

*Sponsored by the National Council for Preservation Education, the National Park Service and
the Center for Graduate and Continuing Studies, Goucher College*

PRESERVATION OF WHAT, FOR WHOM?



A CRITICAL LOOK AT

HISTORICAL
SIGNIFICANCE

HELD AT GOUCHER COLLEGE
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
MARCH 20-22, 1997

MICHAEL A. TOMLAN

EDITOR

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

MICHAEL A. TOMLAN, *Project Director*
National Council for Preservation Education

When publishing any compilation of papers, one of the editor's chief responsibilities is to recognize the people behind the scenes. In the case at hand, the organizing committee for the conference included a number of academics and professionals who worked months in advance, shaping the agenda, reviewing the papers, and supporting the effort in hundreds of ways. The committee members that participated included David Ames, University of Delaware; Catherine Bishir and Claudia Brown, North Carolina Department of Archives & History; Richard Candee, Boston University; Michael Day, Maryland Historical Trust; Antoinette J. Lee, National Park Service; Richard Longstreth, George Washington University; de Teel Patterson Tiller, National Park Service; Richard Wagner, Goucher College; and the editor. Each played a crucial role in establishing a new level of critical dialogue in the field.

Although the papers submitted for the symposia have been edited for consistency of form, every effort has been made to respect their nature and integrity, including as many of the original illustrations as possible. It must be emphasized that, although this project was the result of a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service, it in no way represents the official policy of this or any government agency. Indeed, the conference sponsors wished to offer a venue outside official channels for professionals working at all levels of government to express their opinions openly and benefit by blind peer review. Goucher College, outside the beltway, served as an excellent host institution.

If ever there were any doubts regarding the intellectual vigor in the field of historic preservation, the results of this symposium should lay them to rest. Sub-themes introduced in one session are carried over into others, the duplication being necessary whenever a different approach is presented. If some ideas that are introduced remain relatively undeveloped, so much the better for the questions

raised are often as *important* as the solutions being proposed.

It is important to note that a new group of preservationists is emerging, one that includes those in the archaeological community who believe in the conservation of the fabric below ground-level, just as historic preservationists have always believed historic properties above ground should be treated. Equally clear, the historic preservation field has recently absorbed the archaeologists' and ethnographers' concern for the need to be sensitive to the social fabric of the community when approaching the physical fabric of historic properties. More generally, the conference demonstrates that as ideas in the field are developing, they are intrinsically connecting the young with the more senior practitioners, bonding across generations. This cannot help but provide us with a sense of hope and spur us forward.

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INTRODUCTION

DAVID L. AMES, *Chair, National Council for
Preservation Education*

Over three decades have passed since the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Feeling it an appropriate time to examine issues central to historic preservation as a national public policy and as a field, the National Council for Preservation Education, the National Park Service, and Goucher College inaugurated a series of symposia to critically evaluate selected issues. Devoted to a single critical issue in historic preservation, each conference is organized as a professional "town meeting." The discussion centers on a series of papers written by individuals from a broad range of academic and professional backgrounds. The first symposium, entitled "Preservation of What, For Whom?: A Critical Look at Historical Significance," was held at the Goucher College campus in Baltimore, Maryland on March 20-22, 1997. This book is a compilation of the papers presented at that conference.

The co-sponsors share common assumptions about the need for a national dialog regarding historic preservation. First, the need exists for a highly visible discussion of the importance of historic preservation as matter of national public policy, and why it is and should continue to be supported by all levels of government. In 1966, the field and the National Historic Preservation Act were easily justified as a response to the loss of historic properties through federally backed urban renewal, highway construction, and civic works. Today, as much if not more destruction of the landscape is occurring, but it is often by private initiative, much more diffuse and apparently less threatening to the public. We need to recast the need for historic preservation in this new context.

Secondly, the field has matured significantly since the late 1960s. Looking ahead, we must ask whether the programs, policies, standards, guidelines, and processes that currently govern historic preservation are still as appropriate and relevant as they should be. We need also to ask how preservationists should respond to the

changing demographic patterns of the nation, current development patterns, the debate between the *common good* and individual property rights, the trend toward devolved authority from the federal government, and "less government" at all levels. Finally, how can the answers to these questions become incorporated into a field that cuts across academic disciplines, professional practice, and a number of public policies.

CHOOSING HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE AS A CRITICAL ISSUE

Historical significance emerged as the unanimous choice of the organizing committee as the topic for the first conference. Historical significance was seen as the critical issue because it is the means by which properties are chosen for preservation, the central task of the field, and the way we interact with the public. Historical significance remains a controversial issue because some believe its scope has been broadened to the point that it seriously dilutes its utility. At the same time, others believe that enlarged notions of historical significance are creating a more democratic history, one that can recognize and commemorate the contributions of each of the groups that have contributed to the entire society.

In its call for papers for the conference, the committee wrote, "This conference will examine the concept of historic significance as it has been, and as it might be, applied to preservation practice. Historical significance should be interpreted as encompassing both tangible and intangible realms of the past; that it, both the built environment and the myriad of forces that have given it shape and meaning over time." Based on these ideas, the symposium was organized into six sessions: Communicating Significance; Different Views from Different Disciplines; Who Defines Significance; Concepts, Criteria, and Change; Significance and Taste; and Significance, Silent Criteria, and Public Policy.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE SESSIONS

In the opening essay, Roger Kennedy, former Director of the National Park Service, makes a number of poignant illustrations regarding historical revisionism, pointing to race as one, if not the most important factor in defining social, economic, and political affairs. In a thought-provoking address Kennedy, reflecting on his own education and early historical investigations, sees the connection between our changing views of ourselves as a nation, the significance attached to events and places, and the evolution of public policy.

COMMUNICATING SIGNIFICANCE

The manner in which significance is communicated can enhance or impede the relationship between preservation professionals and the community they serve. This relationship provides the theme in the first session. In "The Rise of the Heritage Priesthood or the Decline of Community-Based Heritage," Frits Pannekoek sees the promulgation of federal professional qualification standards for preservationists in the United States as symptomatic of the rise of what he calls a "Preservation Priesthood" of preservation professionals. He rejects this as "another step in the alienation of people from their heritage. . ." Writing in the context of the Canadian preservation experience, he believes that the determination of significance must lay with the local community itself. Pannekoek fears the U.S. example of professional certification will change the relationship of the professional to the community in Canada where professionals only assist and advise, but do not direct in the determination of significance. More broadly, he is wary that these qualifications standards will reinforce Euro-American cultural values in evaluating significance, lead to the commodification of heritage, and guarantee a continuing emphasis on physical rather than spiritual remains.

Elizabeth Lyon and Richard Cloues take a slightly different view in "The Cultural and Historical Mosaic and Concept of Significance: Implications for Historic Preservation." They believe that until comparatively recently the concept of significance has functioned reasonably well to establish the value of historic places, and motivate people to save them. Moreover, the National Register process of determining significance serves to forge a consensus among professionals and the larger community about what is worthy of preservation. They fear, however, that this process may be breaking down and that, as the universe of properties considered to be significant has grown and methodologies expanded, the common ground for finding consensus may be lost. To them, preservation faces the dilemma that, while the concept of significance has become more sophisticated and refined, it is in danger of becoming dysfunctional as an operative force, in part because of difficulty in dealing with significance associated with cultural and spiritual values. In a variation on Pannekoek's split between the preservation priesthood and the community, Lyons and Cloues see a split between science and the community and they offer two alternatives for dealing with the dilemma.

Stephen Gordon begins his paper "Historical Significance in an Entertainment Oriented Society" with a description of the opening of Rogersdale, USA in California—a 214,000 square foot theme retailing center owned by Roy Rogers, that celebrates the historic

themes of California's *early mission era*, the Old West, and the 1950s. Then he asks, "in a sound-bite society that is increasingly ignorant of history, how can *historic significance* be conveyed, let alone understood and appreciated?" Indeed, is historic significance even relevant in a culture that values entertainment and recreation over civic involvement? Preservationists need to democratize historic significance *without turning history into a street carnival*. For Gordon, historic significance is best communicated from meaningful local histories in which people are involved and can identify. He believes that historic preservation is uniquely suited to create such local histories as *our sense of the past* is derived less from history books and more from everyday things we see, such as buildings and landscapes.

DIFFERENT VIEWS FROM VARIOUS DISCIPLINES

The problems associated with communicating significance are often colored depending upon *one's viewpoint*. As both old and new professions address preservation questions, they offer additional insight about what is *significant* and why. Writing from the perspective of American Studies, Barbara Shubinaki argues that our concepts of historical *significance* have been heavily influenced by events in the 1930s, when many assumptions about American culture, character, and way of life as we know it began to coalesce. In "The Mechanics of Nostalgia: The 1930s Legacy for Historic Preservation," she demonstrates this through the work of New Deal era Farm Security Administration, which began as a photographic service to sociologists and economists who were dispatched to analyze the problems faced by farmers and small businesses. These iconographic images represent significant ideas, implicitly altering our interpretation of the period.

William Baer, an urban planner, insists that preservation needs to become more self-conscious about its impact on the future. In "The Impact of 'Historical Significance' on the Future", he worries that preservationists may be getting into trouble by trying to make the future look like the past. And, by defending the development of suburbanization in the United States, he takes to task the campaign against sprawl by the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Lastly, looking at history as a discipline central to historic preservation, Howard Green suggests in "The Social Construction of Historical Significance" that the concept of significance as used by the preservation movement is based on an outmoded positivist concept of history. Green demonstrates that this has serious limitations in preservation practice. Yet to bring methods for evaluating significance more in line with current relativist historiographic thinking, we risk losing the political support from those who want

a more fixed and predictable history, including many planners and the development community.

WHO DEFINES SIGNIFICANCE

The critical question "of what" is historically significance gives way almost completely to "for whom" in the third session. Sherene Baugher diagrams the clash of interest groups involved in determining the significance of American Indian sacred sites and burial grounds, reflecting profound differences between Native American and mainstream American cultures. Native American cultures make little distinction between sacred and historical events, have few religious buildings, and find sacred significance in unmarked burial grounds and land in its natural state where sacred events took place. They often believe that some sites should be allowed to decay and return to nature, rather than being preserved physically. In addition, with over 300 Native American cultures and religions, there are a diversity of views about significance among Native Americans. Baugher's main concern is that many native-American sites are being lost because Native Americans are politically weak and non-native Americans, who do not understand Native American perspectives, make most of the decisions about their significance.

In a poignant essay, Carroll Van West raises the question of gender, along with race and class, using a simple, unadorned building in Lewisburg, Tennessee, called the "Ladies Rest Room." Built by agricultural reformers to provide a resting-place for rural women when they came to town, it also served as a place where modern home technologies and furnishings were demonstrated. He believes the plain, hitherto undocumented building designed for and used by women is a metaphor for the pervasive, but often forgotten influence of gender on the landscape. Van West asserts that the current surge of professional interest in the role of women's history in preservation, while new and welcome, has paralleled the earlier path of determining significance by substituting elite white women for elite white men and their association with major events. In addition, the "Ladies Rest Room" raises questions of class and race.

In "Industrial Housing and Vinyl Siding: Historical Significance Flexibly Applied," Alison Hoagland suggests preservationists must take a broader view. She demonstrates this by defining three phases of a property's preservation life. The first is that in which the property is built and its alterations are unrecognized by the preservation community. The second is the phase in which the property is nominated for the National Register of Historic Places or designated as historically significant by other means. The third is the building's life after designation—which is frequently longer than the first two. Using company housing as a property type to

demonstrate her points, Hoagland is disturbed by manner in which the concept of a period of significance is often applied. In contrast to those who would decide that the modified housing is not eligible for designation because the changes have destroyed its integrity, she argues that the period of historical significance should be extended to include post-company period, because it represents the first opportunity for occupants to use their house for self-expression, and marks a contrast between regimentation and individualism. Believing that the physical integrity of company housing lies more in the repetitive form, massing, and layout than in details or materials, Hoagland recommends flexible standards that can accommodate change as a reflection of the working-class and ethnic values of the residents.

CONCEPTS, CRITERIA, AND CHANGE

Continuing the discussion of how much historical significance resides in the historical property itself and how much remains in its interpretation, all three papers in this session focus on the centrality of the property in understanding its historic significance. In "The Importance of Cultural Meaning in Defining and Preserving Sense of Place," Barbara Anderson begins by noting that all historic properties have the intangible attribute of shared cultural meanings, which lend cultural coherence to the property. These should be considered in the evaluation of their historic significance and not limited to so-called "traditional" cultural properties. Using the concept of shared cultural value, she shows how the apparent visual and historical contradiction of relocating a 150 year old English chapel to a Kansas college was, in fact, consistent with the cultural values of the community.

In "Determining Significance: Mind Over Matter?" Richard Striner, a professional historian, agrees with the view that the field of history provides more of a relativistic, changing context for interpreting significance than an objective, predictable, scientific one. He finds this rather irrelevant, however, because historical significance is determined from the study of the object itself as a document with the assumption that everything is potentially significant. Since buildings and other historic properties are the tangible results of the thoughts and actions of our ancestors, imprinted with their cultural signature, there is significance residing in the object. The determination of historic significance is both elicited from objects as documents and imputed to them from a larger intellectual framework.

W. Brown Morton moves further in asserting the primacy of the physical object and insists that physical resources not be modified to conform to changing concepts of significance. In, "Managing the

Impact on Cultural Resources of Changing Concepts of Significance," he sets forth the belief that historic resources are destroyed by repeated interventions based on new interpretations of significance. He calls for a national commitment to strict preservation that would insure that historic resources are unmodified by changing concepts of historic significance. To accomplish this, Morton recommends that preservationists turn to the technology of computer graphics that allow the manipulation of images of historic resources to change them as interpretive concepts change, while leaving the physical resource relatively untouched and intact.

SIGNIFICANCE AND TASTE

As suggested by Morton's paper, shifting values and taste influence what is considered significant. The authors in the fourth session examine how this raises a number of issues in different contexts, those dealing with historic rooms, multi-cultural landscapes, and archaeological sites. Carol Petravage describes the decision-making process in interpreting historic interiors from establishing the broadest interpretative goals to placing the last piece of furniture as one of conflict resolution between values of interpretation, disciplinary perspectives, and bureaucratic hierarchy. She describes the complex decisions facing the interior curator after questions of significance about the structure have been resolved. In Petravage's view the translation of an abstract concept of significance into a meaningful exhibit of historic interiors is a "long and rocky path" requiring a strong and informed manager who can hammer out compromises between disciplines and individuals.

For the larger historic resource of landscapes, Kendrick Ian Grandison proposes that they should be conceptualized ecologically, as a system of interrelated parts. In his paper, "Beyond Buildings: Landscape as Cultural History in Constructing the Historical Significance of Place," he puts forward this model as useful for analyzing the contributions of marginalized social groups who have shaped their landscapes. He tests the model by comparing the campus of Tuskegee University, a historically black school founded after reconstruction, to Auburn University, established as Alabama's land grant college for whites. The Tuskegee campus, located on "the other side of the tracks," was relegated to an agriculturally exhausted, eroded, and inexpensive site separated from the town of Tuskegee by a barrier of piney ravines. By comparison, Auburn University was prominently located in the center of its town, and faces outward to the community with impressive academic buildings. Themes of race and class introduced earlier by "the Ladies Rest Room" are further exemplified in the spatial disposition of these educational institutions.

John Sprinkle considers below-ground resources in "Do

Archaeologists Dig, Destroy, and Discriminate? The Historical Significance and Value of Archaeological Sites." He asserts that archaeological sites are being destroyed by some of the very laws, regulations, and policies that were designed to preserve them. Specifically, Criteria D of the National Register, which deems properties eligible for the Register for their information potential and is usually reserved for archaeological sites, has come to mean, in Sprinkle's view, "dig and destroy." Criteria D becomes synonymous with "dig" because agencies of the government, developers, and other land use managers have learned that it is less troublesome and expensive to excavate an archaeological site than to preserve it *in situ*. Even the strict mitigation requirements of the Section 106 review have been diluted by the so-called "research exception" which allows an archaeological site to be excavated rather than preserved when its "only" value is its potential contribution to research. Sprinkle believes that many in the preservation community have mistakenly come to accept the "dig and destroy" mindset as axiomatic principle when regarding archaeological properties.

SIGNIFICANCE, SILENT CRITERIA, AND PUBLIC POLICY

The two papers in the last session, "The Significance of Fragmentary Landscapes in Cultural Landscape Preservation," by Anna Vernier Andrzejewski and Allison Rachleff and "The Silent Criteria: Misuse and Abuse of the National Register," by Suzanne S. Pickens, consider some of the public policy implications of historic significance. Both address a fundamental question that threads through the conference: how far should the concept of significance be expanded? Andrzejewski and Rachleff argue that the concept needs to be expanded further to include ruinous, fragmented, industrial landscapes which do not appear to meet the National Register criteria but which manifest the mainstream of American history as much as high-style architecture.

Pickens believes that the concept of significance is undermined when properties possessing little historic significance are listed on the National Register on the basis of the "Silent Criteria," when owners use political pressure to have their property listed for social status or the economic benefits it brings. Pickens also argues that the Section 106 review process has been politicized in two directions. Opponents of a public works project will frequently advocate a strict interpretation of National Register criteria of significance with the hidden agenda of modifying or stopping a project. From the opposite side, sponsors of projects, such as state and federal agencies, who view historic properties as impediments, often encourage a very loose application of the criteria of significance to find as few historic properties eligible for the Register as possible.

She believes that these abuses have occurred because the power of a National Register nomination to protect a property has been greatly exaggerated; it is thought of as a "magic bubble" of protection when it is only one tool in preservation.

If the intense level of discussion at the conference suggested anything, it is that more time and attention should be given to all of the issues the papers raise. By providing them with a broader audience in the readers of this book, it is hoped that thinking about the nature of historical significance will continue. The sponsors invite further comment.



OPENING COMMENTS

KATHERINE H. STEVENSON, *Associate Director,
Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships, National Park Service*

The National Park Service is pleased and honored to co-sponsor this important national conference on historical significance. We appreciate the efforts of the National Council for Preservation Education and Goucher College's Center for Graduate and Continuing Studies in working with us on organizing this conference. Our heartfelt thanks are due to Michael Tomlan, Richard Longstreth, and David Ames of the National Council and to Debbie Culbertson, Noreen Mack, Sharon Hodgson, and Richard Wagner of Goucher College for their hard work in organizing the sessions and making the technical arrangements that make programs like this possible. Appreciation is also extended to Judy Mohraz, President of Goucher College, for hosting this program at your campus.

We envision this conference as a professional "town meeting" to address the evolving concept of historical significance and how this concept relates to public policy. For this conference, we have gathered those concerned with the topic of historical significance to hear presentations and exchange insights. The audience is invited to present their views, ask questions, and propose different models for analyzing the topic. We have set up this open discourse to encourage the broadest possible participation from everyone in the room.

From the presentations and the discussions, we plan to issue a publication that will create a permanent record of this conference. This publication will serve not only as a benchmark for the subject of historical significance in 1997, but will bolster the national historic preservation program and provide intellectual substance for the future evolution of the concept of significance.

We are looking to YOU to advise US on how you view historical significance and how these views should affect public policy—how the national historic preservation partnership should carry out its work. Many of you have been involved in historic preservation for a long time and can testify to the changed nature of the concept. Most of us remember how we viewed the concept of significance

when we entered the field in the 1970s and 1980s. During those few decades, we expanded our horizons to include vernacular architecture, historic landscapes, cultural diversity, properties of the recent past, battlefields, and traditional cultural properties. Others of you work with our programs as planners, historians, archeologists, and academics. We need to hear from you as to how the concept of historical significance relates to the work you need to accomplish.

Understanding historical significance is one of the most important concepts in the work of the national historic preservation program. This concept is the central, defining core of our programs because it specifies the universe of properties that we *recognize*, protect, provide assistance to, and interpret. Getting to those decisions affecting federal government involvement includes survey and identification of what exists on the landscape. This activity provides the historic context for all subsequent work. The concept of significance guides not only the priorities of the National Park Service. It guides what other federal agencies and state, tribal, and local governments define as significant in the conduct of their agencies' own programs. We also know that many private sector organizations and individuals use our standards in considering what is significant and worthy of private investment.

Despite the widespread familiarity with our criteria for significance in thousands of communities across the nation—most notably in the National Register Criteria for Evaluation—we live in precarious times. All of us have had to address the challenges of the property rights movement, the proponents of which view any form of public recognition as a "taking" of private property. Members of Congress pose questions about how the definition of significance has evolved since the passage of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act. Usually, the question concerns the consideration of properties as significant at all levels—national as well as the state, tribal, and local levels. We also frequently hear from you, the professionals, about where you think the concept is or should be. The public also voices its concerns that we either are too far ahead of the public will, or too far behind.

Is it possible to satisfy these three groups—the professionals, the politicians, and the populace? Probably not, but it is essential that we consider the variables and search for a unity that embraces the whole. How large is this definition of significance? How far can we push the edges of significance before we lose sight of the purposes of the National Historic Preservation Act? We all can measure our progress since the time we entered the field. Undoubtedly, the scope of significance will evolve during the next decade and beyond. We must lead in this area. However, we cannot be so far ahead that we

lose our constituents and the support of the American people.

We all know that historic preservation would be severely weakened if we could not continue to serve the full spectrum of the nation's heritage. Where would the national historic preservation program be without the many National Register listings, tax incentive projects, Certified Local Governments, our standards and guidelines, and the other tools that mean so much to so many? We count on the active participation of the many communities, organizations, and individuals who have seized the opportunity to use our programs to accomplish historic preservation according to their own unique needs.

One of our major efforts with this conference is to explore the subject of significance in a way that will allow us to define the scope of our programs to decision-makers at all levels. We also want to know where we should exert particular leadership in defining the full extent of the program for the many cultural groups that make up the American mosaic. We need to reaffirm our commitment to have significance drive our programs, not workload demands or political considerations.

We often characterize the national historic preservation program in the United States as a model partnership for the nation. Let us work to strengthen our standards, guidelines, and tools so that we can build upon them, re-invigorate the partnership, and truly represent our national heritage as we move into the next century.

We are pleased that you are here to discuss this important topic. Please take this opportunity to advise us on how you view historical significance and how you think this should relate to our public policy concerns. I will look forward to hearing what all of you have to say.

This conference is the first of its kind to invite a professional group to advise us on how we do our work. This kind of program is a good sign of a healthy field. Let us plan to do this again soon on another topic. Bravo to us and thanks to all of you for participating in this open forum.



CRAMPONS, PITONS & CURATORS

ROGER G. KENNEDY, *Director, National Park Service*

In order to provide our efforts with an appropriate context, this lecture is divided into three broad parts. First, I will offer a discourse on where all of us as workers fit in the current condition of American learning. Secondly, I will suggest what has happened lately as the "theostat of history," otherwise known as revisionism, has altered to a considerable extent the kind of history taught in the 30s and 40s. Lastly, a little discussion is offered regarding crampons, pitons and curators, which is an effort to suggest the relationship between custody and narrative.

THE CURRENT CONDITION

It seems to me that we are here participating in a process that would have been inconceivable five years ago. We are suspended somewhere—all of us in this room—in one of or all of three tiers of learning: the "ether," the campus, and the place. The learning that comes to us through and by the ether is the aggregate of information suspended in the air above us to which, if we are lucky, our modems can attach us. We have a surfnet—a kind of aggregate, a nimbus—of information that floats out there that is available to us with grave difficulty and relevant only with reference to the other two tiers of learning. That it is there is inescapable, but the information highway is under construction and the ways of getting around its cloverleaves require much more sophistication than almost any teaching person—as distinguished from a "drawing down" person—can use.

Second, the conventional campuses—the places in which learning was thought to occur in American education—are no longer, if they ever were, the primary places in which people learn. They are significant and they are important. That is, they often say something that is worth printing, but they are also artifacts. Traditional schoolroom barracks for kids—prisons for kids—colleges and universities—which are refugee camps for intellectuals—these are places to which we go for the purpose of learning and

where we would complete some kind of education, authenticated by the commensurate degrees. The place in which we go to learn was always a place that was abstracted from the subject learned. The same thing is true of all museums. They are places in which objects are aggregated, just as the university is the place in which ideas and persons to teach are aggregated, separate from the places from which most of the ideas and the objects certainly came, or belong. The most obvious example would be a place like the Cloisters, in Manhattan, in which you have a simulated sense of a sort of generic monastery, but it is not one. It does not have any of the ghosts and it does not have any of the history. It does not have any of the grit. You cannot smell the sweat and the blood that are almost perceptible in most real monasteries.

The third tier—very distinct from the museum—is the real place. Even Williamsburg is a real place. It is a place in which objects remain where they commenced. That is a significant difference. Museums are not real places. They are accumulations of real objects, juxtaposed on purpose to represent a point of view. That is not the same thing as being in the real place.

So, if there are three kinds of places in which we learn, what is our business? Our business is grounding, connecting, and being the lightning rod that draws reality out of the ether. Drawn out of and based in what comes to us in the real place.

The current psychology of the American people renders them desperate for the authentic, the real, and the tangible—in place. One of the difficulties of the museum business is that it cannot do that connecting process. Even in parks, visitor centers are similarly unauthentic, although they are approximates, just as the Museum at the Smithsonian. It is a place without place. It is a congeries of large structures set in a swamp. That has its function, but only in this deracinated, mobile, downsized, merged, and acquired world. That set of modes of learning needs grounding. The grounding has to occur with an intense reaffirmation of the significance of significance. It is an affirmation once more that it has to be an authentic, continuous, and central something geographically. There must be a real community into and out of which it proceeds, temporally. Reality does not exist without a continuous time scheme, and a system of current relationships and affections within which it is placed.

Continuity and community—the line of history and the extension of community—these are the two fundamental realities. In testifying before Congress, I often try to say those are the fundamentals of a conservative ideology, and that is true. It is a useful truth now because most of the people to whom I address myself have never heard of Edmund Burke or of John Adams. Nonetheless, they have heard of Bill Buckley, and that helps.

THE RHEOSTAT OF HISTORY

Now, let us turn to the spirit of the times, unless that makes those of you that have been educated since 1950 hopelessly uncomfortable. Let us talk for a moment about that dreadful, impossible notion of the spirit of the times. It makes for good history writing. I have experienced—I have lived through—a process in which the rheostat on the stage has turned up the lights. When I went to school, graduating from high school in 1944, many faces were imperceptible upon the stage of history. There was a shadowy, darkened stage. All that were visible were very tall objects with white skins. What has happened in my lifetime? The lights have gone out. Now we see darker skinned persons and persons that are a little shorter. In many cases, like the Cockneys of London who were the shortest people in the Western world in the last 250 years, a little over 4'11" on average in the middle of the 18th century, little people who didn't eat very well, whose nutrition was not splendid. Now we see the taller persons and other persons whose skins rendered them invisible in the dark.

Revisionism commenced with the second historian who ever lived. Revisionism in my day, however, was wonderfully conservative. What has happened in my lifetime is to return a sense of history to the way in which American history was written before about 1870. Many of us have rediscovered Henry Adams and Hermann Eduard von Holtz. Many of us have rediscovered a history grounded in the recognition that race is the central theme in American history. The relationship between dark and white people—not all dark persons being black or bluish-black or brown, but darkish—the relationship to other Americans who tend to come from the North Sea region by origin—that relationship was the most intense defining quality in American history to my great grandfather. However, not to my father, and not to me. Anyone who studies the general world in which Aaron Burr lived discovers this. Anyone who reads the first generation of historians in the 1830s finds that the reason that Henry Adams had to scrap his biography of Burr and bury it as he did—in what is about two-fifths of his history of the Jefferson administration and a portion of his history of the Madison administration—is because Burr, an abolitionist, was of enormous importance to the first generation of historians, but was unacceptable to that huge body of historians who instructed me. Those historians who persuaded us to accept the definitions of American history and its primary themes in the 40s, 50s, and even the early 60s. Those of us who were persuaded that the Civil War was avoidable and it was only the incompetence of Abraham Lincoln that led us into that disaster, instead of that expiation. It may astonish those of you who have learned history

since I was in college that Allan Nevins, Claude Bowers, and Dumas Malone were the definers of our American reality. We had read Charles Beard and Frederick Jackson Turner. We knew that there was a frontier, but it did not occur to us that there were other frontiers, from the point of view of the governors of Santa Fe, an eastern frontier. There were also frontiers from the point of view of the Muskogee and the Creek. Theirs were all around them and shrinking. There were frontiers from the point of view of the Iroquois. Theirs was an eastern frontier. They had had their own western expansions, of course. The frontier that was significant to Turner was the frontier that you knew in Wisconsin. Race was not important. For Beard, class and race were never intimately related. It was a good thing that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels had written, but it was not important that there had been dark skinned people in this country for the Beards. Neither of them.

When I went to school, we did not see most of what now defines the kind of scholarship that I try to do, which is to see what really happened. Why did Andrew Jackson describe the Seminole War as a "black war?" Why was it that it was important to Thomas Jefferson that the Spanish governors of Texas were providing not just sanctuary to escaped slaves, but land and the consolation of the Roman Catholic religion? Why was it that Jefferson's chief of intelligence, Gideon Granger, dismissed every black from the postal service? Why was it that Jefferson and Napoleon entered into an alliance to starve out Toussaint Louverture? These are matters of some significance to American history, which I did not know about. It strikes me that it is of some importance that the United States did not join with the Latin Americans in assisting them to find freedom, and that Jefferson terminated not only Alexander Hamilton and Timothy Pickens's alliance with Toussaint, but also the relationship between that government in the Central Caribbean and the liberation movements in Spanish America. I think these are important. I did not know about them in 1950. It strikes me that the formation of American foreign policy *vis-à-vis*, not only the relations to the south of us, but the nations to the west of us—that is, the Indian nations—that that foreign policy differed radically when the Federalists lost in the Revolution of 1800.

What I am suggesting here is that what is happening to us all every day is that we are learning things. That learning can be fundamental in shifting our perceptions of significance. What I thought was significant in 1945, when my first work became available, was that history which only treated the Civil War as avoidable. It was a kind of nastiness arising from a poverty of statesmanship, rather than a expiation of America's fundamental, originating sin. Which is what John Quincy Adams thought it was, and said.

Which is what Albert Gallatin said it was, or would be. For them, the ugly compact that represented the origins of our political system, and its three-fifths clause, for John Quincy Adams, Gallatin, and my great grandfather, that was the significant story in American history and the Civil War was inevitable. I did not know that. Nor did it occur to me that the great tradition of American historical writing, of which Albert Gallatin, the founder of the Bureau of Ethnology, a force behind almost every major anthropological and archeological work done in this country, was important. Gallatin's perception from the onset was that the Mexican War was a race war. Hence, the Spanish American War would have been wholly intelligible to Albert Gallatin. Well, I know you know all that, but I did not in 1950. And it alters substantially the way in which I look at history.

I am suggesting, therefore, that the learning process that is the delight of the young in this room—that the capacity to reassess what is true in the light of honest learning that is disciplined, professional learning—that that delight is open to anybody at any time. It is not over. It has not even started because it is never over and it always begins. That is what revisionism is. It is thinking, reconsideration, and the reassessment of what is important.

This brings us to consider the nature and role of the professional. Among the essays, there is a perfectly smashing piece from Canada about professionals, with which I disagree paragraph by paragraph. Let me just express this view as a amateur, a perpetual amateur all my life. There is much to be said in this world for trying hard to learn something over an extended period. There is much to be said for working hard to get good at something. And quite a lot more to be said for staying consistently with a discipline that requires you to take on the lazy, the hasty, and the amateur. There is a lot to be said for the professional. A professional is simply somebody who stays with something long enough to get good at it. And it doesn't make a damn bit of difference whether they have a degree of any kind, though that's a pretty decent way of suggesting that you've gotten past other people who care about that subject with your submission to the discipline, at least for long enough to buffalo them into thinking you've thought about it. Advanced degrees are not a definition of professionalism. However, to suggest that knowledge is accessible to everyone, or that to know a complex set of facts related to complex phenomena is not important, or that it doesn't matter whether you work hard to learn something over the years, is to destroy the basis of a humane society. Because, and I have some expert knowledge of this, the current assault upon the National Park Service and system, the assault upon history, archeology, and the natural sciences arises not so much with

respect to their *conclusions*, but from their invidious knowledge. In this country, knowing something somebody else doesn't know at the *town meeting* is increasingly a bad thing, and that's not good in a society which needs good golfers, good tennis players, good historians, good adobe restorers, and good significance definers. Communities are splendid. Communities need competence.

Now, it strikes me that your delight in your exertions, your pride in the achievement of having stayed with your *professions* in innumerable ways over an extended period—that's a legitimate pride. It is just as legitimate as the pride exhibited by a member of the *corps de ballet* at the Dance Theater of Harlem. We share that pride with all other *disciplines*. We share it with Jessye Norman, with Jack Nicklaus, with that declining number of people who can use the *English language* with some degree of elegance, and it's nice to see it when we find it.

CRAMPONS, PITONS AND CURATORS

Lastly, let me suggest the relationship between custody and narrative. Alternatively, as I was just thinking about this image on the way here, the relationship between crampons, pitons, and curators. If you look at somebody spread-eagled on a rock, at, say, climbing a mountain, that person has got a foot on and a hand firmly grasping something that is very secure. Soon, another hand, or foot, is reaching out toward something that is not known. The grounding necessary for climbing a cliff or advancing a culture is to have your feet and one hand upon something tangible, specifically a place. Then you can reach for the broader context and the new perception. You can reach out to learn. Without place, specificity, and grounding, there is no continuous culture.

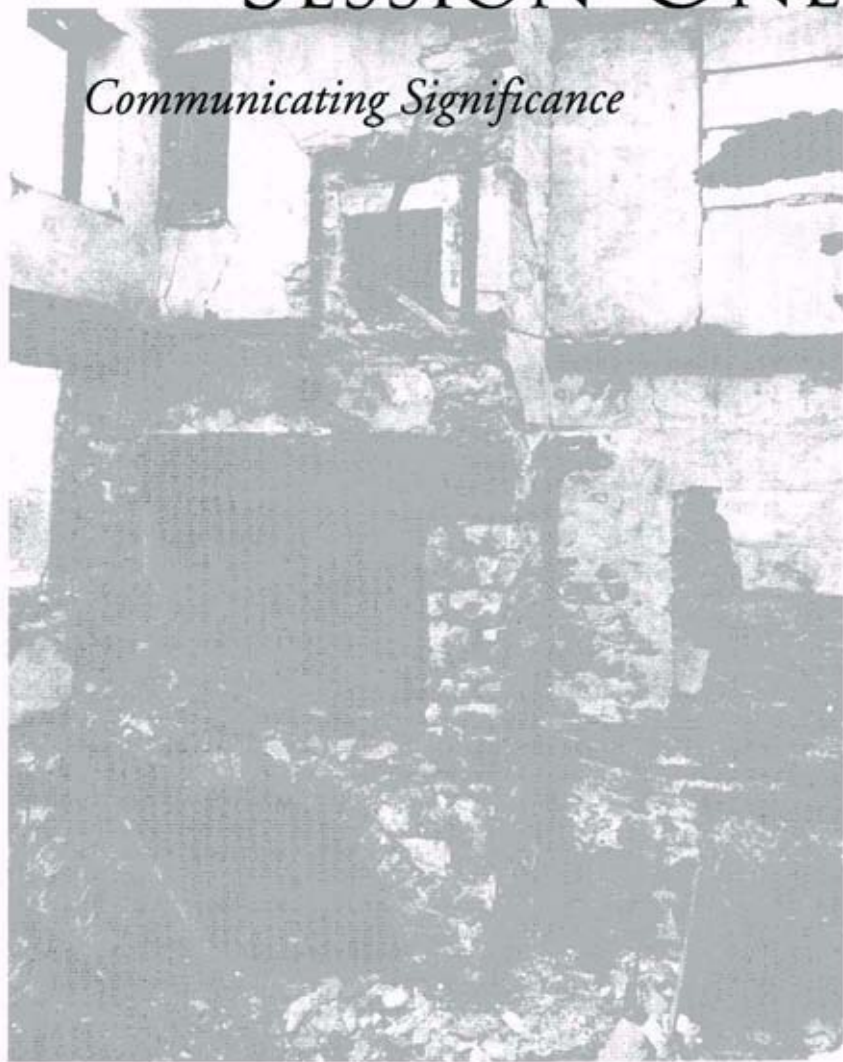
In this country, at this time, suspended as we are, somewhere amid the three modes of learning—the ether, the campus, and the place—as we continue to revise what we think is *true*, trying to base ourselves in the specific, tangible, and authentic—when we've established ourselves with some *sure-footedness*, we can then reach out for associations, connections and what used to be called relevance. Before moving, however, we had better know where we are. We had better know what it is. What the pot is. What the picture is. What the place is. Then, for two reasons, we had better reach out for the relationships of that place in the community. The two reasons are: first, that we are desperately in need of friends and the discourse in which we are all engaged today and will be tomorrow is meaningless without a constituency, without a larger number of people who care about our work and our places. We had better reach out to them. We had better reach out, in fact, not just for another place or object, but for another hand. Second, we had

better reach out for the connections to other places and things, because that is narrative. It is not sufficient for us simply to know what is significant as an isolated authenticity. It is essential that we should know how it fits. What is the story?

At the beginning and the end of the day, the question before us all is "What's the story?" And it's formed in just another way from the major question, which is "Who cares?" Without a story, nobody cares. Without a story, there will be no places kept. If nobody cares, there will be no places kept, however significant. Hence, the "reaching out," the instinct to embrace, engage, and participate seems to be based upon putting your crampons and pitons in place. So that your feet are safe. Then you can reach out.

SESSION ONE

Communicating Significance





THE RISE OF A HERITAGE PRIESTHOOD

FRITS PANNEKOEK, *Director, Historic Sites Service,
Alberta Community Development*

In October 1996 de Teel Patterson Tiller, Acting Chief, Heritage Preservation Service, the United States Department of the Interior, sent a covering letter for a lengthy document to State Historic Preservation Officers copying "Tribes, professional organizations, and other interested parties." It symbolized to me the history of the preservation movement in the last thirty years. The document's title seemed innocent enough—"The Secretary of the Interior's Historic Preservation Professional Qualification Standards." The introduction was less so. Although it concedes that the protection and preservation of "America's important historic and cultural" properties depends on citizen participation, it states without apology that "certain decisions must be made by individuals who meet nationally accepted professional standards."¹ It does not leave citizens the option to decide whether or not to obtain "professional input." The priesthood of professionals is now to be formally placed between the people and their past. Professionals no longer advise or counsel—they decide. Only professionals can now make important cultural decisions. Tiller's document then goes on to establish the criteria and bureaucratic processes for the "consecration" of the eleven chosen professions. It is the final formal step in the alienation of the people from their heritage, a process that started with the destruction and attempted resurrection of Europe's monuments in the period following the Second World War.²

Because what happens in the United States has had, and continues to have such an impact on the rest of the world, the implications of this announcement on the world heritage community are worthy of reflection. In the last thirty to forty years, issues relating to the historical significance of a community's culture have been increasingly filtered by professionals and professional bureau-



FIG. 1. A GUIDE TO SPOTTING THE HERITAGE PROFESSIONAL. REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION OF THE CROWN IN RIGHT OF ALBERTA

cracies. In the process, a community has been alienated from the decisions relating to the preservation and advancement of its culture. Professional validation (usually from outside) has become required to secure recognition and preservation of a community's heritage.¹

The implications are serious. First, since professionalization usually requires a university education, and universities tend to hold and perpetuate the beliefs of the dominant class, heritage significance must now be validated by that class. Those who have cultural values that are not those of the dominant class, or whose values are based on informally acquired knowledge, will need to hire degree-holders to provide the validity of their knowledge. This will tend to

reinforce Euro-American cultural systems of validation and significance [Fig. 1].

Second, the emphasis on the importance of professionals in determining heritage significance, and the fact that heritage plans will require professional input, means that heritage, like justice, is now a commodity that can be bought and sold, rather than a precious trust. One of the more obvious consequences of the commodification of heritage is that the advice of professionals will become subject to law and litigation. The courts of the dominant social group, rather than the community who hold the culture will become the final arbiter of heritage in the United States, and if we all follow suit, it will soon be so in much of the rest of the world.²

A third consequence will be a continuing emphasis on the physical rather than spiritual remains. While folklorists can and do assist in the preservation of the intangible, in the end bureaucracies and their servants, the professionals, will tend for the most part to focus on the material. This is easier to justify, to fund, to legislate and is in their tradition of preservation of monuments. Spiritual intangibles can be left for philosophers and the Australians.³

This process of professionalization started in the 1960s with the various UNESCO and International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) inspired charters—the Venice, Amsterdam, Vienna, Rome, and Warsaw charters and their national offspring, for example Canada's Appellon Charter, Australia's Burra Charter, and New Zealand's Aotearoa Charter.⁴ The sixteen articles of the 1964 Venice Charter in particular are today regarded as the conservationists' "commandments" since they above all indicated the importance of professionals in both determining and in preserving the cultural and natural environment. It should be noted that all of

these charters are Euro-American in origin and focus on the "great" monuments of "great" civilizations evaluated by Euro-American scholars or scholars trained in European or American material culture traditions. However it is equally important to note that these charters do not require their signatories to legalize heritage professional occupations. Rather, they are so arcane in their drafting, and so directive in how nations should deal with communities, that it is assumed that professionals will be in control of determining heritage significance and appropriate physical intervention.⁷

I believe this process, which starting with the charters and ultimately the UNESCO World Heritage Site program, did not initially intend to alienate people from their culture. Great buildings symbolizing high culture had been for the most part created for the wealthy by professionals, artisans, and laborers. These were symbols of the "best" that a culture could produce. Their preservation by state or independent professionals in the post war period was no more than an extension of existing cultural practice. If heritage was never to mean any more than this, preservation could have been left in the hands of the great restoration architects. However, this was not allowed to be.

Within ten to fifteen years after the Second World War however, a Euro-American interest in history "from the bottom up" developed. It developed a little later in Australia and New Zealand but its impact was nevertheless felt in those countries. The interest in folk culture, essentially the remains of comfortable peasant culture had its roots in the Europe of the 1880s and 1890s. The best example is Sweden's Skansen Open Air Museum in Stockholm founded in the 1870s, which now contains over 150 buildings.⁸ The best American example, Colonial Williamsburg near Richmond, Virginia, became capitalism's effort to "celebrate American independence" and "patriotism." In both instances historical selection and preservation criteria were focused on confirming the roots of the nation and finding instruments to justify national and imperialist identities. These early efforts at preservation were effected by avocationists and their professionals, who were both committed to the preservation and understanding of national culture.

Any real commitment to heritage interpretation and preservation from the "bottom up" was the product of the unrest that permeated Euro-American, Australian, and New Zealand universities throughout the 1960s and a new focus by scholars on societies' voiceless. Again, there was always the informal advocate—the professional who articulated the underdog's cause before legislatures and funding agencies. The advocates initially involved the communities themselves, but nevertheless were heirs to the same professionals and bureaucrats who had acted in the interests of those committed to the preservation of the great monuments. Only now

the ideology was different.

In Canada the most notable expression of the attempt to understand a complete society "from the bottom up" was Fortress Louisbourg. The great, reconstructed French fortress in today's Cape Breton, Nova Scotia was the first effort by Canadian preservationists to give workers a voice.² It was also Canada's first real effort to enter the twentieth century preservation movement. Much of what is happening in the heritage field in Canada today has its intellectual roots in the Louisbourg project. Perhaps that is why history "from the bottom up" has had such an impact in the Canadian preservation movement. Canada has not been home to great monuments to remind it of its obligations to commemorate the elite. Canada's monuments tended to be those created by the Kingdom (marginal defense works like forts, canals and martello towers) to thwart the republican threat from the south.

While Louisbourg may have been a project that focused on the voiceless in society, a cynic may observe that it is really Canada's attempt to create a great monument in the European tradition. In any case, the project was conceived in the 1960s during a period in which most historians were beginning to consider those other than the elite. It was admittedly easier at Louisbourg. Unlike Colonial Williamsburg or Skansen, Louisbourg did not have an obvious successor culture—a community remnant that held a strong associated folklore. What matters however is that as a result of this concern at Louisbourg, other agencies that became staffed with *ex-Louisbourg* professionals saw their mandate differently. They were to continue this ideology and include the marginalized.

If Canada, Australia, or New Zealand were to copy the new American initiative at mandatory professionalization, which they may well do since so much of their heritage practice is based on American precedent, the consequences would be serious. A generation's worth of populist public history careful nurture of community input and community rootedness will be destroyed. The fragile success of the many communities that comprise Canada could easily be lost.

Australians, Canadians, and New Zealanders with their general claim to be a more heterogeneous national culture have been aware of the consequences of the Americanization of the heritage movement. They have suggested that professionals ought to assist, but have refused to make the intercessions of professionals mandatory, particularly in the determination of historical significance. Indeed Canada has resisted a policy of legislatively driven intercession by professionals and has maintained a strong community base. Heritage values are based on directions set by communities and by their daily involvement. Admittedly this is not consistent, and

exceptions can be found, but there is enough consciousness that historical significance is felt to be a decision that is best left to the communities, not to bureaucratic professionals employed or regulated by a more single-minded nation state. Professionals assist, professionals advise, professionals do not direct.

In the new proposals directing the use of professionals, people who live their culture would no longer be qualified to interpret that culture, unless they have professional qualifications bestowed by "mainstream" society. The result is that marginal groups and cultures must be validated as such by professionals. The following example indicates the consequences of such an approach were it to have been imposed by a Canadian government. It would result in nothing less than cultural disaster. At Head Smashed In Buffalo Jump World Heritage Site, for example, the Provincial Historic Sites Service worked with the community to determine the messages that they, the community, wanted at the site. If the professionals had had absolute control, the messages would have been significantly modified.

For example, the legends surrounding the buffalo were often in conflict with what professional archaeologists determined science demanded. The legends were also at variance with the research of folklorists who found that oral traditions had changed drastically from the 1890s, when they were first collected by German anthropologists, to the 1980s when the same legends were again collected. Which legends should be used—the "true" legends of the 1890s, or the more recent and more Christianized legends of today? And even if those of 1980 were selected for interpretation, in a living culture they would change again tomorrow. The stories also differed depending on who held rights to their telling. Professionals could not have taken a role in deciding which legend was the more significant. Only the Piegan community could determine that. The interpretative planning specialist was the profession most valued by that community. The specialists did not dictate significance or context, rather they advised on an appropriate technology that could allow a culture with a strong oral tradition the flexibility to reflect these dynamics. Options were offered, and the community selected those that were most sensitive to their culture. What this did was place the experts at the service of the community.

It will be argued that archaeologists, folklorists, and anthropologists are sensitive to community concerns, after they are trained to be so, but an interesting publication involving both American and Canadian archaeologists would suggest otherwise.¹⁰ In 1991 twenty-seven archaeologists gave papers on educational programmes and public involvement in archaeology on the western plains. It is clear from these that the archaeologist wanted the public to receive information and support their quest for further public funding.

There was no intention to involve the community fully in setting priorities and in communicating findings. What was very clear was an antipathy to amateurs, as the enemy of "real" truth.

