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4 INTRODUCTION

VIEWPOINTS

6 Gauging Community Values in Historic Preservation
by Dirk H.R. Spennemann

21 Theoretical and Practical Arguments for Values-Centered Preservation
by Randall Mason

INTERVIEW

49 An Interview with Elizabeth Barlow Rogers

ARTICLES

57 Cultural Resource Management and Heritage Stewardship in Peru
by Helaine Silverman

73 Black Soldiers and the CCC at Shiloh National Military Park
by Timothy B. Smith

RESEARCH REPORTS

85 The Discography Project at Ellis Island Immigration Museum
by Eric Byron

88 Historic Context and National Register Eligibility for Colorado Irrigation Ditches and Canals
by Michael Holleran and Manish Chalana

94 Recording a Mid-century Modern Landscape in Denver, Colorado
by Ann Komara

99 The Recovery of the Longfellow Landscape
by Mona McKindley and Scott Law

103 The Historic American Landscapes Survey Documents Congressional Cemetery in Washington, DC
by Julia A. Sienkewicz

107 REVIEWS: BOOKS (107), EXHIBITS (130), WEBSITES & MULTIMEDIA (134)

Introduction

by Martin Perschler, Editor

"The more things change, the more they stay the same." First appearing in 1849 in the publication, *The Wasps*, those world-weary words have far surpassed their author, the French novelist and critic Alphonse Karr (1808-1890), in international notoriety. Many people are surprised to learn that the critic spent the last several years of his life fishing, growing flowers, and living carefree along the French Riviera. Another of his remarks, frequently cited by gardeners but otherwise not well known, offers a clearer view into the man's character: "Some people are always grumbling because roses have thorns," he writes; "I am thankful that thorns have roses." In the end, it is all about perspective.

Whether one sees change as ineffectual or sweeping, intermittent or constant, no one, least of all heritage professionals, can deny that it exists. "Change" has given rise to entire industries and disciplines dedicated either to facilitating it or to reversing or mitigating its effects. Today, heritage professionals have access to a wide variety of products, protocols, regulatory instruments, and incentive programs developed to help keep things just as they are (or close) for as long as humanly possible. Whereas the cause is certainly noble, proper perspective is key when it comes to heritage stewardship because the stronger the urge to resist change, the greater the risk of overlooking more effective models of stewardship.

A number of the essays, research reports, and reviews appearing in this issue of *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* explore new possibilities for heritage professionals, from new ways of gauging community interest in historic preservation to a new interpretation of a battlefield. While new, they nevertheless endeavor to attain the same overarching goals of resource protection and contemporary relevance. For most people drawn to heritage and committed to effective stewardship, these goals have remained remarkably and reassuringly constant over the years. They poignantly illustrate the importance of new ideas, perspectives, and approaches in strengthening and building upon a shared tradition of resource stewardship worldwide.

A core value of the National Park Service, *tradition* is rightfully a tremendous source of pride for all heritage professionals and enthusiasts who have worked in partnership with the Service or with each other in support of resource stewardship. The year 2006 abounds in opportunities for everyone to celebrate that tradition: The National Historic Preservation Act turns 40 in October, the

National Park Service Organic Act turns 90 this August, and the Antiquities Act turned 100 this past June. Although the policies and procedures for implementing these laws have become increasingly complex and have given rise to entire bureaus, offices, degree programs, and professions over the intervening decades, not to mention the world's first system of national parks, the spirit behind each of those laws has endured fundamentally unchanged. That endurance alone is just cause for celebration.

. . . proper perspective is key when it comes to heritage stewardship because the stronger the urge to resist change, the greater the risk of overlooking more effective models of stewardship.

Since its debut in 2003, *CRM Journal* has played an important role in illuminating the rich tradition of heritage stewardship in the United States and the world by presenting essays, interviews, reports, and reviews that are at once topical, timely, and meaningful to all those interested in heritage. Under Antoinette J. Lee's expert editorial guidance, the *Journal* has achieved an enviable reputation as a scholarly, authoritative resource for heritage stewardship professionals and enthusiasts from all disciplines and areas of interest. The challenge for this new editor is to build on that reputation for editorial excellence, to celebrate that shared tradition of resource stewardship in all its diversity and complexity, and to promote new and innovative ways of achieving those shared goals of resource protection and contemporary relevance.

