices, cosmology, and social structure-moiety systems with clans and bands.

The Osage people and their society governed a vast area of what is now Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, and Oklahoma. The current Osage Nation Reservation is in northeastern Oklahoma, but it has been established that the ancestors of the Osage were among those who constructed the mounds in the St. Louis area, including Sugarloaf Mound and the complex at Cahokia. In a display of historic justice and bittersweet irony, the Osage Nation reclaimed Sugarloaf Mound by purchasing a significant portion of the property with assistance from the Osage Nation Historic Preservation Office and Principal Chief Jim Gray.

The tremendous amount of the Osage Tribe's history that has been lost due to the demolition of ancestral homes, villages, and, most significantly, the mounds in the St. Louis area other than Sugarloaf is devastating. Hundreds of years were erased from the landscape. Moreover, from an Osage perspective, the mounds are sacred. Many of the earthen mounds are burial places. As with most cultures, the Osage consider it sacrilegious to disturb burial places and an unconscionable act to destroy one. Although Sugarloaf Mound may not be a burial mound, it is sacred nonetheless. The Osage, therefore, consider it an honor to protect the last mound of their ancestors in St. Louis for all of the tribes that are heirs of the Mississippian culture.

Now that the mound is secure, the intention is to remove the house and develop the location as an interpretive, educational center where the significance of Sugarloaf Mound and the full history of Mound City from the Osage's perspective can be told. While the tribe cannot bring back what was so mindlessly destroyed, they can guide the future of Sugarloaf Mound and, with it, teach the citizens of St. Louis about where they live.

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The Osage Nation is extremely thankful to Congressman Russ Carnahan for including the Osage Nation in this unique preservation effort and allowing us a lead voice in the process. The Osage Nation also is very thankful for all of the support given to this project by Congressman Carnahan's staff, the St. Louis preservation foundations, local archeologists, and government offices, both city and state, as well as the Archaeological Research Center of St. Louis, which donated \$5000 to the preservation effort. As the first phase of preserva-

tion planning begins, the City of St. Louis has provided a grant opportunity and local Missouri Archaeology Society members are keeping diligent watch over the property. The Osage Nation is grateful for all the support shown by these agencies and individuals, Way-we-nah (which is a special version of thank you for doing something sincerely meaningful).

Notes

- 1 The Woodland Period encompasses the years from about 1000 BCE to 900 CE, while the Mississippian Period begins in 900 and extends through 1550.
- 2 Louis F. Burns, *A History of the Osage People* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 3-22; James Owen Dorsey, "Migrations of Siouan Tribes," *American Naturalist* 20, no. 3 (1886): 214-22; Albert Gallatin, *A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains, and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America* (1836; NY: AMS Press, 1973), 127; Francis La Flesche, "Omaha and Osage Traditions of Separation," *Proceedings of the Nineteenth International Congress on Americanists* 19 (1917): 459-62; and Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansa Territory during the Year 1819: with Occasional Observations on the Manners of the Aborigines; Illustrated by a Map and Other Engravings* (1821; facsimile ed., March of America Facsimile Series 63, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966), 82-83.
- 3 Several linguists have studied the different Siouan language stocks and have attempted to identify the root source of the Siouan languages, including the Dhegiha Sioux. See James W. Springer and Stanley R. Witkowski, "Siouan Historical Linguistics and Oneota Archaeology," in *Oneota Studies*, ed. Guy E. Gibbon (Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, 1982), 69-83. Studies such as Springer and Witkowski's help in understanding tribal migrations across the landscape. All tribes have origin and migration stories so the close linguistically-related tribes' stories can help us to understand the relationships amongst them all.
- 4 Dorsey, 211-22.
- 5 Dorsey, 215-16. Although all five Dhegiha tribes have migration stories and they vary in some aspects, they all agree on an eastern origin.
- 6 Susan C. Vehik, "Dhegiha Origins and Plains Archaeology," *Plains Anthropologist* 38 (1993): 232.
- 7 Vehik, 246.
- 8 Dale R. Henning, "The Adaptive Patterning of the Dhegiha Sioux," *Plains Anthropologist* 38 (1993): 253, 260-62.
- 9 Garrick A. Bailey, ed., *The Osage and the Invisible World: From the Works of Francis La Flesche* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 3; Garrick A. Bailey, "Continuity and Change in Mississippian Civilization," in *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand*, ed. Richard F. Townsend (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 87-91; James A. Brown, "The Cahokian Expression," in *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand*, 118-19; James A. Brown, "On the Identity of the Birdman within Mississippian Period Art and Iconography," in *Ancient Objects and Sacred Realms: Interpretations of Mississippian Iconography*, ed. F. Kent Reilly III and James F. Garber (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 56-106; Carol Diaz-Granados, "Marking Stone, Land, Body, and Spirit," in *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand*, 143-47; David H. Dye, "Art, Ritual, and Chiefly Warfare in the Mississippian World," in *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand*, 198, 203; Robert L. Hall, "The Cahokia Site and Its People," in *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand*, 98-100, 102-03; Alice Beck Kehoe, "Osage Texts and Cahokia Data," in *Ancient Objects and Sacred Realms*, 246-61; John E. Kelly, "Redefining Cahokia: Principles and Elements of Community Organization," *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 77 (1996): 97, 106-14; John E. Kelly, "The Ritualization of Cahokia: The Structure and Organization of Early Cahokia Crafts," in *Leadership and Polity in Mississippian Society*, ed. Brian M. Butler and Paul D. Welch, Occasional Papers No. 33, Center for Archaeological Investigations (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 2006), 241-56; Mark F. Seeman, "Hopewell Art in Hopewell Places," in *Hero, Hawk, and Open Hand*, 57.