The impact of professionals on communities where they are revered can also be problematic. In a culture that values external validation by professionals, the determination of rankings by outsiders can either reinforce or denigrate the social and economic position of groups within the studied community. In East Central Alberta, for example, the involvement by senior professionals in selecting certain buildings for commemoration has isolated elements of the community whose heritage was not deemed worthy of preservation or interpretive support. Their experiences were considered of local rather than regional significance. Today, the community itself is starting to rethink the validity of its own cultural hierarchies. The point is that the "professionals" have inadvertently become social engineers. No consideration had been given to the consequences of creating hierarchies of historical significance within communities [Fig. 2].

In Alberta we have consciously attempted to avoid the perils of professionalization. Professionals are experts at the beck and call of the community, not misguided social engineers. Individuals and their community determine historical significance—not professional historians or heritage architects, although they do have input.¹¹

The criteria used for the base selection of cultural and natural resources are very similar to those used by the Department of the Interior, or the United Nations—indeed there is little difference. Where there is a difference is in their application. Alberta's heritage legislation vests ownership of all subsurface heritage resources in the Crown. It also gives the Crown the right to unilaterally designate and monitor resources it deems of significance to all Albertans. Where resources are designated by the Province, they can only be altered with permission of the Minister or his designate, usually the most senior appointed public servant, the Assistant Deputy Minister of the Historical Resources Division, who is more often than not also the most senior professional. This would seem to give the professionals a position of influence that only the most naïve American heritage professional could dream about.

Prudent consideration acknowledges however that legislation can only be applied consistently with public concurrence. Alberta

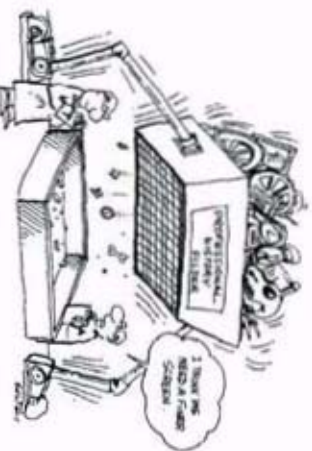


FIG. 2. THE PROFESSIONAL FILTER
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has the usual Master Plan for the preservation of its heritage resources. It was developed jointly with the communities that comprise Alberta. Individuals or communities now make all suggestions for designations to the Historic Sites Service, an agency of the Crown in right of the Province of Alberta. The individuals are encouraged but not required to work with community or staff historians in their submissions. The historians and architects within the Service evaluate the submission, and negotiate considered changes with the community. Once that has been completed, the professionals make a formal recommendation to the Assistant Deputy Minister as to whether designation should take place. If the Assistant Deputy Minister rejects the nomination, the individual or the community has the opportunity to plead its case before a citizens appeals board. It has consistently been the practice of the Province to appoint respected citizens to the appeals board rather than professionals, to avoid domination of heritage by a small group of experts. The Board encourages communities to come forward to debate the issues. Because the Board is not composed of frighteningly erudite professionals, more often than not a community consensus is found during the Board's discussions. The process is informal and supportive, rather than evaluative and judicial.

Similarly the Crown can order historical resource impact assessments by anyone who might potentially impact subsurface heritage resources. Here and only here, developers must hire licensed archaeologists or paleontologists. The Crown also strongly encourages developers to solicit opinions from surrounding communities to determine what they might consider important. The Province reviews the reports generated by the professionals, and can and often does order either avoidance or additional work by the developer. Should the developer ever feel the requirement unjust he can also appeal to the board of citizens. Interestingly, none have ever done so.

The process of citizen involvement began during Canada's 1967 centennial when virtually every community undertook a local history. These local histories spawned an incredible interest in Canada's heritage and cultures. Most were not done by professionals and some still argue that they have absolutely no redeeming value. However, the process of compilation created in each community a sense of pride and knowledge about their own past. Where communities commissioned "professional" historians, and a few did, the connection with community was rarely made. These volumes rarely gained credibility with their communities. Their own searches into their past, however, caused communities to then consider their built environments and to solicit expert support in their preservation.

The spirit continues to live. Recently, when the Province asked

if communities were interested in actively participating in a new provincial highway historical point of interest sign programme, more than 70 per cent indicated real support. In 1994 when the inventory of Historic Buildings similarly canvassed municipalities for their support to upgrade the inventory, all volunteered with their time and talents. Similarly communities, whether they are friends organizations or interest groups, are all invited to be part of exhibitions at museums, working together in selecting themes and determining directions. Consequently the heritage preservation and interpretation system is a continuing process of interactions, with no one person or group having a monopoly on "the truth."

The perils of unfettered professionalism with only nominal community input are obvious. The "Out of the Heart of Africa"

DO YOU THINK THAT WHATEVER THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY BELIEVE ABOUT THE PAST MUST BE TRUE BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE IT? THAT IS A DIFFICULT QUESTION. I THINK A SYNERGY SHOULD EXIST BETWEEN PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY, AND WORKING TOGETHER, THEY WILL ACHIEVE A TRUTH. SOMETIMES THERE IS CONFLICT, BUT NOT NECESSARILY. AN EXAMPLE I USE IN SOUTHERN ALBERTA IS THAT THE CANADIAN COMMUNITY PARTY WAS FOUNDED IN CROW'S NEST PASS. THE PEOPLE THERE NOW VOTE CONSERVATION, A PARTY OF THE RIGHT IN ALBERTA. YET IT TOOK VERY LITTLE DISCUSSION WITHIN THE COMMUNITY TO BRING OUT THOSE MEMORIES. EVENTUALLY THEY WERE COMMEMORATED. IF THE COMMUNITY HAD DECIDED, COLLECTIVELY, THAT WAS NOT PART OF THEIR PAST, WOULD WE HAVE IMPOSED IT UPON THEM? NO.

open and academics and communities are brought together, even the most radical interpretations can be successful and community driven. At a fur trade site in Alberta, after a three day symposium which involved Canada's leading fur trade scholars, representatives from the First Nations and members of the surrounding communities, it was decided that the site should be interpreted entirely through the eyes of an Aboriginal woman. She was the link between two peoples, and the creator of a third. The interpretation ended up being strong, focused, and feminist. Most important it was supported by professional and community. Had the same themes been selected and imposed by the academics, there would have been a riot. Instead, there was insight, acceptance, and dialogue.

THE CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL MOSAIC AND THE CONCEPT OF SIGNIFICANCE

ELIZABETH A. LYON, *Retired Georgia State Historic Preservation Officer*
RICHARD C. CLOVES, *Georgia Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer*



FIG. 1. NOBLE HILL SCHOOL, CARSBVILLE VICINITY, BARTOW COUNTY, GA. ALL PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES B. LOCKHART, GA. DEPT. OF NATIONAL RESOURCES.

For the historic preservation movement, the concept of significance has functioned as the means to establish the value of historic places and to motivate people to save them. Consider the Noble Hill School, a 1923 Roosevelt School for black children, which sat deteriorating until the National Register process helped the community

to understand its significance to the education of many of its African-American residents and to preserve its particular historic character [Fig. 1]. In contrast is a cluster of rock stacks in a field in a rapidly growing suburban area that has been surveyed by archaeologists and used to momentarily stop development, but whose significance is uncertain and whose permanent preservation is in doubt [Fig. 2, 3]. In another



contrasting example, preservation professionals in both the State Historic Preservation Office and the Georgia Department of Transportation agreed that Gadi, an 1890s railroad



FIG. 2 & 3. ROCK STACKS, PARKS-STINGLAND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE, GWINNETT COUNTY, GA.

town in southeast Georgia, met the criteria for the National Register [Fig. 4, 5, 6]. Yet, almost the entire population of this small town came out to a public meeting to disavow any historic significance for this place and push for a four-lane road through its center. Where there has been a shared public understanding of the



FIG. 4. GARRI, WAYNE COUNTY, GA

value of historic properties, as there was at the Noble Hill School, historic preservation is successful: where their perceived value is uncertain, misunderstood, or contested, they are often lost.¹

Today, we are facing a situation where the methodology² which we have developed since the National Historic Preservation Act was passed in 1966, that of using the National Register process to bring about consensus among professionals and the larger community about what is worthy of preservation, may be breaking down. Thirty years ago, when the National Register was first expanded to accept properties of state and local significance, there was a shared, almost intuitive understanding among a relatively small preservation population about what was important: large, high-style houses, and places associated with national heroes and events of politics and war. This is clear from a review of the early National Register nominations where, in Georgia as in many other states, high-style mansions predominate. Now, we recognize vernacular architecture, social history, cultural diversity, and intangible traditions and beliefs. The universe of properties considered to be significant has grown, the methodologies used to validate growth, and the constituency of users and affected groups has broadened.³ As a result, we now face a situation in which there are an increasing number of people with increasingly different points of view, whose opinions are being brought to bear on an increased number and type of properties. This raises critical questions not only for preservation practice but also for the way in which the American people perceive their history and therefore what they choose to preserve.⁴

How have we arrived at this dilemma where the concept of significance that gives value to historic places seems to be, on the one hand, increasingly refined and sophisticated, and yet, on the other hand, may be in danger of becoming dysfunctional as the operative force for historic preservation? In a very real sense our success may be responsible. As practicing historians we are often not able nor willing to devote the time to examine the history of our



FIG. 5. GARRI, WAYNE COUNTY, GA



FIG. 6. GARRI, WAYNE COUNTY, GA

movement, yet the understanding of our present dilemma lies in our own history of preservation practice. Since the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act, the nationwide preservation field has largely determined the significance of historic properties by using the National Register criteria and evaluation process. Over this period, interest in historic preservation and our appreciation of historic places have grown with advances in scholarship and with the broadening of our constituency. We have accommodated this growth through what might be termed a "consensus" approach to determining significance for the resources of a much larger and diverse constituency. We have used established criteria and documentation standards as our basis, but brought together in the evaluation process the various interest groups, experts, users, and the public. While the criteria have remained constant, the methods of inquiry, analysis, and documentation have not. The increasingly complex issues raised by an ever-larger universe of properties, places, and points of view can be seen in examples from one state's preservation program that appear to be representative of developments nationwide.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MONUMENT TO TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTY

For many years we have depended upon scientific analysis to determine the significance of archaeological sites and historical scholarship to document historic buildings and landscapes. Now we are being challenged to accept, almost at face value, the significance of traditional cultural properties whose importance may be grounded in beliefs and the testimony of oral traditions. Compare two types of properties in the same geographical area considered significant for their association with the Muscogee



FIG. 7. OCMULGEE MOUNDS NATIONAL MONUMENT, MACON, BIRMINGHAM COUNTY, GA.

Creek Indian Nation and its antecedents. The Ocmulgee Mounds National Historic Monument, established in 1934, has long been recognized for its prehistoric associations [Fig. 7]. Not only the presence of large earthen structures but also archaeological investigation and research have identified physical features that have been analyzed and evaluated to determine the significance of this site.⁴ Nearby, in wetlands now slated for a highway, are the Ocmulgee Old Fields, only recently identified by the Creek Nation as the

"Cradle of the Muscogee Creek Confederacy," antecedent to the Muscogee (Creek) Nation. According to Muscogee Creek tradition, this wetland area is where Muscogee Creek tribal towns formed the sacred union of the Muscogee Confederacy.⁵ We see here a new scenario, one in which new methods of inquiry and analysis and an expanding constituency's cultural traditions have played a part. We also see a lack of understanding by present community leaders who only see empty land standing between them and the economic benefits of a new highway. It is only historic preservation regulations that have forced consideration of the possible cultural values of this area, and community leaders resent this attention to a place where they can see no apparent significance.⁶

INDIVIDUAL BUILDINGS TO CULTURAL LANDSCAPES: IS THE GLASS HALF EMPTY OR HALF FULL?

Initially, preservation professionals and activists concentrated only on determining the significance of individual buildings or sites, or groups of adjacent buildings whose connection was obvious. Now we are also concerned about entire landscapes, where the spatial

relationships among structures and the spaces between the buildings and sites are important determinants of their historic character. We consider these spaces not as "empty" areas between farmhouses and plantation buildings, but recognize them as the very essence of a rural landscape's spatial fabric. Twenty years ago we were considering the elegant Nichols-Hardman House and other very early historic houses in a scenic valley in the North Georgia mountains for National Register listing [Fig. 8]. It soon became apparent that a part of the significance of the buildings derived from their settings, and their relationship to each other through the history of the settlement of the entire area and its geography. Through the National Register listing and a preservation plan the viewshed concept, new to preservationists at the time, elucidated the significance of the spaces and natural features, bringing a fuller understanding of this historic place. This has also been an important concept in the preservation actions that have followed, with certain locations identified where development can take place without jeopardizing the



FIG. 8. NICHOLS-HARDMAN
HOUSE, NACOGEE
COUNTY, GA

historic character of the valleys. Unfortunately, highway engineers, who find this idea of significant spaces and settings difficult to accept, replaced a simple wooden bridge over a small stream in the district with the latest technology, that is, a four-lane bridge bounded

by Jersey barriers. That such a structure could have an adverse effect on the district was not apparent to them at that time [Fig. 9, 10].⁷

Many years later, in another rural landscape recently added to the National Register, the State Historic Preservation Office is facing a similar issue. McLemore's Cove is an almost pristine valley near the northwest Georgia border that played an important role in the Civil War battles for Chattanooga and that shows the importance of dairy farming to the history of this part of the state [Fig. 11, 12]. Yet, we face a battle once again with the bridge builders over a structure that is to replace a non-historic bridge. A new, Jersey-barrier, four-lane construction, even though it does not destroy historic fabric, will be a substantially large intrusion into the historic spatial character of the valley that the smaller, simpler existing bridge is not.⁸ Yet, the highway engineers persist in seeing only "empty space" in this area.

Again, new ideas about significance supported by the National Register criteria and process have greatly expanded our view of what should be considered worthy of preservation. Those who appreciate the recognition provided by National Register listing for McLemore's Cove include Civil War preservation groups, descendants of slaves who worked the land and who now

hold reunions there, residents seeking to protect the integrity of their lands and surroundings, farmers trying to maintain their family farms, tourism promoters, and the National Park Service which leads tours to the area from nearby Chickamauga Chattanooga National Battlefield.



FIG. 11. MCLEMORE'S COVE, WALKER COUNTY, GA



FIG. 12. MCLEMORE'S COVE, WALKER COUNTY, GA



FIG. 9. NACOOCHEE VALLEY, NACOOCHEE WHITE COUNTY, GA



FIG. 10. HIGHWAY BRIDGE

VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE: TYPES ARE SUFFICIENT, OR SIGNIFICANCE BY FIAT.

Perhaps more familiar to most practicing professional preservationists are the scenarios where the National Register criteria assign similar value to ordinary, everyday, representative properties as



FIG. 13. LAPHAM-PATTERSON HOUSE, THOMASVILLE, THOMAS COUNTY, GA

joins several similar vernacular Georgia farmhouses in the National Register [Fig. 14].⁸ The recent and growing interest in vernacular architecture responds to this concern with the representative rather than the singular nature of buildings and landscapes. Yet, many individuals involved with historic preservation, including some members of the Georgia National Register Review Board, remain perplexed over the equivalency in value between these two types of resources.



FIG. 14. GULEY-GURLEY HOUSE, HART COUNTY

WHAT IS A BUNGALOW? A BUNGALOW IS WHAT PEOPLE CALL A BUNGALOW, WHICH TONY KING CONCLUDED IN ONE OF A FEW INTERNATIONAL STUDIES WE HAVE OF A HOUSE TYPE. IT IS ALSO A UNIQUE PHENOMENON FROM A SOCIAL DIMENSION, IN THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY MANY BUNGALOWS PROVIDED PEOPLE OF RELATIVELY MODERATE MEANS A HOUSE THAT COULD BE CELEBRATED IN ITS OWN RIGHT. PREVIOUSLY, OFTEN A HOUSE TRIED TO IMITATE A BIGGER AND FANCIER HOUSE. YOU CAN LOOK THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AT BLUE-COLLAR SUBURBS THAT WERE DEVELOPED IN THE 1920S FILLED WITH BUNGALOWS AND THEY ARE A WHOLE NEW WORLD.

THE RANCH HOUSE IS THAT, SEVERAL FOLD OVER. IT IS ALSO A NONRENEWABLE RESOURCE. YOU HAVE TO BE BLIND TO REALIZE WE CANNOT AFFORD TO USE LAND THE WAY IT WAS IN THE 1950S. IT IS NOT JUST THE FUNNY DOORKNobs OR THE LINOLEUM KITCHEN, OR WHATEVER, THE LITTLE THINGS—ALTHOUGH THAT, TOO, IS APPEALING TO SOME PEOPLE—IT IS ALSO A FACT THAT WE ARE DEALING, IN MANY OF THESE CASES, WITH RESOURCES WE, AS A CULTURE, CANNOT RENEW AGAIN. THAT SPEAKS TO THE PAST AS MUCH AS IT SPEAKS TO THE PRESENT.

Bungalow houses raise similar concerns [Fig. 15, 16]. Bungalows are the most numerous type of historic house in Georgia, all very much the same from an architectural point of view. Some are high style, usually with Craftsman details, but most are "plain" vernacular. Clearly by their sheer numbers they represent something significant to the state's history, whether architecturally or socially and culturally. However, their history and significance are not clearly understood, especially by the general public which simply considers them to be the place where they live, and highway engineers, community development planners, and housing specialists who view them as nothing out of the ordinary [Fig. 17, 18].¹⁸

So much emphasis has been placed on developing typologies of historic vernacular buildings that we find ourselves in the situation of determining a building significant by simple virtue of its being recognizable as a type: is this enough? Sound as it is, this rather academic approach is somewhat distant from non-academics who live and work in these houses and does not provide much in the way of impetus for their preservation. Their social and cultural associations, as of now largely unstudied, might enliven them and make the argument for their preservation more compelling. Consider that in only a decade, preservation professionals will be faced with ranch house subdivisions that will reach the fifty year-old mark. We used to enjoy agitating our colleagues in the DOT with that thought, but the prospect of the very logical extension of our ideas about the significance of the vernacular architecture and landscape to all those ranch subdivisions raises questions for all of us.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN RESOURCES— "HODGE-PODGE" OR HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT

Two decades ago, when faced with photographs of a few ordinary looking houses located in an area slated for demolition and new housing, our SHPO review staff responded to the federal agency's request for comments with "No



FIG. 15. BUNGALOW HOUSE,
CHEROKEE HEIGHTS, MACON, GA



FIG. 16. BUNGALOW HOUSE,
MARTIN, STEPHENS COUNTY, GA



FIG. 17. BUNGALOW HOUSE,
REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE, GA



FIG. 18. BUNGALOW HOUSE,
CHEROKEE HEIGHTS, MACON, GA

Apparent Significance." Repeated and almost identical review requests for additional houses in the same neighborhood suggested the uncomfortable possibility that an historic neighborhood was being gradually destroyed, but its significance was not apparent. Only after the completion of a statewide historic context study by the SHPO did the significance and character-defining features of such resources become clear. What at first appeared to be a jumble of different building types clearly represented an historic multi-use social and economic community shaped by racial segregation. The National Register listing for the Pleasant Hill Historic District in Macon demonstrates how better understanding of the history and



FIG. 19 PLEASANT HILL
HISTORIC DISTRICT,
MACON, BIBB COUNTY GA

development of resource types leads to a more valid assessment of their value [Fig. 19]. This very large area on the edge of the earlier established "In-town Historic District" had largely been ignored by the very active preservation movement in Macon until the local preservation organization became concerned about the community's minority heritage. Using the guidance in the *Historic Black Resources* handbook, the context for the state's African-American historic properties, a survey was com-

pleted with community input and assistance. The National Register nomination that followed clearly established the significance of the area in relation to the larger history of Macon and the state.¹¹

This neighborhood and many other similarly unrecognized black historic districts were subsequently evaluated using the traditional methodology based on the architectural characteristics of historic buildings and the physical characteristics of residential and business environments but within their larger historic context. The National Register Criteria allowed them to be seen as genuine representations of historic environments that took their distinctive form from the forces that shaped them.¹² Later, when the State Historic Preservation Office conducted a series of African-American heritage workshops across the state, we learned that many African-Americans value their historic places more for their associative and even symbolic values. Such views suggest values that are now being assigned one of the National Register's latest concepts, traditional cultural properties.¹³

African-American churches present a real conundrum that illustrates how the "associational" dimension of historic properties leads to a situation where customary interpretations of physical integrity may prevent understanding of the more symbolic values of



properties [Fig. 20, 21]. We traditionally have assigned greater value to abandoned churches because their original or older buildings have survived, while active churches have

FIG. 20 GREEN GROVE
BAPTIST AFRICAN
AMERICAN CHURCH,
STEWART COUNTY, GA

been excluded because they have "lost their integrity" through re-modeling and new construction. These often-enlarged and rebuilt structures may be perceived by their congregations as the same place whose history should be recognized. This is especially poignant in the many cases where a thriving congregation bricks up an old wooden church in an attempt to make it more enduring, symbolically if not actually, and are refused listing in the Register.¹⁴ Cases such as the White Bluff congregation which worships in its intact late nineteenth-century building in rural coastal Georgia, next door to its preserved original simple wooden structure built by former slaves, are rare [Fig. 22].¹⁵ How should preservation practice react to these situations?



FIG. 21. MT. ZION BAPTIST
CHURCH, MARIETTA, COBB
COUNTY, GA



FIG. 22. WHITE BLUFF CHURCH, NICHOLSONSBORO, CHATHAM COUNTY, GA

CONCLUSIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR PRESERVATION PROFESSIONALS

The National Register Criteria and evaluation process have functioned well for thirty years to determine the significance of an ever-wider range of properties representing a continually broadening constituency. They have allowed us to respond to both the physical character and the cultural and historical associations of historic properties by using the perspectives of many disciplines; applying innovative and non-traditional methods of inquiry and analysis, and working to achieve consensus. We are now struggling to hold this greater diversity together and becoming concerned about how far both the criteria and the process can be "stretched." We are finding that everything and every place may in fact be important to *somebody*; all of these places may be significant in some frame of reference to someone. Some may be important to everyone, but there seems to be less and less common ground. This situation leads to the oft-heard charge that preservation professionals consider everything to be significant to someone in a pluralistic society.

In addition, there often is no general consensus between professional preservation practitioners, interest groups, and users on the significance of historic places or on their meaning for contemporary life. We see the potential loss of credibility in our increasingly refined and specialized approaches to the issue of significance and preservation value, instead of broader support for preservation based on demonstrated significance, shared values and mutual interests. All indications point to the continuation of the trend toward increasing diversity. Additional special-interest groups, for example, those interested in the recent past and women's history, continue to emerge, and the Internet brings the potential for everyone to weigh in on the issues.

WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE? TWO VIEWS

Two possible views on the future are apparent. In one, the various components of the preservation constituency continue the trend toward more and isolated special interest groups. This produces the very real danger that the preservation movement will fracture along the fault lines of significance interpretations. The other view is built upon the potential for an enriched and more inclusive picture of American history.¹⁶ Unfortunately, there is increasingly no common view of what that picture should be, which leads to the question: can the traditional criteria and process for determining significance continue to serve the increasingly diverse world of historic preservation? It is an especially important question because to accomplish preservation we have to influence people, and in some situations

force them, to take certain actions. In so doing, we have to be convincing that historic places are significant and worthy of preservation.

We can do this by continuing to use the National Register Criteria and the current consensus process, however unwieldy it may become, and learn to live with the complications. However, successful efforts to involve citizens and public officials in the process of surveying, researching, and evaluating historic resources require the time and commitment of many people and considerable professional assistance, and we do not know how far into the future of a community its impact extends. Another possibility would be a type of plurality system using minimum performance standards and some form of validation by a recognized group of scholars or interested parties. Preservation would be achieved by laws and regulations, without concern for either public understanding or the larger context.



FIG. 23. COMMUNITY
CELEBRATION, MYON HOTEL,
TIFTON, TIFT COUNTY, GA

Or, we can approach the challenge by developing a shared understanding of our collective history. To do this, we must conduct rigorous analysis and develop a synthesis of the growing body of data that has been created not only by academic research but also by the professional preservation programs in each state. Then we must continue to search for and implement effective programs that can make such a synthesis available and apparent to all. Some careful and scholarly analysis of our previous efforts at heritage education and community consensus building is needed. We must strengthen the base that has been provided by the concept of significance for the past thirty years. This is the serious and difficult task that faces us [Fig. 23].

We believe that historic and cultural significance must continue to be the driving force in establishing the value and thereby the basis for the preservation of historic properties. We must keep in mind, however, that if the concept of significance does not translate readily into coordinated preservation action, then no matter how philosophically or academically sound it may be, it will not succeed. The value of historic properties must be publicly evident and based on a valid understanding of history, one that takes into account the richness and diversity of the American experience and displays a place in history for all our citizens. To be effective, we must achieve a consensus for preservation based on everyone's ability to see and appreciate the richness of the historic resources that make up the mosaic of American communities.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE IN AN ENTERTAINMENT ORIENTED SOCIETY

STEPHEN C. GORDON, *Survey & National Register Manager,
Ohio Historic Preservation Office*

This past October, amidst great fanfare, Roy Rogers, Jr. announced the construction in California of Rogersdale, USA, a 241,000 square foot theme retail center. Described as a "one-of-a-kind shop that will exemplify the West," the new enterprise is designed to follow three themes: the early California mission era, the old West, and the 1950s. Artists' drawings of the complex show a weathered church, a lagoon, and a Mexican village. "In the western-wear shops, you will be able to see a guy making cowboy hats," said Rogers. "We want to show kids there was a time in life when things were a little simpler, maybe a little better."

HISTORY: REAL OR CONTRIVED?

History, it seems, is increasingly a choice between a real and a contrived past [Fig. 1]. And, for many Americans, the medium has become the message. Given the fact the shopping experience is now considered more important than the actual merchandise, it is no wonder veteran news journalist Dan Rather has lamented the harsh reality that

"entertainment value is now greater than news value." Much the same can be said about the role of history in today's culture. *Outside* magazine reported one tourist family at the Grand Canyon actually asked a Park Service ranger whether the canyon was lit up at night. Even President Clinton's use

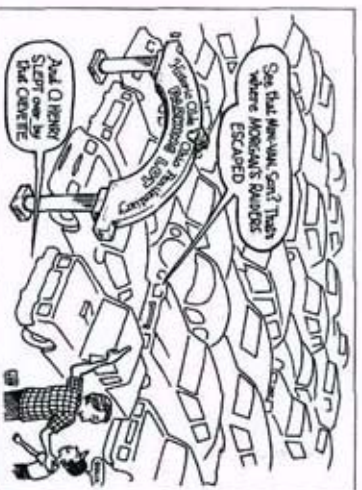


FIG. 1. "AMERICA'S REAL
PAST IS INCREASINGLY
HARD TO FIND."
COURTESY COLUMBUS
LANDMARKS ASSOCIATIONS

of White House bedrooms for rich campaign contributors seems to epitomize the growing marketability of history. Learning has become a matter of individual choice and assertions, a marketplace view of thought without thinkers.

In a sound-bite society that is increasingly history-ignorant, how can historical significance be conveyed, let alone understood and appreciated? More importantly, is historic significance even relevant in a culture where entertainment and recreation are given priority over civic involvement? Eighty-two percent of 18-24 year-olds reported attending a movie in 1995, while only 33 percent had visited a historic park or monument.⁹ For historians and historic preservationists, mass entertainment, such as provided by Disney, and its influence on history, reveal much about the passions and curiosities of a people at a particular time. One of the great challenges facing historic preservationists is how to "democratize" historical significance without turning history into a street carnival. In the case of heritage tourism, the difficulty lies in how to incorporate history into a "product" without negatively impacting the historic resources themselves and the visitation experience. This paper will attempt to examine these issues while proposing several views of how the notion of historical significance, particularly as it relates to people and the built environment, can be more effectively communicated and comprehended.¹⁰

The man-made portion of the American cultural landscape believed to be historically significant is widely associated with the National Register of Historic Places. While the net result of National Register designations has for the past 30 years been a positive tool in increasing awareness about historical significance, it is the process that seems to draw growing criticism from segments within the general public and among public officials. Rarely is criticism voiced over the National Register criteria *per se*, which has stood the test of time quite well. Rather it has been the application of the criteria that engenders confusion and resentment. It disturbs me that part of this concern reflects a growing sentiment against what is perceived to be unnecessary government "regulation" and the simplistic rhetoric generated by property rights advocates. Nevertheless, since perception often is greater than reality, preservationists would be well advised to cultivate a more favorable political climate and stronger constituent base for historic designations. Historical significance needs to be better integrated into the planning, budgeting and governance of every community.¹¹ Historic designations such as those provided by the National Register of Historic Places and local landmark programs should give more consideration to landmarking based on local priorities. SHPOs and local commissions need to elicit more input from people regarding

what it is they value in their communities. This may require a reexamination of current federal preservation programs that have changed little since their inception in 1966. Ultimately, what is needed is a designation process that is more comprehensible to a wider audience and interpretations of significance more tolerant of changes in taste and fashion. For instance, while repulsive to many preservationists, artificial siding seldom evokes great concern to most people when asked to name their community's historic landmarks.⁵

I applaud James Howard Kunstler when he argues that educated people need to abandon what he calls a culture of quantification and create a culture of quality. Why dwell on the number of properties of a certain type or style that are already listed on the National Register? Is there really a need, some ask, to designate more examples of a particular style? Such a quota system for significance reminds me of President Reagan's infamous quip that if you've seen one redwood, you've seen them all. For some reason certain professionals believe listing too many properties on the National Register diminishes the integrity of the program and, by extension, history itself. It reminds me of the old gold standard argument: if we don't back up the currency with gold, money will become worthless. On the contrary, setting arbitrary quotas for what is significant is fallacious. Who determines quotas and where? If a community is told their locally important example of a railroad depot is insignificant because better examples exist in other towns, then local significance becomes a victim of censure. I have yet to receive a call from a constituent complaining their community has too many historically significant properties listed on the National Register.

NEEDED: A COMMITTED CITIZENRY

Most preservation success stories are based on an involved and committed citizenry.⁶ Without local involvement and participation, historic preservation will ultimately fail in building a broad base of community support. Significant resources may still be identified and documented, but they will not be preserved. History is more than just pretty, neatly painted buildings. Real history is not just a part of history, but the whole of history, warts and all. Ideally, if people have a clear understanding of what and where their locally significant places are, meaningful history will emerge [Fig. 2]. Local history and grass roots input are the *sine qua non* of communicating significance. Antoinette Lee tells us that without a meaningful



FIG. 2. HISTORIC FARMSTEADS ARE A SOURCE OF PRIDE. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY TIM REEVES.

involvement of cultural groups, historic preservation will not realize the solid public support needed for political action. Community involvement increases history's visibility, creates new opportunities for further designations, garners more community trust, and ultimately generates more goodwill. In turn, the constituency for historic preservation becomes much broader, while entire aspects of culture such as the arts, music, literature, and folklore are afforded more exposure and, hopefully, wider appreciation. If no public consensus exists to support the significance of a property, it is difficult to raise funds, pass protective legislation, and instill a meaningful pride of place.⁷

Heritage tourism, one of the nation's top growth industries, is defined as "that which a past generation has preserved and handed on to the present and which a significant group of population wishes to hand on to the future."⁸ Heritage areas educate residents and visitors about community history, traditions and the environment. Preservation efforts based on historic districts and heritage areas provide broader grass-roots benefits than museums and heritage villages. I am greatly concerned about the excessive promotion of a few select shrines at the expense of the rest of our history and historic built environment. Elitism excludes the heritage of most of us and creates a distorted picture of our culture and society that may be based on the interests and values of a relative few.⁹ Similarly, historical tokenism can become a sort of quota system whereby those properties not on "the list" are perceived as being of little significance to the community. In his acclaimed study *Nature's Metropolis. Chicago and the Great West*, historian William Cronon argues it is more important how we treat our own living spaces than setting aside special areas we call wilderness. I believe this idea has some meaningful corollaries for historic preservation. We face the risk there is too much emphasis in American society on the setting aside of special historical places and nature preserves while ignoring our own histories and backyards. Rather than transform the historical landscape into museums, we should find ways to make what Christopher Tunnard calls cultural patrimony an integral part of daily life. *Futurists* tell us messages increasingly will be presented to people in their own environment as opposed to places where natural and cultural resources are located.¹⁰ By preserving and appreciating each community's history *in situ*, heritage education and heritage tourism can generate economic development while at the same time instilling community pride. Care must be taken when using history as a development tool to ensure the places are not misrepresented or negatively impaired. True, there are dangers lurking in heritage tourism, but even a sanitized, "Disneyfied" heritage has some virtues—better a misinformed enjoyment of history than none at all.¹¹

THE NEED TO BE MORE INCLUSIVE

Having said this, the process of determining historical significance, at least at the local level, should strive to be more inclusive. Each voice is essential to the story, but when only one voice is heard, problems arise. Heritage tourism efforts have been successful when it invests in a deliberative public process providing a hearing and a forum for every voice to be heard.¹² Making tangible connections between historic sites and people, events, and trends in a community are integral. All of us in this room can recall events when historical significance was deemed secondary to the public will. One politically astute SHPO has privately stated if there is no support for preserving a historic property in a community, preservationists should not argue against the will of the people. Yet many historic preservationists caution those who rely too heavily on citizen input and local expertise. Ostensibly, placing too much reliance on citizen control over historical designation can have serious limitations. Local boosters tend to exaggerate the true significance of single properties while undervaluing or overlooking entire neighborhoods of property types. Some communities preserve "sacred narratives," and altering such stories is perceived as an act of heresy.¹³ In a perfect world, each culture and subculture is aware of its past and what remnants of that past should be preserved. But what if a culture is essentially history ignorant? Can we truly expect the citizens of that culture to know, let alone recognize that which is significant and worthy of preserving? I need not remind this audience, but I will for emphasis, that great damage has been done to America's cities and their historic sites as a result of cultural amnesia. Frankly, self-proclaimed "history experts" do not have the skills to analyze large bodies of information, and may render interpretations that are based more on emotion than reason. We should never accept any statement or source of information at face value.¹⁴

It is not surprising Calvin of the Calvin and Hobbes comic strip lamented the fact "big picture people rarely become historians." Indeed, myopia is a common trap. History and the built environment should never be viewed or evaluated in isolation. Patterns of association and relationships to groups and individuals, not uniqueness, ought to be our guiding considerations. Properties and places should be carefully evaluated through identified historic contexts and assessed according to a written criteria, whether federal, state, or local.¹⁵ Educational information developed by the local community—combined with accepted significance standards—provides an effective buffer against misrepresentation. Frequently it becomes the responsibility of the professional to identify and protect certain resource types that may not have received widespread public appreciation. To establish genuine links between community identity and

the built environment, we need to preserve not only the exceptional, but also the representative. Some of the more common examples of the latter include industrial complexes, worker housing, ethnic neighborhoods, engineering structures, and designed landscapes [Fig. 3]. For the historian, it is the hunt for and interpretation of

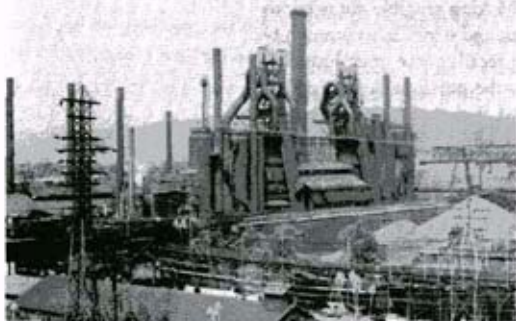


FIG. 3. WEIRTON STEEL,
LAFORTE IRON WORKS,
STUBENVILLE, OHIO.
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY
MARK STOCKMAN

physical objects, illuminating both ordinary and extraordinary events in the evolution of a community, institution, or individual, that is the foremost challenge. Another major task before us is not only to recognize the historical significance of a wide range of resources, but also to acknowledge buildings from the more recent past as legitimately historical. At the very least, a representative sample of the built record over time should be preserved.¹⁶

Left exclusively to their own devices, local decision-makers and developers will likely fall into the trap of the pretty building syndrome and Dollywood developments.

If historic preservation has and still remains tainted by elitism, historic sites are also threatened by misguided promotion. Americans want to preserve the monuments of good times and admired people. Satisfying this need are hagiographic accounts and mythology, which often distort true historical significance. Unfounded legends, though seemingly harmless and amusing over cocktail party discussions, tend to inspire more legends as pride in myths such as the Underground Railroad contribute to the growth of the legend. Some stories are so dear that historians who attempt to alter them often pay a price in their professional and personal lives. And then there is the dilemma when the myth itself becomes significant history. It doesn't seem to matter that John Howard Payne, author of "Home Sweet Home," was a lifelong bachelor and traveler, and William Henry Harrison, elected as the "log cabin president," was born in a Georgian style mansion in Virginia. The real problem arises when significance ignores or glosses over the negative and unpleasant aspects of history. This occurs because individuals usually reject history that brings bad memories but protect what they cease to resent.¹⁷ But not everybody can enjoy everything all the time. Beware of historical spin doctors, for not only do they tell us what to think, they are now trying to tell us what we already think. Educated visitors usually have a sense of an area's history and will not accept contrived representations of that history. Today's more educated travelers find the best experiences

combine education and entertainment.¹⁸ Places should be allowed to remain themselves; so let's leave the unfashionable alone and avoid gimmicks. People are interested in what happened and the stories behind genuine historic places. History is not a list of what happened but a story about what happened.¹⁹ Still, newly constructed historical villages like Rogersdale outnumber extant survivals, and old buildings are moved and restored rather than left *in situ*. It is incumbent upon professionals to remind people that false reconstruction undermines the preservation ethic and confuses the public's understanding of authenticity.²⁰ The casualness of our culture is reinforced by trends that hold that truth doesn't exist in the real world. Voices, stories, and narratives are important. If it plays well, who cares if it is true or not.²¹ One reviewer of a recent film noted there ought to be a warning to distinguish cinematic truth from historical fact. "Like cornflakes, films purveying history could list ingredients: 60 percent fiction, 40 percent truth".²²

THE ROLE OF THE PROFESSIONAL

The role of the professional is not one of pontificating history, or of dictating history, but one of facilitating a better understanding and relevance of history. Traditional written mediums such as dissertations, books, and articles should remain invaluable educational tools, but a fresh look at other mediums needs to be explored in reaching popular audiences, especially our younger generation. Both professional and popular audiences must work together in determining what is historically significant, why it is significant and worthy of preservation. The professional needs to place more trust in citizen judgement while the popular audience should be made to feel more comfortable in seeking the input and expertise of qualified professionals [Fig. 4]. Property owners and the public ultimately will determine what has value; the professional's role is to help people make an informed decision, even if it is not to their liking. Those people who can't always speak well for themselves, what commentators call the inarticulate and who are growing in numbers every day, have no spokespeople. What is of historical significance to them?

At the same time preservationists and local historians should challenge themselves to interact with groups such as landscape architects and urban planners. These latter two groups still largely



FIG. 4. 8806-8816 BLAINE AVENUE, CLEVELAND, OHIO. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY STEPHEN GORDON

ignore the concept of historic preservation. Let's begin to reach out to these and other groups involved in resource policy-making.²³ A recent article in *Preservation* magazine suggested that academics who want to exert influence over the environment must invest the time to become full citizens of the local community.²⁴ Yes, working to instill a sense of historical significance is difficult and presupposes many things, but it is still a better option than railing against a society that largely remains outside the historical arena. Historians need to take some time away from their study carrels and get more involved in their communities. To paraphrase the English lord John Acton, historians would be wise to take some of their meals in the kitchen.

The professional historian can help communities better understand significance through the identification of important local and regional historic themes, contexts, historical research methods, and evaluation. The soundness of designating historic properties and the public's perception of their significance rests largely on the quality and credibility of information that is provided to the decision-makers. Thorough background research, on-site recordation, and careful analysis are essential requirements. An inventory of historic properties must be compiled by the community to inform people where the special places are and why they should be valued. Comprehensive historic property inventories also provide a basis for visitor education and protection strategies. It is at the local level

that we need to be more effective in communicating historical significance, given the fact that history is such a personal experience. The significance of the resources we seek to preserve must be understood—for whom they are important and why. Those historic properties that contribute to a community's sense of time and identity ultimately determine historical significance [Fig. 5]. Historic properties that are considered to

have value or that are valued will be preserved. If we leave ourselves without a genuine past, a past will probably be invented.²⁵

Idealism aside, experience tells me most academic historians are reluctant to leave their study carrels and get involved in local history issues, especially those involving historic preservation. Local history issues in small towns and rural areas typically are not a



FIG. 5. U.S. GRANT
BIRTHPLACE.

PT. PLEASANT, OH.

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY
OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

magnet for academic historians, whose reputations lie studying bigger fish and in bigger and more profitable ponds. The net result of this absorption is that far too many old buildings are judged for their physical appearance and condition with little discussion of their historical importance. Worse yet, what can be very damaging for preservationists is when academic historians are sought out as the experts, even though their expertise clearly lies outside the local level. I can recall with horror, as I expect many of you can, incidents where highly respected and generally well meaning historians dismissed the significance of a building or historic district they were unqualified to judge.³⁶ Moreover, I know several instances when academic historians have expressed difficulty dealing with blighted buildings and physical reminders of negative history.

For all of us, whether academicians or avocationalists, our perspectives of significance evolve over time. A property's meaning and value at any particular time reflect the interest of the age and its culture. Clearly, significance is a function of different perspectives. Historical significance is predicated on an individual's frame of reference, qualities and characteristics they value. A historic building may possess many qualities, including historical significance, economic value, and aesthetic value.³⁷

Today, the simple truth is our sense of the past comes less from history books than from everyday things we see and do from childhood on.³⁸ For this reason, retaining the historic built environment serves as an invaluable history teacher. Young people today respond more to visual images and hands-on experiences than the written word. Old buildings, notes White House historian William Scale, have tremendous emotional power. Historic properties lend a physicality to history, and are more accessible and visible than written records. Would we know George Washington as well without Mt. Vernon?

COMMUNICATING SIGNIFICANCE: THE CHALLENGE

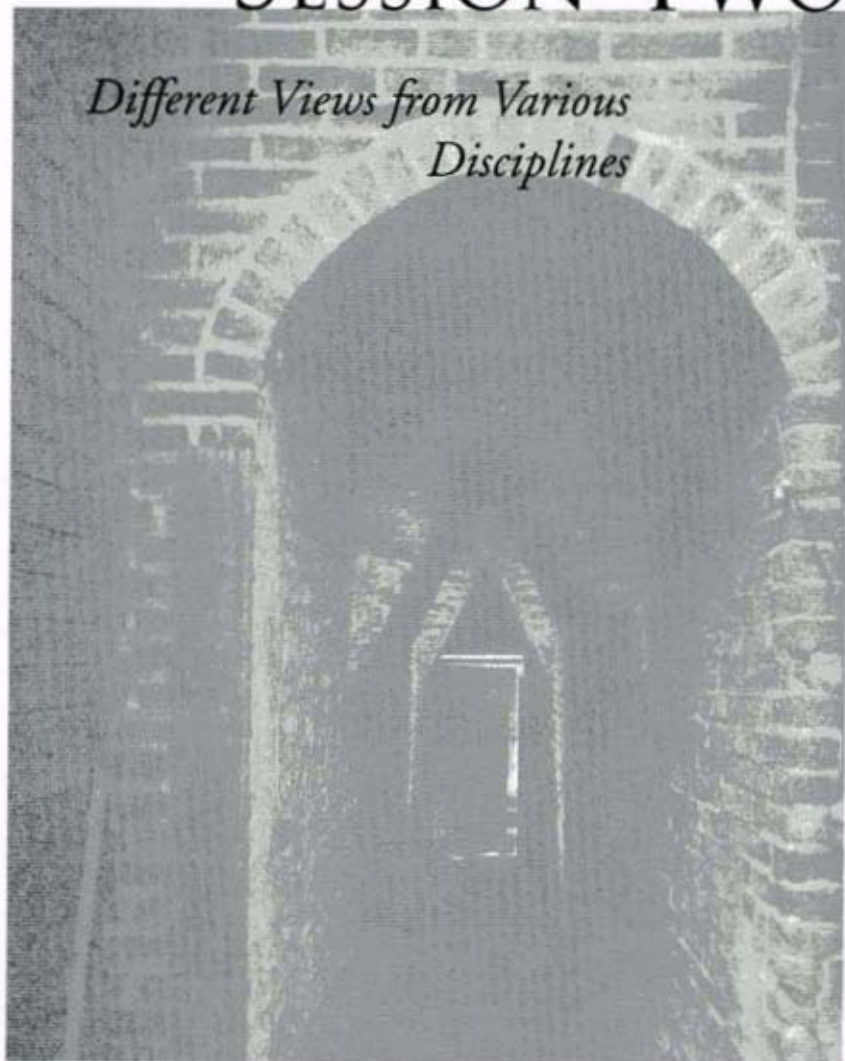
Communicating historical significance is, as we have seen, a formidable challenge. Several diverse groups identify themselves as "experts," and there are numerous audiences.³⁹ The keys are knowing when to sense what ultimately will work in a community and to think comprehensively. The days, assuming there ever were any, of a mono-disciplinary approach to preservation are behind us. Public will is a critical factor in determining what is significant, but economic factors and private property rights all too often override all other concerns. Nostalgia, history, and tradition may be deemed by some groups to be important, but what most Americans really want has less to do with architecture and historic places than with

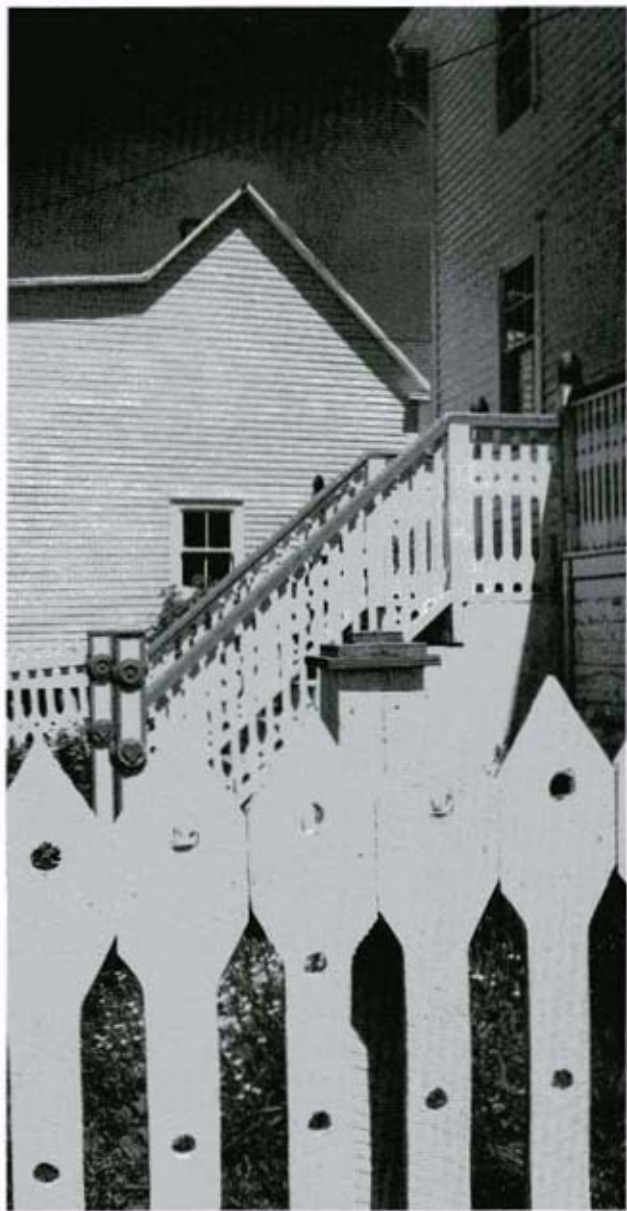
good schools, health care, safe neighborhoods, and a sense of community.³⁰ In part this is because history and preservation have never been mainstream considerations in American culture. Consider the fact: of the core subjects recommended by the federal government by the Year 2000 for public school curricula, the arts are included, but history is not. In fact, national arts education associations have detailed how a high school student should be acquainted with exemplary works of art from a variety of cultures and historical periods, yet history curricula is *no longer* deemed to be a core subject. Our educational institutions have not promoted historical literacy that is so vital to an understanding of our past, an understanding of the present, and an *understanding* of what the future *might* be.³¹ Yet we all know the best time to instill appreciation of the value of historic sites in people is when they are very young and forming opinions.³² Few newspapers offer much on preservation and heritage education is not taught in schools. In Canada, there are TV spots on vernacular architecture and popular magazines that help celebrate a new holiday called Heritage Day.