Gauging Community Values in Historic Preservation[1]

by Dirk H.R. Spennemann

Shakespeare's line, "What is past is prologue," spoken by Antonio in *The Tempest* sets the scene for this article. The achievements of our past set the scene for future actions or reactions in the political, social, and economic arenas, just as much as the past of our profession provides the foundation for the future of our discipline.

All historic preservationists agree that the preservation of the tangible expressions of the past, or at least *significant* elements of the past, is deemed desirable, and because of this agreement, it has been mandated by international charters (World Heritage Convention) and national and state legislation such as the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in the United States and the Heritage Act in New South Wales, Australia.[2] Just as there is no need to revisit the nature of this agreement, there is not much need to look at the question of who owns the past since the need to ensure that stakeholders are adequately represented and differential levels and, on occasion, the primacy of "ownership" are acknowledged in the management process.[3]

More relevant is the question, "which past do we preserve?" As David Lowenthal has demonstrated, there are a multitude of pasts, and the past we tend to preserve is often the sanitized one, the safe and comfortable one; the past that we can visit akin to a foreign country, safe in the knowledge that, should we suddenly feel uncomfortable, we can return to the present.[4] Dissonant heritage places such as sites of trauma and atrocity are frequently managed through active neglect or through memorialization after removal.[5] We still struggle on occasion to find a balance.

For Whom Do We Preserve the Past?

There can be no doubt that as historic preservationists we actively interfere with the processes of change. Our actions range from the intervention in environmental decay through physical conservation projects, to intervention in building renewal and replacement by protecting single properties from demolition, to declaring historic precincts at the planning level.[6] Some of that kind of intervention is regulatory, through heritage listings and conservation instruments, and some is incentive-based, through tax credits or conservation grants.[7]

The question we have to ask is for *whom* do we preserve this past? It is commonly asserted that the preservation of the past is done for the benefit of future generations.[8] But, on reflection, is that a valid argument to make? Heritage management has borrowed the terminology of "stewardship" from the arena of natural resource management, with the term prominently used in the title of this publication, *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*. In the natural environment, the term "stewardship" entails the concept that natural resources have been here for a very long time, well before the advent of people, and that each generation of people is entrusted with the management of this environment in a way that it can be handed on to the next generation in the same or better state than it was found—with the underlying notion of the interdependency of human existence and the natural environment in which the former is grounded. By that notion we are not owners of the land, but mere custodians and stewards. While the ecological meshing of natural environment and human existence can be demonstrated, we need to question whether the same concept can be uncritically applied to the cultural environment.

Let us consider for a moment the underlying four axioms for historic preservation. Heritage places are scarce, finite, nonrenewable, and valuable.[9] It is the last axiom that is significant in this context: *Heritage places are valuable*. But objects, places, and resources have no intrinsic value *per se*. Individuals project value onto an object, place, or resource based on their own needs and desires, shaped by their current social, cultural, and economic circumstances, which in turn are informed, and to a degree predisposed, by an individual's personal history of experiences, upbringing, and ideological formation.

Individuals hold different values with varying strengths of conviction. Subjective valuation, revaluation, and ultimately prioritization occur consciously and subconsciously on a continual basis. If a choice has to be made, individuals tend to be prepared to "trade-off" one value against another. These decisions will change with individual circumstances and are subject to change over time.[10] This fluidity of projected values, both on an individual and a collective level, with continuously shifting ground rules, needs to be acknowledged.[11] Clearly, values are mutable, and heritage places that may be evaluated as insignificant today may be regarded as significant tomorrow. It is assumed, without either justification or reflection, that sites that are already included on a register will remain significant. This assumption is spurious, as by its very nature the concept of a mutability of heritage values *works both ways*.

Is our preservation intervention for the benefit of our children's children, as we make believe, or is it for our own benefit in the present? Since we cannot predict the values that may be held by our children in the future, let alone by their children, any assumption that we preserve the places for future generations to enjoy is without solid foundation. Just as we criticize the actions

of the generations that went before us, deploring environmental degradation or the loss of building fabric, so will we be judged by future generations on how we have managed our present, *their* past.