Reviews

BOOKS

- 82 *Washington Sculpture: A Cultural History of Outdoor Sculpture in the Nation's Capital*, by James M. Goode. Reviewed by William Seale
- 84 *The Once and Future New York: Historic Preservation and the Modern City*, by Randall Mason. Reviewed by Jon Taylor
- 85 *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma*, by Ethan Carr. Reviewed by Allison Kennedy
- 87 *Conflict on the Rio Grande: Water and Law, 1879-1939*, by Douglas R. Littlefield. Reviewed by John O. Anfinson
- 89 *A President, a Church, and Trails West: Competing Histories in Independence, Missouri*, by Jon E. Taylor. Reviewed by J. A. Hayter
- 91 *A Natural History of Quiet Waters: Swamps and Wetlands of the Mid-Atlantic Coast*, by Curtis J. Badger. Reviewed by Carlton Eley
- 92 *A Passion for Nature: the Life of John Muir*, by Donald Worster. Reviewed by Larry L. Norris

EXHIBITS

- 93 *Cosecha Amarga/Bittersweet Harvest: The Bracero Program, 1942-1964*, The National Museum of American History. Reviewed by Emily Burrows
- 95 *IndiVisible: African-Native American Lives in America*, The National Museum of the American Indian. Reviewed by Sangita Chari and Jaime Lavallee

Washington Sculpture: A Cultural History of Outdoor Sculpture in the Nation's Capital.

By James M. Goode. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009; 848 pp., hardcover, \$75.00.

One of the great capital cities of the world, Washington, DC can be experienced in many ways. One important way is through its sculpture. Washington presents various sculpture and sculptural pieces of all kinds, from building ornament to memorial statuary, placed singularly throughout its environs, even in its cemeteries. It is a very particular subject and it would be hard to imagine Washington without its sculpture.

When this book first appeared in 1974, under the title, *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, DC*, it was a publication of the Smithsonian Press and represented a pioneering effort. It caught everyone off guard in its originality, as well as the revelation that Washington had a body of sculptural work quite worthy of any capital in the world. Interestingly, it was a history of the individual pieces of sculpture and not an art history critique or comparison. The book went through three editions. More than 30 years later, Goode has now produced an additional, enlarged, and expanded work.

The original book came at a time when Washington was aesthetically rediscovering itself. It was part of a new awareness of the capital as a city and the original book indeed played a part in that eye-opening. The author writes in his preface to this new edition: "When the book appeared in 1974, the city of Washington was quite different from what it is today. After the riots of 1968, the Willard Hotel had

closed and it remained boarded up into the early 1980s. Dozens of downtown firms had shut down and buildings became vacant.”(p. vii) He found his book greeted as “one of the few publications that presented the physical treasures of the city, and indeed its future, in a favorable and optimistic light.”(p. vii)

The two hundred year history of Washington’s sculptural collection is an interesting one. L’Enfant had proposed an equestrian statue of George Washington on the Mall, in the cross-axis of the Capitol and the White House. The Washington Monument, off axis, was the eventual result of this idea. It was built as far west on the Mall as firm earth existed, and rose on the edge of a marsh, now filled, that carried the Mall to the Potomac. Unquestionably, the earliest sculpture in Washington was architectural, notably the rich sandstone carvings of 18th century Scottish stonemasons cut into the face of the White House. Especially handsome is the 14-foot swag of roses, oak leaves, and acorns on the wall over the north door. Before there was an actual Washington monument, the building of the Capitol had brought sculptors from Italy to carve its architectural parts and decorations in the same native sandstone. This escalated during the rebuilding of the Capitol after the War of 1812, when Washington was reaffirmed as the capital, over some opposition. The rich evidence of Italian skill can be seen in the Capital today. All of these details are meticulously accounted for and included in Goode’s work.

Capitals accumulate collections of commemorative statuary and monuments as part of their national ceremonial function and Goode’s inventory is exhaustive. In Washington, however, the impulse to establish memorial and outdoor sculpture occurred rather late. The first major work of this sort in Washington was the 1807 Tripoli Monument, a marble grouping by Giovanni C. Micali, originally sited in the Washington Navy Yard and later the Capitol; it is now at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis. Following in a quarter century was

Horatio Greenough’s 12-foot George Washington, which renders the hero in marble, bare-chested and otherwise draped. Commissioned in the 1830s, the fulfillment of an act of Congress authorizing a statue in 1793, Greenough’s Washington was admired at the time, and even replicated, but it endures today as a relic of an earlier time rather than an actual memorial, a bit embarrassing in its overplayed classicism, and a particular example of a low-water mark in American Victorian taste. About a decade later Clark Mills completed his great work, the equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson, in bronze, that serves as the central focus of Lafayette Park and must be counted as one of the finest specimens of American sculpture produced in the first half of the 19th century.

After Greenough’s efforts, Washington’s adornment really began in earnest. The Italians at the Capitol carved symbolic groups, such as Luigi Persico’s *The Discovery*, 1844. A few private donors commissioned works, such as Commander Uriah Phillips Levy, who commissioned David d’Angers to sculpt a statue of Thomas Jefferson. For 25 years it stood on the north lawn of the White House, before President Grant moved it to National Statuary Hall in the Capitol. W.W. Corcoran built his private gallery of art on Pennsylvania Avenue not long after the Mills Jackson was dedicated, the first art gallery in the capital and it featured Hiram Powers’ *Greek Slave*. In the decade following the Civil War statues honoring war heroes began to rise in profusion. Many are highly important. One pauses over the elegant General James B. McPherson of 1876 by Louis T. Rebisso and the earlier hero, General Nathanael Greene, 1877, by Henry Kirke Brown. Famous civilians include the bronze John Marshall, a handsome seated bronze figure illustrated in his judiciary robe, by William Wetmore Story.

Artistic floodtide came in the 20th century, along with the City Beautiful movement. Statuary seems to have been more readily welcomed than Beaux-Arts buildings. Notable productions of the early part of this period are the four monumental statuary

groups at the corners of Lafayette Park honoring foreign military men who aided in the American Revolution. The 1920s saw the unveiling of a scruffy General Grant in bronze by Henry Merwin Shrady and, of course, Lincoln by Daniel Chester French. Nor has the rush to provide public art subsided, for approximately 25 percent of the sculptures Goode discusses are post-World War II, including the whimsical Jim Henson Memorial located in College Park, Maryland, complete with Kermit the Frog. Goode also includes a section on sculptures that have been moved from their original locations or, in some cases, destroyed. Selected biographies of artists complete the collection.