Heritage education and heritage tourism, at least when properly and sensitively developed, can help promote historical significance while increasing the value of historic resources in the community. For many areas, heritage tourism may help sustain communities and improve the quality of life after other industries have relocated or been abandoned. Successful preservation rarely results from the actions of one group acting alone. It is most effective when it reflects a coming together of people from many backgrounds. We need to better understand the perspectives of others, as well as the impacts upon those not involved in the process. Ultimately, the significance of the historic sites we seek to preserve must be *understood*—for whom they should be important and why.

SESSION TWO

*Different Views from Various
Disciplines*





THE MECHANICS OF NOSTALGIA: THE 1930S LEGACY FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION

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I begin this paper with two quotes and a suggestion. First, from Heraclitus, Greek philosopher, sometime around 500 B.C.: "we cannot step twice into the same river." And from Douglas Coupland, writing over 2,000 years later in his book *Generation X*: "nostalgia is a weapon." I suggest that whether or not we can step into the same river twice should be a matter of great concern to preservationists. Furthermore, that the notion of nostalgia as a weapon, although likely intended as cultural critique by Mr. Coupland, may be a very useful construct for us to bear in mind.

Mostly this paper is about contradictions. They are all well-worn and familiar to those of us concerned with preserving the past: how to appreciate regional specificity and capture national character at the same time; what is the cost to any sense of rootedness in a society that valorizes motion and freedom (and why then, does the beloved idea of real roots call to us so loudly?); can we embrace both memory and progress? Open this box, Pandora, and the questions come pouring out: What is change? Where do we locate the past? Is the past always with us or—to borrow an image straight from the twentieth century road—is everything constantly receding in the rearview mirror?

While I can't claim to offer answers to these debates, I do assert that an understanding of how these particular concepts have played out in the twentieth century is crucial to an understanding of the contemporary practices, roadblocks, victories, and shortcomings of

historic preservation. Our ideas of significance across the decades have very much to do with these larger issues. In seeking to shift, enlarge, or update our definitions of significance, I suggest that an examination of the contradictions is both necessary and inevitable.

For me, the rearview mirror looks back to the 1930s. I locate the 1930s as the time in which many assumptions about American culture, character and way of life coalesced, and then for the first time found powerful avenues of representation that have meant that those assumptions are with us still. Although the whole of preservation at state, local and private levels cannot be traced solely to the 1930s, the unprecedented degree of federal involvement in preservation during the New Deal, including the shift in scope of the National Park Service, the establishment of the Historic American Buildings Survey, and the passage of the Historic Sites Act, has left a legacy that is bedrock to the infrastructure of preservation today. The cultural moment of the 1930s has a great deal to tell about popular notions of the American character, notions

which informed both the establishment of federal programs and attendant ideas of what was significant, worth preserving, and why [Fig. 1, 2].

Throughout the 1930s, American artists, sponsored by federal aid programs under Roosevelt's New Deal, began a search for and obsession with American culture. The inheritance of these explorations is rich: we still see the 1930s view of America in murals painted on post office walls and other public places, in ranger stations and bridges and other structures built by the Civilian Conservation Corps, and most remarkably in the host of documentary photographs taken by the Farm



FIG. 1. "MIGRANT MOTHER," PHOTOGRAPH BY DOROTHEA LANGE



FIG. 2. "GRAVEYARD, HOUSES, AND STEEL MILL, BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA, NOVEMBER, 1935." PHOTOGRAPH BY WALKER EVANS

Security Administration's Historical Division. Many of their images have moved beyond being mere recordings of 1930s America to become icons of American culture which have lasted across the decades: Dorothea Lange's "Migrant Mother;" Walker Evans' "Cemetery, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania 1936;" John Vachon's "Cars and Parking Meters;" Ben Shahn's sharecropper photographs; Dorothea Lange's salvation army photographs; and Russell Lee's "Red Robin Cafe" [Fig. 3, 4]. Although other time periods were certainly influential to America's self-conception, many of the roots of both American romanticism about its past and American contradictions which still influence us today can be traced to that era. New Deal documentation was the first effort in which American culture was glorified as such, and for the first time with the means to be reproduced, published, and distributed to a wide general audience. Increasingly sophisticated and easy to use photographic technology combined with the emergence of popular photo magazines such as *Life* and *Look* fostered national public galvanization around common ideas and images like never before. This time period is often marked as the beginning of the sort of mass culture to which we are all now well accustomed.

The Historical Division of the Farm Security Administration began as a photographic service to sociologists and economists across the country dispatched by the Roosevelt Administration to analyze the problems faced by farmers and small businesses. The photographs were originally to serve as material evidence of the



FIG. 3. "AT THE OPEN AIR MEETING." PHOTOGRAPH BY DOROTHEA LANGE



FIG. 4. "OUTSIDE THE RED ROBIN CAFE." PHOTOGRAPH BY RUSSELL LEE

extent of the Depression, but under the direction of Roy Stryker, formerly an economics professor at Columbia University, the division grew in scope and size to become one of the most influential and lasting of the New Deal projects. From 1935 to 1942, Stryker hired photographers of enormous talent and seized the opportunity of liberal government funding to capture more than the mere mechanics of the crisis. Stryker quite explicitly set out to create a record of America at the time. To accomplish this, he wrote elaborate shooting scripts for his photographers that spelled out the sort of pictures he wanted. Stryker's thinking shows in his organization of the photographic file, placing photos in broad categories with titles such as "human misery" and "small town prosperity." By the end of the undertaking, the file comprised over 200,000 photographs. Most of them are *mechanical*, record-keeping sorts of pictures. But the ones we all recognize and remember are the ones that Stryker placed in the public eye through the magazines and books of the time. In a time of unprecedented economic breakdown and social turmoil, the purpose of publishing the photographs was to drum up support for federal aid programs, many of which seemed overly paternalistic if not downright communistic to the majority of middle and upper class Americans not completely devastated by the Depression.

The FSA approach was to galvanize sympathy for the plight of the poor by presenting them as no different than anyone else, just a little down on their luck and in need of an extra hand. To gain this public sympathy successfully, the photographers presented images of down and outers that were easily recognizable. In so doing, the most evocative FSA photographs in effect naturalized the nuclear family unit, gender roles within the family and society. The photographs present us with hardworking, noble men who would like to provide for their families but cannot and women in Madonna poses who would like to care properly for their children but cannot. They do not show us individuals without context or "career" hoboes. The implied message is that after the crisis passes these are exactly the sort of folks who will get back to the normal business of American life. The photographs also eulogize small towns and rural life. There are virtually no photographs of city life in the file, but there are countless photos of picnics and Main Streets. Stryker's assumption about documentary photography was that it could convey a truthfulness about general human experience and universal human character which transcended the specifics of reporting simple facts. As he put it:

Newspictures are the noun and the verb; our kind of photography is the adjective and the adverb. The newspaper is dramatic, all subject

and action. Ours shows what's back of the action. It is a broader statement—frequently a mood, an accent, but more frequently a sketch and not infrequently a story.¹

William Scott has pointed out that documentary depends upon the immediacy of photographic representation.² It requires the viewer's acceptance of the limited frame and biased perspective of the photographic moment as representative of the whole picture of a situation. While today it seems obvious that photography is inherently biased, Stuart Hall has argued that before the 1960s, photographic media were thought to simply reflect reality rather than interactively shape and be shaped by a fractured reality. Hall calls this the "reality effect," and argues that "the systems of visual discourse are so widely available

in any culture that they appear to involve no intervention of coding, selection, or arrangements."³ Of course it was precisely coding, selection, and arrangement that enabled the FSA photographers to know what to shoot and how to shoot it, and enabled Roy Stryker to know what sorts of shots to request and which ones would most affect the viewing public. The naturalization of "reality" in still photography fostered a naturalization of certain American

traits, and the poignant representation of those traits turned some photographs into icons which even today say to us: this is America. Marion Post Wolcott, FSA photographer, used to call Stryker's requests "FSA cheesecake—eulogies to the small town and the land."⁴ Roy Stryker said, "we introduced America to Americans."⁵

The 1930s saw a widespread romance with two quintessentially American concepts that are in themselves contradictions: the road and the small town [Fig. 5, 6]. Richard Lingeman has written about the perception in the 1930s that the small town represented the best of America's heritage and experience, evoking a time when people were more sure of their places in the world and the order of things in a decade when all of that seemed lost.⁶ The small town was glorified not only in the FSA photographs but in the writings of the time, including Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio* and Thornton Wilder's play *Our Town* which won the Pulitzer in 1938, ironically enough by evoking the universal human experience in a



FIG. 5. "WESTFIELD, VERMONT." PHOTOGRAPH BY CARL MYRANS



FIG. 6. "MOTORCYCLE WITH
STUNT BARS."
PHOTOGRAPH BY
RUSSELL LEE

cably changed by the automobile, mass media, and early chain stores. In short, at the very era when commemorating the past became a national idea, the past was already receding into the rear view mirror.

The urge to commemorate America, to understand, see and capture it, combined with the burgeoning availability of the automobile and a new national road system, led to a wave of interest in "seeing America." Writers and photographers and journalists used the automobile to access parts of America that previously were hinterland, reported on what they saw through the new media, and fostered an American obsession with the road. Even FDR urged young people to

... put on a flannel shirt, drive out to the Coast by the northern route and come back by the southern route. Don't stop anywhere where you have to pay more than two dollars for your room and bath. Don't talk to your banking friends or your chamber of commerce friends but specialize on the gasoline station men, the small restaurant keeper, and farmers you meet by the wayside."

The romance of the road depended upon the notion that the "real folk" lived out there in the small towns and quirky diverse regions of America. William Stott has described the 1930s as the "rise of the region." America's obsession with the road was linked to its interest in its regional variation, which in turn was linked to the belief that the common folk represented something truthful and real that the entire culture could benefit from knowing. In addition to documentary, the New Deal sponsored a host of folklore-gathering projects, from the recording of slave narratives to the tracking of regional recipes to the recording of historic buildings [Fig. 7, 8].

mythical American small town in anywhere USA. These examples reinforce the idea that Americans knew what they were seeing in the FSA photographs. The urge to characterize America was strong during this decade and the urge relied on nostalgia. Lingenfelter has also suggested that by the time we got around to romanticizing the small town as typically American, the true era of such town was already gone forever, beginning to be irrevocably

It doesn't take much more than common sense to realize that these two quintessentially American images, the road and the small town, are and have proven historically to be, mutually contradictory. If one truly lives the freedom of the open road, one cannot expect also to possess the timeworn connections of small town life. Likewise, we cannot expect town to remain unique and provincial when we all want to drive and see them. Our problem is that we want both and always have. Today we attempt to revitalize America's main streets in part by relying on "heritage tourism," a phenomenon which relies on travel on the very interstate highways which have bypassed those small town main streets.

Central to the gathering, collecting, documenting and cataloging programs of New Deal artistic and cultural initiatives was a shift in the very idea of culture, a shift begun by anthropologists, in particular Franz Boas at Columbia University. George Stocking, the premier historian of anthropology in the United States, has

written that, directly following from Boas's work in the early 1900s and enhanced by the work of Boas's students Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Zora Neale Hurston and others, anthropology became the social science most relied upon for explanation of the human condition in the U.S. from the 1920s through the 1940s.⁸ The Boasian "culture concept," as anthropologists call it, seems common



FIG. 7. "THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE AT THE BALLFIELD." PHOTOGRAPH BY RUSSELL LEE



FIG. 8. "ELLA WATSON." PHOTOGRAPH BY GORDON PARKS

sense to us today: that all peoples possess, create, and practice culture, that cultures differ radically and the people within them bear the marks of their specific culture, that culture can be examined and understood through the observation of details, artifacts, customs and behavior. Yet as Stockett writes, there was literally no mention of this conception of culture prior to Boas's work around

1911 to 1915.⁹ All existing



FIG. 9. "ARTESLIA PETTYWAY BENDOLPH," PHOTOGRAPH BY ARTHUR ROTENSTEIN

but literally, different people did things differently, and these variances could be studied as culture itself. It was an entirely new conception of the word [Fig. 9, 10].

Boas's approach to figuring out cultures was to exhaustively document every detail of daily life through the already existing anthropological practice of participant-observation fieldwork. What the Boasian approach meant for concepts of significance was that



FIG. 10. "LEAVING CHURCH, LINWOOD, OHIO," PHOTOGRAPH BY BEN SHAHN

everything was potentially significant, and one had to really get inside an understanding of the whole culture to make any sort of informed decisions about significance. Boas is famous for saying that recipes for cranberry fish told him just as much if not more about a people as did religious ceremonies. The Boasian concept caught on best through his student Ruth Benedict's book *Patterns of Culture*, which was a best-seller after its release in 1934. What Benedict did in describing the cultures and consequences of three societies, Pueblo Indians, Plains Indians, and the Anglo-American United States of the time, was to effectively assert that Americans could evaluate themselves by the same devices anthropologists used to look at foreign cultures. Furthermore, her idea that different cultural values and practices yielded different outcomes for the people within them, implied that these outcomes could be examined, evaluated, and potentially changed. Margaret Mead's highly accessible work on childrearing, adolescence, and sexuality in the South Pacific, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, did much the same: by offering a cross-cultural comparison of what had been considered unquestionable norms, she enabled her readers to think about culture as a phenomenon.

The groundwork laid by Boasian anthropology affected, at least indirectly, and perhaps was necessary to the very formation of preservation efforts on a federal level. In order to decide that there was such a thing as an American culture, let alone an appreciable array of regional cultures within the whole, "culture" itself had to be redefined. What enabled the public to accept this redefinition of culture (which could easily have remained an academic notion to be banded about the halls of universities) was an urgent need to understand who we were and where we had gone wrong. The Great Depression was a national identity crisis of the highest order, making a general audience as well as the federal government receptive as never before to understanding themselves in new ways, acknowledging diversity among the ranks, and embracing American ways of life in contrast and comparison to other societies. In fact, this comparative approach continued to become even more persuasive as the situation in Europe worsened, leading toward World War II. Understanding that there was such a phenomenon as "America" gave new import to activities such as the selection and documentation of historic buildings. In other words, suddenly we had a history that was more than literal dates—the great men, great events theory of history—Americans had stories to tell and regional manifestations of culture, a culture important not only in its art, food, and folksongs, but in its architectural heritage as well.

It is no accident that anthropology, documentary photography, and historic preservation each reached new heights in the 1930s,

and that the three coalesced in such powerful and lasting ways. Understanding the cultural climate of the 1930s is definitely interesting, but beyond that I suggest that it can be *instructive*; these roots may hold some keys to the continued effective practice of preservation today. We would do well to remember that preservation at its most populist and I would say at its best comes out of a tradition of cultural relativism. I believe that preservation is *most* powerful to the people when it stays close to its basis in an embrace of folk culture and region. Furthermore, I think an understanding of the fact that we have inherited a discipline and a task fraught with contradictions from the beginning may help us to better negotiate those *inevitable contradictions*.

What can we learn from the 1930s beyond the idea of staying close to the "folk?" To start, perhaps that we need a marketing force akin to Roy Stryker, we need some of his vision about Americana. But in order to head down his path, we have to acknowledge that his ideas about the meaning of America were somewhat stereotypical and naïve in all the ways I have described and critiqued. Still, Stryker's editorial and directorial genius lay in the fact that he understood that public response is *all about feeling*, and he knew which feelings would provoke response, perhaps because he himself bought into the emotional notions and stereotypes (Fig. 11).

He was not alone, however. Seeing America has always been all about feeling, about looking for the America one *thought* one would find before setting out on the journey. Despite the economy of the Great Depression, the number of automobile tourists staying at small motels went up every year during the 1930s. Today tens of thousands of people visit historic sites each year, not to mention the sorts of "Disneyesque" theme towns that often make preservationists cringe. What makes Disney and similar "false" history work is that *Disney knows* the appeal and the effect are in the feeling, not the fact. This is the sense in which nostalgia is a weapon. It is surprisingly easy to create false, misleading, or oversimplified histories out of reliance on commonly held notions and associations which tug at the heartstrings or at one's sense of patriotism. This is what Eric Hobsbawm has called "the invention of tradition."¹⁰ It is considerably harder to do justice to *real history* and heritage while including problematic and complex contradictions as part of that story. My question is whether preservationists can use nostalgia to our advantage as well. It is never the same river. In some sense it is always false history we practice, and perhaps in admitting that, we can make good decisions about what and how to best practice it.

Why do I mention all of this now, the anthropology of the 1930s and the documentary efforts of the same time? How does this relate to debates about historical significance today? For as much as

New Deal documentary shaped our mental images of the essence of America and anthropology informed a host of documentation, collection, and preservation efforts, we are not finished entirely with the "great men, great events" approach to history or preservation. Sometimes the way in which this tendency toward dominant narrative surfaces is with an overemphasis on "great" architecture. We must continually re-evaluate our concepts of high architecture and vernacular—sometimes, I assert, going beyond the surface, beyond questions of content to questions of methodology.

For example, in the September, 1996 issue of the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* Nicholas Adams wrote a short but powerful editorial about the recent burning of black churches in the South. Adams points out that when it has come to rebuilding the destroyed church buildings, there are rarely any historic or architectural records at all, this despite the fact that the churches serve a monumental role within their

communities and despite the fact that many of them have been in continuous existence since the 1800s. The churches most often are not spectacular or even picturesque in strict terms of architecture; often the buildings have gone through one or more hand-made renovations which have, by National Register standards, compromised the historic integrity of what may once have been an earlier frame or log cabin structure. Generally speaking, Brick-Kote or vinyl siding are not explicitly pursued for entry on the Register. Yet, as Adams puts it, "recent intellectual challenges...to the traditions of architectural history seem to have had little impact when it comes to the study of African American churches, even though they raise fascinating issues concerning the adaptation of an architectural form to a novel liturgy, and the expression of a political and cultural identity."¹¹ Clearly what would help bring architectural history to a fuller inclusion of the experience and expression of African American culture is a deep-seated methodological shift in approaching significance. Interestingly, Adams suggests a return to that well-practiced art of the 1930s, namely, an oral history initiative to



FIG. 11. "EIGHTEEN YEAR-OLD MOTHER FROM OKLAHOMA, NOW A CALIFORNIA MIGRANT." PHOTOGRAPH BY DOROTHEA LANGE

gather better records and to gain the understanding needed to link a community's memory and emotion with its buildings' structures and styles.

I believe, however, along with Dolores Hayden as she wrote in her book *The Power of Place*, that "change is not simply a matter of acknowledging diversity or correcting a traditional bias toward the architectural legacy of wealth and power. It is not enough to add on a few African American or Native American projects, or a few women's projects, and assume that preserving urban history is handled well in the United States in the 1990s."¹² Hayden goes on to say that what is important is an expanded conceptual framework of cultural citizenship, which is, she emphasizes, an identity not formed out of legal membership but out of a sense of cultural belonging. Again we are talking about feeling. Hayden negotiates the conflict between diversity and national identity by focusing her faith on what she calls a "sense of common membership." While I do not disagree, I would like to take it one step further to suggest that we need to expand our very framework of awareness in assessing significance to include the idea that, since it is never the same river twice, we are very much in charge of making decisions based on nostalgia, association, and myth. Franz Boas would probably say, however, that myths make culture.

THE IMPACT OF "HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE" ON THE FUTURE

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This paper deals with the need for historic preservation to become more self-conscious about its impact on the future. To frame the issue consonant with this conference, I have titled the paper as "The impact of historical significance on the future." However, what is past, present, and future is always changing, and always perplexing. And it invites wordplays. I might just as well have entitled the paper "The impact of future significance on the past." Either way, there are the same implications for historic preservation practice. It is not surprising, then, that this practice increasingly overlaps with planning and its concern for the future.

REFLEXIVENESS OR SELF-REFERENCING IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

The reason that historic preservation is so difficult to understand, and why word games spring so readily to titles, is because historic preservation is a self-referencing or reflexive activity. Adding the term "reflexive" may not seem to clear matters up—but it helps.

Reflexiveness or self-referencing occurs in a number of areas, but primarily philosophy.¹ It was initially dismissed as paradoxical (e.g., "All Cretans are liars; I am a Cretan", which later became simplified as the Liar's Paradox: "What I am now saying is false."). In another version, it is not the internal contradiction, but the substance of the statement and the way it is declared that appears contradictory, e.g., the assertion: "There are no truths!" There are a number of varieties.

Bartlett explains self-referencing in general as follows:

When we employ thought to understand the nature of *thinking*, when we seek to know the presuppositions involved in knowing, we define a task that essentially involves the subject we would study.... Attempting to understand reflexivity gives one the sense of trying to lift oneself up by ones bootstraps...

Awareness of reflexivity ought properly—i.e., self-referentially—to begin at home, in individual mental space: It is something best understood informally by its experience, rather than by stipulated or hypothetical definitions.²

Perhaps reflexivity in historic preservation, and why it enters planning can be better explained by use of diagrams. In our everyday lives, we tend to think of a divide between the past and the future by means of the present. This view is illustrated in Figure 1.

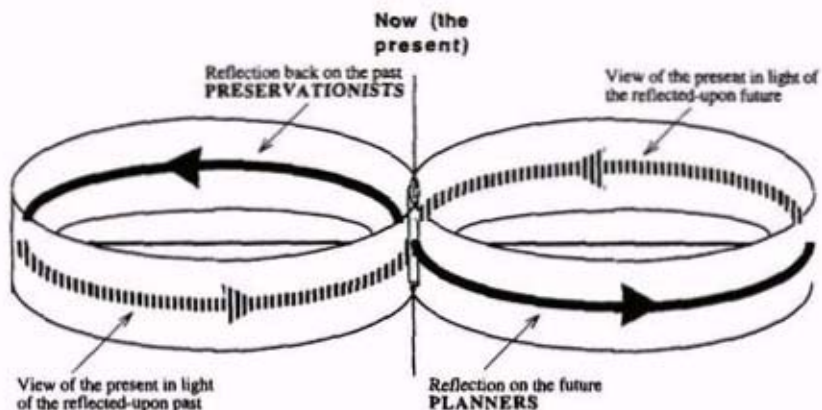


FIG. 1. PAST AND FUTURE
AS SEPARATE
CIRCULAR REFLECTIONS.
DRAWING COURTESY OF
WILLIAM C. BAER

The vertical line labeled "Now (the present)" separates the two. In our minds, we tend to make two loops. In one loop we mentally cast back to reflect upon the past (the dark band inside the loop), and in doing so then think forward about its implications for the present and the future (the striped band on the outside of the loop). This loop has traditionally been the province of the preservationist.

The second loop shows us projecting forward in our minds to the future and its implications, and then looping back to what

actions we might take now—in the present—in light of those imaginings. The right hand loop and its striped band on the inside and dark band on the outside depict this situation. This loop has traditionally been the province of the planner.

As depicted in Figure 1, the loops fail to demonstrate the subtlety that really occurs. Our cognitive processes and the reality we operate in are not entirely distinct. They are the joint products of our individual thoughts and the larger societal construction that we get indoctrinated into as a member of society. Our cognitive maps and reality become fused. A number of people have suggested this construct of interwoven mind and reality.¹

Lowenthal captures this essence in his book, *The Past is a Foreign Country*.² He asks how can we understand the past when we can only exist in the present? Any attempt to learn about the past changes that past. We don't actually change the past, but we change it in our minds, and our minds are the only way that we can perceive, appreciate, and understand history. In attempting to learn about history we inevitably make it part of our present day selves. In doing so, we simultaneously make that understanding about our present-day selves part of the past. To put it simply—the past, present, and future are self-referencing.

How does this formulation tie in with reflexivity in historic preservation? Resorting to a Mobius strip instead of a loop will help. A Mobius strip is a common way of physically presenting reflexivity. It is a circular loop made from a strip with one end turned 180 degrees before the two ends are joined to form the loop. What could have been a band, like a bracelet, with an inside and outside, is now a more complex entity in which there is no permanent inside and outside, but rather a continuous surface that is both inside and outside.³ With regard to our cognitive maps, then, Laszlo *et al.* says: "Like the two apparent sides of a Mobius strip, realities and the maps that project them are one and the same thing. This is a rolling process in which map and reality are transformed into each other."⁴

A Mobius strip and its characteristic cross or twist of 180 degrees is illustrated in Figure 2. Rather than showing two differently shaded lines to represent an inside and outside, now one line of a single shade of gray is the continuous band both inside and outside the band. In effect, in our cognitive maps of historic preservation, we often implicitly create such a strip that merges the past and the future as a continuous strip. Historic preservation makes this self-referencing more explicit than does philosophy. Historic preservationists don't merely contemplate history—they act upon it. Reflexivity occurs when we become self-conscious about this action, and begin to monitor it while it is happening.

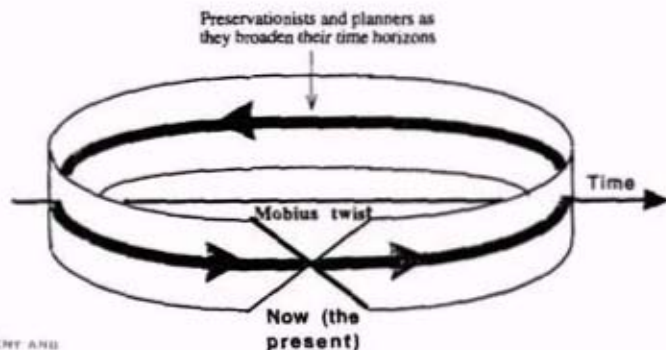


FIG. 2. PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE AS MOBIUS STRIP. DRAWING COURTESY OF WILLIAM C. BAER.

VIEWS OF HISTORY

What is this history, and why do preservationists act upon it? Our thoughts about history and time are part of the cognitive maps of society. Thousands of years ago, cultures tended to view history as *circular*. Specific events merely represented and repeated archetypes, so that events and people were not historically unique. They were only a reflection of archetypes in cycles that would be repeated down through the *cons*—like a calendar writ large.⁷ What need is there for historic preservation under this view of cyclical history? Time itself will ensure an endless re-creation of historic artifacts.

Historic preservationists' cognitive maps reflect a modernist's view of time. History is viewed as *linear* and so people and events in time are unique. It is that uniqueness that stimulates an urge to preserve. How is a linear view of history self-referencing? It is not inherently self-referencing, but it has become so in our practice of historic preservation.

Consider the following evolution in our thinking about history and preservation.

First Stage: People-Made Historical Events (We make history and are aware of it). NO HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Second Stage: People-Made Historical Events are Formally Memorialized (We make history and deliberately celebrate it). HISTORIC MEMORIALIZATION/UNSOPHISTICATED HISTORIC PRESERVATION.

Third Stage: (Self-referencing) Certain Events are Deliberately Undertaken Because of the Remembered History That They Will Become.

A. Elementary Self-Reference:

Deliberately seeking artifacts to preserve for posterity.

B. More Sophisticated Self-Reference

Shaping the future to serve the past.

REFLEXIVITY IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Stage 1 is pre-historic preservation because there is no intellectual sentiment for it. Historic preservation works to make ideas become tangible reality. In its non-reflexive stage, historic preservation exploits artifacts that have been left from the past by accident and neglect. In Stage 2, however, we self-consciously reflect on the past and memorialize and preserve what remnants we find of it. It is a passive view of what becomes eligible for historic preservation.

In Stage 3, we become reflexive about what we do today for its meaning tomorrow. People realize that the things they do might later be deemed "historical" events. Presidents act in part based on how history will evaluate them. Artists and architects try to create not just for now, but for the eons. In its first reflexive aspect, historic preservation no longer merely waits to "receive" available artifacts of the past—it deliberately and forcibly sets out to select them, e.g., field surveys to identify potential artifacts. Here historic preservation self-consciously determines what is going to be preserved, to deliberately leave chosen artifacts for posterity. This approach first came into practice about 150 years ago with Viollet-le-Duc in France in 1830, and Morris (of anti-scrape fame) in England. Both had to decide about what aspect of the past to preserve in buildings that spanned centuries. Moreover, both had to decide how to preserve evidence of the past and preserve their efforts to preserve it, even if it meant doing nothing.⁸

The second, more sophisticated self-referencing approach—of shaping the future to serve the present and past—has occurred in the last ten years in the United States. It is in this emerging area that planning and historic preservation become intertwined. Now historic preservation is sometimes even more pro-active. It sometimes attempts to reflexively shape the future for the past it will become. It is this second formulation—the most proactive—that I am concerned about here. This pro-active extension is a logical step or extrapolation from an earlier stance. It may at times even be desirable, but the implications are also troubling because it directly inserts itself into planning the future. Let me characterize this situation at the extreme: the future is merely a device for shaping the past. Instead of the past being a residual that historic preservationists work with, the future is the residual after preservationists, with an eye to the past, allow it to emerge (within their ability to control).

Shaping the future for their intended ends is a new venture for preservationists. They often fail to observe the risks involved; fail to see the potential danger from what they are about. They are inexperienced and naïve, in the same way planners were, when they first announced their bold plans for shaping the future. But planners have been at it for 100 years now and they have become more cautious about the results of their good intentions.

Meditating with the future has more dangers than anyone thought. Zoning is one instance. It was thought to be a means of rationalizing otherwise incompatible land uses. But it has been used to accomplish quite other purposes, for example, exclusionary zoning to keep out the poor, and fiscal zoning to keep out residential development altogether. Urban renewal—that old nemesis of historic preservation—is another example of adverse side effects. Indeed, to foreshadow what comes next, much of what I will argue against below is the obverse of urban renewal. In the 1950s and 1960s, urban renewal deliberately sought to transform the physical part (old, “obsolete” buildings) to make it conform to a new vision of the future in the 20th century. The part was to be discarded or transformed to fit visions of the future. Today, historic preservation at its boldest threatens to do the opposite—to shape the future to conform to (“fit in with”) the part. An example is the aesthetic requirement that new construction or remodeling be designed to “fit in” with the existing structures in a historic neighborhood. Either view may be equally tyrannical.

IMPLICATIONS OF REFLEXIVITY FOR HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Self-conscious efforts at historic preservation are inevitable, given a civilization’s accumulation of knowledge, learning, and philosophical points of view. But these self-conscious efforts at historic preservation do change history from what it would have been without them. Any action stemming from self-conscious reflection will do this, e.g., urban planning. That is not the point. The point is what does such action say about subsequent history when it has been shaped in the name of history? What does “history” mean in these instances? Its meaning has at least shifted from the meaning of history prior to its self-conscious formulation.

Not that society can necessarily and self-consciously completely control its decisions with regard to this issue—the interest in preservation may wax and wane with other changes in a society’s cognitive maps and belief systems.⁹ Rather, the issue is that a society can become more self-conscious and can more adequately debate what historic preservation-based decisions (nominally dealing only with the past) in fact portend for the future. Society should be quite

clear about how much the hand of the past should self-consciously guide the future. And the criterion here should be a self-conscious weighting of the future as compared with weighting the past. This is why a dimension of historical significance must be its effects on the future.

WEIGHTING THE PAST AGAINST THE FUTURE

Basically, our attention is weighted toward the past. There are two reasons. It is better known than the future, and it is first in time. It is better known because it is a specific past; "known" (although perhaps known differently by different people) and evaluated (even though the past is susceptible to re-evaluation in subsequent eras). The future, by contrast, is vague. It can instill hope (something the past does not so easily do) but it cannot be evaluated. Therefore, among preservationists and much of the public alike, there is a bias toward the known past versus the unknown future.

Another, and related reason for weighting the past more heavily than the future is its priority in sequence. That seniority raises collateral feelings of: first come, first served; justification by dint of original occupancy. First in sequence is built into the nature of perceiving a one-directional flow of time. Added to this are other inherent justifications of historic preservation: custom and tradition, heritage, and aesthetics, saving the irreplaceable. The problem, however, is one of choosing appropriate degrees of weighting the past and future.

MORTMAIN—THE DEAD HAND OF THE PAST

Society has not always found the past superior. There are a variety of instances from history where the past has threatened to be oppressive, and excessively weighted *vis-a-vis* the future. From hundreds of years of experience the English common law developed a dislike of the past doing too much dictating of the future. The Statute of Mortmain in 1279 AD attempted to limit the corporate (and therefore everlasting) Church from continuing to lock up land away from the rest of society. So also the law's Rule against Perpetuities of the mid 1500s AD emerged to prevent the landed classes from preserving their property in their families forever. The rule—still followed today—prevents landowners from specifying in their will (as a right of bequeathment) all subsequent ownership and inheritances of their land forever more.

Another threat from the past is its sometimes unwillingness to accommodate the new. Science as a process of perpetual discovery sometimes conflicts with—even threatens to destroy—cherished beliefs of yore. Galileo was forced by the Church in 1633 to renounce his beliefs in the newer Copernican system of planetary

motion because the Church sought to preserve the older, geocentric Ptolemaic System. Since the 1980s scientists at nationally funded test and research centers, such as Cape Canaveral and the Kennedy Space Center and the Yerkes and Palomar observatories, have been impeded in their wish to replace obsolete facilities and equipment by preservationists who wish to preserve these now historic artifacts, even if that may slow or interfere with the scientists' efforts at new discoveries and creations.¹⁰

Both of these types are examples of Elementary Self-Referencing (deliberately seeking artifacts to preserve for posterity) as described above. Both are cautious against weighting the past too heavily. They illustrate how a concern for the past can ignore the future significance of preservation when motivated exclusively by conventional views of historical significance. What of the more sophisticated self-referencing in historic preservation and its role in significance? We turn to that next.

PRESERVING HISTORY, OR PERFECTING IT?

A more sophisticated self-referencing in historic preservation not only works with the past, it attempts to shape the future to perfect the past. Greek mythology contains two famous cures to this practice: the ill fate of those who try to prevent the new from replacing the old (*i.e.*, prevent the future from coming into being). Both Zeus and Oedipus were born of fathers, who, upon receiving a prophecy that they might be killed by their offspring, attempted to kill them as children. Saved by stratagems and luck, both Zeus and Oedipus grew to adulthood and killed their fathers. These are reflexive, self-fulfilling prophecies. The attempt to avoid the prophecy is the means of carrying it out.

The most extensive example of this intervention into the future to protect the past is the National Trust for Historic Preservation's campaign against "sprawl" (I use quotations because the National Trust, like so many others, is apparently unfamiliar with the literature and arguments pointing out the advantages of "sprawl." A more accurate, less judgmental label is "discontinuous development"). The Trust wants to stop "sprawl" before it envelops communities and then sucks businesses from the core out to the suburb.¹¹ Wal-Mart stores in particular are seen as a threat. The Trust believes it can do this best by instructing and constructing the future: attending planning meetings and zoning hearings to argue for historic preservation,¹² and to assist in reinforcing the anti-sprawl initiatives of National Trust members.¹³

These beliefs have not been proven by research. It is a contentious area. Preservationists are ignoring several counter arguments. First, it is not clear how harmful sprawl is, or if it is

worse than the alternative.¹⁴ Some experts argue that discontinuous development results in higher building densities, and more compact cities.¹⁵ More compact urban forms have only modest effects on infrastructure costs.¹⁶ Nor is the downtown any longer the most important focus of jobs and commutes. Jobs are now expanding in the suburbs making cross-commutes increasingly important *vis-a-vis* the older pattern of commute to the downtown. Indeed, cities are moving from single downtown, to a multi-centered or even more dispersed layout.¹⁷ Infill development is expensive and its neighbors sometimes don't want it. Finally, anti-sprawl efforts impose higher costs on society, making housing less affordable.¹⁸

It is not just housing prices that get pushed up by anti-sprawl efforts. In protesting new developments on the outskirts of town, the National Trust implicitly confers feudal-like privileges and monopolies on the businesses of the moment that happen to be in the downtown. Yet by what right? These downtown businesses were never granted

special charters deeming that their limited selections and higher prices were in the public interest and must be granted immunities from the market place.

Anti-sprawl preservation efforts are only self-fulfilling prophecies. Development is stimulated by consumer demand. If a development is stopped at one locale, so long as the market is regional, the development will occur in some other community's periphery.¹⁹ Efforts to stop sprawl—even if successful in the eyes of the advocates—end up producing it somewhere else.

Some preservationists want to go still farther along the road of activism, linking historic preservation to the "new urbanism."²⁰ As Longstreth points out, there is a certain irony in all this. It was the Modernists, who, in an earlier time, had rejected the values, goals, and ambitions of their predecessors. Thus it was Modern architecture which gave rise to much of the preservation movement which was reacting to the Modernists' desire to create a "Machine for Living."²¹

Why should preservationists be opposed to any historical process? Should preservationists be taking sides in the formation of

WHENEVER HISTORIC PRESERVATIONISTS ACT TO DESIGNATE SOMETHING OR TO BE INVOLVED IN A COMMUNITY BATTLE, THEY ARE AFFECTING THE FUTURE. IT IS DIFFERENT THAN IF THEY HAD NOT ACTED. WE WOULD AGREE THAT WE NEED TO CAREFULLY LOOK AT THE CONSEQUENCES OF OUR ACTIONS UPON THE FUTURE. HAVING SAID THAT, WHY ARE HISTORIC PRESERVATIONISTS INVOLVED IN SPRAWL BATTLES, OR IN TRYING TO SET PUBLIC POLICY THAT AFFECTS SPRAWL? IN MY VIEW, THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION MOVEMENT IS NOT ONLY INVOLVED IN DOCUMENTING THE LAYERS OF HISTORY, IT IS ALSO A MOVEMENT FOR LIVABLE COMMUNITIES. I WOULD ARGUE THAT CITIES AND TOWNS ARE BEING HURT BY THE OUT-MIGRATION OF UPPER AND MIDDLE- INCOME PEOPLE, CAUSING A DIS-INVESTMENT FROM HISTORIC AREAS IN CITIES AND TOWNS. IT IS A VERY LEGITIMATE POSITION TO OBJECT BOTH TO THE FACT THAT BUILDINGS, NEIGHBORHOODS, AND DISTRICTS WILL BECOME DERELICT AND THAT AN INCREASING SEPARATION AND GHETTOIZING IS OCCURRING IN AMERICA BECAUSE POOR PEOPLE ARE GENERALLY LEFT BEHIND.

the nation's history? By attempting to guide history in the making, preservationists are being selective in what is "good" history and what is "bad" history. That is problematic. Moreover, to single out sprawl to oppose seems incongruous. Discontinuous development has been occurring for at least 200 years in America. It is already part of our national heritage. If preservationists are truly oriented to the historical, they should be setting about preserving sprawl, not opposing it.

Preservationists justify their beliefs and actions based on the values they derive from the past, using them to shape the future. The findings and recommendations from the 45th Preservation Conference (1991) are illustrative. They included the statement: "We should be proud of being the 'quality cops' in the planning business."²² This is a presumptuous assertion. It clearly states that preservationists have expanded their role into urban planning. That is well and good. Urban planning is too important to be left solely to planners. But no one in a democracy can assume the mantle of quality cop. Urban planners long ago learned that, despite their expertise and training in forecasts and prediction, they were not qualified to tell people how they should live. Historic preservationists should not try to supplant the role of architects, planners, and developers in bringing about the new. After all, as Longstreth noted: "Historicity is what distinguishes preservation from all other pursuits in shaping the environment."²³ This distinction should always be kept in mind when preservation thinks about venturing further afield.

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT REFLEXIVENESS IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

We can conclude that historical significance as determined for an artifact by conventional criteria of the social, political, aesthetic, even the historical, has implications for the future. In a reflexive sense, if preservationists seek to intervene in the future (e.g., to prevent threatening sprawl) so as to protect the past, then the significance of the historical gets transferred as well to the prevention of some trend or realization of a future event. The impacts of historical significance then spill over onto other events that will occur in the future. Aside from their presumed impacts on the historical, however, these future events will have significance in their own right. Who, then, is to decide significance and by what criteria?

The danger in this aspect of pro-active reflexivity is the lack of limits to perspective or behavior. Where do preservationists stop intervening to preserve history? Are there any limits, or can they legitimately attempt to guide all aspects of our nation's economy in the name of preservation? Why stop with preventing sprawl? Why

not appoint the president of the National Trust to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve, where she/he can plead for high interest rates that will discourage all kinds of development? High interest rates are the nemesis of all developers, commercial and residential alike, and high interest rates would automatically apply nationwide, drastically slowing the specter of new development which might threaten the old.

If we conclude that proactive intervention towards the future against sprawl is dangerous for the implications beyond the "historical" that it holds, does that mean that historic preservation must be blind to the future and indifferent to what it will bring? That conclusion is too harsh. Preservationists should not be denied a role in the future, just as planners and others should not be denied a role in selecting and preserving the past. For instance, historic preservationists lobby mightily to preserve tax loopholes in the income tax code. That is what the tax credits really are, an old-fashioned tax loophole that allows the rich to limit their taxable income. That lobbying is an act to effect the future by providing incentives to restore more old buildings. It is an intervention very similar to anti-sprawl efforts. Yet this lobbying seems to me to be all right. I do not quite know where to draw the line on when the significance of historic preservation on the future becomes the paramount consideration against all other criteria of historical significance.

While I worry about the impacts on the future of blithely concerning oneself only with the past in planning the future, I do believe that any interest group must pay heed to the future, including preservationists. Reflexivity in historic preservation means that we must be aware and fully conscious of the effects we create in historic preservation, including those effects that will manifest themselves in the future. Accordingly, the lessons to be garnered from a self-conscious thinking about reflexivity in historic preservation seem to be: "Look before you leap."



THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

HOWARD L. GREEN, *Research Director, New Jersey Historical Commission*

Perhaps I can frame my argument anecdotally. When I was in New Orleans a few years ago there was a controversy raging in the local paper, the *Times-Picayune*. The vampire novelist Anne Rice was fighting a developer's plans to expand an already gaudy nightclub because it sits on the site of a vacant car dealership where a key event transpired in Rice's fictional world. I'm a bit hampered because I haven't read Rice, but she was arguing (albeit in a self-promoting fashion) that the place needed to be preserved as she had depicted it because it had become important to the identity of New Orleans.

In a similar vein, on the fiftieth anniversary of Orson Welles's broadcast of the radio play based on H.G. Wells's *War of the Worlds*, I was a speaker at a commemorative symposium in the New Jersey municipality which contains Groves Mill, the fictional location of the landing in that adaptation. I found myself wondering what it meant that one of the most famous events in New Jersey history never happened.

The Rice controversy was well known to the citizens of New Orleans. Our audience in West Windsor, New Jersey, overflowed the auditorium. In both these cases it was not events of the past that dictated what people took interest in. It was the present.

The argument of this paper is, I hope, straightforward. It has two pieces. First, the concept of historical significance that the preservation movement uses is derived from an outmoded, positivist concept of what history is and how it should be approached. My second point is that when we attempt to bring our work into line with current historiographical thinking, we risk losing support both from our friends in the local history world who want a fixed, solid past that stays put and from our already-reluctant "allies" in the

worlds of development and land-use planning.

Historic preservation as we know it, though it has earlier antecedents, is a piece of the environmental conservation movement of the 1960s and 1970s, which advocated the control of commercial development to enhance opportunities for outdoor recreation and to preserve areas of natural beauty. This movement was based in the well-educated and affluent middle-class of those decades that believed in the capacity of government regulation to bring about positive change. It shared to some degree the *rights consciousness* of the civil rights movement, and also its dream of an attainable world in which the quality of life could be enhanced for everyone.

As if to solidify the connection between preservation and environmentalism, President Lyndon B. Johnson was speaking to members of the National Recreation and Parks Association when he announced in October, 1966, that he would sign the National Historic Preservation Act. Describing the act, Johnson said it "will allow us...to take stock of the buildings and the properties that are a part of our rich history and to adequately preserve these treasures properly." Concluding the speech Johnson quoted President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "One day a generation may possess this land, blessed beyond anything that we now know; blessed with those things that are material and spiritual; blessed with those things that make a man's life abundant." He ended, "If that is the fashion of your dreaming, then I say hold fast to your dream because America needs it."

Historic preservationists, to oversimplify, merely added the past to environmentalism, or more precisely, they added to environmentalism a particular vision of the American past. Theirs was a version of the American story that assumed scarcities had been abolished; that saw an *increasing availability* for everyone of more and better goods; that envisaged a progressive elimination of class conflict, racism, sexism (later), and other limitations to a society in which all would prosper more than less equally. As the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act opens, "The spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic heritage." This vision of United States history was very clear in its definition of who had been the important actors in history and it was linked tightly to the type of historical work the preservation movement was to do.

Let us look at the phrase "historical significance," taking "significance," the easier word, first. Significance is often used as a synonym for importance. Something with historical significance can simply be something important in history, however this does not tell us much. The term significance is rooted in the Latin for "sign"; it comes to us via the word "signify," which means to act like

a sign, or to carry meaning. Significance is the quality of conveying some special meaning or import. Historical significance is carrying meaning about history. Where is this meaning carried? It is carried in the present, of course. There is nowhere else for it.

No one in this audience should be unfamiliar with the paragraph from *National Register Bulletin 15*, and elsewhere, which defines significance: "The quality of significance... is present in districts, sites,... and objects that possess integrity,... and that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or that are associated with lives of persons significant in our past." I have abbreviated this, but you know it; it is close to a catechism for preservationists, the mantra of the movement.

This credo, however, looks suspiciously like a tautology. Significance is found in places associated with significant events or people. Well, of course it is. Maybe the authors of this passage were using the term significance in both senses; in the second and third cases, as a synonym for important, and in the first case, to convey the larger sense of carrying meaning. In other words, things that carry meaning about history are associated with important events or people from the past.

Thus, the issue of what is important is at the heart of this. Until comparatively recently "important" was defined in narrow social and political terms, and it was uncontroversial. Everyone knew what was important: the homes and other buildings associated with political, military, and business leaders—those who today are sometimes derided as the "dead, white men." Another close look at words might be instructive here. This field is known as historic preservation, not historical preservation even though historical is by far the more common adjective of history. I have a plausible speculation to explain this. Historic usually means important in history, well known, etc; historical means associated with things of the past. Simply put, even our label betrays our elitist origins.