It follows, inevitably, that we are preserving the past according to our present values and essentially for our own benefit and that, bluntly speaking, we are shaping the past in the image of our values. If we push this line of thinking further, we may stand accused by future generations of consciously or subconsciously constraining any choices a future heritage manager may be able make; that through the conservation actions (and non-actions) we are taking today we are, in fact, saddling the future with our perceptions of the past. Yet, while we will face future criticism, we can argue at least that we have made educated and conscientious decisions based on current best practice and understanding.

But the rationale for the preservation of our past—that we are doing so in an altruistic fashion for the benefit of future generations—can no longer stand up. We have to face up to the reality that we are doing this for the present, that we are doing this for *ourselves*. This then forces us to reassess the role heritage places play in our contemporary world.

The Role of Heritage Places in Our World

We preserve heritage places because they form a link with our past. They provide tangible evidence of technical achievements, and they chronicle the development of style and aesthetic beauty. We preserve them because they are localities with tangible remains where events took place that have significantly shaped our history and thus played a role in shaping the present. We preserve places that give us a warm and fuzzy feeling of nostalgia[12] or national pride[13] and that foster national cohesiveness.[14] We also preserve places that are thorns in that pride but the presence of which we need as reminders of events never to be repeated.[15] Heritage places provide us with the tangible reminders of our past, and are localities that, as a collective, describe our identity as a society.

Would it really matter if heritage places were removed? Is historic preservation merely a luxury in times of economic affluence as is frequently asserted by detractors and opponents, especially in developing countries, or is it an integral part of the social and mental well-being of a community?[16] The answer lies in the significance of heritage places to ethnic and cultural identity and in the research conducted on the meaning of, and attachment to, place.

The fact that heritage places are significant expressions of the cultural, ethnic, and spiritual identity of communities across the globe can be demonstrated by the extent to which heritage places have been treated as symbols for a cultural group, and to the extent to which an opposing group has gone in ensuring

the destruction of the place. Three examples may suffice. The Buddha statues of Bamyan in Afghanistan are a good example of religious fundamentalism specifically targeting cultural icons,[17] while religious conflict also resulted in the destruction of a 16th-century mosque in Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh, India.[18] The Mostar Bridge in Bosnia is an example where religious and politically motivated warfare targeted and eventually destroyed a structure inscribed on the World Heritage List. Erected in 1566 by the Turkish architect Mimar Hayruddin, the bridge was an enduring symbol of the Turkish presence in the former Yugoslavia and thus an ideological, more than a military, target of the Bosnian-Serb forces.[19]

But beyond the iconographic heritage places that are imbued with a high spiritual significance, as in the examples above, even non-religious heritage places play a major role in the well-being of a community in general. The psychological profile of our cognitive self seeks out the familiar in our environs, with people developing attachments to places of residence, work, and emotional events.[20] It is that attachment to place that generates some of the social and community values towards heritage places. Studies have shown that communities rebound faster and more comprehensively from a natural disaster if the key features of their physical environment have been less affected,[21] and that the retention of heritage features assists in the regaining of a sense of normalcy.[22] Likewise, communities that have been relocated because their old location is no longer viable because of reservoir flooding, for example, have shown an increased dysfunction unless part of the heritage could be relocated also. Elsewhere, the argument has been made that key cultural heritage places should be regarded as critical infrastructure in the events of disasters and should receive a concomitant level of attention in the disaster response phase.[23]

It can therefore be posited that heritage places are not merely tangible evidence of the past as deemed important to a small, historically-minded subset of society, but that they provide emotional anchors for the community as a whole. Extending this argument, a full understanding of the heritage values of a community could lead to the comprehensive protection and preservation of those properties that are central to the sense of place a community experiences. Such protection, then, is not merely an indulgence by historic preservationists, but the provision of a social and community service.