James Goode's *Washington Sculpture* is a handsome book and an armful. He has written it not as a cover to cover reader but wisely has divided it into sections just as the city itself is in sections. One can dip into this book or read on to their heart's content. The author has assembled good, clear photographic illustrations of his subjects, and in the text, his attention to detail is as meticulous in the additions as it was in the original. The book is an education in itself on Washington history, of value to other scholars, of course, but of equal value to anyone who wants to gain a feel for the history of American sculpture and the texture of American art and biography as represented along the avenues, byways, and suburbs of our nation's capital.

William Seale
Washington, DC

The Once and Future New York: Historic Preservation and the Modern City.

By Randall Mason. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 2009; 344 pp., paperback, \$27.95

There is far too little scholarly attention to the history of historic preservation in the United States. However, Randall Mason has made a significant

contribution to this field by examining how residents of New York City preserved historic places, parks, and landscapes from 1890 to 1920. Drawing upon records of civic groups and government agencies, historic maps, photos, the archival collections of New York's civic leaders, and period newspapers, the author has crafted a narrative that successfully places the early years of American historic preservation within the Progressive era reforms of the early 20th century. This contextualizing enables him to debunk some of the myths surrounding preservation. Chiefly, the work disavows the notion that historic preservation emerged in New York in the 1960s after the destruction of Penn Station. He argues that preservation "began in the late nineteenth century" and not "in opposition to urban renewal in the postwar period." (p. x)

While clarifying the beginnings of New York City historic preservation, Mason also refutes historic preservation as an anti-modernization movement. Rather, he states that preservation in New York at the turn of the century was "really *part of* New York's modern approach to city building." (p. xvii) Preservationists concerned themselves with the built environment because the city, in the face of changes brought on by rapid industrialization, needed what Mason calls a "memory infrastructure" that would be "anchored by buildings, parks, and memorials representing noble, celebratory narratives of past achievement." (p. xiv) These memory sites would "stabilize urban culture . . . against the countervailing threats of immigration, radical politics, immorality, and 'the street'." (p. xv) The New York City preservationists, Mason argues, saw preservation "as part of the development of modern cities, not as a reaction against city building; preservationists connected their work to the fields of city planning, landscape architecture, and urban design emerging in the same historical moment." (p. xi)

Five chapters outline these trends by examining case studies that support his conclusions. In the first chapter, the role of the American Scenic and Histor-

ic Preservation Society (ASHPS) and its advocacy in the preservation of buildings, landscapes, and other memory sites is discussed. Organized in 1895, the ASHPS participated in a failed attempt to preserve St. John's Chapel, an Episcopal Church, which Mason describes in Chapter Two. In Chapter Three, the author recounts how early preservationists, including members of the ASHPS, played a role in developing City Hall Park, the seat of New York City's government, and how preservationists selectively decided what structures should remain in order to "guide New Yorkers in the present toward better citizenship and morality." (p. 125) The fourth chapter discusses how the Bronx River Parkway, the nation's first automobile highway, constructed between 1906 and 1925, that connected New York City's Bronx Park and the Kensico Dam in Westchester County, embodied the type of preservation work advocated by ASHPS. However, ASHPS was not directly involved with the construction of the parkway but, according to Mason, the project "fell in line with the preservation ideology of the time, as projected in the ASHPS's work." (p. 181)

This work gives a historical context to historic preservation in New York City from 1890 to 1920; however, one wonders whether or not Mason has too narrowly defined the actual preservationists in New York City. It is unclear who he considers a preservationist. He defines members of the ASHPS as such. He also acknowledges other groups engaged in similar activities during this period, like the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). However, he does not explore their impact on New York City's preservation landscape. Mason convincingly argues for the idea of the ASHPS broader focus and the organization's effectiveness as compared to groups like the DAR. He believes one important reason to be the ASHPS focus on more than just the preservation of individual historic sites. But he does not offer a compelling argument as to why DAR members could not be considered preservationists as well.

Despite this one inconsistency, Mason has made an

important scholarly contribution in erasing our lack of knowledge about the history of historic preservation in New York City and has offered new avenues for other scholars to examine how historic preservation has been practiced in the United States. As the author notes in his introduction: "Preservation is a product of its times, interpretations of the past are contested, and the places and narratives constructed by historic preservation are meaningful cultural documents." (p. xi) Mason convincingly explores those "cultural documents" in this book; hopefully, others will continue to explore them and allow a better understanding of historic preservation in the United States and what this important movement means to the nation's history at large.

Jon Taylor

University of Central Missouri

Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma.

By Ethan Carr. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, in association with the Library of American Landscape History, Amherst, MA: 2007; 342 pp., hardcover, \$39.95.

Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma provides an in-depth, historical perspective on an influential period in the National Park Service that has been largely ignored. Carr demonstrates that while the Mission 66 program was the largest project in park service history since World War II (both in terms of scope and funding), many professionals today are largely unfamiliar with the program's details. Even so, strong feelings about the effort persist today, more than 40 years after the program officially concluded in 1966. A landscape architect and professor at the University of Virginia and former National Park Service historian, Carr seeks to dispel any "mystique" surrounding Mission 66 and addresses some of the criticisms of the program's legacy in this 342-page treatise.

Though he explores Mission 66 design issues, Carr approaches his topic from a broader social perspective, creating a cultural context for the decade-long program that began in 1956 and culminated in 1966 with the 50th anniversary of the park service. As he explains in his introduction, “The story of Mission 66 is a reminder that the parks are reservoirs of national identity, history, and imagination as well as ecosystems. Their vast symbolic power has been constant, but has also constantly shifted in meaning.” (p. 15)

This extensively researched book often reads in part like a retrospective of NPS from the Mather and Albright years until the end of the 20th century, providing great insight into the personalities, pressures, trends, and thinking that have shaped our parks. The book focuses primarily on the careers of two longtime park service men: Director Conrad “Connie” Wirth and Chief Landscape Architect Thomas Vint. Through a narrative of their years of service, Carr explains what precipitated Mission 66, how the program proceeded, what it accomplished, and its design legacy.