If the notion of historical significance suggests the carrying of meaning about history, we still need to know what history is. This can get messy; I will try to make it as neat as possible. There are two aspects to take up: the concept of history that is embedded in the NHPA, and, more importantly, in National Park Service rules and procedures, and the concepts of history that professional historians struggle to define and explain. These have grown very far apart from one another.

Let me refer again to Section 1 of the NHPA: "The increased knowledge of our historic resources, the establishment of better means of identifying and administering them, and the encouragement of their preservation will improve the planning and execution

of Federal and federally assisted projects and will assist economic growth and development." In other words, from the first part of this, the past has an objective, knowable reality. In this view historical facts come before their interpretation. The patterns of the past are identified, not imagined, or invented. When historians find the factual realities of the past, they write them up for all to agree with because they are the truth, and they don't change. Historical data are information, they are not sources laden with many possible meanings that must be teased out with care.

This approach to history, which borrowed heavily from the natural sciences, was challenged by philosophers and others very early. Hegel recognized the essential duality in history: a duality that German, English, and the Latin based languages all share. History is both the past and the perception of the past.

As an aside, I have been told that at Independence National Park, they use the term historic when they are talking about the genuinely old stuff of the past, and historical when they mean the interpretive work we do in the present.

Take the phrase, "making history." If I were to ask you to imagine what it looks like when people make history, I think many here would create a mind picture of people in the past doing something important: enacting a law, fighting a battle, or giving a speech, for some examples. Or if you've been influenced by the not-so-new-anymore social history, and you're clever, maybe you are imagining a schoolteacher, or someone changing a diaper. However, what if I said that when I think of people making history, I visualize scholars reading primary sources in archives in preparation for writing books and articles, or making movies.

To make short a very long and complicated story, the debate can be summarized like this. People have been writing modern history books for about 200 or 220 years, some would argue for longer than this: back to the late Renaissance or even to Thucydides. Gradually a complete shift in emphasis has occurred. The early writers believed they were recapturing the actuality of the past—"Wie es eigentlich gewesen," in the famous formulation of Leopold von Ranke—how it actually was. The historian Carlo Ginzburg has called this Rankean view the open window school because historical evidence is transparent. It gives direct access to past reality. Gradually, however, historians became less certain that their data could be seen to represent reality in any theoretically valid way. Increasingly scholars have come to the view that the sources of the past have little authority independent of the interpretive frame applied to them. In the hands of the most radical practitioners of cultural studies, it all becomes fictive discourse: the text, the source, the document, artifact, or building does not matter. All that matters

is the meaning applied to it in the present. Ginzburg suggests that these scholars have turned the open window into an impenetrable wall that prevents any access to the reality of the past.

In my way of looking at things there is a middle ground. I do not know if there are realities to the past. Probably there are, or were. However, it is difficult to "know" them now. It was hard enough then. I want to borrow again from Ginzburg but also from the historian Carl Becker, who 70 years ago asked the Cornell University research club, what, where, and when are historical facts. He argued that "the historical fact is in someone's mind, or it is nowhere," because "it is the persisting historical fact, rather than the ephemeral historical event, which makes a difference to us now." For Becker, "the actual past is gone; and the world of history is an intangible world, recreated imaginatively. . . . The event itself, the facts, do not say anything, do not impose any meaning. It is the historian who speaks, who imposes a meaning."

The past is dead to us except through our ideas about it in the present. The things which are significant to us are those from which we can take away some meaning. This is done in the present. But not as through an open window or as confronted by a brick wall.

For Ginzburg evidence is what he calls "a distorting glass." It neither offers access to the past as an open window does to the outside, nor does it lack any relation to past reality. But interpreting historical evidence—verbal documents, archaeological shards, or buildings—requires what George Eliot called the "venacious imagination." Historians have to reject the positivist tendency to simplify the relationship between evidence and reality. They can never take a direct approach to reality; their work is necessarily inferential, based on a specific interpretive framework. History is what historians say it is. It is an ever-changing dialogue over actors and evidence.

As an illustration of this let me mention the New Jersey Historic Sites Review Board with which I have been associated for more than a decade. From my first meetings we have debated inconclusively whether it was the report or the site that we were judging. This debate had two implications. That of which we were most aware, to be sure, was that a weak nomination did not offer the property as much protection as a strong one, because a good consultant could more easily attack the weaker report. But underneath this was the understanding that the narrative provided by the author of the nomination was shaping the meaning of the sites and structures we were considering even though the intellectual frameworks they were providing were often woefully incomplete. As I grew more familiar with the sources of local history, I became more sensitive to how the secondary works available to the consultants and dedicated amateurs who were writing these reports were themselves shaping

the way the documentation was being presented. Access to the past was strongly mediated by the way the story was told, and not infrequently by the obvious concerns of the present.

Ginzburg's *distorting glass metaphor* probably works well enough for scholarly discourse to proceed, but it gets one into trouble in the "real" world of business decisions and land-use planning. How many of us have faced an angry developer or a politician who only wanted to be able to predict what someone would later find was significant if he bought a parcel of land. It is precisely predictability that suffers here.

In 1991, New Jersey Governor Jim Florio appointed a "Task Force on Government Regulations." This task force evaluated a number of state agencies along lines of "Objectivity," "Timeliness," "Qualifications," and "Attitude." It gave the state historic preservation office a failing grade in all four categories. As chair of the review board, I wrote the *chairman of the task force*, questioning these conclusions. As to objectivity I wrote, as moderately as I knew how, "The office uses a set of written standards and criteria that are applied as uniformly as humanly possible. A certain amount of subjectivity is necessary in a field where judgments are necessary, but I should think you would have to show a *pattern of arbitrary and capricious decisions* before giving a failing grade. I am sure no such pattern can be found." The chairman of the task force answered my letter. He wrote: "Without getting into the details of your comments, let me point out that a certain amount of subjectivity is precisely what the development community finds intolerable, since its decisions must be based on predictable standards that can be precisely quantified early in the development process."

So, here is the rub. If meaning in the past is found in the present, what's to prevent somebody from deciding that what we once thought was unimportant is now extremely significant. My answer is: nothing; and ultimately that's the beauty of studying history. However, selling this to the many constituencies of the historic preservation movement is a challenge.

Moreover this only begins to answer the question of who defines historical significance. There are many in the preservation world who have little or no trouble with the notion that historical significance resides in the present, nor with the corollaries that it is carried on public, and that it will change over time. But although history is what historians say it is, what is meaningful about history is not determined by professionals in history-related fields. It is resolved through a broad social process in which historians play only a small role.

Take a few examples. In March, 1955, the General Services Administration determined that Ellis Island, which the

Immigration and Naturalization Service had closed the previous November, was surplus federal property. GSA tried, unsuccessfully, to sell it. Today Ellis Island is the third largest museum in the New York area, and one of its most successful. It was not the past that changed. Whatever happened between 1890 and the late 1920s was over, when the papers were processed of millions of immigrants who had been steerage passengers on transatlantic ships. The meaning men and women gave to it changed: men and women with the ability to do something about what they believed. In illustration of the absence of historians from this process, take this. The dean of historians of American immigration, Oscar Handlin, did not lead the charge for a museum. He proposed that the surplus Ellis Island be used to house refugees from Hungary's unsuccessful 1956 rebellion against the Soviet puppet government.

The December 1996, issue of *Historic Preservation* had a story about tours of San Francisco that highlight aspects of the gay and lesbian past of the city. Now, who fifteen years ago could have predicted this? Furthermore it was not the authors of the few path-breaking books in gay or lesbian history who caused this change in attitude. The books and the tours are both reflections of the same broader social movement.

In New Jersey we have nominated to the state and national registers a number of factories, workers' homes, and other structures associated with New Jersey's labor and industrial history. These buildings, though they clearly carry meaning for many of us today, would probably not twenty years ago have passed the test of either architectural significance or historical importance. Nor is there unanimity that structures of this kind should be preserved. Some might attribute this simply to changing aesthetic tastes. However, it seems to me that entirely different, even conflicting, senses of how American history should be narrated are involved. There will always be some people who feel their past suffers by the way it is represented.

There is another danger here too. At a cocktail party once a state senator told me, "Well, if you're going to take that view, then it is all historical. Why don't we just save it all? Never build anything." And I know preservation professionals who privately take the view that, "It is all significant." All elements of all old buildings can be said, on some level, to carry into the present meaning about the past, especially the kind of history of "plain" people which historians have been depicting in the last decade or two. Does this mean it should all be preserved?

Consider the following case. In 1858, the first reasonably complete dinosaur skeleton ever unearthed was discovered in Haddonfield, New Jersey, just across the Delaware River from

Philadelphia. One cannot exaggerate the impact of *this discovery*. It was "a pivotal event in dinosaur paleontology," as the most recent book on dinosaurs of the eastern US calls it. Though the site is a national landmark it had never been listed in the New Jersey Register of Historic Places. When a nomination came before the Review Board to remedy this, I was skeptical. About seventy five million years ago an amphibious creature that we now call a Hadrosaurus died at sea. The ocean then covered that part of the Delaware Valley. Its bones drifted around the ocean before they finally dropped to the bottom where William Parker Foulke dug them up millennia after the sea retreated.

There is nothing meaningful about where these bones lay when they were discovered; neither about dinosaurs nor about those who study them. A plaque marks the spot, erected by the Philadelphia Academy of Sciences. It was catalyzed by an Eagle Scout's merit-badge project. I am in favor of preserving green space as much as the next person, but I am still wondering by what definition of historical significance does this area become a national historical landmark. Something very important in the history of science happened here, no doubt. However, how is the ability of this episode to remain meaningful to us enhanced by the preservation of the area where these bones sunk to the bottom of the sea? We might even be endangering our own movement by failing to recognize when we need the physical space or structure to convey meaning to the present about the past, and when we don't.

I think this case illustrates an important point. Those who say that it is all significant have learned only one but not both of the key lessons of the great changes that have swept through the historical profession in the last few decades. They have learned the implications of the social history "revolution": that there is a historical dimension to all aspects of the social world and that every element may be studied fruitfully when the sources allow. They have not understood the point I have been trying to make here. Meaning is socially made. Historical significance is about meaning in the public realm. It is all historical, but it is not all equally historically meaningful, i.e. significant.

Of course not all the mistakes come from elevating beyond their due the historical significance of resources. Far more often we fail to save things that should really matter. Take this case, also from southern New Jersey, though less within the orbit of Philadelphia. In Swedesboro, Gloucester County, municipal officials erected in the early 1940s what was quite probably the last segregated elementary school to be built in the New Jersey. In 1947 a new constitution banned segregated education. The building was in severe disrepair when its nomination reached the review board. The local school

board wanted to demolish it in order to build a new building, which they needed badly. Inclusion on the state register would have made this impossible without a hearing before the state's Historic Sites Council. Even had the board won its case before the sites council it surely would have meant costly delays. On the other side, a group of alumni of the school dearly wanted the building preserved as a reminder of the segregated education they received, and of the deeper legacy of racism and discrimination. They had painstakingly done the work to bring the nomination forward. Though the nomination had important weaknesses, it amply made the case for the local importance of the building.

At a racially charged meeting—one group sat in one corner of the room, the other across from it—the board ultimately recommended the school for inclusion in the state and national registers. The deputy SHPO, probably overstepping his legal authority, overruled us. The defenders of the property enjoined the school board from setting loose the bulldozers, but this was only a temporary delay. The building was demolished about three months after the hearing, but the story does not end there.

During the hearing I reached the conclusion that the best course would be for the building to go on the register so the sites council could decide if it could/should be saved. It seemed to me that it was possible the building's condition was so deteriorated that it lacked architectural integrity. However, I did not want the review board to decide this. The sites council could do it, and if it granted the school board permission to tear the property down it had the power to recommend mitigating procedures, which the review board does not have. I remarked publicly during the hearing that I thought the building was surely eligible on associational grounds, but that I was not sure it had to be preserved because there were many ways the history of segregation could be recalled on the site. Architectural elements could be retained in the new construction, curricula could be introduced, plaques or markers could be required. I will never forget the way that a fellow member of the board, an African-American woman, looked at me and said, "You can only say that because you never attended one." It was a forceful reminder of the role memory plays in determining what is meaningful.

However, the affront to the supporters of this school and to the black community of Swedesboro did not end there. A year or so after the building came down, the New Jersey Historic Trust initiated a conference on historic preservation in the African-American community. After much discussion the Swedesboro school case was left off the program because the organizers wanted only case studies that "accent the positive." It was not only the local school board that

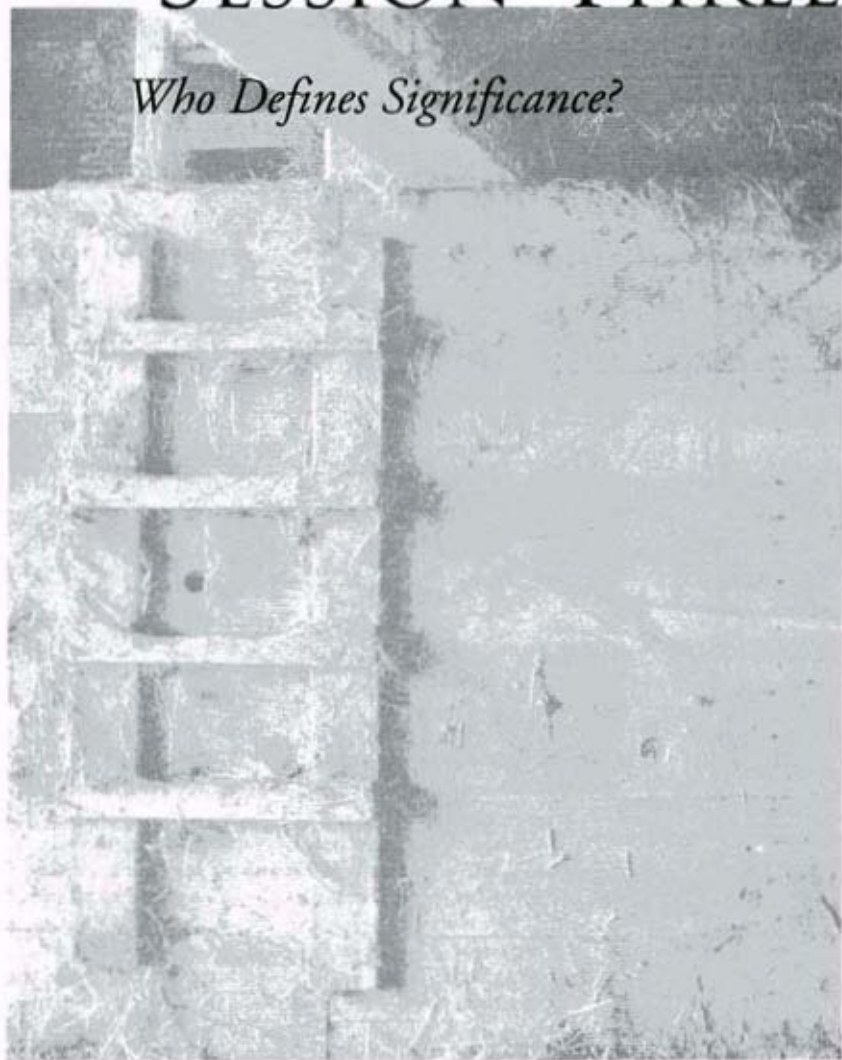
worked to erase this building's power to bear meaning; allies in the preservation movement did it too.

To my mind there is only one way out. We cannot return to a time when there was an official, unchanging version of United States history that went uncontested. We should not wish to return to a day when the preservation movement devoted itself only to the resources that reflected this version, the buildings of the wealthy and powerful. We will fail if we try to hide the complex ways that the present shapes the past.

We must bring people into the notion that we all define historical significance by struggling over what the things mean that happened in the past, and which things will be saved as memory aids. We must acknowledge that any particular recounting of the past risks violating *someone else's* way of thinking about it. This calls for reaching more deeply into the communities where we work. It is not the experts who will determine what is meaningful to whom and why. A broad social and political process will do this. We cannot control it, but concerns of the preservation movement will not even be part of this process unless we work to bring it to people where they live.

SESSION THREE

Who Defines Significance?





WHO DETERMINES THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AMERICAN INDIAN SACRED SITES AND BURIAL GROUNDS?

SHERENE BAUGHER, *Assistant Professor, Department of Landscape
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The ongoing issue of who determines the significance of Native American sacred sites and burial grounds presents a considerable challenge for all concerned. For all nations, including Indian nations, places for the dead are sacred. Because the fates of American Indian sacred sites are most often determined by people who are not followers of an Indian religion, the ethical sensitivity of decision makers should be expanded, so that Native perspectives are included. In addition, just as the preservation issues are complex for non-Indians, the question of significance is perceived differently by different Indians.

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE INDIANS?

Recent legislation, such as the 1990 Native American Graves and Repatriation Act, gives Natives Americans a voice in decision making. Theirs is not the legally binding voice, however, for they do not have a veto over development unless a gravesite is on a reservation. Even then, non-Indian developers may prevail through court appeals or rulings from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The ability of the federal agency such as the Bureau to override an Indian nation's decision is based on the federal government's assertion that Indian lands are ultimately federal lands, just as federal forests are federal land. Such property is outside state and local jurisdiction, but subordinate to the federal government. In addition, unless a project is federally funded, the 1990 legislation does not apply to burial

grounds on private property, state lands, or municipal holdings.

Lawyer H. Marcus Price III analyzed federal and state laws regarding the protection of Native American burial grounds. He notes that before the 1990 federal law the goal of non-Indians was to preserve any human remains or burial goods in a museum—not to keep a burial site intact or to return the remains and burial goods to an Indian nation.¹ Even when laws do exist, it does not mean that the spirit of the law will be followed or that American Indian religious views will be respected. Attorney Price summarizes the roles of both non-Indians and Indians in the failures to enforce legal protections as “factionalization among residential aboriginal communities, inadequate funding of preservation programs on the part of the state legislatures, and a lack of support given to enforcement of the laws by the resident professional community.” As Price notes, while some of this failure is due to pressures from non-Indians, other failures are due to factions within Indian communities. These factions can divide clans and families as well as the community as a whole. For example, this factionalism is based at least in part on the different interests and viewpoints held by those Indians who are assimilative and often adhere to a Christian faith in contrast to those Indians who maintain traditional native religions and customs.

Archaeologists and preservationists who are reluctant to deal with Indians often claim that they do not know which Indians should be contacted. They ask, “Who really speaks for the Indians?” There are over 300 different American Indian cultures and religions in North America. While there is not a pan-Indian response in terms of the treatment of the dead, most traditionalists support the preservation of burial grounds and sacred sites. They are usually opposed to the removal of human remains and grave goods to museums. In contrast, assimilative Indians sometimes see museums as a viable alternative. These disputes within Native communities reflect a pervasive split throughout all of “Indian Country,” affecting virtually every aspect of Indian life, including the issue of preservation. This split is in part a consequence of federal policy. Until the late 1970s, federal policy imposed assimilation through federally funded schools in which Indian customs were downplayed and even denigrated. This policy was redirected in 1978 when Congress asserted that the Bureau of Indian Affairs should “facilitate Indian control of Indian affairs in all matters relating to education.” Another major reason is that, beginning in the nineteenth century and especially after 1934, the federal policies and laws replaced traditional Indian governments, imposing in their place tribal governments patterned after Euro-American modes. While the policy of the federal government is no longer openly assimilative,

the federally imposed tribal governments continue to function. Often shunned by traditionalists, these tribal governments are staffed primarily by those Indians who are more assimilative of mainstream America. If you asked the opinion of these two groups regarding the preservation of burial grounds and sacred sites, you are likely to get different answers.

Because federal and state laws recognize the actions of the tribal councils and the federally sanctioned tribal governments are still likely to be in business into the next century, it is important to understand why these governments were created and why there are internal conflicts. Tribal councils, exemplified by the one imposed by the federal government on the Navajos in 1923, were put in place so that non-Indians could define groups of Indians who could sign oil leases and other contracts, allegedly on behalf of all their people.⁴ This process went on gradually until 1934, when the Roosevelt administration devised, in the Indian Reorganization Act, what it believed was a reasonable compromise: Indians would be allowed to continue their customs in exchange for adopting governments modeled after the federal government.⁵ At the time, this seemed benevolent. After all, it was not until 1934 that the United States extended the right to freedom of religion to Indian nations—prior to 1934, federal officials on Indian reservations, eager to see the Indians Christianized, harassed Indian religious leaders and often forced Indian religious ceremonies underground.⁶ These new tribal governments were run by majority rule rather than by consensus and were often forms of government that were alien to the traditional cultures.⁷ A major reason these governments created tensions was that the Indian Reorganization Act separated church and state on Indian reservations, whereas traditional Indian governments almost always integrated religion and politics.⁸ As Indians complied with the Indian Reorganization Act, a division occurred on many reservations with the assimilative Indians running the tribal government and the traditional Indians left out of the tribal decision-making process.⁹

Because these divisions remain today, preservationists need to be very clear about who we are contacting regarding religious issues. Is it the political leaders of federally sanctioned tribal governments or the religious leaders? Are the leaders we are working with Christians or traditionalists? To mitigate these problems we should apply the same approach we use when contacting religious leaders of a Euro-American community. For example, if we were dealing with the preservation of an orthodox Jewish cemetery in New York City we would contact the religious leaders of an orthodox community, not members of "Jews for Jesus." With Indian sites, we need to contact the traditional religious leaders not the Christian Indians.

In some cases, a sacred site may be used jointly by traditionalists from more than one tribe. In these circumstances, you must contact traditional representatives of each Indian nation.

Some archaeologists believe that Indian leaders need to demonstrate direct genealogical descent between the people buried in the ground and the contemporary Indian community before the Indian community is included in the decision-making process. However, that same standard of genealogical affiliation was not applied to Afro-American communities in 1991 with the discovery of a free black colonial cemetery on the grounds of a proposed site for a new federal office building in New York City [Fig. 1]. Members of the Black community, including New York City's first black mayor, David Dinkins, were active and vocal participants in two-year long discussions which determined the fate of the burial ground, the bodies, and the footprint of the office building.¹⁰ However, no one dared to demand that the diverse groups of black leaders, which included the outspoken Reverend Al Sharpton, had to demonstrate their direct descent from those individuals buried in this eighteenth century graveyard. The reason was clear: the Afro-American community in New York is a powerful voting block. Indians only comprise three percent of the population (divided up among more than 300 tribes) and are not a powerful voting block or lobbying force. As former New York State Department of Transportation Commissioner Raymond Schuler succinctly put it: "State Officials only seem to take Indians seriously when the Indians have rifles in their hands."¹¹ Given the circumstances, I believe we need to treat Indian burial grounds in the same way we handle the grave yards of other groups not because we are fearful, but because it is the fair and ethical thing to do.

Another way some officials have ignored Indians is to meet only with members of "federally recognized tribes." The reason given is to avoid "New Age" groups claiming to be Indians, such as the non-Indian followers of Sun Bear. However, in the Midwest and the far west, including California, legitimate Indian nations, through no fault of their own, were "terminated" as "federally recognized tribes" in the 1950s. The federal administration believed that all Indians should be assimilated into mainstream American culture and that the existence of their reservations and their treaty-protected legal status was an impediment to the goal of forced assimilation.¹² While most Indian nations maneuvered to avoid termination, historian Laurence Hauptman notes that "the 'termination laws' of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations ended federally recognized status for 109 Indian groups."¹³ In addition Hauptman notes that the laws removed the restrictions on 1,265,801 acres of Indian land thus allowed for easier leasing and sale of this land.¹⁴ Today,

members of these terminated tribes cannot fight effectively for the protection of their sacred sites since they lack legal status. Therefore, it is important to determine which tribes were terminated and to allow their religious representatives to be part of the discussions regarding the significance and preservation of their sacred sites.

The professional archaeological community is divided on the burial issue. After archaeological excavations are undertaken so that studies can be made, some advocate reburial and the preservation of specific sites while others favor the removal of bodies and grave goods to museums or universities to become permanent collections. Two federally funded journals, *CRM* and the *Federal Archaeologist*, have published positive examples of the cooperation between Native communities and archaeologists. Overall, these journals have shown an enlightened and culturally sensitive approach toward Native burial grounds by archaeologists. While I am happy to see a growing number of culturally sensitive archaeologists, my experience has been that there are still too many archaeologists who do not agree with the new legislation, and reluctantly comply with the law. Because of this resistance, archaeologists with State Historic Preservation Offices often have to act as middlemen between the archaeologists and American Indian communities. Because reluctant archaeologists often notify American Indian communities of the discovery of burial grounds at the last possible moment the law allows, the work takes on crisis management proportions. Many of these confrontational situations could be avoided if Native communities were treated with respect and were informed at the beginning rather than the end of the process. To have proactive planning all sides need to discuss the issues and arrive at a jointly agreed upon plan of action before archaeological excavations begin. This can be done in both university settings and in cultural resource management cases, and I would like to give a few brief examples.

Between 1980 to 1990, I was the City Archaeologist for New York City. Along with my staff in the City Archaeology Program, I excavated sites that were endangered but did not trigger any legally mandated archaeology. I also evaluated all the legally mandated contract archaeology projects within New York City. If I thought that a site had the potential to contain a Native burial ground then I met with the leaders of New York City's American Indian Community House which represents Indians living in the city—some 14,000 in 1980 and 30,000 in 1997! I also met with each site's developer, the developer's architect, and the officials of any city agencies that were involved. Together we planned exactly how any discovery of a burial ground would be handled. Because these projects were being undertaken early enough in the planning process, *in situ* preservation of a burial ground was possible. If



FIG. 1. LOCATION OF THE FREE BLACK COLONIAL CEMETERY, AND JOHN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, WALL STREET, MANHATTAN. DRAWING BY JENNIFER HANNA, 1998

violation of their traditional religious beliefs. If archaeological excavations are undertaken, the site for reinterment and a reasonable length of time for the scientific study of the bones must be negotiated with leaders of the Indian community before the archaeological excavation continues. In 1986, human remains were found by construction workers during the renovation of the interior basement of a landmarked building, the John Street Methodist Church, in the Wall Street area of lower Manhattan [Fig. 1, 2]. The construction project was being undertaken "as of right," meaning it was not a discretionary action and did not trigger any federal, state, or New York City environmental or preservation laws that would have required an archaeological assessment prior to construction.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the minister contacted me because he wished to be ethical and he was also genuinely interested in the history of his church grounds. The bones uncovered could have been associated with a white Methodist from the eighteenth century or

necessary, the redesign or the re-siting of a new building could be undertaken without financial hardship.¹⁷

Some archaeologists believe that problems with an Indian community are bound to occur whenever human remains are discovered during the excavation or construction phase. I believe that if the Indians are given a deciding vote in the decision-making, then the problems can be resolved. The Iroquois and Algonkian people that I have worked with have not been "either/or" in their approach and there has been a middle ground that was reached which was not in



FIG. 2. JOHN STREET METHODIST CHURCH, WALL STREET, MANHATTAN. PHOTOGRAPH BY SHERENE BAUGHER

an Indian buried prior to European contact.¹⁷ I met with leaders of the American Indian Community House as well as with the minister of the John Street Methodist Church and his superior. Religious leaders from both the white and Indian communities agreed that they wanted the bones reburied, but they were willing to have physical anthropologists study the bones as long as none of the bones were destroyed or treated in a disrespectful manner. They also wanted my City Archaeology Program to undertake an emergency excavation to determine if any other bones or intact bodies were on the site. Members of the American Indian Community House volunteered to participate in the excavation with us [Fig. 3]. No other bones were unearthed. Due to the limited number of bones and types of bones, the physical anthropologists were unable to determine the racial background of the individuals. Therefore, the bones were reburied on the Methodist church property in a joint Native American and Methodist reburial ceremony. All parties involved, including the archaeologists and physical anthropologists, felt this was a win-win situation. It worked because all religious views were heard and respected.



FIG. 3. AMERICAN INDIAN
COMMUNITY HOUSE
VOLUNTEERS ON THE DIG.
PHOTOGRAPH BY SHERENE
BAUGHER

SACRED SITES

Because of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990, preservationists now evaluate American Indian sacred sites. These sacred sites are also known in federal guidelines as "traditional cultural properties," though I can only imagine the furor that would arise if a United States diplomat defined the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem as a "traditional cultural property"! For all nations, including Indian nations, places for the dead are sacred. However, there is tremendous diversity in the Native view of sacred sites because there are over 300 different American Indian religions and cultures. Sacred sites include burial grounds, locations of religious ceremonies, and sites where animals such as otters, fish such as salmon, plants such as yucca, rocks such as Catlinite, water, and/or soil are gathered for religious purposes.¹⁸

Sites of important historical events are also frequently sacred places. The site of a Huron village, Tkahaanaye near Kingston, Ontario, holds sacred meaning to the Iroquois of the Northeast because this was the birthplace of Deganawidah, the great Peace

Maker who founded the Iroquois Confederacy.²⁰ The site where Deganwidah met a powerful woman named Jigohsacae and instructed her regarding the future roles of the clan mothers within the new confederacy is believed to be at Ganondagan, near Victor, New York.²¹ Ganondagan is New York's first and only State-supported Indian heritage site.²² And at the Onondaga territory near Syracuse, New York, the Iroquois' nineteenth century religious leader Handsome Lake lies buried.

For the Navajos of the Southwest, some sacred sites are the locations where sacred plants and sands are procured for healing ceremonies.²³ Often, access to these sacred plants is as important as the land. If development destroys these plants in what may otherwise be a sensitive development, the sacredness of the site is diminished or destroyed *although* the landscape still appears to be beautiful. For Pueblo peoples of the Southwest like the Hopis of Arizona, the sacred sites are locations of yearly ceremonies and include the sacred routes to the sites. Sometimes one more than one tribe can use a sacred site. Zuni Salt Lake on the border of New Mexico and Arizona is a sacred site of the Zuni, Acoma, Hopi, and Navajo peoples who all consider the site the home of a spiritual being known as Salt Mother.²⁴ Traditionalists from all four tribes worship at the site. For example, members of specific clans from Zuni still make pilgrimages to Zuni Salt Lake where salt is gathered, offerings are made at shrines, and ceremonies are performed.²⁵

To an outsider, these sacred sites often do not look different

FIG. 4. PETROGLYPHS,
PETRIFORM NATIONAL
MONUMENT, NEW MEXICO.
PHOTOGRAPH BY
SHERENE BAUSHER



from the surrounding secular landscape. Developers and government officials often view the sacred land as simply undeveloped, and numerous rationales are put forward for development. In 1997, for example, the justification for developing sacred sites included:

- (1) scientific research, the justification put forward for the University of Arizona's proposed Mt. Graham Observatory on a religious site of the San Carlos Apache Indians;
- (2) recreation and tourism, behind a proposed commercial ski resort on Mt. Shasta, one of the most sacred sites of Indian tribes in California;
- (3) wealth, promised in the proposed gold mining leases for the Blackfeet's sacred Sweetgrass Hills of Montana;
- (4) an improved and safer highway, achieved by a proposed expansion of an interstate near Albuquerque in exchange for the destruction of some of the icon-rich Petroglyph National Monument [Fig. 4, 5].

Because some sacred lands do not contain religious buildings, it is often difficult for non-Indians to understand why this one location is so important and that the negative impacts of the proposed development cannot be mitigated by giving the Indians access to other

FIG. 5. FOUR MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS OF INDIAN SACRED SITES. DRAWING BY JENNIFER HANNA.



land nearby. However, that is like saying to an American that you are going to bulldoze the Civil War battle field Gettysburg—after all, it is also open land—but that in exchange you are going to set aside other property near by. *In both cases, an exchange of land is not acceptable because the other land is not hallowed ground.*

Even when the federal government has declared that a site is sacred, it does not mean that Indians will have free access to the site. For example, Indians have limited access to sacred sites on National Park land. Medicine Wheel, a sacred site and designated historic landmark located in Wyoming's Bighorn National Forest, is fenced in. Incredibly, the ten Plains Indian tribes who worship at the site must make reservations in advance in order to gain access to the site.

Some Indians are still hesitant and reluctant to work with non-Indians in revealing the location of sacred sites. They fear that the sacred sites will not be protected or that any information that is published will guide looters to the area. The University of Arizona's proposed Mt. Graham Observatory is a good example. The location is on a religious site of the San Carlos Apache Indians. The Apaches did not protest this proposed development in a timely manner. In 1985, the United States Forest Service sent out notifications regarding the period for public commentary on the environmental review reports for the project. However, the Apaches did not protest until four years later.²⁵ The Apaches went to court and in 1992 the district court ruled that the Forest Service had complied with all the laws. In 1994, an Appeals court ruled against the Apaches saying that the Indians had "forfeited their claim" because the Apaches submitted critical information a year after a building permit was issued.²⁶ The delay may have occurred because some assimilated Apaches in tribal government did not care, and some traditional Apaches did not want to reveal the locations of sacred sites at and around the construction site. In both cases, Indians reluctance to protest ultimately destroyed their case.

There can be major disagreements between Indians and preservationists over the very concept of what should be preserved. There are some sacred sites and sacred objects that Indians feel must be allowed to decay and disintegrate in accordance with the traditional religious belief that symbolic gifts and sincere prayers maintain or restore the balance of the world.

- (1) The Zunis make effigies of spiritual beings and prayer sticks which are erected at sacred sites and shrines and are expected to be allowed to decay and disintegrate over time.²⁷ Thus in this case, natural deterioration, not preservation, is a sacred goal. To bring these objects into a museum to "save" them is not only an alien thought but goes against the intended function of the

prayer sticks.

- (2) In the past, the Lakotas of the northern Plains erected burials on scaffolding or in trees. The bodies and grave goods were supposed to disintegrate and return to Mother Earth.²⁸ As with the Zuni effigies and prayer sticks, natural deterioration and not preservation was a sacred goal. Some Lakota practiced secondary burial and the bones were collected, placed in a small bundle and buried in the earth.²⁹ To archaeologically excavate and then preserve these remains and grave goods in a museum is to interrupt the natural cycle.
- (3) For the Navajos, a beautiful and elaborately detailed sand painting is made as part of the curing ceremony and at the end of the ceremony, the painting must be destroyed.³⁰

These differing views of what is significant emphasizes why Indians must be involved in both locating and determining the significance of their own sacred sites.

SUCCESS STORIES

There are some success stories. In 1984, the Massachusetts island of Martha's Vineyard designated a district of "critical planning concern" which included sites significant to the Wampanoag tribe.³¹ In New Mexico, cultural resource managers have addressed the probable impacts to sacred sites by the proposed Fence Lake coal mining project by involving Indians at every stage of development. The project is located fifteen miles from Zuni Salt Lake, a site mentioned earlier as being sacred to the Navajo, Acoma, Hopi, and Zuni Indians. The proposed mining operation may impact Zuni Salt Lake and the company's transportation corridor may impact religious paths and shrines.³² This project could become a landmark study because of its incorporation of Indians at all levels of discussion, planning, and decision making.

Preservationists, archaeologists, and planners within state and federal agencies should meet with American Indian religious leaders to discuss how to preserve or to develop sympathetic joint use of sacred lands. They should also meet with representatives of tribal governments, understanding as they do so that these political leaders may not always agree with the traditional religious leaders. This is not unlike observing a Republican-controlled Congress and a Democrat-controlled White House, for all societies have their factions. The direct and immediate involvement of American Indians in decisions regarding their sacred sites is ethical. Such an involvement is also practical, as it diminishes the possibilities of confrontations, court battles, and negative publicity. Such

procedures are more than politically correct. The Bill of Rights of the Constitution guarantees freedom of religion and a diversity of thought. *Ironically*, we willingly fight battles on foreign shores to insure the survival of these ideas. However, to insure freedom of religion at home, we must encourage its survival in all the manifestations provided to humans on this continent. In terms of the issue of who determines significance, we need to ask these questions: Why are we preserving these sacred sites? Who are we preserving them for? Ultimately, whose culture is it?

ASSESSING SIGNIFICANCE AND INTEGRITY IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER PROCESS: QUESTIONS OF RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER

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At first glance, the Ladies Rest Room in Lewisburg, Tennessee, is an unremarkable building, one of restrained Colonial Revival style that appears to be just another in a series of similarly undistinguished brick buildings in this rural county seat [Fig. 1]. This lack of exterior distinction no doubt contributed to its omission in earlier National Register surveys of the town, county, and region. It is an easy building to dismiss, architecturally and, unfortunately, too many assumptions and judgments about what is eligible for listing in the National Register have, and continue to be, skewed by exterior appearance and the presence of style.¹

Luckily, community leaders and residents, who considered the building important,² brought it to my attention due to our department's interest in rural history and preservation.³ Research in such sources as the local newspaper and state government records documented the importance of this 1924 building as a deliberately designed space

FIG. 1. LADIES REST ROOM,
LEWISBURG, TN.
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF
CARROLL VAN WEST.



for women in the overwhelmingly male space of rural town squares.³ It also was "a rare physical remnant of the progressive agricultural reform movement of the early twentieth century, particularly the interest of reformers in encouraging the development of a consumer ethic among rural women and enhancing the reliance of rural women on commercial services available in local county seats."⁴ It was Tennessee's first such independent-standing building, but actually a rather late example of a national movement that began, at least, in Nebraska at the turn of the century.⁵



FIG. 2. THE SITTING ROOM,
WITH MS. CHRISTINE
EVANS, LADIES REST
ROOM, LEWISBURG, TN.
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF
CARROLL VAN WERT

defining a better home was one that was modernized. In their modern kitchens and tastefully decorated bedrooms and lounges—not to mention the indoor plumbing of the toilets—Rest Rooms served as demonstration areas of how new machines and furnishings could enliven rural life. There are probably many other extant Rest Rooms across the country; some, like the one in Lewisburg, are still in use. But few, if any, are identified as such in our surveys, much less listed in the National Register.

REST ROOMS AND GENDER, RACE, AND CLASS

What can we learn from the documentation and nomination of this undecorated 1920s building? First, the pervasive but often forgotten influence of gender in the landscape, even within such an often studied and documented place as the county seat with its dominant town square. The recent surge of professional interest in the role of women's history in historic preservation is certainly welcome and important.⁶ Much deserved attention has been directed to the National Park Service's efforts to commemorate the Seneca Falls

Rest Rooms were established as distinct places of relaxation for farm women who visited country towns and cities. Their purpose was to attract farm women to town, where they could gain a consumer liking for modern technology and furnishings. Through the Rest Rooms, agricultural reformers and their town booster allies had a chance, through conversation, magazines, and special demonstrations, to convert farm women to the reform cause. Reformers of that era assumed that better homes were a key to rural uplift, a necessity for increased agricultural production and increased profits. One way of

Conference of 1848 with the Women's Rights National Historical Park.⁹ But like the early years of historic preservation in general, where the focus was most often on elite white men and famous political events associated with their careers, much of the women's history currently documented in our historic sites, or National Register listings, is of elite women and their own social and political landmark events. Or, even more problematic, we recognize women as significant only when they involved themselves in events—like wars and legislative politics—already acknowledged as part of the mainstream of American history. This grafting of women into traditional narratives is what historian Sara Evans has called a "contribution" approach.¹⁰ A more useful approach is to create new narratives by asking basic questions about the influence of gender roles and expectations on historical events, patterns, and people. These questions, as several recent studies prove, are not compensatory—a matter of fairness and sensitivity—but central to an accurate interpretation and assessment of the past. Anthropologist Janet Spector emphasizes: "gender roles, relations, and beliefs, like most other aspects of culture, vary widely and frequently change over time." This historical diversity is well represented in the landscape, if we choose to see it.¹¹

A second lesson from the Ladies Rest Room is how race and ethnicity impact gendered spaces; in other words, analysis of gender and race should be closely interrelated in our study of the landscape.¹² From my reading of the evidence thus far, Rest Rooms were generally reserved for white women. For example, as a public facility in the era of Jim Crow segregation, the Lewisburg Rest Room should have possessed "separate but equal" facilities for African-American farm women. It did not, nor were any similar facilities for African-American farm women provided elsewhere.¹³ This is true for all of Tennessee. I wonder if the same was not true in not only all southern towns, but also in midwestern and western towns where Asian-American, Native-American, or Latina women were probably most unwelcome at the local Rest Room. These places were progressive institutions in their time, but race limited those who interacted within their walls.

Class also limited the clientele of the Rest Rooms. If Rest Rooms were to encourage consumerism and convince farm women to reorganize their homes to emulate early twentieth century middle class standards of home conveniences and

FIG. 3. THE BEDROOM,
LADIES REST ROOM,
LEWISBURG, TN.
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF
CARROLL VAN WEST



decoration, then poor and tenant farm women hardly had the means to be part of the Rest Room audience. Instead, Rest Rooms were where the ideas of professionally trained middle-class, often urban-oriented agricultural reformers, like Home Demonstration Agents, could be translated to middle-class, but rural and relatively isolated, farm women.

MUST CHANGE COMPROMISE INTEGRITY?

Another lesson related to class touches upon our own cultural blinders as well. This involves the obvious association between the change advocated at such reform institutions like the Rest Rooms and the early to mid-twentieth century changes at those "modernized" farmhouses too often dismissed as "compromised" in our surveys and National Register assessments. Here I am thinking of a mid-nineteenth century farmhouse, which has a modernized interior typical of the type advocated by the agricultural reformers from 1910 to 1950. Should such a place immediately be assessed as having "compromised" integrity? The house actually documents how a family took the received wisdom of the agricultural reformers,

either from observation, meetings, or instruction in home economics, and then translated that into their own living space. It certainly is not a "compromised" artifact of the changing relationships between families, their servants or workers, and the broader market forces that surrounded them. The recent research of Wells, McMurry, Hoffschwelle, and Adams documents how changing class, race, gender, and market relations impacted the interior of farmhouses and the arrangement of the domestic complex of the farmstead.¹⁴ Is the real problem not the changed house, but how we think about and apply definitions of time and taste in assessing integrity?

Architectural integrity is the most loaded cultural construct in all of our preservation literature and practice. Over the past decade, scholars have recognized the inherent biases in the culturally determined definitions of reality and truth of many disciplines.¹⁵ In this country, the professional understanding of the term is grounded in class-generated assumptions of architectural purity as well as a professionalization process



FIG. 4. THE RESTROOM,
LADIES REST ROOM,
LEWISBURG, TN.
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF
CARROLL VAN WERT

in the early twentieth century where men replaced women as the primary leaders of the field and then re-defined the basic terminology and assumptions of preservation. As the research of Jim Lindgren indicates, as men entered the field, they were "accompanied by a preoccupation with architectural aesthetics, craftsmanship, and scientific, businessminded expertise. In so doing and in the name of professionalism, the preservation movement was masculinized and women were slowly displaced from its leadership."¹⁶ The restoration at Williamsburg during the late 1920s and 1930s, along with many other projects across the country, solidified this new professional class of preservationists. Their initial restorations became object lessons that preservation meant beautiful buildings, set in harmonious surroundings, with any "modern" additions and alterations removed to allow the architectural purity of the original design to stand undiminished, and unchallenged. Determining the "period of significance," with that decision representing still another cultural construct of what events and patterns were historic at a given time, became all important.¹⁷ Whatever came before or after could be ignored, discarded, even destroyed.

Thus taste and time work together to guide many decisions on National Register eligibility. If the restoration is not "tasteful," defined by the professional expert as in keeping with, or respectful of, the original construction and meeting professionally proscribed definitions of proper materials, methods and design, then the building has been compromised. Whatever its period of significance may be, it lacks integrity and thus eligibility. To some, change to original design is problematic, no matter when and how it occurred. Others have learned to accept that old change—at least 50 years old and hopefully within the period of significance—can be considered part of the property's historic fabric. Thus, old change is acceptable; and eligibility is not undermined.¹⁸

The case of the Ladies Rest Room raises interesting questions about this interaction of taste and time that are also related to class. An expert about women in historic preservation remarked to me about the Ladies Rest Room: it was good that the Lewisburg property "retained integrity;" properties associated with women history remain, but too many had lost "integrity" so were not eligible. That observation made me think again about my assessment of integrity at the Rest Room, especially since it is of significant local interest.

Marshall County is a rural county adjacent to an area of intense suburban and industrial development, tied in large part to the Saturn automobile plant. Agriculturally, it was a progressive county throughout the twentieth century and contains the demonstration dairy farm of the agricultural extension service. Recognizing that rural ways and traditions are passing, residents want some physical

aspects of those memories to remain. Taking this local significance into account, which would be shared by most rural communities that have Rest Rooms today, I believe that a strict application of integrity would be inappropriate. These designed gendered spaces would retain their power to speak as historic artifacts within the larger townscape as long as they retained *their original* four walls and maintained the four primary interior rooms—kitchen, reading lounge, toilets, and bedroom—that defined their function. As demonstration areas for new ideas in home economics, it would not surprise me in the least if the place changed appearances with new doors, more up-to-date kitchen equipment, new toilet stalls, and electricity. Nor would such changes undermine the building's integrity.¹⁶ Moreover, as rural life and economic structure changed in the second half of the 20th century, agricultural progressives lost interest in the reforming nature of specifically designed environments like Rest Rooms. These middle class professionals turned to new challenges, or turned inward to the process of professionalization in their discipline. On college campuses across the nation, departments of home economics have been abandoned, or changed to departments of human sciences. In places like Lewisburg, these professional developments left the country women themselves in control of institutions like Rest Rooms; my own assessment did not adequately address what the people, for whom the building was to uplift, did with the building once it was in their control and how they transformed it to meet their needs in the subsequent years. Interviews indicated, in fact, that the intense local interest was grounded in this recent, on-going tradition. These rural women shared neither the professional sophistication, training, or tastes of the Demonstration Agents. They changed the space to meet their own needs, not those prescribed by the experts. Their choices of materials, furnishings, and equipment were not those of the earlier professional experts. What does it say when we, as a newer generation of educated, urban-oriented professional experts, go into these transformed places and then bemoan the use of plywood and fake pine paneling on the walls (material choices in keeping with the occupants' economic status) or the covering up of mantels so a more efficient, modern, and cheaper, heating system could be installed—or when we even gripe about the air-conditioning units hanging out the windows? Typically, we would conclude that these recent changes were bad; they were outside of the period of significance, and thus undermined its eligibility. Yet the recent past is the period of significance for the women who keep the institution viable and a contributing part of rural life. They have added their own layer of history, one as valid as that prescribed by the reformers 70 years ago.

THE TENDENCY TO IGNORE THE RECENT PAST

Our tendency is to ignore that recent past in favor of the period when the dominant class built and controlled the property. We do little to document the sometimes different, but still important, history of those who later took the property and adapted it to their own uses. The limitations thus imposed are nowhere clearer than in the current effort of the Glenview Neighborhood Association of Memphis to document and list their neighborhood as a National Register historic district. These approximately 1000 early twentieth century suburban homes, mostly bungalow, Colonial Revival, and Tudor Revival in style, housed middle-class whites in a section of Memphis' parkways plan, an artifact of the City Beautiful Movement. Southern style, where urban renewal was designed to enhance segregation as much as beautify the city. To local preservation officials, the district's significance is tied solely to the domestic architecture and landscape architecture of the parkways. The period of significance ends circa 1940-45. Today's African-American residents of the neighborhood, not surprisingly, see it differently. Beginning in the late 1950s, and escalating during the Civil Rights

Movement in the 1960s, blacks moved in and saved a neighborhood that middle-class whites rapidly abandoned for more exclusive all-white rural suburbs. In this social and demographic process, they transformed it into a vibrant place of modern black culture. This rapid process of change from 1958 to 1970 is a significant chapter in the history and perpetuation of

Glenview. My involvement with the neighborhood came at their request: residents merely wanted to learn "how to do" the National Register so they could be in control of the process and they could document their historical contributions.²⁰ If the period of significance is not extended into the 1950s and 1960s to address such basic and key issues of twentieth century southern history as the expansion of the black middle-class and the changing nature of race relations in mid-twentieth century urban America, we will do nothing to document the history of those who actually have saved, and will continue to preserve these homes. Without extending the



FIG. 5. THE KITCHEN,
LADIES REST ROOM,
LEWISBURG, TN.