Consulting the Community

If we consider heritage places as significant to the psychological well-being of community as these places contribute fundamentally to a sense of place and belonging, then it follows that we have to ensure that the community's views are actively sought in the identification of heritage places. And here it is that some of us run into trouble. In theory, a county or local government area-

wide heritage study sees heritage places identified and assessed by a range of practitioners in collaboration and consultation with the affected community. Community involvement in the process has long been recognized as crucial as mid- and long-term protection of heritage places can only occur if such places are "embraced" or "owned" by the community. It is the level and nature of community involvement in that process, however, that causes problems for historic preservationists. As always, there are two diametrically opposed solutions, top-down expert-driven studies, and bottom-up community-driven studies. An expert-driven approach tends to underestimate places important to the community, favoring instead types of places the experts are comfortable working with, while a community-driven approach tends to favor "popular" places and overlooks or even actively ignores places that do not fit the community mold.[24]

The historic foundation of the heritage movement in the United States, as is the case in Australia, was rooted in the interests of archeologists, architects, and historians who sought to preserve parts of the nation's heritage for future generations, for archival and demonstration purposes, or for future scientific investigations.[25] Not surprisingly, then, heritage studies were traditionally carried out by a team of experts drawn from these disciplines, and many studies still fall into that mold.[26] The standard heritage study of the 1970s and 1980s would see a small team of specialists descend upon a community and study its history as reflected in its architectural presence. Places were selected for protection based on historic relevance, architectural importance, and aesthetic appeal. Consultation tended to be limited to people seen as knowledgeable in the history of the area and vocal stakeholder groups, such as the historical societies.

During that time, there was little doubt that experts were afforded the authority to make decisions on matters within their purview. After all, it was accepted that the expert had studied the subject matter and thus was qualified to comment, while the average citizen was not. Increased levels of tertiary education, coupled with an increasing environmental consciousness and an increased level of community involvement in other land management issues,[27] saw the wider community assert its authority to speak on matters of cultural heritage. After all, it was *their* past and *their* identity that was being decided on.[28] In that regard, the empowerment of the Indigenous Australians and American Indians to influence the destiny of their own heritage cannot be underrated as a stimulus.

From Individuals on the Soap Box to the Majority

At least in the Australian setting, the role of the heritage planner has evolved to that of a facilitator, conducting community workshops and juggling their outcomes with the opinions of specialists in the fields of archeology

and history. Even though such approaches are community-focused and on occasion community-driven, the authority commissioning the plan influences the outcomes through the phrasing of the terms of reference, including stipulating who should be regarded as a stakeholder, and through the level of funding allocated to conduct the study, which directly translates into the time consultants can spend on the matter.[29]

Modern heritage management plan development, while controlled by an expert as facilitator, draws on a small group of stakeholders through formal responses to draft documents, through direct one-on-one consultation with individuals or groups, through selected focus groups or through more openly-structured community workshops. Large-scale community meetings have also been held. Community-driven or community-controlled heritage studies, such as those developed in New South Wales,[30] place community members in control, who, assisted by a project manager, and assisted by historic theme studies compiled by a professional historian, select heritage places deemed worthy of preservation.

In the New South Wales scenario, sites outside the predefined historic thematic framework are prone to be overlooked, either consciously or subconsciously (assumed to be outside the parameters) unless the lay committee is prepared to argue the case. Unless the commissioning authority specifically requests the inclusion (or exclusion) of specific stakeholders, the stakeholder selection will be driven by individual responses to public advertisements and calls for expression of interest. This means that self-nomination is encouraged, which will cause the process to be dominated by self-interest groups who may not be representative of the population at large.[31] The more multicultural a community, the more complex this process will be, with political undertones that can only be ignored at peril.[32]

While focus groups and guided survey questions allow one to query in-depth views about heritage, they can, in fact, limit the range of places mentioned simply by subconsciously restricting the view of participants as to what does and what does not constitute a heritage item. A further problem with purely community-developed heritage studies, however, is that some elements of the community's heritage are overlooked as the value to the properties is more obscure and requires expert historic or archeological research to identify them. Other elements of the heritage may be actively, consciously, or subconsciously ignored as they belong to the group of dissonant values.[33]

Even though the above-mentioned processes are infinitely more inclusive than mere expert-driven studies, they do not go far enough. We are still limited to identified stakeholder groups as well as self-appointed preservation advocates. The heritage places we are identifying and protecting still only represent the view of a select group of experts and key stakeholders. The silent majority

has not been consulted. There can be no doubt that this group has been given the opportunity to be consulted, and that the majority for whatever reason has decided not to participate. But this non-participation neither invalidates the views the majority may hold, not does it imply that the majority does not hold a view either way. The underlying reasons for the non-participation of the greater proportion of the public in such studies are complex, ranging from disengagement with and mistrust of government to cynicism of the process and feeling that their opinions would not be counted anyway.