Mission 66 is comprised of three sections: *Planning, Design, and Construction*, with an additional concluding chapter. The *Planning* section describes the situation in national parks following World War II, when the lack of funding, combined with a visitation boom, began to have a widespread negative effect on park resources. The *Design* section is further broken down into chapters regarding architecture, landscape architecture, preservation, and interpretation. In the final section, *Construction*, other tangible results of Mission 66 concessionaire facilities and roads and their social repercussions are discussed. Throughout the book, specific parks such as Mount Rainier, Everglades, and Yosemite are referenced in detail in order to illustrate specific examples and aspects of change and controversy. From the outset, Carr underscores what he identifies as the “National Park dilemma,” a term borrowed from former NPS Director Newton Drury.

According to the author, a seemingly dichotomous problem is inherent in the enabling legislation of the National Park Service, which states that the parks should be “promote(d)” for “enjoyment,” yet in a “manner...that will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.” (p. 70) As Carr ably shows in his work, multiple and conflicting interpretations of this mandate can often cause multiple and conflicting problems. One group, including Wirth and Vint, adhered to the original intent of Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., who helped author the original organic legislation. Under this philosophy, nature (arguably a romantic cultural construction) was a scenic landscape resource. Conrad Wirth’s personal history with earlier New Deal programs, combined with this view, helped shape the approach to the Mission 66 program and many of its outcomes. Parks were planned and managed to accommodate a maximum number of visitors. Concentrating heavy use to areas of the front country would prevent any impact to the back country, thus preserving “wilderness.” However, in postwar America, culture was shifting away from this distanced, idealized cultural concept of nature to a more exact, scientific understanding. As a result, Mission 66 efforts were often seen as zealous and overambitious development, even while the National Park Service insisted that they were pursuing resource conservation. Carr demonstrates that disagreements over particular Mission 66 projects helped in part to spur the modern environmental movement and directly contributed to actions like the Wilderness Act of 1964.

While not a doctrinaire defense of Mission 66, Carr’s book does seek to redeem the program’s history and intent to some extent. Placing project decision-making in the context of postwar suburbanization, the modernist design thinking of the 1950s, and the history of prior successes during the New Deal era gives the reader a solid context from which to assess the program. Ultimately, the author’s position is one of learning salient lessons from the past rather than engaging in a debate over the general appropriateness of the Mission 66 program approach.

In this regard, *Mission 66* is a timely publication. Aging Mission 66 buildings and infrastructure will soon need to be addressed both in functional upgrading, as well as historic resources in need of preservation. As the park service readies for its centennial in 2016, Carr warns that the moral of the Mission 66 story is not to let design values within the agency “calcify.”

In a 10" x 10" hardcover format, *Mission 66* appears to be laid out in a graphically oriented content. However, the book is text-intensive and comparatively light on images. All graphics are reproduced in black and white, making it hard to distinguish between the author's contemporary photos and historic NPS pictures. Many of the images are quite small, with no full-page spreads. The work may have benefited from more graphic representation of content, such as charts showing number of completed projects, their budgets, and reproductions of planning and design drawings. While the Mission 66 program managed the design of the built park environment, Carr clearly intends to reach a broader audience than just designers. Perhaps this explains the scarcity of design drawings in the work.

Mission 66 goes a long way toward filling a gap in American cultural resources literature. It provides a solid narrative for a major National Park Service initiative that has rendered a lasting legacy in its relationship to the nation's national parks. Carr's detailed history stands as a solid counterpoint to the other significant work regarding this topic: *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* written by Sarah Allaback. While criticisms of the Mission 66 program abound in other resources, thus far there is no other comprehensive document that compiles such critical analysis. That being said, further work would still be welcome, perhaps from a perspective outside the design world of the National Park Service.

Allison Kennedy
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*Conflict on the Rio Grande: Water and the Law,
 1879–1939.*

By Douglas R. Littlefield. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009; 299 pp., hardcover, \$39.95.

Douglas R. Littlefield's *Conflict on the Rio Grande* is a political and legal history that informs both environmental and cultural understanding of western water resources as well. Littlefield contends that Supreme Court and western water experts have failed to recognize precedents set by the Rio Grande River Project and the Elephant Butte Dam. He argues that various conflicts, negotiations, and settlements between Mexico and the United States; the states of Colorado, Texas, and New Mexico, and private land owners established the earliest arrangements for managing water in the American West.

When arguments between contestants first began over the Rio Grande's limited flows in the late 19th century, western water law was poorly defined and little, if any, legal precedent existed. New Mexico's territorial status until 1912 also complicated the negotiations. While Texans questioned whether a territory had the same rights as a state, the U.S. government considered how its claims weighed against those of Mexico. Before anyone could dam the Rio Grande, various parties had to resolve the legal issues between the water rights of individuals, states, territories, and a neighboring foreign nation.

Littlefield does not discuss the specific environmental consequences of damming the Rio Grande and diverting its waters. He does, however, challenge the historical analysis of Donald Worster, a leading environmental historian of the West. Worster argues that large businesses and federal bureaucracies supported and dominated Western water resource projects. Littlefield repeatedly maintains this did not happen on the Rio Grande.

Littlefield argues that until 1904, private interests in the El Paso and Mesilla valleys battled over where to build the first dam and how to divide the water,

pitting entrepreneurs promoting a dam at Elephant Butte in New Mexico against those pushing for a federal dam closer to El Paso, Texas, and Juarez, Mexico. This conflict, the author asserts, represents the first efforts of the U.S. government and local interests in defining their roles in western water allocation. At the National Irrigation Congress in 1904, representatives from New Mexico, Texas, and Mexico worked out an agreement. The Federal Government, through the Bureau of Reclamation, supplied the basis for the agreement but did not impose it upon the parties. Still, the three parties needed the U.S. government to confirm the settlement, and they needed Congress to extend the Reclamation Act of 1902 to cover the El Paso Valley in Texas. Congress extended the Reclamation Act in early 1905, endorsing the agreement. Littlefield points out that this represents the first attempt by the U.S. government to divide the water supplies of a river flowing through multiple state jurisdictions. Under this Act, local landowners had to sign a contract with the Federal Government on how to repay construction costs. The government, however, did not dictate the agreement to the local interests in the Mesilla and El Paso valleys. On June 27, 1906, the organizations and Bureau of Reclamation signed a contract. Littlefield insists that this represented a cooperative alliance between local interests and the Federal Government.