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF
CARROLL VAN WEST

period of *significance* and our notions of integrity to reflect how the new residents viewed domestic design traditions, we frankly tell the Glenview association, and other similarly situated once excluded groups, that their responsibility is now to document and preserve the district as an artifact of early twentieth century white culture.

Race, class, and gender are basic issues in any comprehensive National Register assessment. There is no need to add or delete National Register criteria or themes in order to address women, minorities, and other excluded groups. The problem has not been with the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, but lie more with our own perceptions of taste and time as well as an unwillingness to constantly test our assumptions about the assessment of historical significance. The story of the Ladies Rest Room in Lewisburg, Tennessee illustrates how questions of race, class, and gender enrich historical interpretation. To have a more accurate and balanced depiction of all peoples in historic preservation in general, and the National Register in particular, we need not rewrite the process itself; we need only to ask questions that go beyond the facades of our properties.

INDUSTRIAL HOUSING AND VINYL SIDING: HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE FLEXIBLY APPLIED

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While historical significance may be "determined from a corpus of facts and from methods of interpretation that are generally accepted among prominent scholars," as Richard Longstreth argues, we should also recognize that historical significance is frequently manipulated in the service of preservation¹. Criteria for historical significance are not objective, measurable standards. Frequently, preservationists stretch and adjust them to fit particular circumstances for legitimate—even desirable—ends.

This paper examines historical significance when applied during the three phases of the preservation life of a building. The first phase is the historical one, beginning when the house was built and extending through the period of significance, which ends sometime before the present. The following phase picks up where the previous one leaves off, and includes the period when the building is nominated to the National Register of Historic Places or otherwise designated historically significant. The third phase is the building's post-designation life, when it is subject to ongoing scrutiny by preservationists. In each of these phases, preservationists reinterpret the historical significance of the building to accommodate immediate needs.

A particularly apt example for historic preservationists is industrial housing—specifically, houses built by a company to house its workers and subsequently owned and maintained by that company to control its workers—because it tends to consist of

repetitive architectural forms in which alterations are immediately apparent. Two mining regions replete with company towns provide concrete examples for this discussion. The bituminous coal fields in southwestern Pennsylvania and the Copper Country in Upper Michigan were both remote and rugged enough to necessitate company-provided housing in order to shelter and attract workers. Both of these extractive industries developed in the last half of the nineteenth century and flourished until World War I. Both industries were formed of numerous companies that reached surprisingly consistent conclusions regarding company housing. Company towns—called “patches” in Pennsylvania and “locations” in Michigan—survive today in great numbers in both regions.

THE FIRST PHASE OF A PROPERTY'S LIFE

The first chapter in a building's life that interests preservationists is the historical period. For the mine districts, the historical period can be defined as that time when a company built housing and workers lived there as long as the company continued to thrive. Historians might assign historical significance to this housing because of the

insight it gives into workers' lives, the symbol it may provide as a visible remnant of a particular industry, and its representation of the attitudes of management toward its workers. While workers' housing may be the least important aspect of an industry in the view of its management, they are often the buildings that survive the longest after a company closes its



FIG. 1. T-PLAN HOUSES BUILT 1899-1900 AND 2-1/2-STORY BEARS ROEBUCK HOUSES BUILT 1918 BY QUINCY MINING COMPANY, PEWABIC, MICHIGAN. UNDATED PHOTOGRAPH, MTU ARCHIVES.

works. Particularly in mining towns, where the bulk of the work took place underground and the surface works were sometimes limited, the housing may be the most visible evidence that a vast industrial enterprise occurred at a site. The housing is also evidence that workers had lives beyond the workplace; they had wives and children, people were born and died, sons moved away or entered the mines. The houses also represent management's service to or control of the workers, extending to the provision of one of their basic needs—shelter. With the power to evict workers who went on strike, or to govern outside sources of income through the assignment of boarders, or to provide or withhold basic amenities, management could exercise considerable leverage over its workforce

through the provision of housing.²

Architecturally, company housing is easily identified by the number of similar buildings and their placement in rows [Fig. 1]. Their arrangement in a row or a grid plan, regularly spaced, is unlike the surrounding, more organically grown settlements. The housing was located close to the industrial works—often perilously close, in modern eyes [Fig. 2]. Within a settlement, a hierarchy is evident, as managers lived in more elaborate houses separated from ordinary workers' housing.

The similarity of the workers' houses is also striking [Fig. 3, 4]. The repetitive designs of the workers' standard houses made for easy and cheap construction. The houses had the same plan, form, materials, color, and landscaping, although within a settlement, or within the same company, the houses might differ during different building programs. The company houses were cheaply built; in the mining town of Central Michigan, clapboards were laid directly on the studs of balloon-frame houses instead of on a layer of plank sheathing. Originally clad in clapboards or wood shingles, houses in both regions were sometimes re-sided in asphalt or cement-asbestos shingles in the 1920s and 1930s as part of ongoing maintenance. Such work would be done to the houses collectively, not on an individual basis, so the uniformity would be maintained. In both regions, the houses' appearance on the landscape is striking and unmistakable: they are clearly company housing. Their significance derives from this regular arrangement and the standardization of the buildings, because these qualities identify them as company housing [Fig. 5].³



FIG. 2. T-PLAN HOUSES BUILT 1899-1900 BY QUINCY MINING COMPANY, PEWABIC, MICHIGAN. 1961 PHOTOGRAPH, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.



FIG. 3. SALTBOX HOUSES, UNIDENTIFIED LOCATION, MICHIGAN. UNDATED PHOTOGRAPH, MTU ARCHIVES.



FIG. 4. SIX-ROOM HOUSES BUILT 1911-12 BY EBERSBURG COAL COMPANY, COLVER, PENNSYLVANIA. 1930S PHOTOGRAPH, COURTESY MAX VASLANELLI, HABS/HAER, NPS.



FIG. 5. T-PLAN HOUSES
BUILT 1863 BY QUINCY
MINING COMPANY,
LIMERICK, MICHIGAN.
CA. 1925 PHOTOGRAPH.
MTU ARCHIVES.

communities remained in the hands of the companies long past mid-century, especially in these de-industrialized areas of Michigan and Pennsylvania. The new owners, who had often been long-term tenants, inevitably altered the houses. The primary impetus for these alterations appears to have been the provision of basic amenities, such as adding an indoor bathroom and a central heating system. In an effort to save on heating costs, homeowners replaced windows and added new siding—usually in a different material than the original or replacement siding. Large additions are not common, due to the limited means of the residents [Fig. 6, 7].⁴



FIG. 6. FOUR-ROOM
HOUSES BUILT 1911-12 BY
EBENSBURG COAL COMPANY,
COLVER, PENNSYLVANIA.
1988 PHOTOGRAPH BY JET
LOWE, HAB5/HAER, NPS.



FIG. 7. FOUR-ROOM
HOUSES BUILT 1911-12 BY
EBENSBURG COAL COMPANY,
COLVER, PENNSYLVANIA.
1988 PHOTOGRAPH BY JET
LOWE, HAB5/HAER, NPS.

Observers also noted that homeowners made alterations not only out of necessity, but also to individualize their houses, making them noticeably different from their neighbors.⁵ Bright colors, different porch configurations, and front-yard landscaping created a visual variety previously unknown to these communities. In her study of housing built by refractory-brick companies in the same region of southwestern Pennsylvania as the coal-company towns, Kim Wallace noted that homeownership gave many long-term residents "their first unbounded opportunity to use their house as a means of self-expression. . . . These kinds of alterations can be seen as practically and symbolically marking the difference between the private and the company house."⁶ One way to declare that a house

is no longer company-owned is to alter it, to make it look different from all others on the street.

Alterations such as new siding can pose problems for preservationists. The criteria for listing in the National Register of Historic Places include that the property in question possess integrity of materials, and the guidelines elaborate: "A property must retain the key exterior materials dating from the period of its significance."⁷ This implies that the application of vinyl siding over original clapboard would impair the integrity of a building, but in cases of modest housing this judgment is often suspended.⁸ The "Bituminous Coal and Coke Resources of Pennsylvania, 1740-1945" multiple property nomination form—a voluminous document under which Southwestern Pennsylvania coal company towns may be nominated to the Register—addresses the integrity issue directly: "This exterior re-siding does not disqualify these houses from contributing to architectural significance providing that other changes have not fundamentally altered the basic shape and size of the dwelling."⁹

The trend in National Register nominations of company housing seems to be toward ignoring the post-company life of the building as well as its current appearance.¹⁰ The nominator of the bituminous coal study concluded it at 1945, just when most of the companies closed their operations and sold the houses to individual owners. If he had extended the period of significance, he might have additionally argued that the alterations reflected an important period in the dwellings' history—the individual ownership phase.¹¹ The significance of the post-company alterations—which reveal the inadequate provision of amenities in the original dwelling, as well as the desire to individualize repetitive architecture, would have been expanded.

THE THIRD PHASE

The third phase in the preservation life of a building is after designation. Once a company town has been listed on the National Register the desire to alter individual houses does not end. The difference is that preservationists are now involved. Federal money, usually in the form of Community Development Block Grants, is applied to these dwellings. In addition, the State Historic Preservation Office is called in to review the proposed work for its adherence to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation in compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. The Secretary of Interior's Standards provide that "distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques... that characterize a property shall be preserved," making the application of vinyl siding problematic.

The use of vinyl siding is one of those issues that causes a visceral, negative reaction in most preservationists.¹² First put on the market in 1963, vinyl siding replicates wood siding but needs no paint and does not rot. Applied with a layer of insulation, it increases heat conservation. Preservationists condemn vinyl siding because it destroys the proportions of a building, obscures or obliterates original details, changes the texture and feel, and even causes long-term harm to the structural system it encases.¹³ By contrast, owners of industrial housing venerate vinyl siding because it is maintenance free, adds a layer of protection against the weather, and looks clean and new. Increasingly, this difference of opinion becomes a difference

IN A CASE IN SAVANNAH SEVERAL YEARS AGO, THE PROPOSED CHANGES TO A GROUP OF ONE STORY ROW HOUSES CHARACTERISTIC OF THOSE FOUND IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY INCLUDED THE REPLACEMENT OF ORIGINAL WOODEN SIDING WITH VINYL SIDING. WE ARGUED SUCCESSFULLY THAT WHAT WAS SIGNIFICANT ABOUT THE STRUCTURES WERE NOT THEIR ORIGINAL WOODEN SIDING, BUT THE FORM AND CHARACTER OF THE BUILDINGS.

in taste—low-income people prefer vinyl siding, while middle-class preservationists prefer wood.

The issue highlights differences of class and culture. In his landmark study, *The Levittowners*, Herbert Gans perceived that professionals looked at Levittown as outsiders, "who approach the community with a 'tourist' perspective." While the

resident wants "a comfortable, convenient, and socially satisfying place to live," the professional wants a community that is visually interesting as he or she passes through.¹⁴ Catherine Bishir, in her perceptive commentary on "Yuppies, Bubbas, and the Politics of Culture," identified yuppies—in particular, preservation professionals as being non-local and nonethnic. Perhaps these qualities define them better than young, urban, or professional. They are outsiders, and bring an outsider's perspective.¹⁵ In the case of company housing, the preservation professional wants a community that is esthetically pleasing and evocative of its historic character, both qualities that are expressed in architectural uniformity.

Differences of class and culture, while recognized, are rarely accommodated in historic preservation. Class and culture play a large part in creating the historical significance of company housing: its primary interest, after all, is that it was created for the working class, and often a specific ethnic group. By this point in the preservation process, however, preferences that might be attributable to the class and culture of present residents are disregarded. Preservationists argue that they have objective, immutable standards that cannot be compromised. When political and economic considerations are brought into play, however, the preservation community suddenly becomes more tolerant and the formerly inflexible standards are suddenly flexible.

The federal money that is available for this industrial housing is earmarked for low- and moderate-income residents. In the Copper

Country of Michigan, low-income means an annual income of \$13,000 or less. These are poor people, as well as elderly.¹⁶ No one wants to stand in the way of providing basic services for people in need. Politically, it would be unwise for preservationists to hold fast to their rules in the face of such dire need.

CONSIDERATIONS: MASSING, FORM, MATERIALS, INTERIORS

In order to cope with such a situation, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the federal agency charged with administering Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, issued a policy statement on affordable housing that "seeks to promote a new, flexible approach toward affordable housing" through consensus-building. The policy suggests the development of design guidelines geared to specific districts, encoded in a programmatic agreement, "where economic or design constraints preclude application" of the Secretary of Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation. Such a programmatic agreement was drafted for the Copper Country of Michigan. The new guidelines stated that the form and massing of the house were the most significant aspects to be retained, and thus opened the way for the application of vinyl siding if the original siding could not be preserved.¹⁸ The agreement never got beyond the draft stage, however. The administering agency concluded that bureaucratic levels of review were being added to the process, not the streamlining it had hoped for, so it withdrew from the negotiations.¹⁹

By proposing guidelines that emphasize form and massing over materials, preservationists are again bending that concept of historical significance. They value form and massing—that which contributes to the impact of the collection of buildings—more highly than materials and texture, which are best seen at close range, on individual buildings. To justify this, re-examination of historical significance is necessary.

The historical significance of company housing, as originally posited in this paper, found the attitudes of management towards labor to be bound up in the housing. This is expressed not in the particular finish of an individual house, but in the numbers of similar houses lined up like so many faceless workers. The layout of the patches or locations, and the massing of the dwellings, can tell us volumes about the role of workers in a company. Another aspect of the historical significance of company housing is the insight that company housing gives to workers' lives. This is better addressed by the interiors of the houses—which some State Historic Preservation Offices decline to review. Either because the houses' designation as a district stresses the exteriors or because the Advisory Council's

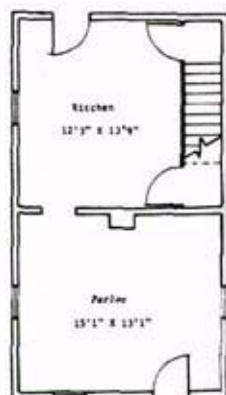


FIG. 8. FIRST-FLOOR PLAN
OF FOUR-ROOM HOUSE BUILT
1911-12 BY EBENSBURG
COAL COMPANY, COLVER,
PENNSYLVANIA.
1988 DRAWING BY
MARGARET M. MULROONEY,
HABS/HAER, NPS.

policy statement advises, "emphasize exterior treatments," preservationists hesitate to intrude on this area of potentially great historical significance. The plan of a house informs us of the past: the size of the rooms and number of occupants, the hall-less plans that preclude privacy, the lack of bathrooms and central heat, the absence of middle-class spaces such as dining rooms and parlors [Fig. 8]. All of these features of company houses bearing on daily lives remain unexplored and unprotected by preservationists. Instead, the exterior is privileged over the interior.

THE FLEXIBILITY OF SIGNIFICANCE

This is reasonable, but again the significance has been redefined. The public interest resides with the collection of buildings, viewed from afar. Preservationists depend on the coherence of the whole to comprehend the landscape, but they are willing to settle for coherent building forms and not insist on identical buildings. When preservationists look at the significance of company housing, they see a history rich in workers' lives, but fail to make explicit an understanding of how the architecture demonstrates this. Preservationists prefer to ignore the post-company phase of weather-mandated alterations and individualization. Finally, after designation forces preservationists to make decisions about the architecture, they hold fast to their standards when confronted with differences of culture and class, but are more lenient when faced with political and economic realities. To accommodate these interests, preserva-

tionists manipulate significance to emphasize the collective impact of the houses.

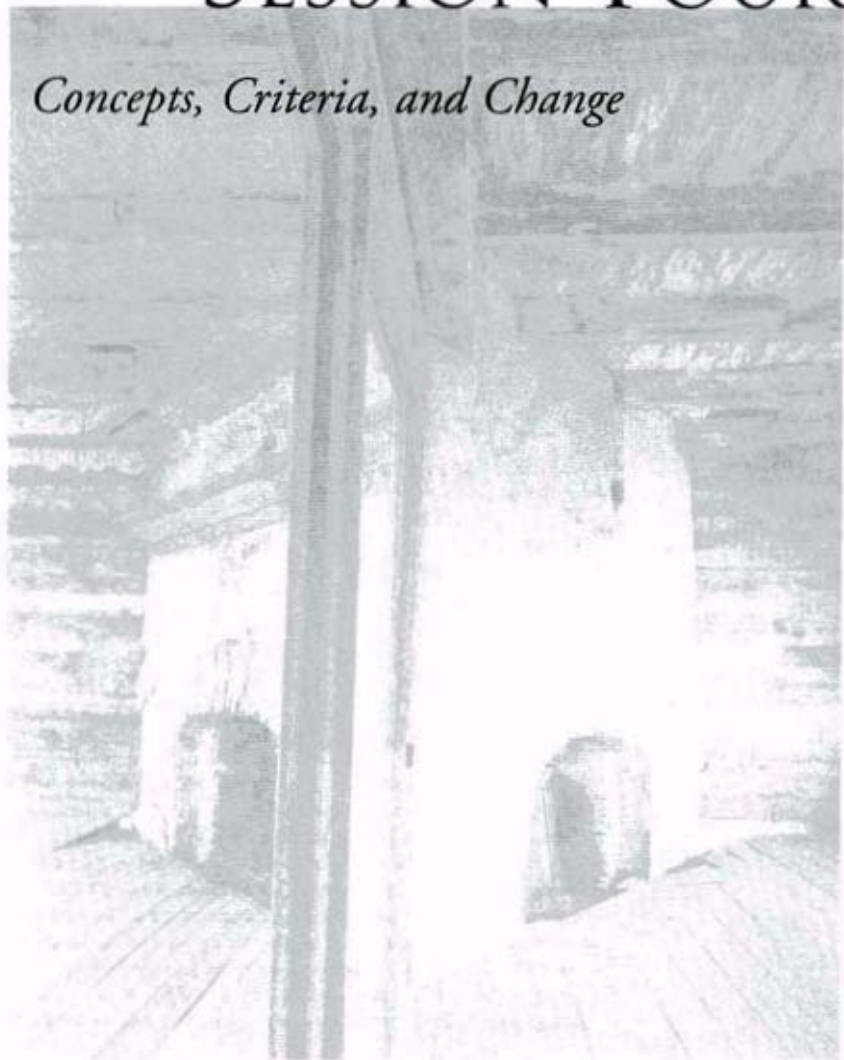
If preservationists are more lenient with company houses, it is because of political and economic considerations. Preservationists are willing to adjust historical significance to fit the need,

and the needs are great: people deserve basic, warm shelter. If vinyl siding will help provide a layer of protection against the weather, preservationists are willing to accommodate that need. There is nothing wrong with flexible concepts of historical significance. However, we should recognize that this is what happens, and not pretend that historical significance consists of immutable laws, evident to all preservation professionals.

THE BROADER FORCES, IN THIS CASE THE ECONOMIC TRENDS THAT AFFECT THE COMMUNITY, ARE VERY IMPORTANT. THE RESIDENTS OF THE MINING COMMUNITY ARE BEING LEFT IN CHARGE OF THE BUILDINGS WITHOUT THE RESOURCES THAT WERE ONCE THERE. THE CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS OF A PLACE, ESPECIALLY DIFFERENCES IN CLASS, WILL OFTEN AFFECT WHAT IS THOUGHT SIGNIFICANT.

SESSION FOUR

Concepts, Criteria, and Change





THE IMPORTANCE OF CULTURAL MEANING IN DEFINING AND PRESERVING SENSE OF PLACE

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The American preservation movement has become increasingly involved in protecting the context, or environs, of historic properties. This trend has been influenced in part by a growing interest in maintaining "sense of place." However, the tools and methods that have been developed by preservationists are inadequate to protect sense of place for two fundamental reasons: they fail to incorporate, in a broad and inclusive way, the importance of cultural meaning as a determinant, and they fail to recognize that places and the perception of places change.

This paper briefly describes the current trend of protecting the environs of historic properties and sets the trend within the context of the increasing interest in sense of place. The paper then introduces the importance of cultural meaning in defining sense of place. Finally, the paper offers a critical look at the methods and tools of the preservation movement and questions their suitability for addressing and protecting the sense of place of historic properties.

The desire to protect sense of place has swept the American preservation movement.¹ Rhetoric about sense of place is everywhere. Discourse about sense of place is no longer solely the realm of academics, designers, and planners. Recently, newspapers and magazines have published articles and editorials that address the importance of sense of place in our communities. This desire to protect sense of place in our communities is linked to the growing interest in preserving large areas of the built and natural environ-

ment, and the effort to protect the surroundings of historic properties.

Throughout the United States preservationists are developing, implementing, and refining tools for protecting the physical context of historically significant properties. For instance, in Fairfax County, Virginia, The Mount Vernon Ladies Association has acquired scenic easements on more than 3000 acres within Mount Vernon's view shed, and the county has established thirteen historic overlay districts to regulate areas of up to one fourth mile from the boundaries of single historic sites like Woodlawn Plantation. Conservation districts have been implemented in many cities. These conservation districts have diverse specific objectives, but for the most part their aim is to preserve the overall visual character of historic areas.

The concept of *environs protection* is not new to the American preservation movement. An interest in preserving the environs of historic properties is evident in results of the Williamsburg Workshop II, which was held in 1967 and attended by fifty leading preservationists. One account of the workshop included the following:

The Objectives and Scope panel noted the beginnings of a fundamental change in thinking about preservation. No longer was preservation simply a concern about isolated buildings destined for use as museums. People were now searching for ways to continue the useful lives of old and historic buildings, regarding them as integral parts of the community. This concept reflected the growth of the idea that the environment should be regarded—and protected—in its totality.²

In 1968, the National Park Service printed a handbook entitled *Historic Preservation Policies of the National Park Service*. Among the policies included in the handbook was one regarding the Service's role in maintaining the "quality and aesthetics of the environment surrounding historical areas." In addition, in 1968 the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation adopted their "criteria of effect" to be used in reviewing federally financed or licensed projects under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. According to the criteria, an adverse effect was created when the project resulted in "isolation from or alteration of its surrounding environment" or the "introduction of visual, audible, or atmospheric elements that are out of character with the property and its setting."³ Clearly, thirty years ago leaders in the preservation movement, the National Park Service, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation all recognized the importance of maintaining the environment of historic properties.

Tools such as scenic easements, overlay districts, and conservation districts represent the preservation movement's efforts to protect the setting, or context, of historic properties. These tools for the most part have been used in preserving the visual context of historic properties. I believe that most preservationists have the mistaken notion that preserving the visual context of historic places preserves their sense of place. Preservationists must recognize that visual character is only one aspect of sense of place.

Cultural geographer Edward Relph has studied and written about place and sense of place for more than 20 years. His writings are a valuable touchstone for preservationists. He notes that

Places are the contexts or backgrounds for intentionally defined objects or groups of objects or events, or they can be objects of intention in their own right.³

Relph describes places as

... a whole phenomenon, consisting of the three intertwined elements of a specific landscape with both built and natural elements, a pattern of social activities that should be adapted to the advantages or virtues of a particular location, and a set of personal and shared meanings.⁴

Preservationists have dealt with the first two of these "intertwined elements." For example, they have devised methods that define, quantify, protect, and replicate physical elements of the built and natural landscape, and they use the history of social activities in a particular location to identify the historical significance of that place. Unfortunately, preservationists have not incorporated, in a broad and inclusive way, the importance of cultural meaning—personal and shared meanings—in their efforts to preserve places. Shared meanings, or personal meanings held in common are, I believe, the most important cultural meanings for preservationists to recognize.

An example of shared meaning within the culture of a place is found in David Proctor's recent cultural study of two counties in the Post Rock region of Kansas. This region of the Kansas plains has layers of "Greenhorn limestone" just inches below the surface of the prairie. The stone is easily quarried and the layers are usually eight to twelve inches in depth so that the stone is readily suited for building construction. In this agricultural region with few trees, the stone was often used to construct buildings and as the "posts" in many miles of fence, hence the name "post rock" [Fig. 1]. Based on his ethnographic research, Proctor asserts that post rock buildings

FIG. 1. POST ROCK.
LINCOLN COUNTY, KANSAS.
FEB., 1997. PHOTOGRAPH
BY BARBARA G. ANDERSON



symbolize the ingenuity, progress, strength, perseverance, defiance, and compassion of the people in the post rock region. This cultural attitude explains in part the respect of the people within the region for post rock buildings and the importance of post rock construction in the region's sense of place.⁷

It will not be easy to incorporate an appreciation of cultural meaning about places into preservation public policy. This is true not only because it is difficult to define the cultural meaning of a place at any one point in time, but also because cultural meaning changes and thus will require redefinition periodically. The following story provides an example of the changing character of cultural

meaning with regard to sense of place. The story is about a small college in Kansas that recently reconstructed a 130-year old English chapel on its main campus [Fig. 2]. The casual observer might assume that the college was attempting to enhance its "historical significance" by importing a historic structure. In fact, my first unspoken reaction when I learned of their plan to acquire and reconstruct an old chapel from England on their main campus was "How could this group of enlightened and thoughtful people be doing something so inappropriate?" I hoped it was simply the whim of a generous donor and a few people on the Building Committee of the Board of Advisors. I did not think it would happen, but it has.

Baker University is a small Methodist college in eastern Kansas, founded three years before Kansas became a state. The Baker University campus is located in the typical Kansas small town of Baldwin City. The Baker University community has a strong attachment to their campus, which is a collection of twenty-two buildings dating from 1864 to the present that are loosely organized around a large quadrangle. The main campus has two buildings that are listed in the National Register of Historic Places and may have sufficient significance, integrity, and cohesiveness to meet the National Register criteria for listing as a historic district. Part of my consulting practice has involved advising on the treatment of historic buildings at Baker University. I was not, however, involved with the Chapel relocation project.

FIG. 2. METHODIST CHAPEL FROM SPROXTON, ENGLAND, RECONSTRUCTED AT BAKER UNIVERSITY, BALDWIN CITY, KANSAS. FEB. 1997, PHOTOGRAPH BY BARBARA G. ANDERSON



Before the reconstruction of the English chapel, the Baker University main campus did not have a place of worship. When the college was established it had a strong relationship to the local Methodist church and used its building for worship services. As time passed, although the college maintained its strong ties to the United Methodists, the relationship to the local church changed and the college was left with no place of worship. Baker University learned of the abandoned English chapel because it was located only 10 miles from where Baker students study in Harlaxton, England, "in the heart of [John] Wesley country."⁸ The chapel was constructed in Sproxtton, England in the 1860s, which was the same time Baker University was getting its start in the plains of Kansas. The chapel had been abandoned in 1988 and there was little hope for its preservation, as the British did not consider it historically significant. Daniel Lambert, President of Baker University, said of the chapel, "It is historically significant to us because of its relationship to the United Methodist Church."⁹ David Pittman, Vice President of Baker University, said, "[we] are pleased to have found a structure that symbolizes [our] Methodist heritage."¹⁰ The following statement by the Baker University President tells of the University community's satisfaction in "rescuing" a part of their heritage and continuing the chapel's spiritually meaningful use.

It is like punctuating a little vignette of history. This little chapel was built by a congregation that struggled until it could build, then just faded away. We are offering it an opportunity to continue as a house of worship, not a lawyer's office, or a condominium.¹¹

What is remarkable about the Baker University community is that their intent in acquiring the chapel and placing it in a prominent location among the other historic buildings on the quadrangle of their main campus was not the superficial, even misleading, effort I originally perceived. The message this story holds for preservationists is that the Baker University community values the chapel as a part of their community. By reconstructing the chapel, Baker University met a practical need for a place of worship. More importantly, as opposed to new construction, the reconstructed chapel is imbued with cultural meaning that supports their sense of place.

Although the particular aspects of this story are not common, the cultural impetus and implications are. For example, they are common to the motivation and effect of rural towns that bring abandoned and often outlying historic buildings (rural schools and churches, round barns, and corner stores) to a single location in town, usually near the highway for all to see. By creating these open-air museums, small towns are reinforcing their sense of place.

It is my experience that the cultural geographers, planners, and architects who study the concept of place are correct: intangible cultural attitudes, beliefs, and memories are fundamentally important to the inhabitants of a place and are instrumental in defining each community's sense of place. These attitudes, beliefs, and memories influence personal and group decisions about the way we treat places and are often at the root of public debate regarding change within a community. For this reason I believe successful efforts to protect the environs of historic properties must incorporate an appreciation of the cultural meaning of the place.

In preservation policy two primary means exist for preserving significant properties—"designation" and "protection." Designation is the act of identifying a property as being significant and thus worthy of preservation. This designation triggers protection under local, state, and federal preservation laws. Protective measures take many forms but generally include some level of control regarding how the property and its context can be altered. While examining of the tools and methods of the preservation movement to measure their ability to adequately incorporate cultural meaning, I have focused on the designation and protection of historic properties and their environment.

In the last twenty years, the preservation movement has expanded its definition of "historical significance." Previously, designation and protection were reserved for properties that had been inhabited by important people, had been the location of a historically significant event, or were the work of a prominent designer. The preservation movement now recognizes the significance of a wide range of properties including common, vernacular, and recently-created properties.

In the last decade, the National Park Service has opened the door to the idea that cultural meaning is relevant by expanding the concept of historically significant properties to include "traditional cultural properties." Traditional cultural properties are eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places and are deemed significant for their

... association with cultural practices and beliefs that are (1) rooted in the history of a community; and (2) are important to maintaining continuity of that community's traditional beliefs and practices.²²

In defining the fundamental difference between traditional cultural properties and other kinds of historic properties, Patricia Parker writes

[The significance of traditional cultural properties] cannot be determined solely by historians, ethnographers, ethnohistorians, ethnobotanists, and other professionals. The significance of traditional cultural properties must be determined by the communities that value them.¹¹

Unfortunately, the classification of "traditional cultural property" is not available for all properties under consideration for designation as significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture. Instead, this classification is intended only for properties associated with "traditional communities." In public policy, traditional communities are defined by political, cultural, and ethnic boundaries. Under this public policy the popular American culture will almost certainly not qualify as a "traditional community." I believe preservationists have a unique opportunity: the opportunity to span the gap between the concept of traditional cultural properties and the concept of all other historic properties, thereby acknowledging the importance of cultural meaning in places regardless of the cultural group within which the significance of the place abides.

The primary means of protecting the environs of historic properties is through regulation of physical change in the built environment. In 1979, the Secretary of the Interior published the first Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation Projects with Guidelines for Applying the Standards. These principles were intended to guide evaluation of historic preservation projects under several federal programs.

This first version of the Standards referred to the "environment" as though consideration of the environment had equal merit to consideration of the historic building, structure, or site. For example, the first sentence of General Standard number two was: "The distinguishing original qualities or character of a building, structure, or site, and *its environment* [my emphasis] shall not be destroyed." The first version of the Guidelines for Applying the Standards for Rehabilitation included guidelines for "The Environment" and for the distinctly different "Building Site." The Standards were revised in 1983, 1992, and 1995. Through word selection and changes in emphasis, the revisions have reduced the importance of considering the impact of a proposed project on the "environment" of an historic property. This made it more difficult to apply the Standards and Guidelines to the environs of a historic property, particularly if that it is not in a district or neighborhood.¹²

Despite the fact that revisions to the Standards and Guidelines have not given "the environment" a prominent position in the principles that are used to guide nearly every protective effort made

by preservationists in this country, important concepts identified in the Standards and Guidelines can be adapted to environs review. However, these concepts are fraught with philosophical questions that must be answered if preservationists are to succeed in protecting sense of place through regulation. For example, must alterations of the environs be based on precedents of an established period of significance that is linked to the historic property or, as in rehabilitation projects, will the layers of history be allowed to accumulate within limits? Will these limits be defined by visual characteristics alone, or will the attitudes, beliefs, and memories of the community that values the historic property and its environs be considered?

If Baker University's proposal to bring an old English chapel to its campus were reviewed under an environs protection regulation, how would preservationists evaluate the cultural meaning of the proposal and its impact on sense of place? Based solely on the visual characteristics emphasized in the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines, preservationists would surely oppose the project, but would they be correct in their opposition? Would such opposition protect the sense of place of the Baker University campus or would it perpetuate (maybe even expand) the breach between what our communities know about sense of place and what preservationists perceive to be historic preservation? The time is right for preservationists to seize a unique opportunity—the opportunity to include cultural meaning when designating and protecting all historic properties, thereby perpetuating sense of place in a way the public can understand.



DETERMINING HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE: MIND OVER MATTER?

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While the issues of philosophy-of-history are vital to the theory and practice of historic preservation, the connection has remained undeveloped. The preservation movement and the mainstream profession of history live in mutually exclusive realms to a lamentable degree. Mainstream historians—whether they specialize in political, intellectual, economic, military, social or other forms of academic history—too often presume that historic preservation is exclusively the purview of architects and architectural historians. Preservationists—whether grassroots activists, public employees, members of governmental commissions, or restoration practitioners—too often think of “history” as a grandiose and rarified realm: daunting, austere, and separate from the other analytical categories that we use to establish significance in historic resources.

Too often, for instance, preservationists separate the category of “historical significance” from the category of “architectural significance.” Too often preservationists forget that everything pertaining to humanity’s development is grist for the historian’s mill—that however important and distinct architectural history may be, it overlaps with social, economic, urban, intellectual, and other forms of mainstream history. Conversely, academic historians forget too frequently that places in the built environment and cultural landscape are documents meriting attention from scholars in fields far beyond architectural history.

In short, preservationists and mainstream historians can learn from one another to a greater extent than is presently the case.

Those of us with experience both as academic historians and as activists in the preservation movement can testify to this truth.

Preservationists are currently striving to revisit the issues of historical significance—to render an account of themselves that is intellectually worthy by the standards of academic historians. They are asking themselves to reconsider the criteria used to determine which resources are deserving of attention from preservationists. They are asking themselves to reconsider where we draw the line between the past and “the present” in light of the fact that the present is *history* too—history in the making. They are asking themselves to reconsider the question of whether we can hope to establish “objective” standards for measuring or assessing historic significance—standards that scholars can validate broadly and with general agreement—as opposed to “subjective” judgments that are based in the mutable vagaries of taste and personal preference.

THE RELEVANCE OF ISSUES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

These issues correspond to some age-old problems and debates in the philosophy-of-history. Many of the issues of *historical interpretation* that concern preservationists are paralleled by long-standing disputes within the broader historical profession. A brief *excursion* into the realms of intellectual history and historiography—along with a brief examination of some philosophic issues that concern the *metaphysics* of history—may be useful to the intellectual challenges of preservation.

The quest for “objective” accounts and for a rigorous stress upon the differences that separate the past from the present may be found in the *nineteenth-century* creed of “historicism” preached by scholars such as Leopold von Ranke. Ranke exhorted historians to render the past “wie es eigentlich gewesen war”—to show the past “as it actually was”—in a dispassionate and scrupulous manner.¹ Likewise, multitudes of scholars have striven since Ranke’s time to build an unassailable basis for establishing history as a “science.” In opposition to this quest for a *scientific history*, significant numbers of historians have defended historical “relativism” to one degree or another. In whole or in part, such historians dissent from the premise of scientific history. They emphasize the practice of history as a literary/humanist craft that must always deal in *partial truths* and in filtered, subjective insights. Over a half century ago, the great British historian Cicely Veronica Wedgwood put it this way in her *history of the Thirty Years’ War*:

Although the historian's material is much more rigidly circumscribed than that of the novelist or poet, he, like them, has to bring to the understanding and presentation of his material his own experiences of life and the imaginative equipment peculiar to him and his time.

This does not mean that his results will necessarily be either wrong or inaccurate: but they will be partial. The characteristics of his own outlook and the atmosphere in which he lives and writes will inevitably make him understand some aspects of his subject better than others; he will emphasize these because they seem important to him and neglect others which lie beyond the scope of his imagination or experience.²

The truth of this observation may be seen in the ongoing flow of historiography—in the rise and fall of historical schools of thought. Every history graduate student must behold at some point the entertaining spectacle of historians virtually wringing one another's necks over fundamental issues of emphasis, reasoning, use of evidence, and ideological bias. Some find the spectacle appalling. Others find a salutary confirmation of the glories of academic and intellectual freedom and the never-ending quest to understand.

OBJECTIVITY AND SUBJECTIVITY

By the same token, the history of America's preservation movement has been shaped by changing and evolving agendas which have ranged from a patriotic reverence for the Founding Fathers to an interest in our roadside vernacular. Each of these agendas is legitimate, as far as it goes. Each of them reflects a commendable interest in the past as objective reality. However, each of them has also been related to subjective interests and passions—civic, social, or aesthetic.

Certain types of historians from ancient times to the present have reveled in history's subjectivism: they glory in the links between historical interpretation and their personal point of view. The ancient Greek historian Polybius, for instance, was proud of the fact that his account of the Third Punic War was informed by his personal acquaintanceship with many of the Roman protagonists. He argued that historians who lacked such first-hand experience of history-in-the-making should nonetheless possess sufficient knowledge of life to be able to build convincing mental re-creations of events that they sought to chronicle. In this view, we have to bring our own experience—we have to bring "something of ourselves"—to the study of the past if we hope to "make the dead past live."³ From ancient times to the twentieth century, historians have sought to build a living and organic connection to the past: they have used their own experience to read surviving evidence of history in ways

that bespeak the very best of their imaginative power. Conversely, they have drawn certain "lessons" from history that render it a "usable past" for the people in their own generation.

THE USABLE PAST

The theme of a usable past is of course fundamental in the work of preservation. Preservationists tend to save historic places that appeal to their own sensibilities. They try to emphasize the usefulness of older buildings in prosperous and livable communities. Has any preservationist ever campaigned to save a building or structure that they hate? However, the enthusiasm for a "usable past" can go awry; both historians and preservationists can become too complacently subjective. In fact, the radically subjectivist side of the philosophy of history appeared in rather striking terms at a recent conference of State Historic Preservation Officers. One of the speakers at this conference argued that historic significance "is not a quality that exists in a building. Significance exists, instead, in our minds. Significance is a feeling."¹ Such observations are naturally disturbing to any preservation advocate who has to make the case for historic significance in designation proceedings where the issues are contested through powerful owner opposition. Imagine the use to which the advocates of carte-blanche property rights or high-powered land-use attorneys could put the proposition that historic significance is nothing more substantial than a transient "feeling in our minds." This proposition derives from a powerful tradition of idealist philosophy—"idealism" strictly defined as the view that the highest or the only true reality is mental reality. Perhaps the most extreme exemplar of radical idealism of this sort was the eighteenth-century Anglo-Irish philosopher and clergyman George Berkeley, who argued that there is no existence of matter independent of perception. Boswell's *Life of Johnson* gives several amusing examples of the lively eighteenth-century discourse inspired by Berkeley's provocative contentions. On one occasion, Boswell recalled,

After we came out of the church, we stood talking for some time together of Bishop Berkeley's ingenious sophistry to prove the nonexistence of matter, and that every thing in the universe is merely ideal. I observed that though we are satisfied his doctrine is merely ideal, it is impossible to refute it. I shall never forget the alacrity with which Johnson answered, striking his foot with mighty force against a large stone, till he rebounded from it, I refute it thus. . . .²

On another occasion, Johnson answered the Berkeleyan argument in slightly less theatrical terms:

Being in company with a gentleman who thought fit to maintain Dr. Berkeley's ingenious philosophy, that nothing exists but as perceived by some mind: when the gentleman was going away, Johnson said to him, "Pray, Sir, don't leave us; for we may perhaps forget to think of you, and then you will cease to exist."⁶

In fairness to Berkeley, it should be observed that he insisted that the omniscience of God confers reality on physical things quite regardless of human thought.

Much as Dr. Johnson felt instinctive aversion for the metaphysics of George Berkeley, most preservationists would probably flinch from the proposition that historic significance, to quote the previously cited conference paper, "is not"—repeat, "not"—"a quality that exists in a building" but is rather a "feeling in our minds." Nonetheless, in flinching from this radically one-sided proposition, it behooves us to address it in a manner more respectful than the quips of Samuel Johnson. Most of us would probably agree that while our minds play a role in the assessment of historic significance, it does not necessarily follow that significance is only in our minds as opposed to the objects they assess. Most of us would probably argue that significance exists in both of them—through a relation of object and percipient mind.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE: IMPRINTED AND IMPUTED

The thoughts and actions of our ancestors created tangible things such as buildings—imprinted with the cultural "signature" of the people who did the creating. To this extent, a part of the historic significance of buildings must indeed be regarded as authentically and metaphysically "in" them. The qualities existing in historic buildings are then perceived, interpreted, and judged by ourselves and by others according to ideas, values, and feelings that are active in our minds. Historic significance is, therefore, a quality apprehended in two ways: it is elicited from things and is imputed to them, through an intellectual assessment of their nature. The apprehension of historic significance amounts to a relation between the attributes of the resource in question and the mind assessing those attributes.

The implications of such metaphysical reasoning for historic preservation are clear. The historic significance of buildings derives indeed from certain qualities, "objective" qualities, in buildings existing quite apart from ourselves. Events and actions in the past really did occur. They occurred regardless of whether or not we can perceive them through "feelings in our minds." They had significance in a great many cases years before we were born. The metaphysical sources of our human heritage—specifically the

people who created the tangible products that possess historic significance—may be dead and gone. However, their tangible products endure, and we can validate their existence and their significance just as surely as Johnson kicked the stone.

That is precisely the point at which our own mental process takes over to a certain extent: we must validate historic significance according to the questions we are asking of the past. Everything relating to history possesses significance to some degree. Indeed, everything produced by human hands has the innate power to signify something, but the kind, degree, and extent of the significance will always be matters of dispute. The intellectual history of scholarship depends upon fortunes of human existence. It depends upon the presence or absence of brilliance, curiosity, diligence, and very high standards in the work of historians. Above all, it depends upon the flow of scholarship: upon the interplay of minds that determines which subjects have the greatest importance to historians. We should always be asking new questions of the past as we pursue our historical studies.

GUIDANCE FOR THE PRESERVATION FIELD

What practical guidance can philosophy-of-history provide to the working preservationist? For starters, let us strive to reform the destructive and ill-informed uses of the term "historic." Let us strive to be rid of the shorthand that classifies buildings as "historic" versus "non-historic." Everything we do that causes changes to the surface of this planet is a part of history. Every building that exists is "historic" and possesses significance to some degree. At issue is the kind of significance. At issue are the scholarly merits of the studies that assess and interpret the significance.

Secondly, let us strive to put history first in the work of preservation. We call our movement "historic preservation," but history is often an afterthought. In our zeal or desperation to succeed, make converts, and reach out to possible allies, we often play down the very essence of our movement. We emphasize design connoisseurship, livable communities, and economic development. Each of these items can be worthy in its own terms. Each of them can help preservation, but they do not put history first. How long will it take us to realize that millions of Americans are eager to learn about the past? We set certain kinds of historic resources aside for special treatment. We do this primarily because of what they teach about history as past and as process. Is this the truth about the preservation movement? It is time to decide—and act accordingly.

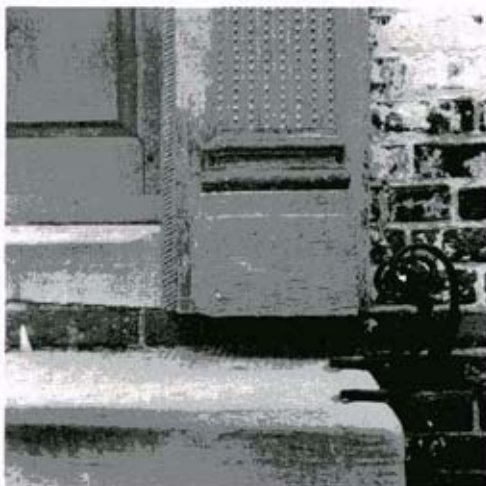
MANAGING THE IMPACT ON CULTURAL RESOURCES OF CHANGING CONCEPTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

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If our historic resources are to remain authentic touchstones for the survival of our shared national story, these resources must remain essentially undamaged by the demands of changing concepts of historical significance. This National Forum on Historic Preservation Practice is devoted to taking a critical look at historical significance. The forum focuses on four principal topics:

- the challenge of communicating historical significance;
- differing views of significance;
- who defines historical significance; and
- the relationship between significance and taste.

In order to do justice to any of these important topics, one central issue needs to be addressed. The issue is this. While periodic re-examination of the significance of historic resources is necessary for responsible management, as well as being intellectually inevitable in a fast changing world, repeated manipulation of



historic fabric to satisfy new interpretations of significance inevitably blurs and eventually destroys historic evidence. In other words, how can we protect the integrity of our historic resources from inappropriate changes brought about by expanding concepts of significance?

I have recently returned from a year's sabbatical with the American Research Center in Egypt. Although my views on this issue have been slowly focusing over the thirty-six years I have worked in international preservation, they sharpened dramatically as I wrestled with the long reach of Egypt's complex history. It is commonplace to be working with buildings and neighborhoods whose origins may date back to the Old Kingdom, 4,500 years ago. They also may bear clear material and artistic witness to later Pharaonic periods, the long centuries of Greco-Roman rule and the flowering of Coptic Christianity, the arrival of Islam in the 7th century, and to the more recent overlay of French and British culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In such a layered context, it became clearer than ever that repeated intervention into the physical fabric of historic buildings and landscapes in order to emphasize one specific chapter of their long history soon destroys them. Although my preservation philosophy has been fairly conservative ever since I worked for the French Historic Monuments Service in the 1960s during the first round of the controversial cleaning of historic buildings in Paris, I have returned from Egypt even more determinedly "hands off" than before. To achieve balance between ever-changing ideas of significance and the long-term protection of historic resources, some fundamental aspects of truth, time and human curiosity must be examined.

TRUTH AND SIGNIFICANCE IN HISTORY

The word truth derives from the Old English meaning "faithful." Truth has come to be defined as "the property of being in accord with fact or reality."¹ When speaking of an historic place, it can be argued that the truth of a place is the sum total of its history. The sum total of a place's history, in this context, includes everything that has occurred at that place since the creation of the planet. This definition includes geomorphology, pre-history and the historic period. The truth of a place is always objective. What is IS. What has been HAS BEEN. The truth of a place does not depend on our ability to perceive it or to understand it. It is not increased if we celebrate it nor diminished if we ignore it. It is, that is all!

Significance can be defined as "the quality of being important."² Significance is always a subjective value judgment determined by the experience and intentions of the individual or group defining it.