As historic preservationists, we must never forget that it is this silent majority that funds much of the historic preservation effort through the taxes paid. Apathy and disengagement with heritage will eventually lead to claims that historic preservation, as it is being carried out today, is no longer congruent with the interests of this silent majority. A severe cut in funding or a weakening of preservation legislation may well follow, either because the silent majority will have embraced other priorities or because it does not see its interests safeguarded by the existing processes.

It is time for the historic preservation discipline to be proactive in the matter, to develop programs that actively seek out the view of this silent majority, and then incorporate, and be seen to incorporate, their view into historic preservation planning and management.

Accessing the View of the Larger Community

If focus groups and community meetings do not elicit sufficient responses and the participation of the wider public, then other means of data collection need to be used, one where members of a community are asked as individuals, outside of a group setting and without external influences and pressures to nominate places of a community's cultural environment that are significant to them personally, and furthermore nominate places that they see as significant to the community as a whole.

This survey can be carried out by sending open-ended anonymous questionnaires to all households[34] or by a representative random sample drawn from the electoral roll.[35] The differences between "normal" community studies and such general approaches are striking.

The dichotomy between natural and cultural heritage that is so deeply ingrained in the institutional structures and staff of many non-Indigenous conservation agencies has little meaning to the general public when asked to nominate places of heritage value. Indeed, the most frequently mentioned places in open-ended anonymous community surveys were natural heritage items to which the community has a social attachment.[36] The key problem is to sort out whether these are true heritage places with cultural and social values

attributed to them or whether these are places with a high community amenity value. In 2000, Peter Savage conducted a heritage assessment in the Shire of Esk southwest of Brisbane, and compared the results of previous expert-driven as well as community workshop-based heritage studies with those from open-ended anonymous questionnaires.(Table 1) Both the range of site types and the overall number of sites proposed is much greater.

TABLE 1. COMPARISON OF THE SITES NOMINATED IN VARIOUS HERITAGE STUDIES CONDUCTED IN THE SHIRE OF ESK (QLD).[37]

Type **Year** **Source**	**Expert** **1976** **[1]**	**Expert** **1976** **[2]**	**Expert** **1991** **[3]**	**Expert** **2000** **[4]**	**Expert** **2000** **[5]**	**Expert** **2000** **[6]**	**Expert** **2000** **[7]**	**Workshop** **2000** **[8]**	**Mail** **2001** **[9]**
Exploration	3	3	3	1	3	2	2		
Industry & Commerce	21	6	2	9	2	1	4	29	15
Education & Culture	9	4	6	15	5	5	3	28	23
Housing	7	4	7	4	5	6	5	12	13
Railways	2			5		1	1	6	15
Other			1				2	3	4
Parks & Recreation						1	1	7	18
Military Activities				2				2	14
Agriculture								6	3
Roads, Bridges & Dams	1								15
Aboriginal Life & Culture							1		5
Timber Industry								1	10
Mining									8
Rivers & Waterways									12
Total	**40**	**14**	**16**	**35**	**12**	**14**	**17**	**96**	**146**

Abbreviations:

Expert=Expert-driven study; Workshop=Community Workshop-driven study; Mail=Anonymous questionnaire, mail-out.

Studies:

[1] National Trust Townscape Study; [2] Townscape Study Preservation List; [3] Brisbane River Valley Heritage Tour; [4] Heritage Trails of the Great Southeast; [5] National Trust List; [6] State Heritage Register; [7] Register of the National Estate; [8] Esk Shire Heritage Study (National Trust); [9] Shire Mail-out Survey

To recapitulate, the survey method provides a more accurate reflection of a community's heritage as it also captures members of the silent majority, who for various reasons would not attend workshops or public meetings about heritage, but who, too, are taxpayers and who have a stake in a local government heritage management strategy.

Also in 2000, English Heritage carried out a quantitative survey of over 1,600 adults to assess their understanding of heritage and followed up with a qualitative study of 3 focus groups.[38] The study found that the general public was cognizant of historic homes and palaces, but that understanding of the other aspects of heritage was limited. Moreover, British citizens of non-British ethnicity showed a much greater interest in other forms of heritage. When prompted, most respondents had a very personal concept of heritage, which also translated to different priorities for preservation funding. The wider community also demonstrated the underlying importance of heritage values and the meaning of places, as well as the relevance of these places to stimulate their own emotional well-being.