The 1904 agreement needed another step to finalize it, however: a treaty between the U.S. and Mexico. Texas helped draft the treaty, worked with Mexico to accept it and then with the Senate to ratify it on June 26, 1906. The treaty set another precedent—the Rio Grande became the first river whose waters would be controlled by both the United States and a foreign nation. By 1907 the pieces were in place, and local proponents pushed Congress to authorize one million dollars to begin construction. They succeeded, but the Bureau of Reclamation did not complete the dam until 1916.

Littlefield could have ended his history here, but the management of the upper Rio Grande had another

important innovation to offer. As the populations of Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas grew, competition for the Rio Grande's waters increased. Farmers in northern New Mexico and Colorado wanted dams and diversions to expand the lands irrigated by the river, but those initially served by the Rio Grande Project objected. Questioning a key assumption underlying the Rio Grande Project, Colorado and would-be irrigators in northern New Mexico pushed their states and Texas to consider a formal compact allocating the Rio Grande's water. Acrimony between the American states became too intense, however, and in February 1929 the commissioners signed a temporary compact that largely protected the status quo. Congress offered to help farmers in Colorado and northern New Mexico by sanctioning work to connect a closed basin to the Rio Grande and the building of a dam in Colorado to capture the increased flow.

The negotiators set June 1, 1935, as the deadline for completing this work or signing a final compact. The Great Depression delayed funding for the closed basin outlet and work on the dam. In December 1934, the states again began negotiating as the deadline approached. Disagreements forced them to extend the deadline to June 1937 and then several times after. Even after the negotiators signed the compact on March 18, 1938, protests by downstream users in Texas nearly derailed it. Finally, on May 31, 1939, after the three states had approved it, President Franklin Roosevelt signed the compact. Littlefield says the compact established "a milestone in western water law," and offered an example for the negotiation of future compacts for western rivers.

Littlefield's book is exceptionally well researched and adds to a growing body of water resources history that stresses local agendas and actions over those of federal agencies and large corporations. However, his argument with Donald Worster's contentions regarding the role of big government and big business roles in western water resources requires a look at the current situation. For

example, the Reclamation Act of 1902 emphasized that 160-acre plots of land should go to family farmers. But who holds these lands today? Have large landowners and large agribusinesses come to dominate them? If so, then Worster's argument is not entirely wrong.

Not surprisingly, the Rio Grande Project and its many associated structures are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. *Conflict on the Rio Grande* clearly shows why these cultural resources are so important to a complete understanding of the American West's environmental history.

by O. Anfinson
National Park Service

A President, a Church, and Trails West: Competing Histories in Independence, Missouri.

by E. Taylor, Columbia, Mo: University of Missouri Press, 2008; 274 pp., hardcover, \$39.95.

It is often in the finer details of life that we discover the most salient lessons of history. Such details often contain the most practical and cautionary lessons about the preservation of history itself. In *A President, a Church, and Trails West: Competing Histories in Independence, Missouri*, Jon E. Taylor provides a bounty of just such details about Independence, Missouri and its multiple historical narratives; evolving preservation priorities; contending religious institutions; elected officials; landowners; and the federal, state, and local bureaucracies that are all involved in the historic preservation of this Mid-western county seat and Kansas City, Missouri suburb.

Independence is one of those unheralded American communities where multiple, significant historical events entwine upon a single geography. Established as the county seat of Jackson County, Missouri in 1827, it was a jumping-off point for the California

and Oregon Trails, and it was a key provisioning point for the Santa Fe Trail. It is the location that Joseph Smith, Jr., founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, proclaimed to be Zion. And it was the hometown of President Harry S. Truman, who by the 1980s was still, in the words of one former Independence mayor, "the only president in modern times to have returned to his hometown to build his presidential library and live out his life." (p. 162)

In his introductory pages, Taylor provides a thoughtful account of Independence's various historical legacies. Regarding early Mormon history in Jackson County, Missouri, he notes the later evolution of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS, since 2001 called the Community of Christ) which stayed in the Midwest when Brigham Young and his followers headed on to Utah, and the physical development and redevelopment of the original 63 acres in Independence purchased in 1831 on behalf of the nascent Mormon church. He likewise chronicles Independence's endeavors to market its trails history, and the players involved in this process. But the central story of Taylor's work surrounds the efforts to preserve the home, neighborhood, and cultural landscape of Truman in Independence through the establishment and management of a presidential library (1957), national historic landmark (1972), and national historic site (1982), all within the context of a fluctuating locally-designated historic status.

Taylor sets out to create a work that demonstrates how "one community has transitioned through . . . stages of preservation thought" (p. 9) while "plac[ing] the role of preservation in Independence not only within the larger context of preservation in the United States but also within the context of American environmental history." (p. 11) While he is successful in placing his narrative within the larger context of preservation thought, he limits discussion of the "environment" to the human-constructed landscape, and at key points often offers frustratingly little in the way of analysis. He

likewise does not leverage the large personalities, high passions, and often parable-like storylines into sweeping narrative. Indeed, this might have been an engrossing William Cronon type of story that many have grown to expect of urban history. But what the work lacks in ecological dialogue, analytical ingenuity, or narrative flourish, it more than makes up for with its detail-driven descriptions of the on-the-ground complexities and essential minutiae of the community process of historic preservation.

Through impressive research into public and private papers, interviews, oral histories, newspapers, and other myriad sources, Taylor takes the reader, step by step, through the realms of local bureaucratic processes, interactions, and decision-making. He shows how the administrators of the Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum chose to give approval to a 1970s redevelopment project that razed 345 buildings located in the front approach of the Truman Library and necessitated the relocation of 179 families. (pp. 106-7) Taylor underlines without passion but with explicit detail what it functionally means when the local First Baptist Church (located one block from the Truman Home) asserts that heritage preservation interferes with their First Amendment-protected rights. He also details the competition of this congregation with a factual review of the participation of the RLDS church: while in favor of historic preservation in locations where “church history had already been made” officials felt that in Independence, “history . . . was still being made” (p. 48) and as such, should not be hindered by other historical narratives. And the author’s research reveals the interactions between those who, in Taylor’s words, feared “a federal takeover of Truman’s neighborhood,” and those who admitted, in the words of one resident, “[l]ocal control, for whatever reason, seems ineffective.” (p. 175)

The reader is likewise given insight to the struggles of preservationists to explain to a skeptical public in the 1980s how “bungalows and other 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s homes were historic” (p. 150) and “how homes that were not ‘mansions’... could be impor-

tant.” p. 150) Taylor further describes their struggles in the 1990s to prove how “historic landscapes such as the Truman Neighborhood . . . included sidewalks, driveways, and overhead electrical utility systems” (p. 216-7) as part of the overall historic landscape of this internationally significant neighborhood.