The truth lodged in an historic resource, and our current perception of the significance of that same resource, is not always an exact match. In fact, it is rarely an exact match. The truth of a place cannot be changed. What has happened has happened. However, the significance or importance of a place is constantly undergoing reinterpretation because significance and importance are manifestations of our human curiosity.

We human beings "think" historically. We perceive reality (truth) entirely through the lens of our own experience: our own individual experience and the collective experience of our particular community, group, or era. What is more, our experience and the attitudes that our experience generates in us is always in a state of flux. The British philosopher Bertrand Russell put his finger on it when he said, paraphrasing Plato, "Being is a continuous becoming."³ Each moment is unrepeatable. By this time tomorrow, next week, or next year, we all will have moved on. Our life experience and our perception of the reality or truth will have been modified by the accrual of our additional experience.

In the case of some very traditional and often rural societies, their perception of the cultural separation between "now" and "then," ("then" being a specific time in their historical or mythical past) may be relatively small or unimportant. In such cases, opinions about the significance or importance of a place may remain relatively unchanging.

However, should that interval contain, for some reason, the occasion of a major cultural or social shift such as the industrial revolution in the early nineteenth century in Europe or cataclysmic event such as Hiroshima, the Holocaust, or the Moon Landing, our perception of reality may undergo a major transformation. We will look at an old place in a new way. We usually begin to formalize our new understanding by re-drafting a statement of significance.

THE DANGERS OF STATEMENTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

The problem, for me, comes when we decide to make that old place conform to our new understanding of its significance by changing the old place to match our changed vision. Working in the lush vineyard of American preservation, I have come to appreciate just how dangerous to the ongoing integrity of historic and cultural resources statements of significance can sometimes be.

Statements of significance are central to our national system of identifying and protecting our historical and cultural resources:

- Written statements of significance, or more accurately put, "statements about significance" can be found in Acts of Congress creating new units of the National Park Service.

- Written statements of significance are the very heart of the process of the designation of National Historic Landmarks by the Secretary of the Interior and the nomination of properties to the National Register of Historic Places.
- Statements of significance are fundamental to the management of countless state and local resources.
- Statements about significance appear in most historic district ordinances.
- Mission statements, often incorporating "significance" language, are commonplace to most regional and local non-profit preservation organizations.

Statements of significance are indispensable management tools:

- They define the perceived importance of any given resource at a given time.
- They enable the development of precise management goals and objectives.

Statements of significance are dangerous, however, because, they so often become vehicles for cheap thinking and timid management. Statements of significance, which, by their very nature, are subjective and temporary management tools, often come to be seen as latter day versions of the Ten Commandments: that is say they are perceived by many to be "carved in stone." Property managers, be they park superintendents, Federal or state preservation program administrators, historic district review board members, or the executive directors of historic house museums, all too frequently bend a historic property to conform to statements of significance rather than the other way around.

Because these statements are frequently developed and promulgated by a higher level of authority than on-line resource managers (for example, in the case of National Parks, by members of Congress), these statements of significance are often perceived by others as immutable directives rather than general and flexible management guidelines. Therefore, what is written down early becomes automatic high-level justification language against which mid-level management budget and program decisions are programmatically evaluated.

We have all seen across America the evidence of historical truth obscured, misinterpreted, or misrepresented by human beings with differing concepts of significance at different times and different places. How common it has been for us, throughout our preservation history, to, quote, "restore" a historic resource to its, quote, "authentic appearance" only to come along twenty years later, armed with new information, and, what's more to the point, new concepts of significance, and quote "restore" it all over again.

The first loser in this irresponsible game of creating-a-past-we-like is, of course, the resource itself. This is because every intervention, no matter how well intended, destroys earlier and irreplaceable evidence. Consequently, the integrity of the resource slips further and further from our grasp. The biggest loser, however, is ourselves, and all who will follow us seeking to know the truth of this place.

THE NEED FOR RENEWED COMMITMENT TO PRESERVATION

There is, therefore, an urgent need for us to make a new, national commitment to the strict "preservation" of our historic resources: keeping our historic places intact but essentially unmolested by shifts in concepts of significance, which often only thinly mask temporary shifts in political or social ideology. This commitment is necessary because concepts of significance are continually undergoing modification as a function of the ever-changing nature of the human experience. The questions we ask of a historic resource are defined, after all, by the asker. This commitment is necessary also because the scholarship of historiography is also undergoing continuous modification. One has only to consider the difference between nineteenth-century philological interests which provided the intellectual underpinning for so much of the historical and archaeological work undertaken at that time and the current postmodern concern with authenticity as being, inevitably, a "construction."

Philology, in its broadest sense, is a "love of learning and literature." However, in the context of historic preservation, it refers more specifically to "the study of historical and comparative linguistics as a field of study that sheds light on cultural history."⁴ The philological approach to the study of history in the nineteenth century was encouraged, in part, by scholarly Biblical criticism and the strong interest in reconstructing texts and establishing authorship. At the heart of philology as an historical tool is the assumption that there is an authentic historic truth that can be learned. There is the assumption that comparison is a legitimate intellectual process and that authenticity or, at least, comparative degrees of authenticity can be established through rigorous research.

The current postmodern concern with authenticity as being, inevitably, a "construction" suggests that any attempt at authenticity is doomed from the start as being, to quote Eric Gable and Richard Handler in a recent critique of Colonial Williamsburg, "a process shot through with hidden cultural assumptions and ideological agendas."⁵ The collection of essays published by Princeton University Press in 1994, *Commemorations: The Politics of National*

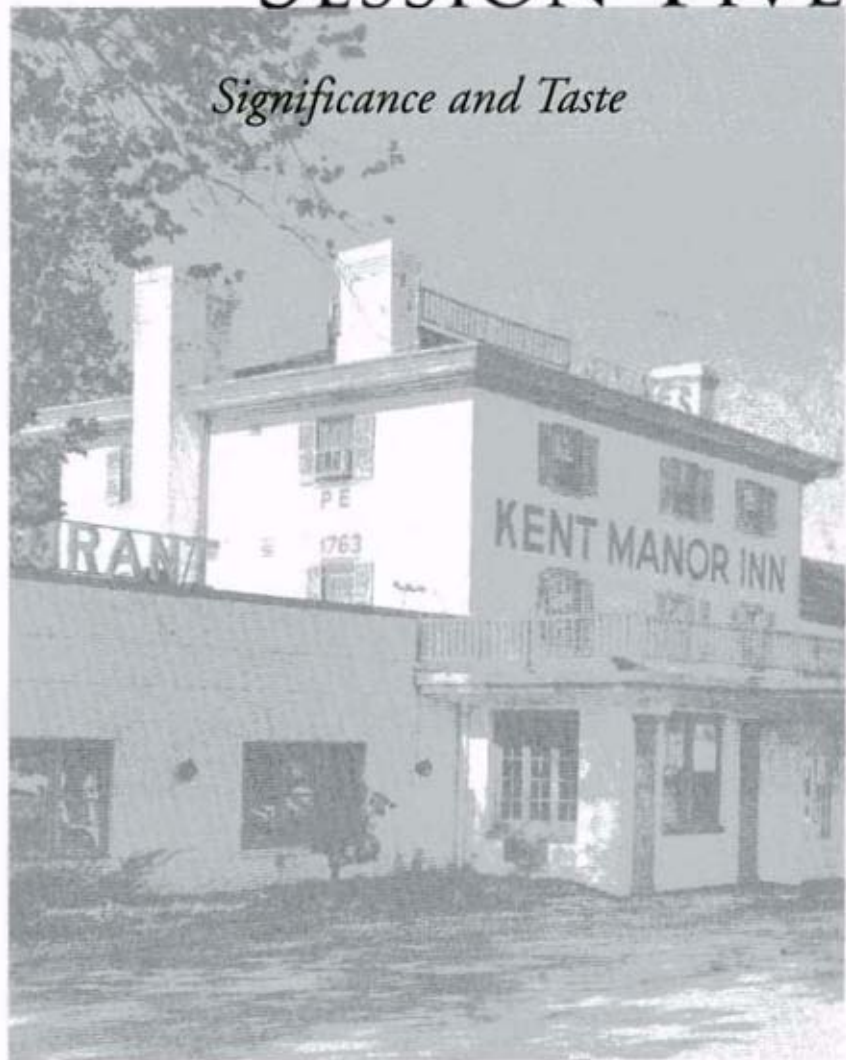
Identity, frames the problem very well indeed.⁶

We can make a new, national commitment to the strict "preservation" of our historic resources because we have at last the technology to do so. We have the technology now to manipulate three-dimensional images through computer graphics and holograms to demonstrate to the public, in an interactive interpretative program, virtually any stage of development of any historic resource. We no longer have to impose upon the resources themselves the violence to historic fabric that a traditional "restoration" entails.

In closing, I urge you to consider the proposition that historic significance can never be permanently canonized because concepts of historical significance are always subjective and must be periodically, thoughtfully revisited and redefined. Therefore, the United States must strive to be a nation where our historical resources themselves are preserved from all unnecessary manipulation so that they may retain the wholeness of their truth for generations to come. A renewed national commitment to a policy of strict preservation, will permit our fragile and irreplaceable historic and cultural resources to remain places where truth, viewed through different lenses at different times, can remain unmolested from inappropriate responses to ever-changing concepts of significance. Making this commitment a reality rests with you and with me. How about it?

SESSION FIVE

Significance and Taste





WHEN VALUES COLLIDE: FURNISHING HISTORIC INTERIORS

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The choice of a period of interpretation is frequently a hotly contested issue during the development of an interpretive plan for a site. More often than not, the different fields of historic architecture and historic interiors find themselves lined up on opposite sides of the fence. Other disciplines such as archaeology, landscape architecture, and interpretation contribute their opinions as well. These differences are driven by the availability of evidence for each field, an in-bred difference of opinion concerning what is the defining characteristic of a historic site, and, frankly, the ramifications of carrying out each specialty's recommendations.

A number of factors affect the choice of an interpretive period. The mission statement, or in the case of the National Park Service, the enabling legislation, is supposed to drive the interpretation of the site. Such statements are often written in extremely vague language. For example, the enabling legislation for Harpers Ferry National Monument (now renamed Harpers Ferry National Historical Park) states that "the property... shall be a public memorial commemorating historical events at or near Harpers Ferry."¹ Such a broad mission statement permits wonderful freedom to creatively interpret the most important aspects of a site's history. Unfortunately, seldom is there universal agreement about which aspects warrant interpretation. In the absence of a strong and impartial manager, the various professional disciplines can end up at loggerheads over the definition of the interpretive period simply because so many interpretations of the mission statement are possible.

In the case of some parks that encompass a number of buildings, the enabling legislation may be written broadly to allow for differing interpretive periods in different parts of the park. Frequently such mission statements require the final decisions to be hammered out later, usually by people who had nothing to do with the creation of the original statement, and thus have very little understanding of the thought processes that went into the creation of the site.

Determining the specific interpretive goals of a site frequently falls to an assortment of managers and professionals, each with his or her own opinions of what is important. Practitioners of the various historical fields have a very strong learned, if not inherited, belief in the primary importance of their specialty. Given a roomful of professionals, the historic architect will almost invariably believe that the building's architecture is the most significant aspect of the site, the furnishings curator will feel the same of the objects arranged in the interior, and so on. In a way, professionals would not be doing their jobs if they did not act as advocates for their piece of history. Discipline-driven exhibits can be very interesting, however we professionals should strive for a realistic understanding of the public interest in the minute particulars of our specialties. For example, curators must know the differences between a Philadelphia chair leg and a Boston chair leg in order to put exactly the right chair on display in a furnished room. However, this level of detail usually does not need to be communicated to the general visitor. The worst danger of discipline-driven exhibits is that the real interpretive message of the site will be neglected. Another exhibit on stylistic differences in furniture, or the composition of lath and plaster walls, or how to conduct an archaeological excavation is probably not the most important lesson the site has to offer. A clear-headed managerial presence is important to sort through the opinions and partialities, and come to the most accurate blending of the specialties.

The most important factors managers must consider when determining the interpretive period are the physical resource and the documentation for the site. Unfortunately, these two factors are frequently in conflict with each other and with the interpretive goals. Thus, I have seen sites where the interpretive goals center on the mid-nineteenth century, the physical resource dates from the late nineteenth century, and the best documentation is twentieth century. Arriving at a choice of media and an interpretive period for such a site requires wisdom of Solomon-like proportions. These situations, which are common to most sites in varying degrees, are ripe

for confrontations between architects, curators, and interpreters.

Each of these professionals has distinct, and sometimes, mutually exclusive goals. The interpreter focuses on the message: the person, event, or process that defines the existence of the site. Sometimes the physical resource or the documentation is not sufficient to support a particular kind of interpretive media. For example, if a building is predominantly early twentieth century and the message is about Civil War life, living history is probably not the best method of interpretation since the architectural backdrop is inaccurate. Thus, the interpreter must seek another method.

Architects and curators are often at odds because interpreting to a particular period has ramifications of a more or less permanent nature for each field. To carry out a restoration to a particular time, an architect frequently has to make painful and difficult decisions concerning removal of old material and addition of new. Naturally, architects try to avoid making large-scale changes to buildings, since by definition their focus is on preservation, not destruction, or reconstruction. However, this attitude frequently puts them at odds with professionals in charge of furnishing the historic interior. Furnishings curators do not have to make such difficult judgement calls because their work is much less permanent in character. If new evidence is discovered, it is not agonizing to move a piece of furniture, or even redo the interpretation of an entire room. Occasionally the changes are costly, for example, replacing curtains or wallpaper, but in general the work that furnishings curators do is reversible. This allows the furnishings curator to be more inclined to base his or her recommendation of a period of interpretation on relevance to the site's theme.

When the interpretive goals, the physical resource, and the documentation are all more or less in conflict, the choice of media becomes crucial. A building from a later period should not serve as a backdrop for living history and furnished areas should not rely solely on comparative, rather than site-specific documentation. Managers must be alert to the danger of asking a resource to tell a story it is not suited to tell, and must be open to other ways of telling the message: live theater, films, exhibits, and publications.

The most frequent source of conflict I encounter in my work is a disjunction between the architecture and the proposed interpretive period for a room that is being furnished. Ideally, of course, all elements of the exterior and interior architecture will correspond with the proposed period of furnishing. Unless one is furnishing to the present day, this does not happen often. Few buildings survive without some kind of alterations. Thus, the first question to ask is,

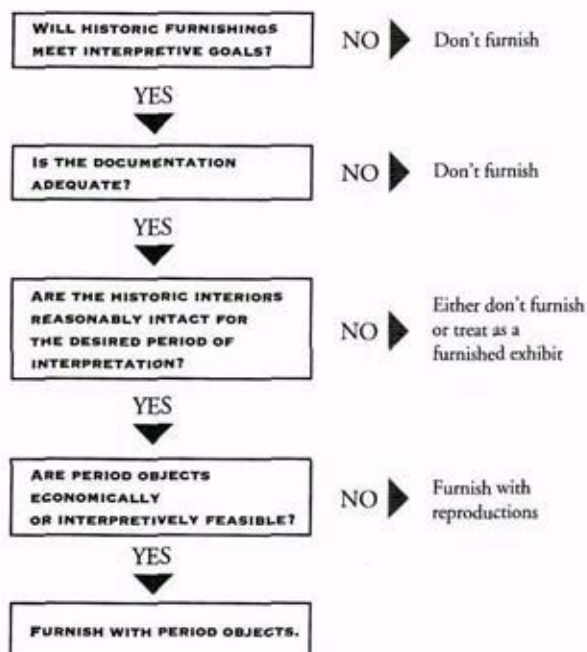
how do the architectural anomalies affect the furnished interior? The answer to this question may have far-reaching consequences, since if the impact is very serious, hard decisions may follow concerning alteration of the building or rejecting historic furnishings as an interpretive medium for that building.

One way some professionals try to sidestep this problem is by claiming to "interpret the continuum." Unfortunately, only interpreters, exhibits, audio-visual presentations, and other similar media can interpret a continuum in any meaningful way. Trying to interpret the continuum through a building or a historically furnished interior is a fallacy, since if you interpret a site as it was when it was acquired you are not interpreting a continuum, you are interpreting the present. Just as the most recent object in an archaeological assemblage dates the assemblage, so the most recent alteration to a building dates the structure and the latest object in a room dates the room. You cannot interpret a continuum with a building or with furnishings—you must interpret the *terminus point*.

Two factors that cannot be ignored at any site under development are the money available for the project and the public or political support for a particular interpretation. Money can affect the extent of development at a site, the type of media chosen, and the sophistication of that media. Obviously, historically furnishing a room is more expensive than simple signage. Although ideally the interpretive goals and the resources should determine the selection of media, a lack of money can seriously limit the options available.

Similarly, if legislators and/or public interest groups have been instrumental in establishing a site, their preconceptions must also be taken into account. An image of the completed site has often nourished and sustained such groups throughout the long and difficult process of acquiring a property and opening it to the public. If this image is not supported by the physical resource or the documentation, compromises may have to be made both by the site's supporters and by the professional staff.

However, leaving aside the last two factors of money and pressure, both public and political, the following flow chart summarizes the thought processes a furnishings curator goes through when making a recommendation to a site concerning whether and how to furnish an interior.



The first and most pertinent question to ask is, will the use of historic furnishings meet the interpretive goals of the site? Are historic furnishings the best way to present the information, or would a film, exhibits, or publication do a better job? A historically furnished room does not interpret change over time very well. Trying to show other periods in other rooms in the structure usually is unsuccessful as well. The differences between periods can be so subtle that any attempt to show change over time goes right over the heads of the average visitor. Only when the rooms are accompanied by extremely didactic explanations of the differences between the periods can this technique become comprehensible. In such a case, highlighting the differences between the periods can end up superseding the real interpretive goals of the site. I have found it to be much more successful to be disciplined enough to choose one finite period of interpretation. If all of the interpretive goals cannot be met within this framework, perhaps other media are required in addition to or instead of the historically furnished rooms.

So what does a historically furnished room do well, since it can't be asked to interpret change over time? A furnished area can convey

a sense of what it was like to live in a certain time period and social class, for example, the Fordyce Bathhouse at Hot Springs National Park in Hot Springs, Arkansas. Furnished areas can be used with the aid of interpreters to describe and illustrate a process, as in a working mill or factory or domestic processes in a kitchen or farm support building. Given enough site-specific information, a furnished room can give insight into someone's personality, as does Mamie Eisenhower's bedroom and dressing room at the Eisenhower National Historic Site. A furnished room can bring someone closer emotionally and intellectually to a famous person or event, like the room where Lincoln died in Peterson House. A furnished room can act as a bridge or jumping off point for an explanation of abstract concepts, such as the industrial revolution and distribution of factory-made goods in the "Ready-made Clothing Store," or the ways in which people's perception of time changed over the course of the nineteenth century, addressed in the Burton Jewelry Shop, both in Harpers Ferry National Historical Park.

Assuming that a historically furnished room is the best medium to use to address the interpretive goals of a site, the next factor to consider is the available documentation. We look at two levels of documentation when we prepare historic furnishings reports: site-specific and comparative. Site-specific documentation is any evidence directly related to the site being studied, such as photographs, drawings, inventories, diaries, correspondence, receipts, accounts printed in books or periodicals, and so on. Comparative documentation is anything else that might shed light on furnishings at the site, but particularly period paintings, drawings, engravings, and inventories of similar structures.

Obviously, the amount and type of documentation considered sufficient to refurnish is somewhat subjective. The National Park Service policy on historic furnishings is contained in the National Park Service's Management Policies, which states that "a structure may be refurnished in whole or in part if (1) its history is significantly related to a primary park theme, (2) refurnishing is the best way to interpret that history to the public, and (3) sufficient evidence of furniture design and placement exists to refurnish with minimal conjecture."¹ This statement itself is subject to interpretation. Do we apply the same standards of documentation to a twentieth century site replete with photographs as we would to an eighteenth century site that might have an excellent inventory but no site-specific evidence concerning the placement of objects within a particular room?

Whenever the curator makes an educated guess concerning an object to be placed in a historically furnished room, he or she runs

the risk of applying modern taste to the historic interior. However, if this risk is never taken and no thought is given to additional objects beyond what is found in the site-specific evidence, rooms can look like they have been stripped of all of their personality. Curators must acknowledge that research, both site-specific and comparative, on a historically furnished room is an ongoing project that should continue well after the doors are opened to the public.

Once the documentation is deemed adequate, the next step is to examine the architectural setting. Rarely does every element of the building date precisely to the proposed period of interpretation. What kind of an impact does an architectural anomaly have on the area to be historically furnished? At the Thomas Stone house, the exterior has been restored to the late nineteenth century while three of the rooms will be interpreted to the late eighteenth century. Such compromises are not infrequent, since architects are loath to restore to a period for which they have little evidence. Some alterations are so major, however, that historic furnishings are not recommended. Significant changes in ceiling height, an increase or decrease in the number of windows or doors, and the loss or addition of large quantities of interior trim are compelling reasons to reconsider historically furnishing a space. The Elizabeth Cady Stanton House in Seneca Falls, New York, is missing two large wings that were present when Stanton lived in the house. Without these wings it is difficult to get a sense of the way the family functioned within the house. Because of this, and because of the lack of site-specific documentation, the Stanton house will contain furnished vignettes rather than fully furnished rooms.

Sometimes the desire to historically refurnish is compelling. Because of significant damage from the Civil War and repeated flooding and subsequent rebuilding, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park is a late nineteenth century town trying to tell an eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century story. Most of the buildings that have a direct interpretive message to tell exist only in archaeological ruins—the armory, the large arsenal, the small arsenal. Even John Brown's Fort no longer stands on its original site. A large retail district was burned to the ground during the Civil War. The rest of the town has a mid-nineteenth century core that was extensively modified resulting in a streetscape dating largely from the 1880s and 1890s. However, management at the park firmly supports the interpretive staff's belief that furnished shop interiors are required to provide a tangible starting point for discussions of the industrial revolution and transportation.

The exterior of the ready-made clothing store dates to the 1880s. Although the building housed a clothing store in the 1850s

and 60s, the windows were much smaller and the ceiling height lower in the earlier building. The interior is based on period illustrations of ready-made clothing stores and lists of merchandise printed in newspaper advertisements of the period. Visitor comments from this exhibit has been overwhelmingly positive. Being able to touch the shirts and overcoats and smell the shoe leather grounds the abstract ideas of piecework and wholesaling in objects familiar to the visitor. Visiting the ready-made clothing store may jar recollections on the part of the visitor of an old-fashioned clothing store he or she visited as a child, or the visitor might make the connection between the way goods were displayed then and now. Such a deeply personal experience is difficult to achieve with exhibits or films.

After the decision is made to historically furnish a room, the next issue is whether to furnish with period or reproduction objects. In the case of the ready-made clothing store, since we knew the interpreters and public would be handling the objects, the exhibit is furnished almost entirely with reproductions. Other objects are simply beyond the financial reach of an institution. We knew from the start that we would not be able to fill Thomas Stone's home in Maryland with eighteenth century antiques. We will be using donated objects, buying a few pieces that are within our price range, and filling in the rest with good quality reproductions.

Will the environmental controls at the site responsibly support the display of period objects? Is there an adequate security and fire detection and suppression system in place? A museum has the responsibility to protect period objects from environmental and catastrophic damage, and, if that is not possible, reproductions should be considered.

The path to a fully historically furnished room is long and rocky, even before the acquisition and installation of objects. Negotiations between site managers, architects, historians, and interpreters can be difficult and time-consuming. Sometimes it may seem easier to give up the fight and provide visitors with written text in the form of exhibits and publications. After all, it is easy to know what knowledge a visitor is going to take away from a written source. However, visual learning should not be discounted. The amount of information obtained in a glance from a well-documented historically furnished room would require pages and pages of exhibit text. Given a clear-headed referee in the form of a strong and informed manager, the professional disciplines can hammer out a compromise that maximizes the strengths and minimizes the weaknesses of any historic property.

BEYOND BUILDINGS: LANDSCAPE AS CULTURAL HISTORY IN CONSTRUCTING THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PLACE

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Two themes undergird this paper.¹ The first relates to "landscape" as the basis of constructing the historical significance of place. This idea is not new to the field of historic preservation, in which landscape is often conceptualized as "the grounds" or as "collections of artifacts."² Here, however, borrowing from the science of ecology, emphasis is given to landscape as a system of interrelated parts consisting not only of buildings but also of other human constructions, such as circulation elements, utility corridors, planting, and physical barriers. These other constructions are just as important as buildings in conveying historical meaning. Moreover, a detailed study of parts as such—as if they were teacups in a museum collection—cannot produce a full appreciation of landscape. Because the parts of a landscape are usually fixed in space, historical meaning resides not so much in autonomous objects as in the relationships among the objects. This approach takes us another step away from the art-historical assumptions of architecture and landscape architecture, shifting the focus of interpretation further away from artifacts, whether they are buildings, garden ornaments, or historical plants.

The second theme relates to the historical significance of multicultural sites. As in feminist architectural criticism that engages architecture from the point of view of the experience of women, here so-called vernacular and ethnographic sites are explored from previously un- or underrepresented perspectives. Borrowing from the methods of social history, particularly "history from below," multi cultural sites are often viewed subjectively and politically as spaces shaped by groups that have been culturally marginalized.³ Here, multiculturalism does not mean trying to ascribe inherent racial attributes to places historically associated with African-Americans or other underrepresented groups. There is little attempt to find an essential "African-American aesthetic" disconnected from the messy world of cultural politics. Rather, the examination revolves around how so-called multicultural sites represent the experience, particularly the struggle for political, economic, and social progress, of the groups they commemorate and those groups' relationships to the broader society.⁴

The illustration of these two themes will draw on my research about college campuses in the South—specifically, a comparison of the campuses of Tuskegee University and Auburn University in Alabama. Tuskegee University, as an historically black institution funded in the Deep South after Reconstruction, had to negotiate the difficulties arising from Southern discomfort with higher education for blacks. The neighboring Auburn University is a suitable foil because it was at the time a white male school funded by Alabama through federal land-grant appropriations. The historical significance of the landscape will become concrete in the paper as a representation of the struggle of Tuskegee's people to build their campus. The paper demonstrates how this representation is encoded not so much by the buildings of the campus or by its gardens, but more profoundly by landscape as a system.⁵

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LANDSCAPE LOCATION

To understand the significance of Tuskegee University's campus, we might begin by exploring its location in relation to the town of Tuskegee [Fig. 1]. When the state legislature voted to establish Tuskegee University in 1881, two private white institutions of higher learning were already located in downtown Tuskegee, which was the seat of Macon County. Why was Tuskegee University's permanent campus not also located downtown, as was the pattern for many other state-funded schools emerging during this period? Tuskegee's campus is separated from downtown not only by distance, but also by an area of piney ravines that has remained largely undeveloped even today. Only one route, Old Montgomery Road, connected "town and gown" at the time. In contrast, Auburn

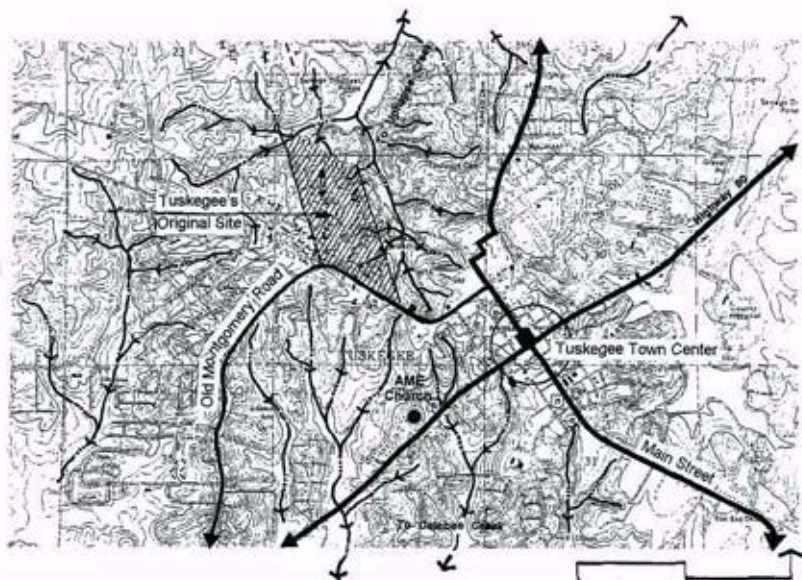


FIG. 1. SEPARATION OF "TOWN" AND "GOWN" AT TUSKEEGE
DRAWING COURTESY KENRICK IAN GRANDISON

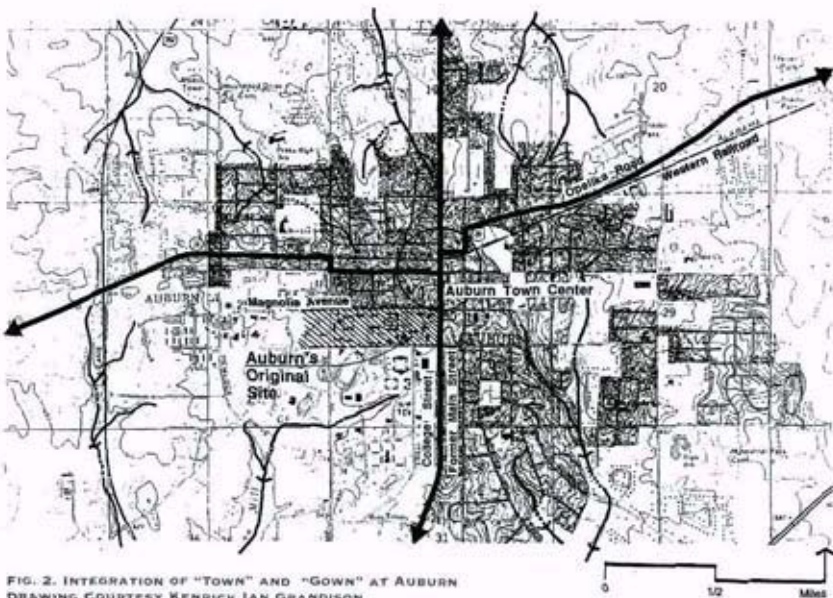


FIG. 2. INTEGRATION OF "TOWN" AND "GOWN" AT AUBURN
DRAWING COURTESY KENRICK IAN GRANDISON

University is located in the heart of downtown Auburn [Fig. 2]. Confident of its right to belong there, Auburn University took up residence on Main Street itself, which was eventually claimed by the institution and renamed College Street, following the pattern of many other land-grant colleges. Tuskegee's administrators, on the other hand, in charge of a black campus in the Deep South, tucked their campus away from the view of the mainstream public.

Like other black colleges at the time, Tuskegee carefully managed the contact between campus and town. A teacher at Tuskegee, for instance, was cautioned by the administration for walking around with too many books. Wary administrators, needing to avoid the hostility of townspeople, guarded against any overt sign that "Tuskegee was training the intellect rather than the heart and hands." Teachers gave students demerits, recorded in the official minutes of the school's Executive Council, for such infractions as going to town without securing permission or without wearing proper attire. Boys, for instance, were required to wear the school cap when visiting town. In another incident, a sociologist from the University of Chicago offered his resignation because he could not understand why the administration so anxiously courted the good will of the white community in the old-fashioned style of Booker T. Washington, the school's first principal. When then principal Robert Russa Moton accepted the professor's resignation, he commented that "most teachers from the North don't fit in. We have a peculiar situation down here, and I imagine you have to be born in it to really understand it."⁸ The relationship between campus and town reflects this circumstance and in this way bespeaks a significant part of the experience of African Americans and their relationship to the larger American society.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RELATIVE VALUE OF PROPERTY

Beyond location, we may consider the value of the property on which the campus was located in relation to the value of neighboring properties at the time. The original one hundred-acre tract that became Tuskegee's campus was an abandoned cotton plantation. As such, the property contained little in the way of natural or cultural amenities for establishing a college campus.⁹ At the time it was acquired, the "Bowen Farm," as it was called, contained three ancillary buildings, and its Great House had been burned down during the war.¹⁰ Its soils, inherently not the best for cotton cultivation by Black Belt standards, were severely eroded.¹¹ Indeed, high surface runoff has dissected much of the topography of the region, leaving remnants of a peneplain as ridges that snake across the surface, separated by steep-sided gullies. The Tuskegee Ridge, an

example of this, flanks the southern boundary of the original site and provided the campus's early builders with the only level areas for construction.

One might wonder why the institution's leaders, given these conditions, purchased this property. First, at \$5 an acre it was inexpensive, even for 1881. Since the school faced extraordinary financial constraints in its early days, this could have been the best land they could afford. In this, as in other instances when blacks were allowed to acquire real estate, financial privation resulting from historical circumstances was one of the factors restricting buyers to the most marginal property available.¹² Consequently, the few African Americans who could buy land at all were limited to such marginal places as the "black bottoms" of the South and the North or to the hurricane vulnerable barrier islands off the coast of the Carolinas. As with Tuskegee, several other black colleges emerging in the South after Reconstruction also occupied abandoned sites. The site on which Talladega College was located, for instance, was first developed in 1855 for the Baptist Male High School of Talladega, Alabama. Abandoned during the war and then used as a temporary prison, it finally came back to life after Talladega College acquired it in 1867 with the help of the Freedmen's Bureau. That black colleges usually had to turn abandoned or in other ways marginalized property into campuses is a significant part of the history of struggle these spaces encode.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LAND-USE PATTERNS

Max Thrasher, Tuskegee's publicity agent in the late nineteenth century, describes entering the campus in the 1890s [Fig. 3]. He writes:

At the right of the main entrance [is] a dormitory for the boys. Adjacent is another small brick building also used as a dormitory. Near these buildings the visitor may often see piles of logs-oak, pine, and poplar. The building in front of which they have been left is the sawmill, and the strident "buzz-z-z" of a stout circular saw which comes from the building shows that the mill is in operation.¹³

Thrasher's images might give the impression that he is arriving at a lumber camp rather than on the grounds of one of the premiere institutions for training black teachers in the South. Understanding why he might select these details, emphasize this view of the school, can help us untangle the relationships of meaning on which Tuskegee's campus depended. He gives the impression that the signs of practical education are sweet music to his ears as, he knows, they will be to the ears of the institution's white patrons, at whom he aims his words. The selectivity of his words reflects the selectivity of

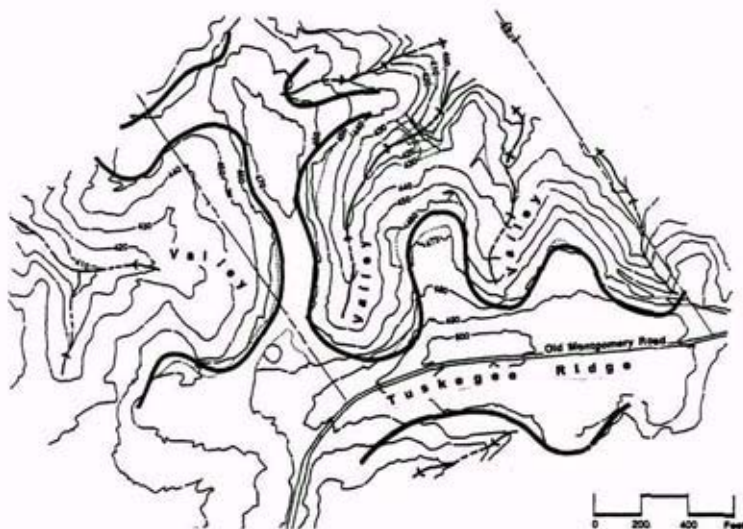


FIG. 3. TOPOGRAPHY
OF TUSKEGEE'S
ORIGINAL SITE.

DRAWING COURTESY
KENRICK IAN GRANDISON

the land uses featured in the landscape at the main entrance to the campus, a remarkable display of working industry. Even official land-grant colleges did *not flaunt* the evidence of their practical mission in this way: in fact they carefully obscured this mission: at Auburn University, an imposing academic building greeted visitors on entering the campus. Its Chemical Laboratory Building and Langdon Hall, which houses its woodworking and machine shops behind impressive academic architecture, were located beyond this main building, while its farms were sited a mile away [Fig. 4]. At least on a subliminal level, Tuskegee's planners must have considered that the high visibility of industry at its main entrance would serve to allay the suspicions of those who questioned the work of the school. It would have made less threatening the sight of the imposing academic buildings located beyond this rough display.

One major, brick, academic, building that meets visitors near Tuskegee's entrance is Thrasher Science Hall; however, as with the other buildings located on the flat land adjacent to Old Montgomery Road, the front of Thrasher Hall is oriented decisively away from public view [Fig. 5]. Carnegie Library displays a similar orientation: the facade turned to the public road is clearly the back while the facade bearing in impressive ionic portico faces the interior of the campus [Fig. 6]. Again, this contradicts the pattern of most land-grant college campuses established at the same time as Tuskegee. The principal academic buildings on these campuses

showed their grandest faces to the public, conveying both their public mission and public endorsement. The front of Auburn University's Old Main Hall, for instance, confidently embraced Auburn's College Street, when it burned down the replacement, Sanford Hall, inherited the same orientation. The elegant classical front of Langdon Hall follows the pattern as well. Beyond Alabama, the monumental portico of Pennsylvania State's Old Main is framed by a sweeping front lawn that likewise announces this institution from East College Avenue.

Of course, not all historically white schools choose the same aspect; many private majority campuses are internally oriented. Borrowing from Old World precedents, the University of Chicago's campus, for instance, creates inner sanctuaries—retreats from the city. The same is true of Yale University's Old Quadrangle. While these campuses are turned inward, their public facades always assert the presence and high academic authority of their institutions. Given the context, we cannot take for granted the anomalous building orientation of black campuses developed under Jim Crow. The meaning in this depends on the relationship of the school's community to its environment—to the surrounding white community and the interior landscape around which its buildings group. Rigorous art-historical study of Thrasher Hall or even of the period gardens that

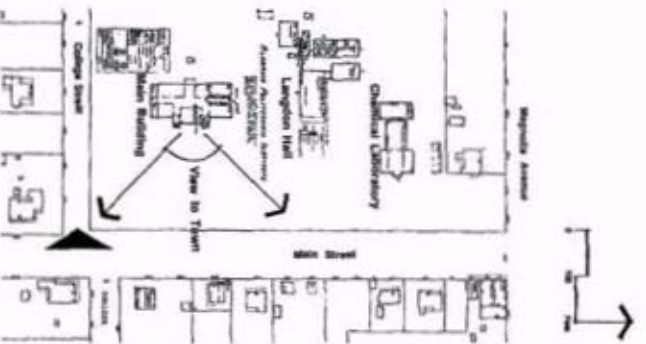


FIG. 4. LAYOUT OF AUBURN'S MAIN ENTRANCE (CIRCA 1897). DRAWING COURTESY KENNICK IAN GRANDISON

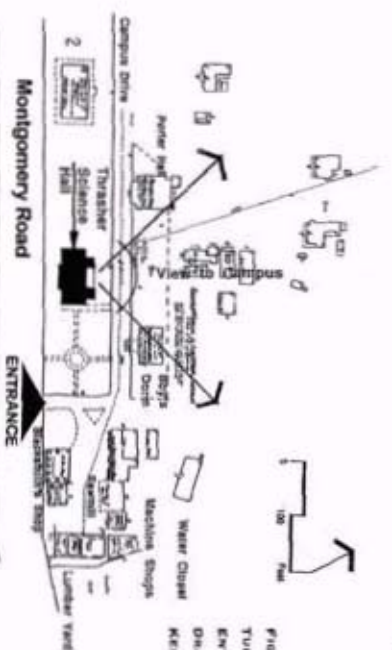


FIG. 5. LAYOUT OF TURNER'S MAIN ENTRANCE (CIRCA 1897). DRAWING COURTESY KENNICK IAN GRANDISON

Montgomery Road

ENTRANCE



FACING OLD MONTGOMERY ROAD



FACING INTERIOR OF CAMPUS

FIG. 6. ORIENTATION OF
CARNEGIE LIBRARY.
PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY
KENRICK IAN GRANDISON

were once located around this building can at best only scratch the surface in the effort to appreciate the historical significance of the layout of the first entrance to the Tuskegee campus.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "SPONTANEOUS" LAYOUT

Accommodating the dissected topography, Tuskegee's campus rambles in response to the natural rambling of the land. Buildings are sited on the high ground, while the valleys are largely free of development (Fig. 7). As a result, buildings relate to one another not in the geometrical patterns we have come to associate with college campuses, but in seemingly "unpredictable" connections that echo the lay of the land. Given the limited funds available for development, the expense of cutting and filling the land on a massive scale would have been prohibitive or at least difficult to justify to the philanthropists who gave the school financial support. Any hint of formality, therefore, is restricted to the flattest sections of the campus, where it could be accommodated at minimal cost. Even when they could have

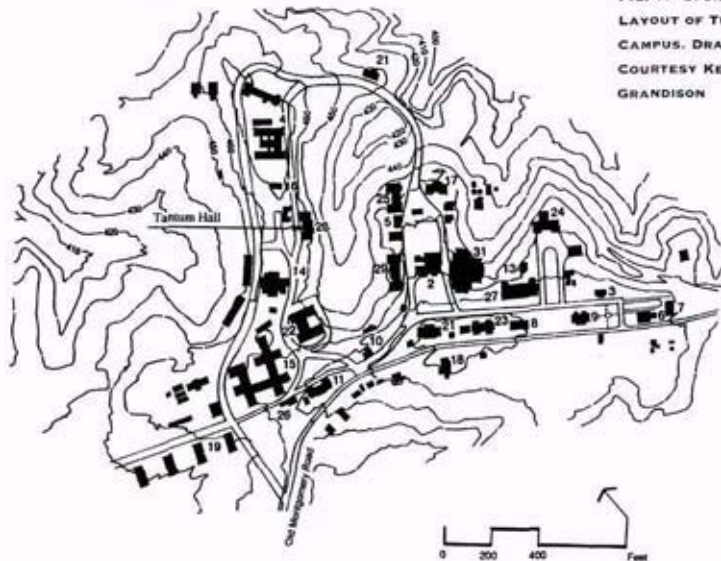
afforded to do differently, however, Tuskegee's planners still did not follow any inclination toward a more "formal" layout such as that adopted by the more generously funded Auburn University. Tuskegee's layout embodies historical significance that builds from but also moves beyond economic strategy alone, beyond the response of a people who had to make the best of restricted financial circumstances.

That significance can be read in the unadorned valleys of the campus, valleys that provide a visitor with the most compelling memories of the campus. These served as pastures for the school's cattle which, in turn, kept the pasture cropped. As did many designers in the Romantic tradition, Olmsted also used animals to maintain the grounds of such places as Boston's Franklin Park. At Tuskegee, however, this "lawn mower" was integrally tied to the operation of the campus not only because it provided food but also because it formed the basis of the school's applied academic program. The system may well represent the fullest realization of the tenets of the

Morrill Act, providing a perfect instance of a sustainable landscape, if there ever was one.

Whatever the case, when we stand immersed within the rolling spaces of the valleys, we may find it hard to believe that we are on a college campus. Looking up to the edges we are brought back to the reality by the domes and clock towers that we typically associate with campuses. Perched on the uplands, these buildings enjoy good drainage and wonderful views. But as with Thrasher Hall described above, the orientation of Tantum Hall, a women's dormitory, causes us to pause [Fig. 8]. The interior facade of the building facing the valley, with its ionic portico, is unexpectedly dramatic in comparison with the one facing the campus road. Architectural critics have been so taken with describing and explaining the details of the building itself that they give insufficient attention to the significance of its orientation to the relative valley. From Tantum's balconies, the valley presents a focus for contemplation, not in the form of the bell tower or a fountain one might find in a typical quadrangle, but in the form of an undulating agricultural space. What can we see in this seeming clash between the face of Tantum Hall, which bears the stamp of high culture, and the pasture it looks to, so characteristic of the landscape of rural Alabama? When Booker T. Washington told his audience at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 to "Let down your bucket where you are," he seemed to

FIG. 7. "SPONTANEOUS" LAYOUT OF TUSKEGEE'S CAMPUS. DRAWING COURTESY KENRICK IAN GRANDISON





OVERLOOKING THE VALLEY



FACING THE CAMPUS ROAD

FIG. 8. TANTUM HALL'S
ORIENTATION.PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY
KENNICK IAN GRANDISON

accept demands that blacks stay in the agricultural fields. Yet, at the same time, consistent with this overall philosophy of black progress in the South, he gives direction for achievement in education and business and for land acquisition. The unusual layout of Tuskegee's campus, the seeming juxtaposition of classical and rural, in itself serves to instruct students of the need to synthesize their ambitions for upward mobility in American society with their racial obligation to the place of their origins.

CONCLUSION

At so many historic sites, interpretation has hinged on conceiving of buildings and gardens as art historical artifacts. The Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site on the campus of Tuskegee University is no exception. Excellent efforts have been made over the years to preserve and interpret the historic campus. The interiors of historic buildings are being retrofitted to meet the needs of a modern campus and their exteriors are being renovated. However, the concept of the buildings as part of a landscape system has suffered in the meantime. The renovation of *Tantum Hall*, for example, ignores the significant relationship of the building to the valley. The side of the building abutting the campus road now features a neat plaza much like anal-

ogous structures on traditional campuses. Unfortunately, while the facade of the building facing the valley underwent a wonderful renovation, this side was nonetheless treated as the back of the building: a service area and access road, running down the steep slope of the valley, now mar the monumental portico and its relationship with the valley. The pattern not only violates the pragmatism of the original layout of the campus, it also erases significant landscape relationships. When we thus focus on buildings as artifacts only, we miss the cultural historical significance of landscape. The campuses of Tuskegee University and Auburn University, as many other often ignored landscapes, encode the differing circumstances that different groups face as they negotiate life in America. Looking beyond the buildings provides us with a fuller understanding of the historical significance of both landscapes, tangible embodiments of our past.

DO ARCHAEOLOGISTS DIG, DESTROY, AND DISCRIMINATE? THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND VALUE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

JOHN H. SPRINKLE, JR., *Woodward-Clute Federal Services*

From time to time, it is both useful and therapeutic to step back from the process and progress of the historic preservation movement over the last several years and consider the impact that our laws, regulations, and policies have on the historic properties we love to protect. We periodically need to ask the big questions. What makes a historic place significant and what are the values associated with these places? In addition, if the devil is in the details, it is important to address the true impact of our standard operating procedures, common professional practices, and conventional wisdom on the full spectrum of historic resources that lie above and below the ground.

The National Register Criteria were created to define and discriminate between the historical associations that make historic properties eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. In undergraduate and graduate programs across the country, our students are taught the criteria as:

Criterion "a" is for historical themes or events; Criterion "b" is for important persons; Criterion "c" is for architecture, design, or craftsmanship; and, Criterion "d", well, "d" is for information potential and is usually reserved for archaeological sites.

Historic preservation practitioners have learned this mantra well. Among those of us who deal regularly with archaeological sites,

as well as the land use decision makers who employ us, Criterion "d" has come to signify: "D meaning dig and destroy."

This dig and destroy attitude has serious repercussions within the world of historic preservation. Essentially, our students, and our clients, learn through the everyday workings of the current regulatory framework that archaeological sites are expendable. There are two groups of fundamental questions regarding the preservation of archaeological properties:

What are the historical values associated with archaeological sites? Do sites have values other than research? Are they worthy of preservation? Who decides what values are inherent in archaeological sites? If sites have values other than for academic research, then who should we be asking about these values?

Within the historic preservation community, there are four commonly accepted principles regarding archaeological properties:

- National Register Criterion "d" is reserved for archaeological sites;
- The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's "research exception" is equated to eligibility under Criterion "d" only;
- Archaeological sites have no historical values other than "information potential" or "research"; and,
- Archaeological data recovery excavation "substantially preserves" the information contained within a property.

Our convenient approach to the treatment of historic properties that happen to be archaeological has resulted in certain behaviors among historic preservation practitioners. Many of our clients, whether governments, developers, or other land use decision makers, have learned the principle that although preservation of archaeological sites in the face of a proposed undertaking is an admirable goal, archaeological excavation is easily acceptable by regulatory agencies and the public. In fact, land use managers often recognize that avoidance of archaeological sites can create administrative and regulatory headaches, including long-term management responsibilities, design constraints, and requirements for project redesign. For agencies with long term facility management programs, the ability to pay for an archaeological excavation today—at a known cost—outweighs the perceived expenses of protecting, stabilizing, and monitoring archaeological sites within their jurisdictions. Archaeologists too, have realized the problems associated with preservation through project avoidance: more than one site has been bypassed by a proposed highway only to be destroyed,

degraded, or disturbed by later developments not subject to regulatory oversight on historic preservation issues.

Today, the best practice among the historic preservation community is to steer clients toward a system of regulatory review that provides seemingly less rigorous consideration of archaeological sites. The odds are in your client's favor. In 96,000 federal undertakings during FY1994, only 5 to 7 percent (4,800 to 6,720) required identification studies. In Maryland over a five-year period, only 7 percent of proposed projects (174 out of 2457 annual average) needed further work in the form of identification studies. The Council estimates that only "10 to 15 percent of initial Section 106 investigations discovered significant archaeological sites."¹ Council review of about 700 projects each year for adverse effect and no adverse effect represent less than 1 percent of all projects. Thus, if your client conducts 100 federal undertakings per year, only five to seven will require Phase I surveys, and at most only one of those studies will identify a significant archaeological property.

THE IMPACT OF THE RESEARCH EXCEPTION

A framework of regulatory bias against archaeological sites structurally reinforces this numbers game. The primary culprit is found in the exceptions to the Criteria of Adverse Effect (36 CFR 800.9(c)1), which states:

Effects of an undertaking that would otherwise be found to be adverse may be considered as being not adverse for the purpose of these regulations; when the historic property is of value only for its potential contribution to archaeological, historical, or architectural research, and when such value can be substantially preserved through the conduct of appropriate research, and such research is conducted in accordance with applicable professional standards and guidelines.

The impact of the "research exception" is reduced regulatory review for archaeological properties. Projects found to have "no adverse" effect though "data recovery" are documented by agency officials through notification of the Council and the State Historic



FIG. 1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT THE MANASSAS INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR COLORED YOUTH IN MANASSAS, VIRGINIA. THE FOUNDATION OF THIS LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY VOCATIONAL SCHOOL WAS LOCATED THROUGH LIMITED TEST EXCAVATIONS. THE SITE WAS SUBSEQUENTLY LISTED ON THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES. PHOTOGRAPH, COURTESY JOHN H. SPRINKLE, JR.

Preservation Office (SHPO). Generally the decision to pursue the research exception is made in concert with the SHPO and research designs are commonly accepted by the state agency. After a 30-day review at the Council, the proposed archaeological mitigation plan may be executed. The agency's Section 106 obligations are then *completed and the project may go forth*. The research exception clearly streamlines the process when archaeological sites are under consideration.

In his analysis of the 1996 draft revision of 36 CFR 800, Thomas King, a former Council staffperson, noted that the research exception was developed in the mid 1970s because at that time Council staff had little experience in evaluating impacts to archaeological sites. In the 1986 revisions to the regulations, the Council tried to amend the research exception clause by adding the consideration of other types of historic properties, buildings, bridges, and the like, with values only for research. Emphasis was also placed on the values inherent in sites, so that traditional places of worship or those with the potential for public interpretation would not be subject to the data recovery regulatory option. "People still think that any Criterion 'd' property can be blown away after digging it up, while anything eligible under Criteria 'a' through 'c' cannot."²

Although clearly permitted in the current regulations, the research exception is rarely applied to standing structures. In my experience, SHPOs and the Council have never questioned the assumption that the research value of an archaeological site can be "substantially preserved" through appropriate research. Moreover, SHPOs and the Council have rarely suggested that archaeological sites have values other than for research alone. The only exception to this common practice is if the site has the potential to contain human remains, where other non-historic preservation laws and regulations come into play.

The common mistake made when considering the research exception is that only properties eligible for the National Register under Criterion "d" alone are eligible for this regulatory short cut. In fact, as Tom King forcibly states in the Section 106 class we all know and love, there is no specific connection between the research exception and the National Register criteria. King notes that the research exception discusses the value of archaeological sites, while Criterion "d" relates to the significance of a property.³ However, in practice our conventional wisdom may be summed up with the equation:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Archaeological Sites} &= \text{Criterion "d"} \\ \text{Criterion "d"} &= \text{Research Value} \\ \text{Research Value} &= \text{Research Exception} \end{aligned}$$

This confusion, of course, comes from the definition of Criterion "d" as historic properties "that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history." It is commonly asserted in SHPO offices, among consulting firms, and within the minds of our clients, that only archaeological sites are eligible for the research exception because only archaeological sites are eligible under Criterion "d".

Properties that do not meet one of the research exceptions receive further regulatory review because they fall under the Criteria of Adverse Effect. When the effect is adverse, the Agency has to conduct additional steps to complete its Section 106 obligations, including:

- Notifying the Council of the adverse effect;
- Consulting with SHPO to seek ways to avoid or reduce effects;
- Involving interested persons;
- Documenting the proposed adverse effect as stated in 800.8(b);
- Informing the public, and,
- Entering into a Memorandum of Agreement regarding the adverse effect.

Given the differences between the procedures needed for No Adverse Effect and Adverse Effect, it is easy to see why agencies, applicants, and project proponents have adopted the research exception with gusto. For highway projects involving federal funds, the regulatory reasoning is even stronger. Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act of 1966 (49 USC 309) states that the Secretary of Transportation:

- shall not approve any program or project which requires the use of any... historic site unless... there is no feasible or prudent alternative to the use of such land.

Regulations interpreting this section of the law as well as common practices among historic preservation professionals relate that only projects involving adverse effects to historic properties are subject to the provision that feasible or prudent alternatives be considered in project planning. Thus, highway departments are especially interested in applying the no adverse effect-research exception paradigm to their projects. It simplifies agency review and quickens the regulatory process.

DOES "D" EQUAL DIG AND DESTROY?

What impact has the application of the Archaeological Sites = Criterion "d" = Research Values = Research Exception equation had on archaeological properties within a particular jurisdiction? Is Criterion "d" disproportionately applied only to archaeological sites? Are archaeological sites ever considered for Criteria other than "d"?

Records from the Maryland Historical Trust (MHT) were examined to document the application of Criterion "d" and the "Research Exception" to archaeological properties. Acting as the State Historic Preservation Office, the Maryland Historical Trust maintains an excellent set of records regarding its decision-making process on the significance of historic resources. In fact, it is one of the few states that keeps precise records on determinations of eligibility for individual properties. Once a property's eligibility is recommended by the MHT, a standardized form that describes the reasons for site significance is inserted with the appropriate archaeological site form. Sites considered not eligible for the National Register also receive this form. (This analysis of Maryland data was not undertaken to pick on my native state, but because it was the one of the few jurisdictions where this type of information was available).

Annually, the MHT reviews about 2,400 federal projects. Of these, about 174 (7 percent) required some form of identification activities on the part of the project sponsor. Each year, on average, the MHT reviews about 70 Phase I identification surveys, 28 Phase II evaluation studies, and only about four Phase III data recovery reports.⁴ The MHT library contains only 44 data recovery reports. Since 1993, only two Maryland sites have been listed on the National Register under Criterion "d."

Since the late 1980s, MHT has prepared its opinion on the eligibility of 96 archaeological sites. In 84 of these cases, the specific National Register Criteria were recorded and of these examples, 74 archaeological sites (that's 88 percent) were determined to be eligible for the National Register under Criterion "d" alone. Sixty percent of these sites were prehistoric and 40 percent contained historic occupations.

Located near the Baltimore Washington International Airport, the Higgins site (18AN489) was first identified in 1978 as part of a Maryland Department of Transportation sponsored survey. Nearly a decade later the site underwent a Phase II evaluation study in preparation for the construction of State Railway Administration building, on the only "feasible" location for this facility. Very rare Early, Middle, and Late Archaic archaeological components dating back to at least 6500 BC were identified and the 8-acre property was

recommended for Phase III data recovery excavations because the site had the potential to contain important information about the early Native history of Maryland (Criterion "d"). During the Phase III excavations, it was discovered that the site also contained exceedingly rare evidence of Paleoindians, the first inhabitants of Maryland dating to some 9,000 years ago. In spite of this unique discovery, the excavations were concluded. Only 3 percent of the archaeological site that was impacted by construction was archaeologically excavated, the remainder was destroyed without study. After the fieldwork, an excellent report was prepared and the Railroad Administration building was completed.

Work at the Higgins site was mandated by a Maryland law that governs state-funded projects that is implemented using the federal regulatory process. At the Higgins Site, the compliance review of the undertaking was completed using the "research exception" option found in 36 CFR Part 800. Eligible only under Criterion "d", and using the mistaken connection between Criterion "d" and the research exception, the project received a "no adverse effect" determination. The Maryland DOT developed and executed an appropriate data recovery plan that was reviewed and accepted by MHT. The site was dug; the building got built; the regulatory process worked.

Since 1988 in Maryland, National Register Criteria other than "d" were applied to the determination of eligibility of only 10 archaeological sites. Of these, three sites contain standing structures that were eligible under Criteria "a", "b", or "c"; one site is a never-completed railroad grade; two sites are part of the same ruined mill town; one site contains the preserved remains of a rural mill; and three sites contain no above-ground structures.

Among all the archaeological sites, there is one case where Criterion "d" was applied to a standing structure where data recovery was accomplished through documentation to Historic American Building Survey standards. In 1988 the Maryland DOT concurred with the MHT's recommendation that the above-ground remains at the Wilderness site, a early farmstead ruin located along the Baltimore-Washington Parkway with distinctive log construction techniques, should be documented prior to their degradation by the elements.

It should be noted that not all sites that are determined eligible under Criterion "d" are subjected to data recovery excavations. Projects are canceled, redesigned, or otherwise transformed so that data recovery excavations are not necessary. Only about four reports per year are prepared in Maryland, or 2 percent of all annually reviewed federal undertakings.³ In many cases, substantial portions of sites are left after mitigation that retain eligibility for the

National Register

From this Maryland evidence, it is apparent that National Register Criterion "d" is primarily applied to archaeological sites. Examination of compliance records, if they were available, from other states would no doubt confirm this conclusion. My own experience in over 120 projects for a wide variety of public and private clients across 35 states and the District of Columbia supports this conclusion.

IS IT DISCRIMINATION?

Does Criterion "d" discriminate? Compare the Higgins Site, a exceedingly rare Paleoindian archaeological site that was the home of some of Maryland's first Native American residents, with Historic St. Mary's city, site of the first Euro-American capital within the state. Both sites are the location of Maryland's first residents. Both sites were considered eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, in fact St. Mary's is a National Historic Landmark and is listed under several National Register criteria. But the Higgins site was considered eligible under Criterion "d" only, and was thus eligible for the research exception, no adverse effect regulatory tract. St. Mary's has been the site of an ongoing research program for numerous years, while portions of the Higgins site were destroyed by archaeologists in only several months. St. Mary's is the site of an extended program of historic interpretation, while the Higgins site does not even have a marker. Now clearly, historic St. Mary's City is an important historic property in Maryland's past and deserves careful study. The point here is that given the fast-track regulatory framework, certain properties, primarily archaeological sites, may not receive adequate consideration before data recovery and archaeological demolition.

Does the application of the Archaeological Sites = Criterion "d" = Research Values = Research Exception paradigm discriminate, in a civil rights sense, against certain modern populations? Consider this thesis:

- If a federal regulatory system contributes to the wholesale destruction of a certain class of historic properties; and,
 - If that class of properties were associated with certain groups of people in the past; and,
 - If the history of these groups were substantially contained within this class of historic properties; and,
 - If these groups were not regularly consulted about the impacts of these regulations on sites containing their history;
- Then, would that regulatory system be considered discriminatory against the groups of people affected?

In other words, if our historic preservation system does not provide fair and equal protection to the historic properties associated with certain groups in the past, does that system discriminate against the modern populations? Is disproportionately destroying one group's historic record the same as discriminating against that group?

As noted, historic properties eligible under Criterion "d" and treated under the research exception are generally archaeological sites. Archaeological sites are primarily associated with three groups that are poorly represented in the written and architectural record of our country: specifically, Native Americans, African

Americans, and poor people of all ethnic groups. Thus, these archaeological sites are the only places where the accomplishments, both large and small, of these groups are preserved within the modern world. Careful and precise examination of these historic places has consistently proven the value of archaeological sites to our understanding of the past. However, do archaeological sites contain more values for the present than simply academic research?

If we're destroying the history of certain groups, should we not at least be asking those groups about what they feel is important about their past? Is the presumption that these important places are significant only to the academic archaeologist a disservice to the communities whose history they represent? At present, the regulatory framework set forth by 36 CFR 800 recognizes only academic research values for archaeological sites. Can sites have spiritual importance or interpretive values?

THE PROBLEM IN ALL THIS LIES NOT SO MUCH WITH THE LEGISLATION, BUT IN THE ARCHEOLOGICAL COMMUNITY ITSELF. ARCHEOLOGISTS WANT TO DIG. THAT'S WHAT WE WERE TRAINED TO DO. SOME CONSULTANTS WILL SAY THAT THEY WILL DO A "PHASE 1, PHASE 2" SURVEY AND FIND A REALLY NEAT SITE AND SAY "OH, GOLLY GEE! THAT IS A NEAT SITE. WE SURE WOULD LIKE TO DIG IT!"

THE NEED FOR RE-EXAMINATION

In sum, the historic preservation community should re-examine its policies, procedures, and regulations to ensure that equal protection is provided for all classes of historic properties which preserve the historical record of all groups of Americans present both today and in the past. We can accomplish this goal by:

- Involving the public as well as academic researchers in deciding the many values of historic places;
- Correcting the regulatory bias of the "research exception" that makes archaeological sites second class historic properties;
- Teaching our students and practitioners that archaeological sites are eligible under each of the National Register criteria; and,
- Comparing the cost of the wholesale destruction of archaeological sites versus the public benefits from the long-term

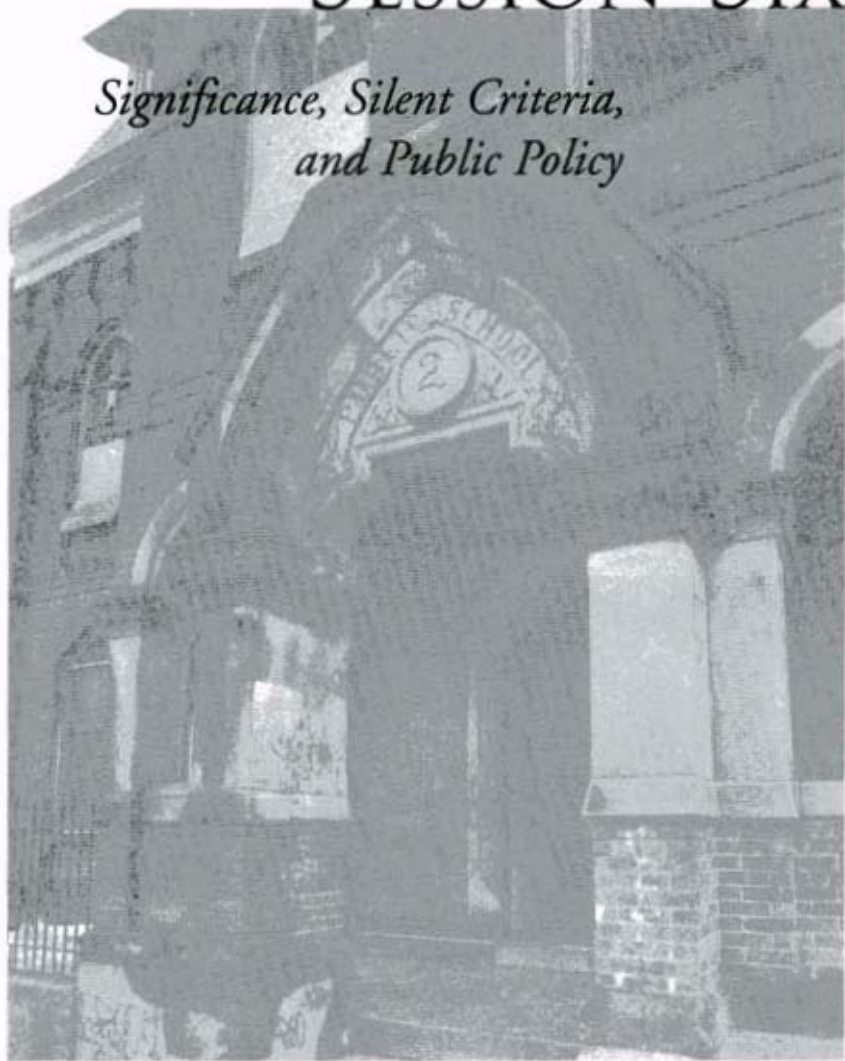
protection of these unique properties and the history they contain.

MOST OF US WHO DEAL MORE WITH STRUCTURES THAN WITH ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES HAVE OUR "EASY OUT," TOO. THAT IS TO SAY THAT IT IS ELIGIBLE UNDER CRITERION C AND TREAT IT AS JUST A PIECE OF ARCHITECTURE, CONVENIENTLY IGNORING ALL THE PEOPLE AND ALL THE EVENTS AND ALL THE MYTHOLOGY AND WHATEVER ELSE MIGHT BE ASSOCIATED WITH THAT PARTICULAR PROPERTY. IT IS NOT JUST A ONE-SIDED PROBLEM; DISCRIMINATION CAN BE FOUND ELSEWHERE IN THE PROCESS.

Clearly, this analysis is not the final word on the differential treatment of archaeological sites within the federal regulatory process. Limited legal analysis of the question of fair and equal protection for historic properties representing the past of certain minority groups has proven interesting. More importantly, I believe that it is in the best interest of the historic preservation community to complete regular self-examinations of its policies, practices, and conventional wisdom to ensure that our efforts protect and preserve all resources representing our entire past.

SESSION SIX

*Significance, Silent Criteria,
and Public Policy*





THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FRAGMENTARY LANDSCAPES IN CULTURAL LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION

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In the last fifteen years, historic preservationists have paid more attention to cultural landscapes as historic resources.

Considering buildings, structures, or objects within a given spatial and physical setting, or landscape, endows them with historical significance and context that would be absent if viewed individually. Despite this more expansive approach to the built

environment, the current way of thinking about historic landscapes still does not account for all types of resources that one finds in the field. A fragmentary landscape is a cultural landscape defined by three characteristics: 1) the presence of buildings, structures, or objects surviving from different historic periods, often with significant alterations; 2) the existence of ruins or gaps in the landscape where historic buildings or structures formerly stood; and 3) the landscape's changes through time reflected and revealed through the built environment and its surrounding natural features. The Dolph/Sunnyside Industrial District in Lackawanna County, Pennsylvania is an example of such a landscape. Remains of an entire mining community survive, but only in remnant form. The district includes components such as foundations of worker houses, and ruins of industrial buildings [Fig. 1]. Transportation networks are also evident on the landscape, including an abandoned railroad



FIG. 1. RUINS OF BUILDINGS.

DOLPH/SUNNYSIDE
INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT,
LACKAWANNA COUNTY,
PENNSYLVANIA.

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY
OF CHRIS, INC., NORTH
WALES, PA.

FIG. 2: ABANDONED
RAILROAD RIGHT-OF-WAY,
DOLPH/SUNNYSIDE
INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT,
LACKAWANNA COUNTY, PA.
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY
OF CHRS, INC.,
NORTH WALES, PA.

right-of-way [Fig. 2]. These features are set within a landscape that hardly recalls its industrial past. An architectural historian or historic preservation professional might easily overlook this landscape, *since it appears to lack aesthetic merit*. Yet this community has been determined eligible for the National Register under Criteria "a" and "d", and later, we will explore why this is so, even considering its low level of integrity.¹



FIG. 3: A COMPANY-BUILT
HOUSE, VILLAGE OF PARKS
QUARRIES, NEW
SEWICKLEY TOWNSHIP,
BEAVER COUNTY, PA.
PHOTOGRAPH BY ANNA
ANDRZEJEWSKI.

Another fragmentary landscape is located at a rural crossroads in Beaver County, Pennsylvania, about thirty miles north of Pittsburgh. A cursory examination of the built features reveals that they possess low architectural integrity and do not qualify for individual listing in the National Register. Historic residences have been modified by numerous alterations [Fig. 3]. Modern homes occupy some lots where historic buildings once sat. But to us, this landscape has an interesting story to tell. The spatial arrangement and landscape organization suggests a pattern of change, which we consider *historically significant*, enabling it to qualify as a National Register historic district under Criteria "a", "c" and "d".²



Both of these landscapes and others like them can only be read through understanding the relationship between the visible gaps in the landscape, the changes that have occurred there, and what survives today. As preservation professionals, we have found that many of us tend to view buildings and landscapes with an architectural eye. This eye concentrates on

intact historic built features and ignores the spaces or "fragments" between them—areas where resources are altered or no longer survive. This area falls out of our scope and becomes the domain of the archaeologist, historian, or cultural geographer. Yet these gaps and changes in the landscape signal significant histories as much as intact historic buildings. Recognizing a fragmentary landscape means overcoming the idea that fragments or voids in the landscape, often telling signs of a place's history, are not important. These fragments, which many of us tend to dismiss as "nothing," or nothing significant, may be everything in understanding the history of a landscape and its significance. In this paper, we advocate interpreting these fragmentary landscapes using an archaeological approach, which requires a stratigraphic reading of the environment to understand how it evolved over time.³ First we will situate fragmentary landscapes within the fields of vernacular architecture studies, cultural geography and historic preservation. Then we will demonstrate how those of us trained as architectural historians can adopt new ways of seeing that will allow us to identify, document and evaluate a fragmentary landscape for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

A fragmentary landscape is a type of cultural landscape. During the last two decades, cultural landscapes have increasingly garnered the attention of scholars studying the vernacular environment. Vernacular architecture studies, a field that has expanded in the United States over the last twenty years under the influence of folklorist Henry Glassie and cultural geographer Fred Kniffen, concentrates on everyday buildings within everyday spaces.⁴ Dell Upton has vocally advocated what has been characterized as a landscape approach to architectural history, which considers all kinds and scales of buildings within a given spatial and temporal context.⁵

Meanwhile, cultural geographers interested in studying our relationship to the environment have thoughtfully defined cultural landscapes. Peirce Lewis and Donald W. Meinig see cultural landscapes as dynamic entities that constantly change with each successive generation.⁶ From the standpoint of cultural geography, fragmentary landscapes have been extensively studied, since this discipline does not recognize any special class or caliber of landscape as more or less deserving of scholarly attention than any other.

Although historic preservationists have not explicitly addressed fragmentary landscapes as significant historic resources, they have acknowledged the importance of adopting a cultural landscape approach to documenting the historic built environment. In the 1970s, National Park Service archaeologists devised the Resource Protection Planning Process, known as RP3, for field survey. This approach required that surveyors investigate the chronological lay-

ering of cultural artifacts in the environment rather than conduct the more expensive comprehensive historic resource surveys. Although the RP3 approach failed as a planning process, the methodology was adopted in the National Register process and could be seen in subsequent National Register bulletins. Since the 1980s, the National Register program has published a series of bulletins and articles concerning historic landscape survey and evaluation techniques. If we examine fragmentary landscapes through the lens presented in these technical bulletins, a more adequate reading of them emerges.

The Park Service literature has defined characteristics to look for when identifying rural historic landscapes, which can be applied to fragmentary landscapes. These include land uses and activities, patterns of spatial organization, response to natural environment, circulation networks, boundary demarcations, buildings/structures/objects, clusters, archaeological sites, and small-scale elements.⁷ Using these characteristics as a guide in our Beaver County, Pennsylvania example, we were able to identify and discover a more complex and rich cultural landscape than was obvious at first glance. The steep topography dictates a winding road system. Boundary demarcations appear in the form of thickly wooded areas, waterways and roadways, dividing residential areas from one another, and separating these properties from more industrial areas of the community. Small-scale elements like tree lines and depressions in the ground indicate where a residential or industrial foundation, or a transportation feature may be buried. Noting these landscape elements enabled us to view this landscape in relation to both natural and man-made surroundings which have developed over the course of time, leading us to conclude that an historic community with a fascinating history existed here.

After the general characteristics of a fragmentary landscape have been noted, more detailed field survey and historical research may be conducted. For fragmentary landscapes, we advocate an archaeological approach to field survey that considers the landscape not as a static entity, but as containing historic deposits which reveal changes that occurred there through time. Site plans and photographs should note built elements from all historic periods, including modern features, to ensure that the landscape is being documented in its multiple layers. Historic research may also provide important and revealing clues about the process of change that occurred in the area in question, identifying new undertakings and successful activities as well as failures, abandonments, and periods of decline. Primary and secondary materials such as historic maps, historic photographs, and government documents also have potential to yield valuable information about the past appearance of the land-

scape. Oral histories may be taken if useful. In addition to site specific research, historic contexts that identify themes, patterns, or trends in the region should be developed. These can be distilled and applied to the fragmentary landscape at hand.

Historic contexts developed for Lackawanna County, Pennsylvania pointed to the importance of the anthracite mining industry in the region during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was anticipated that coal-related structures and facilities would dominate the industrial properties found in the field, even though much of the industry had died by the mid-twentieth century. The results of the field survey revealed that few coal industry resources remain intact, but the Dolph/Sunnyside Industrial District still contains some undisturbed subsurface and surface remains tied to the anthracite mining industry [Fig. 5].⁸ Opened in 1884, the mine was operated by large and small coal companies until its closure in 1952.⁹ The condition of the remains today is such that documentary evidence is essential to ascertaining their historic function. Historical information about the decline of the anthracite industry helped to interpret the ruinous condition of the fragments that remained. In the Beaver County landscape, historic contexts also suggested important industrial themes. The quarrying of sandstone, mining of fire clay and discovery of oil spurred growth and development in the region between 1880 and 1925 [Fig. 6]. Expected property types included industrial sites, transportation networks, and residential communities. Site specific research revealed that the only buildings which survive at the crossroads were



FIG. 5. FOUNDATIONS, MINE VENTILATION SYSTEM, DOLPH/SUNNYSIDE INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF CHRS, INC., NORTH WALES, PA.



FIG. 6. LOCATIONS OF THE INDUSTRIES AND RAILROAD, VILLAGE OF PARKS QUARRIES. SOURCE: USGS (NEW SEWICKLEY QUADRANGLE) 1909



FIG. 8. RAILROAD BERM
ALONGSIDE COMPANY
HOUSES, VILLAGE OF
PARKS QUARRIES.
PHOTOGRAPH BY ALLISON
RACHLEFF

residential properties, most of which were erected to shelter the work force employed at the quarries and fire clay mines. Many of the industrial elements of the community, including any quarry, clay, or oil facilities, disappeared during the early twentieth century. Additional houses, a general store, and a railroad erected during the heyday of industrial prosperity now exist only in remnant form; only the berm of the rail-

road survives [Fig. 8]. Although these resources have been erased from the landscape over time, historic maps and oral histories have enabled us to pinpoint their former location and begin to understand the process of change. For both examples, an archaeological reading of the field data coupled with a well-developed history reveals a landscape of change instead of one of nothing, whose history is now more clearly visible than when initially gazed upon with an architectural eye.

After a fragmentary landscape has been explored in relation to historic contexts, the type of significance it possesses according to National Register criteria may be considered.¹⁰ Fragmentary landscapes will usually not possess significance under Criterion "b", association with significant individuals. The existing fragmentary landscape would be the result of many individuals and groups shaping the landscape to meet their needs and no one person or group can be deemed more important than another. Since change characterizes fragmentary landscapes, the buildings and structures that survive would not individually possess significance under Criterion "c", for their design. In most cases, the surviving buildings and structures will possess low architectural integrity. However, fragmentary landscapes may possess significance as districts under Criterion "c". The National Register guidelines state that all components within a district may lack individual distinction provided that the grouping as whole achieves significance within its historic context.¹¹ Alterations to the architectural fabric, demolition of historic structures, and new construction represent elements of historic design that are frequently ignored when making significance evaluations. For a fragmentary landscape to possess significance under Criterion "c" as a district, the changes must be historic, that is, have occurred within the last fifty years, and be consistent and "readable" throughout the landscape.

A fragmentary landscape may also possess significance under Criteria "a" and/or "d". Criterion "a" applies to properties associated with events that have made significant contributions to the broad patterns of history.¹² Fragmentary landscapes may be significant under Criterion "a" if the events in the history of the fragmentary landscape and its surrounding region are reflected in the surviving features. To be eligible under Criterion "a", the landscape must have a strong association with trends deemed important in the historic context. Fragmentary landscapes may also be significant under Criterion "d". Criterion "d" applies to properties that have yielded or are likely to yield information important to the prehistory or history of an area. Under Criterion "d", a property, or a fragmentary landscape, does not need to visually recall an event, person, process or construction technique, but must remain sufficiently intact to yield important information.¹³ A fragmentary landscape could be significant under Criterion "d" if what survives is the principal source of information about the landscape. Existing buildings and structures could be investigated to learn important information about the changes that have occurred through time, just as the areas where buildings no longer survived may be explored archaeologically to discover more about the community's development. The difficult task will be to prove that it has the potential to yield important information. This can only be achieved by examining the landscape in relation to others in the same region that display similar themes, patterns, or trends, which would enable us to judge its information potential.

The final steps in the determination of eligibility for the National Register involve examining a landscape's historic integrity and evaluating its eligibility. The Park Service guidelines recommend that the characteristics that shaped the landscape should be present today in much the same way as they were historically for it to possess integrity. However, fragmentary landscapes embody change, and thus integrity has to be carefully considered to account for this factor. With fragmentary landscapes, an important paradox emerges, one that goes against the grain of what we have learned using our architectural eye. This paradox is that low level architectural integrity may signal a highly significant cultural landscape. Landscape architect Patricia O'Donnell has addressed this issue, writing extensively about evaluating the integrity of historic landscapes. For O'Donnell, historic landscapes are the vegetative component of a specific historic complex. The landscape surrounding the historic complex will have high, moderate, or low integrity. A landscape with high integrity will have most of its historic elements intact with only subtle changes. One with moderate integrity will retain many of its historic components with notable losses of



FIG. 9. THE COMMUNITY KNOWN AS "BLANCO" (SHADED) SOURCE: D.G. BEERS, ATLAS OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE: FROM ACTUAL SURVEYS (PHILADELPHIA: D.G. BEERS, 1868).

FIG. 10. SITE OF BLANCO'S NINETEENTH-CENTURY HOUSING. PHOTOGRAPH BY ANNA ANDRZEJEWSKI

character defining features. A landscape with low integrity contains subtle evidence of the landscape's historic character while documentation provides a more detailed, but incomplete, picture.¹⁴ O'Donnell's classification system provides a flexible framework for us to gauge the integrity of fragmentary landscapes and consider them eligible for listing in the National Register.

For a fragmentary landscape to be determined eligible, a majority of components that add to the landscape's historic character must possess integrity, as must the landscape as a whole.¹⁵ If the sense of historic change is no longer readable on the landscape, due to factors such as an abundance of modern construction, extensive alterations to historic fabric, or disappearance of all evidence of historic built features, then despite the history elaborated in the context, the resource may be

determined not to be eligible for National Register listing. An example of a fascinating fragmentary landscape, but one that does not possess integrity, is located near Blackiston's Crossroads in Kent County, Delaware. Now characterized by modern houses, trailers, and a new church clustered around an intersection, this community was the site of a free African-American community known as Blanco between 1830 and 1900 [Fig. 9, 10]. Documentary records, especially tax assessments, census records, and historic maps, tell an extraordinary tale of recently manumitted slaves that moved to Blanco but



continued to work as laborers for their former owners. They lived in tiny, one-room log houses on small lots. However, all architectural evidence of Blanco's past has vanished, and the landscape as a whole expresses none of this history. Although archaeological deposits may exist, the lots appear to have been expanded, the land re-graded, and all nineteenth-century buildings destroyed. This example illustrates that merely finding a fragmentary landscape in a given region does not merit automatically giving it National Register eligibility; enough integrity must be present for the resource to convey its history. A low level of architectural integrity, as O'Donnell characterized it, would be permissible, if the changes reflect an important part of the landscape's history and the history is to some extent legible in the surviving built features.

The abandoned mine landscape in Lackawanna County, Pennsylvania possesses low architectural integrity in O'Donnell's terms. Today, surface and subsurface remains portray subtle aspects of the landscape's historic character. Foundations, abandoned roadways, and sealed mine shafts are scattered throughout the area [Fig. 11, 12]. Concrete foundations are the last remnants of the area where worker houses once stood along a mine road [Fig. 13]. The significance of this landscape is embedded in the fragmentary nature of the remnants, from which we can discern its history, including the community's founding, operation, decline, and abandonment. Despite its low level of integrity, the landscape illustrates the rise and fall of the industry in the region. Its built fabric also has



FIG. 11. ABANDONED
TIMBER, DOLPH/BURNYSIDE
INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT.
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY
OF CHRIS, INC., NORTH
WALES, PA.



FIG. 12. FOUNDATION OF
A WORKER'S HOUSE.
DOLPH/BURNYSIDE
INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT.
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY
OF CHRIS, INC., NORTH
WALES, PA.

FIG. 13. THE NINE ROAD,
DOLPH/SUNNYSIDE
INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT.
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY
OF CHRIS, INC., NORTH
WALES, PA.



the ability to yield information about mining practices and their decline. The Dolph/Sunnyside Industrial District has been determined eligible for the National Register under Criteria "a" and "d" [Fig. 14].

The community in Beaver County possesses a moderate level of integrity. Its moderate integrity comes from the fact that its industrial component, the key reason for the growth in the area, no longer survives in its historic form. The quarry, abandoned several decades ago, is completely overgrown; the site of the former brick-

yard is now occupied by an asphalt plant. Further, the residential resources that survive have been substantially altered. Many have been enlarged from their original compact size while others have been modified in an attempt to differentiate them from one another. Tangible signs of the construction and abandonment cycle are evident on the landscape. Viewed within the context of the



FIG. 14. WORKER HOUSES
ALONG PARKS QUARRIES
ROAD, VILLAGE OF PARKS
QUARRIES. PHOTOGRAPH
BY ANNA ANDRZEJEWSKI

surrounding region, this fragmentary landscape represents a fairly intact example of an industrial/residential community which experienced a rise and fall within a short period of time, making it eligible for the National Register under Criterion "a". In terms of Criterion "c", the surviving residential buildings and gaps between them express the history of the community through its spatial

arrangement. Additions have appeared on many of the buildings, enlarging them from their small size. New windows and siding have differentiated the houses from one another erasing their original appearance. Gaps between the buildings and lack of industrial features are indicators revealing the twentieth century demise of the community, and help illustrate the landscape's history through time [Fig. 15]. Considering these elements spatially and temporally shows the evolution of a small-scale industrial community as it changed from a tightly knit cluster to one consisting of unassociated single-family dwellings. In terms of Criterion "d", further investigation of the changes in the landscape would yield information about what happens to industrial communities upon their decline. Thus this landscape as a whole retains enough elements of its historic past to be considered a National Register-eligible district under Criteria "a", "c", and "d".

Fragmentary landscapes are clearly significant aspects of the past that preservation professionals need to be alert for when documenting, evaluating, and interpreting historic resources in the field. The example of the Dolph/Sunnyside Industrial District shows that these types of resources have already been deemed historically significant under National Register criteria. We urge preservation professionals to identify and evaluate additional fragmentary landscapes in accordance with the National Park Service guidelines. With fragmentary landscapes, a peculiar type of cultural resource exists that has a very different, but highly significant story to tell. Like other types of cultural landscapes, such as rural historic districts, mining towns, and agricultural landscapes, it consists of a combination of built and natural features. Yet, fragmentary landscapes often tell more about what happened to buildings or landscapes after their heyday. Our two examples have illustrated the fate of human endeavors that befell difficult times. Preserving the "fragmentary" landscape, which we are so apt to dismiss as "nothing" with our architectural eye, may seem paradoxical—yet without such landscapes, we may find ourselves with even less remaining to preserve.



FIG. 15. ABANDONED
WORKER'S HOUSE, VILLAGE
OF PARKS QUARRIES.
PHOTOGRAPH BY ALLISON
RACHLEFF.



THE SILENT CRITERIA: MISUSE AND ABUSE OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER

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The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, that extraordinary piece of legislation which gave us the National Register of Historic Places and Section 106 among other tools, is thirty years old. For seventeen of those thirty years, I have been working in the trenches, in what has become known in consultant circles as "the business of cultural resource management." I have worked in a state historic preservation office, for a major "New South" city, as a self-employed consultant, and for one of the country's largest transportation engineering firms.

My cumulative experience is certainly not unique, but it is varied and has actively involved me in "the business" from a number of different perspectives. The opinions, observations, analyses, and suggestions I offer concerning current trends in the evaluation of significance, in terms of the National Register Criteria for purposes of Section 106, are my own. They are a direct result of up close and personal experience with the properties and their owners, the laws and regulations, the agencies, the advocates, the opponents, and that true American melting pot, "interested parties."

"THOSE PEOPLE" WHO MISUSE AND ABUSE

In perhaps the last ten years, I have witnessed disturbing efforts to make the National Register and by extension, Section 106, or perhaps more correctly, Section 106 and of necessity the National Register, the main, if not the only, tools available to save the human environment from wanton destruction. They are regularly poked, prodded, stretched, and distorted to such an extent that I often feel

as though "those people" and I are speaking different languages and discussing completely different programs. What is disturbing is that "those people" are sometimes representatives of the National Park Service, the National Trust, SHPOs, agencies, environmental lawyers, or other consultants. They are also local, state, and federal elected officials, political appointees, developers, and private citizens. This misuse, even abuse, of the National Register and Section 106 has little to do with the resources; it has to do with human desires, with agendas.

Throughout the year, possibly from the beginning, outside influences, societal pressures, social, economic, legal, political, and aesthetic trends have become what I call the "Silent Criteria." The most powerful Silent Criteria are generally categorized as politics and economics, usually accompanied by one or more of the lesser criteria, status, power, protection, and legal leverage. There is, in addition, a very specific criterion, existence-of-a-federal-undertaking-triggering-Section-106. This last has serious consequences affecting SHPOs, agencies, and interested parties. Quite often, when a federal agency is involved in identification and evaluation for purposes of Section 106, National Register Criteria "a," "b," "c," and "d" get very loose, as do standards for integrity. It also becomes as important to justify that properties are not eligible as it is to justify that they are. This mind set often produces a very grave and epidemic condition in federal agencies, "SHPO Phobia." The Silent Criteria do not have much to do with integrity or significance, or property types.

They have very little to do with historic resources at all and, I believe, they are directly responsible for endangering the integrity of the National Register of Historic Places. In turn, respect for the National Register has decreased and its usefulness as a legitimate tool for recognition of and protection for historic properties has diminished. Indeed, the existence of the National Register and Section 106 could be in danger.

Too often, the resources are no longer the object of recognition, consideration, and a modicum of protection using the National Register and Section 106 as tools. The resources themselves have become the tool to get people what they want, and what they want is to get something from a federal agency. That something may be to stop a project; to get historic, architectural, and archaeological data; to change or correct undesirable existing conditions; to obtain funds or other incentives for economic development projects; or to make a grand gesture for the benefit of constituents and potential voters. It has become distressingly common to view federal agencies as cash cows who, through the environmental review process, have

some sort of obligation to pay, and pay big, as penance for involvement in an undertaking.

CONSTANTS IN PRESERVATION PRACTICE

Over the last fifteen to twenty years, changes in historic preservation policy and practice have been dizzying, exhilarating, bewildering, and with the recent near misses experienced in the name of budget cuts and government streamlining, things have been downright frightening. However, a couple of aspects have remained constant. The National Register of Historic Places and Section 106 have not substantively changed and the National Register and Section 106 are two of the government's most feared, desired, and misunderstood programs. In a single day I have known what it must feel like to be Ed McMahon, bearing both insurance and sweepstakes winnings, an IRS agent announcing an impending audit, and an accused puppy killer.

As far as I know, there has never been a serious attempt to abolish the National Register of Historic Places nor have the National Register Criteria ever been seriously questioned or revised. The National Register is still a list of properties, generally fifty years old or older, and includes districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture. The National Register Criteria are extremely flexible, but they do have limits. They specifically require properties to possess integrity sufficient to illustrate significance. Properties should have integrity and significance, both reasonable requirements.

So, let us review. Something must be a property, a tangible cultural resource, for which justifiable boundaries can be established. The National Register is not a list of concepts, theories, trends, beliefs, practices, patterns, or events. It is a list of basically intact, tangible resources which have in some way been touched by man and reflect, represent, and illustrate those intangible cultural resources which define our collective American heritage. However, not every fifty-year-old or older property is eligible for the National Register. The property must have integrity, it must be basically intact. The nature and characteristics of a property's integrity are dictated by the areas within which it is considered significant, which of those concepts, theories, etc. it reflects. However, every intact over fifty-year-old property is not eligible for the National Register. The intact property must have significance; it must be important in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture, in terms of the National Register Criteria. Every significant intact property that meets the National Register Criteria is potentially eligible for the National Register.

Similarly, Section 106 of the Act remains the same. The regulations have changed, and by this fall may change some more, but the intent of the Section remains the same. If a federal agency is involved in the funding or licensing of a project or undertaking, the agency must take into account the effect of the undertaking on any property listed in or eligible for listing in the National Register. The agency must also allow the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation a reasonable opportunity to comment on those effects. Section 106 affords a measure of protection, in the context of federally funded or licensed projects, for properties listed in or eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. It always surprises me how short Section 106 actually is; it's kind of a Gettysburg Address: short, to the point, but with ramifications far outweighing its actual verbiage and with volumes written analyzing its content and meaning. Section 106 does not stop projects and it certainly was never designed to place the responsibility of comprehensive survey, evaluation, National Register listing, and historic property preservation on federal agencies.

In all my dealings with the National Historic Preservation Act, its amendments, its various regulations and their voluminous revisions, I have never come across the slightest hint that the National Register and Section 106 were designed to recognize and protect everything. They are tools, but *not the only tools*. It is an unfortunate fact that the National Register is believed to be the only acceptable way of recognizing significance and that listing provides a magical bubble of absolute protection and gives the federal government absolute control over every aspect of a listed property. In an alarming number of cases, Section 106 is perceived as having a ludicrous amount of power over the implementation of an undertaking. The regulation seems to have unlimited powers of protection for properties listed in or eligible for the National Register, and is claimed to be the most cost-effective mechanism for collecting historic, architectural, and archaeological data.

Therefore, National Register eligibility and Section 106 are tantamount to satanic rituals for some, a crusade for those seeking legitimacy for properties, and the saving grace for those convinced that the purpose of Section 106 is to further their own agendas. For the latter, triggering Section 106 is the first priority. Later comes the search for something, anything listed in or potentially eligible for the National Register, anything to serve as "the cause" to rally around and invoke all-powerful Section 106.

STATUS

Enter the Silent Criteria. Status is perhaps the most benign of the silent criteria, however, it is usually accompanied by politics. During

my tenure at the SHPO office, we fielded innumerable calls from owners who were genuinely proud of their old homes and wanted them recognized. Specially designed, engraved, bronze National Register plaques and suitable-for-framing certificates were available to property owners and they were powerful status symbols. Many of these houses were beautifully decorated and filled with outstanding collections of antiques, and nearly all were the subject of charming, often documented, anecdotes. These stories featured "bricks handmade by slaves on the place," Revolutionary and Civil War heroes; narrow escapes from capture by Redcoats or Yankees; secret rooms; floors stained with the blood of wounded soldiers who filled the house when it was used as a field hospital; the ubiquitous raids by "Sherman's troops" who set fires put out by faithful slaves, but who failed to find the carefully hidden family silver, which the family also failed to find again. They threw the keys down the well (explaining the lack of one for the original front door lock), and were the source of the *de rigueur*, still visible marks where brazen enemy officers rode their horses onto the porch, thrust their swords into the front door, and then rode into the entrance hall, accounting for the vaguely horseshoe shaped gouges on the mahogany wainscot, where the mistress of the house faced down the intruder and saved the house from destruction.

Churches were also frequent supplicants. Their buildings were old, the congregations were old, a church had continuously occupied the site for 150 years, a prominent itinerant minister had preached there or helped organize the congregation, and well-known local citizens were members and were buried in the cemetery. At least one earnest caller wanted her church with its cemetery listed in the Register truly convinced that listing would protect the cemetery, where her husband and dog were buried, from being populated by the "wrong sort of people."

POLITICS AND PROTECTION

Many of these properties were indeed eligible for the Register, some were not, and some were listed using the Silent Criterion status, often joined by politics.

About 1792, a tidy house, along the lines of the farmhouse type favored by the majority of South Carolina planters, was constructed on an extensive plantation including 158 acres of rice fields. The exterior was typically restrained with a porch, a defining characteristic of Carolina plantation architecture, spanning the facade. The interior was finely ornamented in the Federal style and featured, extensive woodwork, including marbleized baseboards. In 1954, the house was moved four miles to a parcel associated with another plantation. Under the guidance of a prominent local

"preservation" architect, the interior of the house was exquisitely restored and furnished with magnificent antiques and a valuable collection of porcelain. The exterior was reinterpreted; the porch was not reconstructed. The owners explained that once they saw the light coming through the front windows, they could not bear to rebuild the porch. Opinions were divided as to its eligibility. A friend of the owners, who was active in historic preservation circles, and otherwise "well-connected," became an advocate for eligibility. A coffee table book on plantations was in the works, the house was to be included. Several of the proposed entries were not listed in the National Register, which, rightly so, was *not* one of the criteria for inclusion. However, properties that were listed would be designated as such. It was considered a matter of supreme importance that this particular property be designated a National Register property in the book. The State Review Board determined that the property was eligible and its actual listing, under Criteria "a" and "c" and criteria exceptions "b" and "g", was accelerated to coincide with the publication of the book. The photographs in this volume of interiors and exteriors are truly lovely and the house is quite well represented. There are, however, no exterior photos. In this case, status was a powerful silent criterion and a dash of politics did not hurt.