Most notably, Taylor demonstrates how governmental agencies worked to save, not a battlefield or a single building, but the full walking environment of a president, during a time when presidential libraries as well as newly institutionalized federal, state, and local historic preservation bureaucracies were still figuring out how to function, and when historic preservation as a field was rapidly evolving at national, regional, and local levels.

Taylor’s evenhandedness is of particular merit. Truman’s neighborhood transitioned from a national treasure, to having its locally designated historic district boundaries reduced in 1983, to, in 1996, becoming one of the National Trust for Historic Preservation’s “Eleven Most Endangered Places.” (p. 205) Even in good times it has been often plagued with the intrusion of “the false sense of history” (p. 216) through continued introduction of questionable elements and practices. This author writes about even the most regrettable of these events with laudable professional detachment, refreshingly free of vitriol.

In *A President, a Church, and Trails West* Taylor has proven his talents as a public historian, creating a work bulging with information, a rich source for present and future preservation scholars, students, and public officials. Most importantly, if, as Taylor states, “[c]ollective memory is composed of personal memories of a community’s residents . . . refreshed by public policy” (p. 243) then this book provides an essential series of practical and cautionary lessons for communities seeking to preserve, through public policy, nationally important yet locally competing memories like those found in Independence, Missouri.

Jason Alexander Hayter
University of Arizona

A Natural History of Quiet Waters: Swamps and Wetlands of the Mid-Atlantic Coast

By Curtis J. Badger. University of Virginia Press, 2007; 160 pages, cloth, \$22.95.

Curtis Badger conveys his passionate infatuation with swamps and wetlands in *A Natural History of Quiet Waters*. The book reminds both those new to environmentalism and professionals of the delicate balance of natural architecture with wetlands serving as a “keystone.” The loss of wetlands can severely hamper ecosystems as well as the plant and animal life that depend on them.

Badger’s treatment of the subject is delicate much like introducing a new friend to an old acquaintance. In this instance, Badger’s goal is to help readers to acquire a new appreciation for wetlands and perhaps acquire his enthusiasm for these natural gems. The book is a reminder of the delicate balance between the built environment and the natural environment. As humans have attempted to subdue the land through unbridled patterns of development, we’ve chipped away at the natural heritage fabric of the nation, including swamps and wetlands.

Although swamps and wetlands may register below the radar screen of the American public, the author considers them to be just as important as California’s majestic redwood forests, the geysers and hot water springs of Yosemite, the roaring Niagara and Horseshoe Falls of New York, or the ancient and seamless slopes along the Appalachian Trail. Badger is outspoken for the “quiet waters” of America’s swamps and wetlands that are along the Mid-Atlantic Coast.

Swamps and wetlands are living systems, and they are replete with animal, insect, and plant life. As Badger pulls back the layers, he uncovers the terrestrial and aquatic wonders that populate this space. He reacquaints readers with the fundamentals of

10th-grade biology by detailing the relationships and synergies between plants and animals, fish and birds, amphibians and mammals. Swamps and wetlands are a cathedral to the harmony of diversity and the beauty of heterogeneity. This book reminds readers of the richness of natural systems that are often undervalued or taken for granted.

The book offers a sobering reminder of the staggering loss of wetlands in the United States. According to Badger, about half of the nation’s wetlands have been destroyed since the arrival of European colonists. This statistic is as shocking as the deforestation of the Amazon Rainforest (17 percent since 1970) or the accelerated loss of natural forests in New Zealand following colonization (33 percent since 1840). Curtis’s book reveals how wetlands loss in the United States, particularly in the last 200 years, reflects limited understanding of their function as these indispensable landscapes were converted to conform to manmade plans rather than prepare plans that work constructively with nature.

To Badger’s credit, he does an effective job introducing and explaining the iterative forms of public policy created to address wetlands, which fall under the jurisdiction of numerous federal agencies. As a result, his research is a useful reference for the novice conservationist or the seasoned environmental proponent who needs a refresher.

Like Marty Stouffer in the 1980s, Badger takes readers into his “Wild America” of swamps, wetlands, and marshes. Just like a good narrator of a documentary, Badger weaves a story that captures the imagination. His chapters are rich in “historic context” as he helps modern readers to envision the awesome spectacle of natural landscapes that appeared unblemished when they were surveyed in the early 18th Century. Like a survey, Badger’s findings are a benchmark which could be used as a point of reference for this generation or our progeny. Further, his findings are a reminder that we have a responsibility to be custodians and treasure

the delicate assets that are within our domain. Such as the birds that are the focus of Chapter 7.

While Badger confesses his passion for swamps in Chapter 1, it seems he has an unspoken fascination with ornithology. It is evident throughout the book and reaches its climax in Chapter 7 as Curtis details the seasonal migration patterns of birds. The discussion about bird migration is important because birds, like people, make pit stops during long trips. In this instance, the resting stops may be coastal areas and inland spaces along the coasts of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. In some ways, Badger considers migratory birds to be an indicator species for the condition of the habitat. Land conversion can lead to habitat loss, habitat loss affects birds populations that are foraging for food. When ornithologists see lower numbers for birds commonly associated with the migration routes, it is a clear signal to them that something is amiss.

Badger's book ends where it begins in Chapter 1, with the author, "in the pursuit of his own happiness," finalizing a purchase of three acres of land, part of which is moist Earth. Like Adam in the Garden of Eden, he assumes his responsibility as a "steward"—thinning a wooded area of dying or dead trees; making a mental inventory of birds, amphibians, and mammals; and contemplating his place in the universe as he enjoys Nirvana.

A Natural History of Quiet Waters is an amalgamation of science, conservation, history, short story, and avocation. It is easy reading for lovers of nature young and old. The book can stir up old and passive memories such as catching tadpoles in the summer, taking a winter walk through the woods, or watching black birds darken the autumn sky. Read the book and reanimate curiosity in your surroundings and the natural world.

Carlton Eley
U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

A Passion for Nature: the Life of John Muir

By Donald Worster. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008; 544 pp., hardcover, \$34.95.

Donald Worster has written the definitive volume on the life of John Muir. The depth of research in this work is most evident. The resulting text gives the details of a remarkable man's life, organized and presented not only as a chronological outline, but more so as a portrait of a passionate and complicated environmental advocate who became an unwilling icon of the 19th century's preservation movement.

This book dispels any illusions about Muir's life and character and the reader will likely have their traditional "legendary" image of Muir challenged as a result. The nostalgic pioneering western image demonstrating independence, self-reliance, wilderness adventure, and the like, slowly shifts in each chapter into something less sure and exact than our traditional view of Muir. Worster's research and resulting narrative exposes details, circumstances, and situations in Muir's life and shows his very human and conflicted individual self in a way that initially almost seems at odds with this icon of the environmental movement. The work creates a greater appreciation of Muir's life and times by exploring the challenges he faced, by understanding his own physical, familial, and economic constraints—all framed within the shifting, rapidly changing cultural context of his adult life between the Civil War and World War I.

We have previously only known the legendary Muir as an independent mountaineer, living on tea and bread crusts while on long explorations in the Sierra Nevada. Worster now provides a more measured and human portrait. He notes that the iconic Muir was a draft dodger. He was influenced most in the development of his character by forward-thinking women. He was a doting family man who died a multi-millionaire by today's dollar reckoning. Such facts may be altogether difficult to believe for many

Muir admirers. We are used to the larger-than-life Muir, the mountaineer and activist. But those events comprise a short period in his life.

Muir spent more years as a farmer and fruit grower than he did as a mountaineer. These little-known facts about Muir's personal life and the influence of his friends and associates on his public life are documented in 26 pages of end notes. Worster did an astounding amount of reading in various archives and collections to bring us a synthesis of Muir's life that has no equal in print. For anyone interested in Muir and the early history of the environmental movement, this book will provide a breadth of historical research and evenness in interpretation seldom found in the biographies of environmental pioneers.

Larry L. Norris
National Park Service

EXHIBITS

*Cosecha Amarga/Bittersweet Harvest:
The Bracero Program, 1942-1964.*

The National Museum of American History,
Kenneth E. Behring Center,
September 9, 2009–January 3, 2010.

“Bittersweet Harvest: The Bracero Program, 1942-1964” is the result of a multi-institution collecting initiative begun by the National Museum of American History in 2005 to document and preserve the experience of *braceros*, Mexican nationals brought to the United States to work in agriculture fields and railroads as part of the Emergency Farm Labor Program. The exhibit sheds light on a little-known chapter of United States and Mexican history, and offers the occasion for discourse about race, class, and national origin as it relates to labor programs of the past, present, and future. The exhibit also characterizes a refreshing approach to the preservation and stewardship of the

American past through public history initiative.

The labor program popularly known as the “Bracero Program” — the word *bracero* being derived from the Spanish word used in Mexico to mean laborer or farmhand — symbolizes the largest guest-worker program in the history of the United States. In a little more than two decades, 4.6 million short-term labor contracts were issued, bringing 2 million individual Mexican workers into the United States to fill labor shortages. Small farmers, large growers, and farm associations in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Arkansas, and 23 other states hired Mexican *braceros* to provide manpower during peak harvest and cultivation times.

Economic depression in Mexico and the prospect of short-term work in the United States encouraged millions of Mexican men to begin the long process of being selected for the program, but the procedure for a work contract placed physical, emotional, and financial burdens on aspiring *braceros* and their families. Often, applicants had to travel long distances from their villages to reception centers for processing. The men then had to pass a number of bureaucratic hurdles and humiliating medical examinations, waiting weeks, uncertain if they would be selected for a contract. If selected, the *braceros* would then face further challenges as they journeyed across the border and were met with long work days, labor strife, and poor working conditions. In some cases, workers were so mistreated that they returned empty handed to Mexico. Others managed to find more accommodating circumstances, while still remaining part of the labor program, and send their earnings back home.

In Mexico, the families of the *braceros* did what they could to adjust to life without their fathers, husbands, and brothers, in a struggle not unlike the wives and families of U.S. soldiers. In this vein, the Bracero Program was portrayed as a unique moment of American unification that crossed race, class, and national borders. “Bittersweet Harvest” features a variety of posters that tout the value of

the Bracero Program as a joint-war effort, including one that reads “Todos luchamos por la victoria/ Together we fight for victory.”

Upon entering the exhibit, one views 16 somber black and white prints by Leonard Nadel, a photographer who documented the harsh reality of the *bracero* life in 1956, in hopes of exposing employer violations and improving living conditions. The images depict the *braceros* at every point of their journey, from their villages in Mexico to their places of work in the United States. A further 170 images are presented through a slideshow running in the exhibit space, portraying moments of music and recreation, meal preparation, and religious services.

The body of the exhibit consists of 15 free-standing banners featuring bilingual labels and photographs that provide a detailed history of the Bracero Program. Vitrines in the center of the exhibit display a bunk bed from a labor camp, articles of clothing worn in the fields, equipment and tools used by *braceros*, contract and identification paperwork, and objects often purchased by *braceros* while in the United States, such as a radio or guitar. One powerful component of “Bittersweet Harvest” is the opportunity for visitors to experience history through the words of former *braceros*. A bilingual audio station allows visitors to listen or read oral histories associated with the Bracero History Archive. Another station is available where visitors can view period and current newspaper articles about guest-worker programs and leave personal comments, or even sign up to give their own testimonials. Bilingual gallery facilitators are available to lead tours and activities, and the museum offers a series of additional programs in concurrence with the exhibit.

The “Bittersweet Harvest” began as a small-budget public history project intended to call attention to the nearly-forgotten Bracero Program and provide an opportunity for the Mexican American community to look into its past and its contributions to American history. Overwhelmed with public

support, the project grew into a collaboration of institutions dedicated to collecting and sharing Latino history. Although the resulting exhibit is merely one arm of a much larger program, its function is multifaceted; it serves to disseminate the history and context of the Bracero Program, offer firsthand stories and artifacts, and facilitate the collection and circulation of additional oral histories and interviews.