Politics as a criterion enters into eligibility and Section 106 in numerous ways, and into nearly every project. The political objective can be to have a property determined eligible or determined not eligible, to stop a project, to ram through a project, ultimately to get something for the voters, and to get their votes in return. For a group that has often seemed viciously opposed to the historic preservation program as a whole, some members of Congress are amazingly prolific with letters and phone calls about what is and isn't eligible for the Register, what effects undertakings will have on properties, and how federal agencies should be handling 106. Some SHPOs receive constant streams of letters and telephone calls from their members of Congress which have real bearing on which properties get immediate attention from the staff. I will always remember the gentleman who demanded immediate National Historic Landmark status for his property or he would call his very senior senator. Call he did and the state staff prepared documents for listing on the National Register. The property was open to the public and National Register status insured both a state tax break for the historic tourist attraction and a banner headline on several billboards.

In one particular ongoing project, a very small municipal airport was surrounded by so much controversy it will go down in the annals of preservation history. The area's congressman, prominent in the recent campaign to zero out the budget of the Advisory Council

on Historic Preservation, received, at his request, frequent updates on the progress of Section 106 compliance for the project. Local officials can be even more vocal, expressing opinions on wasting taxpayers' dollars or on "saving" their jurisdiction. This same project is fraught with local political tension between a very determined town government that is sponsoring the airport and an equally determined Indian tribe.

LEGAL LEVERAGE

Protection can be honest, but it can also be a project-stopping ruse. Of course, it is only a baby sister to legal leverage. Historic properties, National Register eligibility, the Section 106 process, all have become the hottest legal issues around. The last four airports I have worked on have been involved in litigation using cultural resources and Section 106 to try to stop airport improvements. I have nightmares about being chased by members of the prominent Washington D.C. law firm representing the opposition in all the projects. They have not been able to find a single thing wrong yet, but we are facing number five.

While assisting the FAA with Section 106 compliance related to an EIS for a major airport with vast land holdings, historic properties and Section 106 became a tremendous issue affecting the entire project and ultimately playing a substantial part in a subsequent federal court case. Small sections of the area of potential effect for historic properties lay in a town in the vicinity of the airport; well, actually the town had annexed a large portion of the airport land soon after it was targeted for original construction of the facility. The airport became a very important part of the town's tax base.

The town was familiar with historic preservation. A survey had identified about 30 properties, there was a Main Street Conservation District, and the east side of one block of Main Street had been nominated to the National Register as the town's commercial district. Actually, the property owners on Main Street had declined to support a larger comprehensive commercial district, hence the "Conservation District." The SHPO agreed with the area of potential effects (APE) for historic architectural properties, which in the case of airport projects is based on noise levels. The town, however, registered serious objections because the APE was not large enough.

Clearly, the town did not want the airport expansion. On the advice of its attorneys, it began passing zoning laws requiring the airport to get town approval before any work could be done. Residents and town officials were quite vocal about their concerns for property values and increased noise, only rarely and incidentally was concern directed toward potential adverse effects on National

Register properties. When it came down to the nitty-gritty of filing a lawsuit in an attempt to halt the project, the petitioners charged that noise levels were not appropriately evaluated. Unacceptable levels of noise would cause historic properties to be "constructively used" in terms of Section 4(f) and have an adverse effect in terms of Section 106. Other related comments charged an inadequate survey and failure to comply with Section 106, Section 4(f) of the National Transportation Act, and FAA Order 5050.4a based on the eligibility of buildings on Main Street, and the imminent danger to those buildings from noise and vibration. The petitioners were not successful.

Curiously, considering the attention to zoning details concerning the airport, the town had no local zoning relating to the preservation or protection of historic properties. "Local Designation" and "Conservation District" were strictly honorary. Also interesting was the town's stand on the National Register status of Main Street. Prior to the expansion project, the district boundaries included one side of one block. During the controversy and litigation, all of Main Street was considered highly significant and highly endangered by noise, vibration, and carbon monoxide fumes. Today the Main Street historic district is listed in the National Register, its boundaries include one side of one block.

THE ROLE OF THE SHPO

State Historic Preservation Offices are appallingly under funded, overworked, and overwhelmed and it is consistently amazing that the offices produce the work they do. It should be noted though, that in a number of cases SHPOs take on more responsibility than necessary. By asserting themselves, SHPOs as a whole have convinced many federal agencies that Section 106 compliance efforts must be "cleared" by the SHPO, that reports which do not meet "SHPO guidelines" will not be accepted and therefore the agency will not be in compliance, that the SHPO defines APEs, evaluates eligibility and effects, and dictates treatment measures.

Of course, none of this is true, but it is quite common for SHPOs to "require" documentation which far exceeds "a reasonable and good faith effort to identify historic properties that may be affected by the undertaking and gather sufficient information to evaluate the eligibility of these properties for the National Register (36 CFR 800.4(b))." SHPO Phobia, the debilitating, inexplicable fear of SHPOs and the phantom power they wield, kicks in and agencies will agree to almost anything.

Section 106, by its nature, generates information on historic properties which goes into the SHPO's database, and it identifies National Register eligible properties within an area of potential

effect. This is a good thing. Of concern is the attitude of some SHPOs that it is the responsibility of federal agencies through 106 to provide information, as much as possible, for the database. This often means insistence on very broad APEs, comprehensive survey for all properties within the area including detailed descriptions and intensive research, and a tendency to consider all surveyed properties eligible until the agency proves otherwise.

Most offices are more subtle, but in our files reside several letters from a SHPO to a federal agency which read, "we concur with your determinations of eligibility; however, we require the following additional information." One bridge replacement project involved four revisions of the historic architectural survey report. The first version, forty pages long including plates and figures, recommended that four individual properties, including the bridge itself and a large residential historic district were potentially eligible. It also recommended three properties be added to an existing multiple property submission, made recommendations on revisions for a National Historic Landmark boundary and recorded forty properties not previously surveyed during two comprehensive surveys including the general area. The final version presented the same information, it was eighty-five pages long not including appendices. Another highway project report was returned by the Department of Transportation for revision of survey forms for three properties. The information was considered adequate; however, the DOT was concerned the SHPO would return them because they did not look long enough.

WORKING TOWARD THE PRACTICAL AND PROACTIVE

Perhaps all of this smacks of moaning and whining by a disgruntled consultant, and maybe some of it is, but there real concerns here that I hope we all share. The National Register must retain its integrity and the respect of everyone as the nation's list of historic properties. The Silent Criteria must not be allowed to influence decisions concerning the National Register. Section 106 must be used as intended. If we as preservation professionals misuse and abuse the National Register in order to misuse and abuse Section 106, how can we expect federal agencies, Congress, anyone to respect the process? We have been given these two tools, among others, to give recognition and a measure of protection to historic properties in certain circumstances. Attempting to make the National Register and Section 106 accomplish for us things that they were never meant to indicates a serious lack of respect on our part. If we persist on this course and in allowing others to misuse our tools, it is highly likely they will be taken away. To insure the future of the National Register and Section 106, I believe it is imperative that we

all work together to streamline the process. Federal agencies, if they do not completely despise the program, see it as a useless nuisance. The process must become universally practical and efficient.

Instead of putting all of our eggs in the basket of the National Register and Section 106 and using those sneaky Silent Criteria to meet agendas, it is time for us all to be proactive. Localities must look to their own resources, something as simple as zoning can accomplish much. It is time for SHPOs to back off on Section 106 and for federal agencies to stand up for themselves. It is time for all of us to pressure the federal government to live up to the fiscal and philosophical commitments it made 30 years ago, and let the National Register and Section 106 be and do what was intended.

CLOSING COMMENTS: TYING IT ALL TOGETHER

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This conference has taken a critical look at historical significance. As the lectures and the discussion over the last two days have shown, several points of general agreement arose, while other aspects are in need of considerably more investigation and discussion. Let's begin with the important concepts that seem to be held in common.

History as we know it is a comparatively recent invention. As a field of human research, it was at first dominated by the development of the natural sciences, such as physics and chemistry. This is an important relationship to bear in mind, because historians first attempted to study the past by focusing on events and classifying them in a rational manner. That is, historical significance was first believed to rest in a series of prominent benchmarks, between which were drawn rather straightforward relationships. Throughout most of the nineteenth century and extending into the twentieth, historians continued to believe that if only they could collect enough data, the truth would reveal itself. As Howard Green pointed out, this nineteenth century positivism still underlies much of what preservationists do to claim historical significance, regardless of our disciplinary base, and it lies at the heart of much of our dissatisfaction with our previous efforts.

The historian's approach was provided another dimension during the nineteenth century with the growth of archaeological thought, because it went beyond the written document. Information regarding stratification and orientation forced the historian to think spatially. Although the historian may have been

reluctant to seek and incorporate this information, the relationships between objects gradually gained an important role in the reconstruction of events. This was reinforced as the major artifact collections were divorced from *natural history* museums. By the turn of the century, early art historians had advanced to the point of providing yet another classification system, not only based on periods punctuated by historical events, but also on historical styles—that is, visual similarities of form and detail that were best discerned and appreciated by the connoisseur.

Unlike scientific phenomena, however, history is not simply a sequence of events. Neither is it composed simply of periods, artifacts, or styles. As the twentieth century dawned, historians began to assemble a concept of history that is both more constructive and more critical. As Richard Striner and one or two others asserted, historians began to make the distinction between the reality that existed in the object and the reality in the mind. True, the characteristics of the object were accepted as such. That is, it was agreed that certain events did occur and the site was confirmed. Of more interest meanwhile, and key to the discussion of historic significance, were the thoughts of the agents that brought about the event, lying outside of it. Indeed, one of the features that distinguishes science from history is that, while the former is chiefly interested in *what happens* to the object—described as phenomena—the latter seeks to know not only what happened, but to extend the examination of why it happened.

To put this in language that applies to us, as historians we work from “historical data,” facts that are *determined at the outset*. Whether above or below ground, we examine the record of the property for the dates of construction, alteration, and demolition, and for relationships to other historic resources. When we examine the history of the occupants, we look for their dates of birth, graduation, marriage, and death. The historical thought is not in the facts or evidence, however, but in the relationships between them, as a construction in the mind. The activities or functions that occurred in a given location at a point in time, do so no longer; hence the historian must supply the activity for the site to gain significance. Thus, as Brown Morton asserted, by its very nature, historical significance is very subjective.

Therein lies the apparent beginning of our difficulties. On the one hand, the more powerful our construction of the past in the mind, the more convincing the significance of the property will be *among the general public*. On the other hand, because we are no longer willing to promulgate an unchanging canon of what is historically significant, we are bound to lose the support of that

large segment of the public whose interests are less historically attuned than our own.

The public's predilections on these matters are easily tested. As a preservation educator, for example, I find it is always important to understand the nature of the audience I am about to address. Whether facing a group of high school students or adults, the opening question of "who in the room collects things?" will indicate the level of nascent sympathy for curation. This can be explained by the fact that collectors generally attach significance to objects. Equally revealing, if one cares to explore how far the audience's curiosity is likely to lead, is their interest in reading mystery stories, or their fascination with detective television programs. In part, this can be explained by the fact that both mystery readers and historians are concerned with the rules of evidence. In both cases, the answers to the problem rely on not only the evidence, but also its interpretation. Whereas the novelist need only construct a story that is believable, the historian demands that the story be true. The interpretation will depend upon who tells the story.

One of the primary motivations for this conference was stated by Liz Lyon and Dick Cloues in the opening session and by Anna Andrzejewski and Allison Rachleff in the last session: whereas it was once thought relatively safe to nominate whatever was published as an example, today history seems more complicated. The development of history, archaeology and art history continues to be supplemented with other approaches from an ever wider range of related disciplines, each providing yet another set of methodologies. Barb Shubitski's examination of "Boasian concepts" in anthropology provides one example. Ian Grandison's views of the landscape—an ecological system of inter-related parts—used to examine the Tuskegee campus, is yet another example. It is important to remember, however, that just as the more traditional disciplines continue to be transformed, the newer ones are evolving as well. Each has its limitations and biases. In the comparatively embryonic field of twentieth century physical-planning history, for example, as yet there has been no catalogue of views and plans, as historian John Reps has provided for the nineteenth century. In that sub-discipline, the great white men have been canonized, but little else exists to support the designation of ordinary plans and subdivisions. It shorts, because we care about our historical resources, we are both curious and cautious. However, when we search for information about certain resources, there is little to inform us. This leads us to investigate other disciplines and their methodologies. As Carroll Van West so poignantly illustrated in his story of the Ladies Rest Room, regardless of the methodology we employ, the historical significance

of the property must rest on a thorough and repeated questioning of the property itself and all the information at our disposal.

It is just as important that we ask who among the local historical community—those by nature sympathetic to historic preservation—is likely to understand these new disciplines and various methodologies? Here, too, we must be cautious. We may agree with Richard Longstreth that the repeated use of style as the popular shorthand to the importance of a structure often leads to a misunderstanding of the nature of significance. This “outdated” classification methodology will continue to be used in the historic preservation field, however, until and unless we develop and agree upon a commonly understood alternative. Any attempt to radically alter the nomination process is likely to lead to failure, unless a new approach is fully developed, tested, and embraced by our allies and made understandable to the preservation community.

The idea of drawing lessons from history that render the past “usable” is largely a twentieth century development, but it has ancient roots and can be seen in *renascences* and *renaissances* throughout the world. Nowhere is the use of history so obvious as in the United States, largely by virtue of its enormous wealth. Indeed, Section One of the National Historic Preservation Act begins by promoting “the increased knowledge of our historic preservation resources,” but ends with improving “the planning and execution of Federal and federally assisted projects” and “assisting . . . economic growth and development.” Either one of the two known lawyers in the audience would be happy to explain the legal implications of that language, but we see here the manner in which the use of the past is connected to political and economic motivations. As a planner and not a preservationist Bill Baer urged the preservation community at large to become more self-conscious, to stop and take stock of how it uses the past and how that is likely to affect the future. This is because historical knowledge is not only knowing what was done in the past, it is also the perpetuation of the past in the present. Baer’s caution that the *preservation community* not attempt to re-make the world in the image of the past by serving as the “aesthetic police” echoes Frits Pannekoek’s words, that a professional “priesthood” not be allowed to assume control over the preservation process, leaving aside any room for citizen participation. You will remember that someone in the audience wondered “how did preservationists become so powerful?”

Each of these speakers raised what, if we were reading a mystery story, would be labeled a “red herring.” In reality, as those of us who have regularly become involved in saving historic properties, whether above or below ground, long ago learned, we lose more often than we win. In reality, the preservation professional (a)

provides a service to the public, (b) is a public servant, or (c) is unemployed and may be unemployable. In reality, unlike most countries of the world, the majority of the preservation activity in the United States takes place in the private sector, and is not subject to any regulatory review.

As Steve Gordon pointed out, by deliberately fusing present day historic values with economic values in heritage tourism, the preservation community will be presented with the difficulties of "commodifying" history without destroying the very resources that are being celebrated. But such contradictions are not fundamentally much different from those presented by the National Main Street Program—which can arguably be said to remain the most effective program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation—nor the results of the certified rehabilitation program conducted by the National Park Service under the Tax Reform Act of 1976 and its successor legislation. In such cases the preservation community not only acknowledges change will occur, but embraces it, provided appropriate safeguards are put in place. Provided, as was noted by someone in the audience, that history is in "first place." These are difficulties of our own making. As Susanne Pickens demonstrated, the process by which we determine historical significance can also be affected by social, economic, and political pressure on other "silent criteria" on a more ad hoc basis. On the other hand, this seems true of any such process, and can be easily demonstrated in several areas of environmental concern.

Although the preservation community has developed an elaborate process that links the historical significance of a property to a set of safeguards more or less successfully, if the biases that John Sprinkle and Sherene Baugher cite regarding archaeological resources are any indication, a fundamental difference in thinking exists between historic preservation and archaeology. In preservation, the resource is not considered significant until the case is presented, while in archaeology, the artifact is significant until proven otherwise. Insofar as their methodologies, the first instinct of the preservationists is to look at the resource and then research it, whereas the archaeologist will research and model before going out to look. In addition, when digging, the archaeologist does destroy evidence. It is important to recognize that, in this conference as opposed to many others, we have had archaeologists who are preservationists, vitally interested in the protection of historic resources. More important, to the degree that each discipline adopts the approach of the other, the resources will be handled more even-handedly, whether above or below ground.

In Alison Hoagland's argument that the record of change should not be lost; in Carol Petravage's concerns regarding the

overlapping of periods of significance whether dealing with artifacts, buildings or landscapes and particularly in Barbara Anderson's discussion that *traditional cultural properties* ought to be found outside of a "traditional community," is a common thread that if we view this comparatively new framework in light of the more traditional National Register models, then we may have already witnessed the first response to the troubling thoughts that stimulated our conference. I see the development of such a new instrument as a sign of hope, as it appears to accommodate recently developed interpretations based on new *methodologies*, arising from the broader range of disciplines, discussed at the outset. Just as important, it appears the younger generation is having less difficulty making use of this new approach than those who are more senior in the field.

Hence, little doubt exists that the questions surrounding historical significance will remain at the heart of the preservation movement for, as Roger Kennedy pointed out, *historical revisionism* will continue, indefinitely. The first question to be answered then, is always, "who defines historical significance?" The answer is that we, as professionals, must insure that all segments of our society are involved, with open, honest discussion at all levels of government and everyone in the private sector. It is in this discussion that we will learn about changing perceptions and learn when and why cultural resources are deemed significant. This, in turn, will resolve what we cherish in the future.

ENDNOTES

THE RISE OF A HERITAGE PRIESTHOOD

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3. A most curious example can be found in Butte, Montana, where Carrie Johnson of Arlington, Virginia, was commissioned to undertake a "Regional Historic Preservation Plan—Anaconda—Butte Heritage Corridor" (Draft study, August, 1994).
4. Ian Mackay, "History and the Tourist Gaze: The Politics of Commemoration in Nova Scotia, 1935-64." *Acadiensis*, Vol. 22, No. 2, Spring 1993, 102-38.
5. Ken Taylor, "Valuing the Ordinary An Australian Perspective" *CRM*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 1996, 45-48. See also Michael Pearson and Sharon Sullivan, *Looking After Heritage Places* (Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1995), 50-4.
6. Peter C. James, "The Burra Charter at Work in Australia," *CRM*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 1996, 49-51. See also Herb Stovel, "Introduction to Conservation Charters," *Preserving Our Heritage Catalogue of Charters and Other Guides* (Ottawa: ICOMOS/Canada, June 1990).
7. See the Catalogue of Charters for examples that leap out from every page.
8. A thorough study of public history from the ground up in Canada, the United States and Sweden is Terry MacLean, "The Public Presentation of History and Archaeology in Historic Sites and Outdoor Museums: Case Studies in the Commodification of History." Unpublished paper, University College of Cape Breton, 1996.
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10. Frits Pannekoek, "Alberta: A Community Development Heritage Alternative." *Momentum*, 1996, 57-8.

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3. During the National Register's thirtieth anniversary year, other long-time observers of the preservation scene in America raised some of these questions, observing the danger of the fragmentation of our heritage and the need to place the multiplying local details into a broader context. Archaeologists have also noted an ever widening divergence of opinion on the significance of sites, yet an often increasingly narrower focus on specialized research questions. They plead for broader and more inclusive syntheses, as well as more publicly understandable reports. See Richard Moe, "Historians and Preservationists: A Partnership for the Centuries," *Preservation Forum News*, Vol. 2, No. 6, September/October, 1996; *A Model Partnership: 30th Anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act*, CRM, Vol. 19, No. 6, 1996; especially Hester A. Davis, "NHPA and the Practice of Archeology" and Antoinette J. Lee, "Historians Then, Historians Now"; and discussions from the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers e-mail list server.
4. National Register Inventory files in the Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources.
5. Bill S. Fife, Chief, Muscogee (Creek) Nation, letter to Ralph Locurcio, U.S. Corps of Engineers, October 4, 1996; Muscogee (Creek) Nation Council Resolution TR95-10, December 27, 1995. Review and Compliance files in the Historic Preservation, Georgia Department of Natural Resources.
6. Review and Compliance files in the Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources.
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8. National Register Inventory and Review and Compliance files, Georgia Department of Natural Resources.

9. National Register Inventory files, Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources.
10. National Register Inventory files, Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources.
11. Review and Compliance files, City of Thomaston, Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources.
12. Carole Merritt, *Historic Black Resources* (Atlanta, Georgia: Historic Preservation Section, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, 1988).
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16. Similar observations were made by Nicholas Adams in "Churches on Fire," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 55, No. 3, September 1996, 236-237, 363.
17. National Register Inventory files for a multiple resource nomination for the town of Mitchellville, where a church was bricked up during the nomination process and subsequently refined listing; and National Register Inventory files for White Bluff and Nicholsonboro Baptist Churches, in the Historic Preservation Division of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources.
18. David McCullough expressed such a view in "A Sense of Time and Place" in Antoinette J. Lee, ed., *Past Meets Future: Saving America's Historic Environments* (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1992). He suggested that the stage lights are now coming up on a larger cast, "revealing for the first time all of the others who have been on the stage all the time, we see how many there are, how diverse they are, and how great a contribution they have made to what we call American Civilization."

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9. *Ibid.*; Vine Deloria, Jr., and Clifford Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984).
10. Spencer P. M. Harrington, "Bones and Bureaucrats" *Archaeology*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1993, 28-38.
11. Laurence M. Hauptmann, *Formulating American Indian Policy in New York State, 1970-1986* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 102.
12. Laurence M. Hauptmann, "Congress, Plenary Power, and the American Indian, 1870 to 1992," *Exiled In The Land Of The Free*, Oren R. Lyons and John C. Mohawk, eds. (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Clear Light Publishers, 1992), 329.

13. Laurence M. Hauptmann, *The Inqwaits Struggle for Survival* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 45.
14. *Ibid.*
15. New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, "Teleport Project, Port Authority of New York" files, New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1982.
16. New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, "John Street Methodist Church, Archaeology" files, New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1986.
17. Sherene Baugher, Judith Guston, Edward Lenik, Diane Dallal, Thomas Amorosi, Daniel Russell, and Bobbi Brickman, *John Street Methodist Church: An Archaeological Investigation* (New York City, New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1991).
18. Klara Bonsack Kelly and Harris Francis, *Nanusho Sacred Places* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994).
19. Paul Wallace, *White Roots of Peace: The Inqwaits Book of Life* (Sante Fe, New Mexico: Clear Light Publishers, 1994), 33.
20. Paul Wallace, *White Roots of Peace: The Inqwaits Book of Life* (Sante Fe, New Mexico: Clear Light Publishers, 1994), 34; G. Peter Jemison, Site Director, Ganondagan State Park, New York, Personal Communication, 1996.
21. Laurence M. Hauptmann, *Formulating American Indian Policy in New York State, 1970-1986* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 120.
22. Arthur C. Parker, *Parker on the Inqwaits*, William N. Fenton, ed. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1968), Plate 9.
23. Klara Bonsack Kelly and Harris Francis, *Nanusho Sacred Places* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994).
24. Susan Marie Paeck, "American Indian Traditional Cultural Resources: Preservation, Planning, and Policy," Ithaca, New York: M.A. Thesis, Cornell University, 1993.
25. Zuni People (Alvina Quam, Translator), *The Zuni Self-Portrayals* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1972), 205-06; Barbara Tedlock, *The Beautiful and The Dangerous* (New York: Viking, 1992), 76-93.
26. Evelyn Martin, "The Last Mountain," *American Forests*, March/April 1993, 44-47, 54.
27. Vine Deloria, Jr., *God Is Red* (Golden: Golden Fulcrum Publishing, 1994).

28. Jane Brown Gillette, "Sweetgrass Saga," *Historic Preservation*, Vol. 46, No. 5 (1994), 28-33 and 90-92.
29. Alan Freeman, "Will a Highway Run Through It?" *Historic Preservation*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (1995), 16-17.
30. Evelyn Martin, "Between Heaven and Earth," *Planning*, Vol. 57, No. 1, January 1991, 24-27.
31. Evelyn Martin, "The Last Mountain," *American Forests*, March/April 1993, 44-47, 54.
32. *Ibid.*, 54; Paul Giblin, "Suit Threatens Telescope's Focus Environmentalists, Indians Say Structure Hurts Mountain," *Dallas Morning News*, Sunday Home Final Edition, June 6, 1994, 52A.

ASSESSING SIGNIFICANCE AND INTEGRITY IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER PROCESS: QUESTIONS OF RACE, CLASS AND GENDER

1. Trina Binkley, Megan Dobbs, and Carroll Van West, "Ladies Rest Room, Marshall Co., TN," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, 1995.
2. Betty Crittenden, "A Profile of the National Register of Historic Places" (Washington, 1984); Carol Shull, "The Future of the National Register," *Preservation Forum* 1, Fall 1987, 8-13. Note the analysis of the National Register listings in National Park Service, *The National Register of Historic Places, 1966-1994* (Washington, D.C., Preservation Press, 1994), in which 76.8% of NR properties are listed with significance in architecture (p. xiv). Despite recognizing the necessity of thinking more historically about properties to be placed on the National Register, preservationists remain swayed by a property's architecture, be it categorized as style or craftsmanship.
3. As Natalie Zemon Davis recently reminded a meeting of the American Historical Association: "the questions asked about the past by people with training other than our own—the things they notice in the evidence—can be startling and enlightening." Davis, "Who Owns History?" *Perspectives* 34, November 1996, 6.
4. The Center for Historic Preservation administers the Tennessee Century Farms documentary program. This has produced a statewide traveling exhibit on Century Farms, a history of the Century Farms, a multiple property nomination for historic farms, and 19 individual farm NR nominations, as well as nominations of places associated with the infrastructure of rural society like churches, schools, country stores, and cemeteries. See C.V. West, *Tennessee Agriculture: A Century Farms Perspective* (Nashville, TN: Tennessee Department of Agriculture, 1986); C.V. West and Caneta Hankins, "Documenting the Agrarian Past: The Tennessee Century Farms Project," *History News*, Vol. 44, January 1988, 8-12; C.V. West, "Century Farms Programs as Documentary sources in Agricultural History," *Harvesting New Rural History: Proceedings of 1989 ALHFAM Conference*, Vol. 12, 1992, 168-

- 73; C.V. West, "Historic Family Farms in Middle Tennessee, 1780-1940," National Register Multiple Property Nomination, Tennessee Historical Commission, 1995.
5. Scholarship on gendered spaces within rural town settings includes Ted Ownby, *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, & Manhood in the Rural South, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); also see comments in Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1995), 22-33.
6. Carroll Van West, "The Ladies Rest Rooms: Gender and Space in the Rural South, 1910-1990," Women in Historic Preservation Conference, Agnes Scott College, Atlanta, March 1996, 1.
7. Deborah Fink documents Rest Rooms in Nebraska as early as 1902. Fink, *Agrarian Women: Wives and Mothers in Rural Nebraska, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 73. By 1909, articles were appearing in the popular press; see, for instance, Katharine Wyman, "Inspiring Examples of Rural Uplift," *Good Housekeeping*, Vol. 45, 1909, 289-93. A 1917 federal report listed "approximately" 200 such rooms nationwide. Anne M. Evans, "Rest Rooms for Women in Marketing Centers," *Yearbook of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1917* (Washington, DC: US Department of Agriculture, 1918), 217-221.
8. Gail L. Dubrow, "Preserving Her Heritage: American Landmarks of Women's History," Ph.D. Dissertation, UCLA, 1991; Page Putnam Miller, ed., *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History* (Bloomington, Indiana: University of Indiana Press, 1992); Barbara J. Howe and Helen M. Bannan, "Women's History, Local History, and Public History," *History News*, Vol. 50, March 1995, 7-11; Polly Welts Kaufman, *National Parks and the Woman's Voice: A History* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1996). *CRM* Vol. 20, No. 3, 1997, addresses women's history.
9. For example, Hayden, *Power of Place*, 57-59.
10. Sara Evans, "Visions of a Woman Centered History," *Social Policy*, Vol. 12, Spring 1992, 47-49.
11. Janet D. Spector, *What This Aul Means: Feminist Archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota Village* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society, 1993), 8. Additional useful scholarship includes Angel Kwolek-Folland, "Gender as a Category of Analysis in Vernacular Architecture Studies," *Gender, Class, and Shelter: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, V (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1995); Anne Yentsch, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historic Archaeology* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1994); essays by Yentsch, Weber, McKee, and Metheny in Rebecca Yamin and Karen B. Metheny, eds., *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historic Landscape* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1996); Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "Diversity and 19th-Century Domestic Reform: Relationships Among Classes and Ethnic Groups," Elizabeth M. Scott, ed., *Those of Little Note: Gender, Race and Class in Historical Archaeology* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1994), 175-208; Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of

- North Carolina Press, 1992), and Elizabeth C. Cromley, "Transforming the Food Axis: Houses, Tools, Modes of Analysis," *Material History Bulletin*, Vol. 44, Fall 1996, 8-22. We increasingly find gender analysis a key in interpreting rural farms: C.V. West, "Ida New and William Madison Turner Farm, Wilson Co., TN," and "Valley View Farm, Roane Co., TN," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Forms, Tennessee Historical Commission, 1995-96; and Susan Besser and C. V. West, "Walton-Wiggins Farm, Robertson Co., TN," pending NR submission, 1997.
12. See Hayden, *Power of Place*, 24-25; for an excellent exploration of this interrelationship in a rural southern context, see Mary S. Hoffschwelle, "Rebuilding the Rural Southern Community: Reformers, Schools and Homes in Tennessee, 1914-1929," Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1993, 82-244.
 13. When and if these black women came to town and needed the facilities of a Rest Room, they would visit black residences in town, a local black church, or perhaps even the "modern" Rosenwald schools built throughout the South during the 1920s. Lewisburg, for example, had black churches and a Rosenwald school. How excluded groups constructed similar parallel social institutions, even within buildings like churches and schools that, on their face, served a wholly different function, is unfortunately ignored in most eligibility assessments, even though it frequently happened.
 14. Camille Wells, "The Planter's Prospect: Houses, Outbuildings, and Rural Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 28, Spring 1993, 1-32; Sally McMurry, *Families and Farmhouses in 19th Century America* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1997); Mary Hoffschwelle, *Rebuilding the Rural Southern Community* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1998); Jane Adams, *The Transformation of Rural Life: Southern Illinois, 1890-1930* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994). Adams notes that this translation of agricultural reform ideas did not happen in rural homes of her study region until the 1950s.
 15. For a mere sampling of this scholarship, see Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990); JoAnne Brown, *The Definition of a Profession: The Authority of Metaphor in the History of Intelligence Testing, 1890-1930* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); Elizabeth B. Keeney, *The Botanizers: Amateur Scientists in 19th-Century America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Charles E. Rosenberg, *Explaining Epidemics and other Studies in the History of Medicine* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
 16. James M. Lindgren, "A New Departure in Historic, Patriotic Work: Personalism, Professionalism, and Conflicting Concepts of Material Culture," *Public Historian*, Vol. 18, Spring 1996, 42.
 17. A classic statement is Orin Bullock, *The Restoration Manual* (Norwalk, CN: Silvermine Publishers, 1966).

18. Note comments on old change and new change in Stewart Brand, *How Buildings Learn* (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1994), 98. W. Brown Morton III, "What Do We Preserve and Why?" Robert E. Stipe and Antoinette J. Lee, eds., *The American Mosaic: Preserving a Nation's Heritage* (Washington, DC: US/ICOMOS, 1987), 176. Morton decried the limitations of the so-called 50-year rule, yet it is such a useful management tool that few want to jettison it. Many voices rose to question the usefulness of an arbitrary cut-off date in the recent national meeting on "Preserving the Recent Past," but its preoccupation with modern design and architecture struck others as limited. In "The Future of the Recent Past," given at the Southeast SHPO meeting at Birmingham in 1995, I suggested that scholarship on the Modern South demonstrated that adequate contexts could be developed for pre-1970 properties, especially within the themes of agriculture, suburbanization, the militarization of the South, federal expansion, and race relations.
19. We professionals constantly send out mixed messages on "integrity" to history audiences. For instance, a historic warehouse district is listed in the National Register and developers transform it into a modern shopping mall using preservation tax credits. Homeowners in that region, however, were told that their homes were not eligible because the interiors were modernized in the mid-century. The public has difficulty understanding these professional distinctions. The Wesleyan Chapel, where the Seneca Falls Conference of 1848 took place, should be preserved as a NPS historic site, even though only the original roof rafters and trusses, along with about 40 feet of walls, remain. Yet, what if local residents took the same approach with a place of extraordinary local significance in their community? We would typically conclude that their effort is well-meaning, but could not be listed in the National Register?
20. Jody Callahan, "Glenview Wants Place on Historic Register," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, March 7, 1996, EM-3.

INDUSTRIAL HOUSING AND VINYL SIDING

1. Richard Longstreth, "Taste Versus History," *Historic Preservation Forum*, Vol. 8, No. 3, May/June 1994, 41.
2. There is an extensive literature on company towns, but the best recent work is Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (London: Verso, 1995).
3. The best sources on the company housing in these regions of Pennsylvania and Michigan are, respectively, Margaret M. Mulrooney, *A Legacy of Coal: The Coal Company Towns of Southwestern Pennsylvania* (Washington: National Park Service, HABS/HAER, 1989), and Larry Lankton, *Cradle to Grave: Life, Work, and Death at the Lake Superior Copper Mines* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
4. Mulrooney, 120. Kim Stoker, Planning Director, Western Upper Peninsula Planning & Development Regional Commission, interviewed by author December 10, 1996, Houghton, Michigan. Elizabeth Collins Cromley, "Modernizing: Or, You Never See a Screen Door on Affluent Homes,"

- Journal of American Culture*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Summer 1982), 75-78, and Alice Gray Read "Making a House a Home in a Philadelphia Neighborhood," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, II, Camille Wells, ed. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 193, also point to practical considerations of maintenance in their examinations of remodeling in moderate-income row-house neighborhoods. Barbara M. Kelly observed that remodeling of houses in Levittown was necessitated by their very smallness; they had to be enlarged "in order to correspond to the customary middle class homes of the period." Barbara Kelly, "The Houses of Levittown in the Context of Postwar American Culture," *Preserving the Recent Past*, Deborah Slaton and Rebecca A. Schiffer, eds., (Washington, DC: Historic Preservation Education Foundation, 1995), Vol. 2, 152. She discusses the procedure of remodeling in *Expanding the American Dream: Building and Rebuilding Levittown* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1993).
5. Cromley, *op.cit.*, 76, 78-9; Read, *op.cit.*, 194.
 6. Kim E. Wallace, *Brickyard Towns: A History of Refractories Industry Communities in South-Central Pennsylvania* (Washington: National Park Service, HABS/HAER, 1993), 182. Wallace goes on to note that not all the residents thought such change was good; some noted a decline in the appearance of the community once the company was no longer maintaining the houses and open spaces.
 7. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, "National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation," 2, 45.
 8. The guidelines provide for this, instructing, "if the historic exterior building material is covered by non-historic material (such as modern siding), the property can still be eligible if the significant form, features, and detailing are not obscured." *Ibid.*, 47.
 9. Carmen Peter DiCiocio, "Bituminous Coal and Coke Resources of Pennsylvania, 1740-1945," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (listed 3 June 1994), Sec. F, 41.
 10. Irene Jackson Henry, "Painesdale, Michigan," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (submitted 2 June 1993), Sec. 7, 5. National Register nominations for other collections of similar or identical houses are similarly generous toward alterations. The nomination form for Oak Ridge, Tennessee, a community associated with the Manhattan Project, points to the significance of the original Cemento houses and notes elsewhere that only 20% of them have not been re-sided, but argues that "the forms that distinguish them as being wartime Cemento houses have not changed." Kimberley A. Murphy, "Oak Ridge Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (September 1991), Sec. 7, 2. The nomination form for the New Deal community of Greenbelt, Maryland, also notes widespread exterior alterations but still considers the buildings as "contributing." Elizabeth Jo Lampl, "Greenbelt, Maryland Historic District," National Historic Landmark Nomination (currently under consideration; form prepared 22 March 1996), 10-12.

11. Other National Register nominations accommodate altered buildings through creative interpretations of significance. The National Register nomination for the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory related its constantly changing buildings to the very nature of scientific inquiry, "which is defined by change." Kathleen LaFrank, "Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (submitted 11 January 1994), Sec. 7, 5. The alterations to the Woodlawn Baptist Church in Nutbush, Tennessee, were attributed to a new pride and activism stemming from the civil rights era. Carroll Van West, "Woodlawn Baptist Church and Cemetery," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (listed 2 December 1996), Sec. 8, 12.
12. For example, see James Morgan, "The Siding War," *Preservation*, Vol. 48, No. 6, November/December 1996, 18-20.
13. John Myers, "Preservation Briefs 8: Aluminum and Vinyl Siding on Historic Buildings," Technical Preservation Services Division, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service (Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1979). Also, Stewart Brand, *How Buildings Learn: What Happens After They're Built* (New York: Viking, 1994), 118-119. In general, Brand is extremely tolerant of alterations to buildings, but he draws the line at vinyl siding.
14. Herbert J. Gans, *The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community* (New York: Pantheon, 1967), 186.
15. Catherine W. Bishir, "Yuppies, Bubbas, and the Politics of Culture," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, III, Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman, ed. (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1989), 8. Gans noted that even his working class, Levittowners, preferred tourist-like experiences when they were elsewhere; thus, the working-class resident becomes an outsider. Gans, *op.cit.*, 186.
16. Stoker interview. Moderate income is less than \$20,850 per year. Sixty percent of the applicants for these funds are over age 62.
17. Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, "Policy Statement: Affordable Housing and Historic Preservation," adopted June 26, 1995.
18. Western Upper Peninsula Planning & Development Regional Commission (WUPPDR), "Programmatic Agreement," attached to letter from Kim J. Stoker, Planning Director, WUPPDR, to Kristine Wilson, Environmental Review Coordinator, Michigan History Division, 17 April 1996; "Housing Preservation Issues Workshop: Summary Report," Keweenaw National Historical Park, 7-8 February 1995. I participated in this workshop.
19. Jim Stingie, Executive Director, Western Upper Peninsula Planning & Development Regional Commission, interviewed by telephone 5 December 1996. The city of Atlanta has also proposed a programmatic agreement for CDBG-funded projects, but that MOA is still in draft. "Draft only: Programmatic Agreement among the City of Atlanta, Georgia, the Georgia State Historic Preservation Officer, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation for the Administration of the City's Community Development Block Grant Program," no date.

20. The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Lynn Bjorkman, Kristine Kidorf, Larry Lankton, Doug Reynolds, Ann Safley, Beth Savage, Jim Stingle, and Kim Stoker.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CULTURAL MEANING IN DEFINING AND PRESERVING SENSE OF PLACE

1. There have been several indicators of the increasing interest in sense of place in the preservation movement. For instance, in recent years there have been many articles on sense of place in both Historic Preservation and Forum. The most recent event that indicates this growing awareness is the 50th National Preservation Conference sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The conference was held last fall had the theme "Preserving Community: City, Suburb, & Countryside." The conference speakers and sessions focused on how preservation contributes to retention of distinctive characteristics of places.
2. Elizabeth D. Mulloy, *The History of the National Trust For Historic Preservation 1963-1973*, (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1976), 89.
3. Historic Preservation Policies of the National Park Service, Reprinted from: *Administrative Policies for Historical Areas of the National Park System* (Washington, DC: U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1968), 13.
4. Elizabeth D. Mulloy, *The History of the National Trust For Historic Preservation 1963-1973*, (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1976), 93.
5. Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London, England: Pion Limited, 1976), 42.
6. Edward Relph, "Modernity and the Reclamation of Place," *Dwelling, Seeing, and Designing: Toward a Phenomenological Ecology*, David Seamon, ed., (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press), 34.
7. David E. Proctor, "Placing Lincoln and Mitchell Counties: A Cultural Study," *Communication Studies*, Vol. 46, (Fall-Winter 1995), 222-233.
8. Laura Addison, "House of Worship: Abandoned Chapel Finds New Life at Baker University," *Wichita Eagle*, February 11, 1995, 8C-9C.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Patricia L. Parker, "What You Do and How We Think," *CRM*, Vol. 16, 3-5.
13. Ibid., 5.

14. For many properties, like historic rural schools, there is not a district or neighborhood. There is only an environment.

DETERMINING HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE: MIND OVER MATTER?

1. Leopold von Ranke, *Histories of the Latin and German Nations from 1494 to 1514*, Preface, cited in John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods, and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, (London and New York: Longman, 1984, 1992), 14.
2. Cicely Veroni Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1938), Anchor Books edition, 1961, 7.
3. Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire*, Ian Scott-Kilvert, trans., (London and New York: Penguin Classics, 1979), 442-5, *passim*.
4. L. Martin Perry, "Rethinking Significance: An Archaeological Approach to Architectural and Historical Significance," Conference Paper, Southeast SHPO Conference, Pensacola, Fla., September, 1994.
5. James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (New York: Signet Classics, 1968), 169.
6. *Ibid.*, 532.

MANAGING THE IMPACT ON CULTURAL RESOURCES OF CHANGING CONCEPTS OF SIGNIFICANCE.

1. *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. & G. Merriman Co., 1979).
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. Eric Gable and Richard Handler, "After Authenticity at an American Heritage Site," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 98, No. 3, 568-758.
5. John R. Gilles, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

WHEN VALUES COLLIDE: FURNISHING HISTORIC INTERIORS

1. National Park Service, Interpretive Prospectus, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Harpers Ferry Center, 1980, 1. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Management Policies (Washington, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1988), Chapter 5, 10.

**BEYOND BUILDINGS: LANDSCAPE AS CULTURAL
HISTORY IN CONSTRUCTING THE HISTORICAL
SIGNIFICANCE OF PLACE**

1. Funding for my project is provided by the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts and the University of Michigan's Rackham Graduate School and Office of the Vice Provost for Academic and Multicultural Affairs. The University of Michigan's School of Natural Resources and Environment provided release time to pursue this project. For their assistance in securing this, I wish to thank Professor Terry Brown, Chair of the Landscape Architecture Concentration, and Dean Paul Webb, former Interim Dean of the School of Natural Resources and Environment. My special thanks to Professor Marlon Ross of the University of Michigan who reviewed successive drafts of this paper and in other ways patiently urged it from me. My thanks also goes to Professors Patricia Yaeger, Sharon Sutton, James Chaffers, Kenneth Polakowski, and Rachel Kaplan of the University of Michigan, and Professor Kenneth Helpland of the University of Oregon for their continuing support of my project. Finally, my thanks go to Professor Michael Tomlin, Project Director of the National Council for Preservation Education for helping me in the revision of this manuscript.
2. The importance of landscape understood as "the grounds" has been raised by such scholars as the landscape historian, Cynthia Zaitzevsky. She argued in "The Historian and the Landscape: Focusing New Emphasis on Documentation and Synthesis" *Preservation Forum*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 1993, 16-25 that "the grounds surrounding the historic house might be as much historical importance as the structure itself." Renee Friedman in her influential essay "For the Curator of Trees and Teacups: the Landscape as Artifact," *CRM*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1994, 5-9, took this idea further. Theorizing the parity between the house and the grounds, she argues for a "holistic" approach to interpretation based on understanding "the entire site," which she conceptualizes as a "collection" of artifacts comprising "what's inside the house, what's outside the house, and the house itself."
3. Theorists of "history from below," such as E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), have argued that mainstream histories favor the perspective of the elite and ignore working-class people who have generally left few written records. These historians have developed methods to understand the past from the point of view of those who are at the bottom of society, arguing that a comprehensive history is not possible otherwise.
4. I offer more on this critique of multiculturalism in historic preservation in my forthcoming article "Landscapes from Below: Embracing Contemporary Cultural Criticism in Interpreting of Built Environments," which is currently under peer review for publication.
5. Historical evidence supporting the claims made below is presented more fully in two articles. The first, "From Plantation to Campus: Progress, Community, and the Lay of the Land in Shaping the Early Tuskegee," appears in *Landscape Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1996, 6-32. The second, "Landscapes of Terror: A Reading of Tuskegee's Historic Campus," appears in *The Geography of Identity*, Patricia Yaeger, ed., (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 334-365.

6. Peirce Lewis, "The Landscape of Mobility," *A Guide to the National Road*, Karl Raitz, ed. (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 22.
7. Raymond Wolters, *New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920s* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 144.
8. *Ibid.*, 114.
9. Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery: An Autobiography* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1925), 130 for description of property.
10. Booker T. Washington, "Life and Work in Harlem," Louis and Raymond Smock, eds., Vol. I, *The Booker T. Washington Papers* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 36.
11. United States Department of Agriculture and Alabama Department of Agriculture and Industries, Soil Survey: Macon County Alabama, Series 1937, No. 11 (November 1944), 31.
12. The marginality of property refers not to some inherent value but to that placed on it by the dominant group in society at a particular point in time. The Sea Islands, for instance, are now considered prime property for temporary homes and tourism. The value of the property has risen, driving out the very black people who had earlier settled. Gentrification of urban neighborhoods provides another example of the same phenomenon.
13. Max Bennett Thrasher, *Tuskegee: Its Story and Its Work* (New York, NY: Negro Universities Press, a division of Greenwood Publishing Corp., 1969), 39.

DO ARCHAEOLOGISTS DIG, DESTROY, AND DISCRIMINATE? THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND VALUE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

1. Gary D. Shaffer, "Using National and State Databases to Demonstrate the Value and Efficiency of Federal Archaeology Programs in the United States," *Society for American Archaeology Newsletter*, Vol. 14, 34.
2. Thomas F. King, "What's Wrong With the New Section 106 Regulation? Some Thoughts," ACRA-L List server. Provided by the American Cultural Resources Association in association with New South Associates, Inc., Stone Mountain, Georgia, 1996.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Gary D. Shaffer, "Using National and State Databases to Demonstrate the Value and Efficiency of Federal Archaeology Programs in the United States," *Society for American Archaeology Newsletter*, Vol. 14, 32-35.
5. *Ibid.*

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FRAGMENTARY LANDSCAPES IN CULTURAL LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION

1. This paper was the result of two separate cultural resource projects with which the authors were involved when employed as Historic Preservation Project Managers for Cultural Heritage Research Services, Inc., (CHRS) of North Wales, Pennsylvania. The information on resources in Beaver County derives from work performed by CHRS under contract to Skelly and Loy, Inc., Monroeville, Pennsylvania, and sponsored by the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation District 11-0, along with the Federal Highway Administration and the U.S. Department of Transportation. The information on the Dolph/Sunnyside Industrial District is derived from work performed by CHRS for Skelly and Loy, Inc., Harrisburg, Pennsylvania under contract to STV, Inc., Douglasville, Pennsylvania, sponsored by the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation, District 4-0, along with the Federal Highway Administration and the U.S. Department of Transportation. We would like to thank the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation for granting us permission to present our findings. We also would like to thank Ken Basalik, President of CHRS and the rest of the staff for their assistance and support.
2. Although at the time this paper was delivered we argued that Park Quarries Residential Historic District was eligible for the National Register, the resource was subsequently determined not eligible by the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (SHPO) concurred with the Department's findings in early 1998. See correspondence on file at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Bureau for Historic Preservation, Harrisburg, PA.
3. Ian Hodder, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, *Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
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11. National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1990), 5.
12. *Ibid.*, 12. Decline and abandonment cycles of early twentieth-century small-scale industrial communities have received considerably less attention than the rise of industry in these settings. For fragmentary landscapes, they may be eligible under Criterion D if their material culture is sufficiently intact to reveal information about changes through time.
13. *Ibid.*, 23.
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15. National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1990), 5.

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