It is this public history methodology that lends agency to those of the *bracero* community and gives a much needed twist to the way history and preservation are practiced and portrayed. By enabling the *bracero* community to tell their story with the support of cultural heritage institutions, history is not being separated from its contexts, as it has frequently been done by a well-intended academy of professionalism. The *braceros* and those involved with the Emergency Farm Labor Program are not passive recipients of what happenstance has put their way, but actors in their own right, taking part in the teaching, documentation, and preservation of their experience.

Following its exhibition at the Smithsonian National Museum of American History, “Bittersweet Harvest” will travel to Arizona, California, Idaho, Michigan, Nevada, and Texas.

Emily Burrows
*National Conference of State Historic
Preservation Officers*

IndiVisible: African-Native American Lives in the Americas

The National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, DC. Curators: Robert Keith Collins, Penny Gamble-Williams, Angela Gonzales, Judy Kertész, Tiya Miles, and Gabrielle Tayac. Collaboration between the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian, National Museum of African American History and Culture, and the Smithsonian Institution Travelling Exhibition Service. November 10, 2009-May 31, 2010.

The exhibit, "IndiVisible: African-Native American Lives in the Americas," presents a comprehensive introduction to the questions that surround identity, recognition, belonging, and nationhood for people of mixed Native American and African American descent. It is a needed introduction since African-Native Americans may be one of the lesser-known results of contact, more so than Native Americans and Europeans with the resulting *Mestizo*, "half-breeds" or *Métis* people who have many of the same issues, but a different history of contact and contemporary living.

The exhibit is focused broadly for a lay audience rather than primarily for scholars. Scholarly text is kept to a minimum and a significant portion of each panel is dedicated to pictures, quotes, and stories of individuals who identify as both African American and Native American. The short video accompanying the exhibit focuses on people of African and Native American descent talking about their sense of identity and how they are perceived in society. The curators juxtapose these highly individualized vignettes on the panels and video with pointed theoretical questions or statements, such as "How did slavery link Native peoples and African Americans?" or "What does it mean to choose your heritage?" These questions encourage the reader to consider how issues of contact, race, culture, history, government, slavery, conflict, and science have influenced notions of identity

and belonging in the United States, particularly for African-Native Americans.

The exhibit is engaging. However, in focusing on its broad appeal, it does over-simplify important and complicated concepts. This is most apparent in a panel entitled, "African Roots, Native Roots," where a Timucuan village in Florida is compared to a Fulani village in Guinea. The underlying text reads, "*In these European views of two villages, the similarities between the two distinct peoples are compelling.*" The central text on the panel suggests that African and Native American people shared similar world-views, however, the curators' choice to provide a specific example comparing these two villages without any further supporting information or evidence to prove a cultural connection seems potentially misleading.

However, the overall intent of the exhibit, to highlight African-Native Americans as an important, if often overlooked, part of American society, is achieved. The exhibit begins with the statement "These people belong together" and attempts to distill the highly complex relationship between African Americans and Native Americans into four main areas of concern: Policy, Community, Creative Resistance, and Lifeways. The story begins in 1492 with the advent of Europeans to America and the connection that was forged as Native Americans and Africans were uprooted and enslaved together in order to further European expansion. The theme of shared social and legal oppression is repeated throughout the exhibit as the curators take visitors from the Civil War to the Civil Rights movement, up to the present-day. However, the curators do not assume that a shared history resulted in a shared sense of identity.

In fact, the goal of the exhibit is to show the multitude of ways that African-Native Americans have experienced their heritage and the complex and sometimes painful ways that society has treated them. The underlying message is that there are

many questions that arise from having a mixed heritage of Native American and African American, and that there are as many questions and possible solutions as there are Indian tribes in this country. The exhibit focuses on the faces and stories of African-Native Americans by blending historical facts with individual stories and perspectives. The examples of African-Native Americans illustrate the complex issues highlighted on each panel, but offer only a glimpse into what belonging would look like or feel like to a person of both Native American and African American descent. Indeed the exhibit is decidedly unwilling to offer solutions.

The focus on individual stories, particularly in the accompanying video speaks to a desire for belonging rather than to invite the audience to consider how the multi-faceted, highly nuanced nature of Native American and African American relations throughout history influences the present-day lives of African-Native Americans. For example, the exhibit does not make a difference between contemporary and historical mixed heritage issues. Are there differences between historical African-Natives, which were usually the result of runaway slaves, adoption into, or enslavement of Africans by the Indian tribes, and those that are of mixed heritage as a result of recent interaction? As there are only 20 panels and a short video included in the traveling exhibit, it might be too much to show that a difference may exist, just as it is too much to delve into the issues that surround being of mixed heritages. Perhaps the book, which has essays by African-Native people, may begin to address these differences through 27 essays that are “passionate” first-person accounts.

In addition to the book and video, the Smithsonian has a web-based version of the exhibit on its website (<http://www.nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/indivisible/>). The website has many similar panels that are present in the exhibit. Moreover, the website also has a link to a symposium held on the topic where many of the curators and other speakers gave a more scholarly discourse on the issues of race, shared histories, contemporary struggles, and identity for African-Native Americans, which is where those that wish to learn more about this discourse should watch. It is recommended that all parts of the exhibit, including the book and website, should be viewed together.

In general, *IndiVisible*, provides a good overview of the issues that surround the mixed heritage of African-Native Americans. The curators did a fine job of distilling a highly complex issue into morsel-sized bits of information and also providing an avenue via the website for more, if desired. The exhibit adds an important voice to the discussion about what it means to be American and it good illustrates that there is not just one kind of Native American. As it travels throughout the country it will serve as a starting point for many discussions and debates about how each of us relate to one another.

Sangita Chari
National Park Service

Jaime Lavallee
*National Conference of State Historic
Preservation Officers*

On the cover

John O. Bostrup took this photograph (HABS DC-152) of the Double House at 1061-1063 Potomac Street in Northwest, Washington, DC, in April 1937. The house, now demolished, once stood in what is now the bustling commercial district in the Georgetown neighborhood. (Courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service)

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