Such surveys provide a much greater selection of sites that are significant to the community, which allows for more holistic decisions. As part of social science research, they can also give us a good understanding of a community as a whole and its priorities.

An example of priorities can be drawn from a study carried out in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in 2001. Using a 7-point Likert scale, respondents drawn from the education sector were asked to rate their reaction to a number of assertions regarding classes of heritage.[39] The responses show that heritage places of *all* periods as well as non-tangible expressions of heritage, such as traditional knowledge and skills, were important or very important to the respondents.(Table 2) The comparatively small standard deviations (1 rank or less) show a relative uniformity of opinions on the matter. Because this kind of question treats each type of heritage equally, it provides a good overview of the range of attitudes towards heritage in the surveyed community.

But such surveys can also be extended to gain perceptions of the absolute value of heritage to a community, as well as the relative value of heritage places or classes of heritage places against each other. The value of such information for decision-making in a political climate of restricted funding cannot be overestimated. To ascertain the relative significance of the various phases and aspects of heritage in the Northern Mariana Islands, a second question was posed, which required the respondents to rank their preference from 1 to 12. This question was separated from the previous one by a series of other attitudinal questions.(Table 3)

TABLE 2. MEAN RESPONSE TO THE ASSERTION "THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF CULTURAL HERITAGE ARE VERY IMPORTANT TO ME"

Scoring: 1–Strongly Agree; 2–Agree; 3–Somewhat Agree; 4–Don't Know; 5–Somewhat Disagree; 6–Disagree; 7–Strongly Disagree

	Teachers		College		High School	
	Resp. (%)	Avg±STD	Resp. (%)	Avg±STD	Resp. (%)	Avg±STD
Chamorro sites	100.00	1.51±0.71	100.00	1.66±1.03	100.00	1.82±0.96
Carolinian sites	100.00	1.59±0.76	100.00	2.18±1.51	100.00	2.26±1.42
Spanish period	97.96	1.94±1.04	100.00	2.34±1.48	100.00	2.56±1.25
German period	97.96	1.96±1.07	100.00	2.45±1.58	98.48	2.83±1.39
Japanese period	97.96	1.94±1.06	100.00	2.18±1.26	100.00	2.68±1.39
World War II	97.96	1.79±1.09	100.00	1.95±1.16	100.00	2.41±1.21
Trust Territory period	97.96	2.06±1.10	95.45	2.33±1.18	98.48	3.00±1.37
Traditional stories	100.00	1.35±0.66	100.00	1.75±1.06	100.00	1.64±0.99
Traditional knowledge & skills	100.00	1.41±0.98	100.00	1.57±0.93	98.48	1.54±0.87
Traditional crafts	97.96	1.31±0.62	100.00	1.61±0.99	100.00	1.62±0.89
Traditional songs & dances	97.96	1.38±0.61	100.00	1.70±1.02	98.48	1.58±0.97
Traditional plants & animals	97.96	1.50±0.90	100.00	1.66±1.01	100.00	1.82±1.09

TABLE 3. MEAN AVERAGE RANK TO THE ASSERTION ASCRIBED TO HERITAGE

Scoring: Unique rank out of 12 (1 most important, 12 least important)

	Teachers Avg±STD	College Avg±STD	High School Avg±STD
Chamorro sites	4.48±2.72	4.13±3.19	3.09±2.67
Carolinian sites	6.26±2.61	6.19±3.55	4.57±2.57
Spanish period	8.05±2.32	7.92±2.66	7.43±2.83
German period	8.80±2.18	8.97±2.40	8.80±2.73
Japanese period	9.02±1.97	8.26±2.65	8.30±2.39
World War II	8.98±2.71	7.83±3.04	7.61±3.16
Trust Territory period	9.90±3.04	9.51±2.86	9.75±2.80
Traditional stories	2.93±2.34	4.03±2.12	5.13±3.04
Traditional knowledge & skills	2.83±2.01	3.44±2.70	4.98±3.12
Traditional crafts	4.88±2.37	4.87±2.74	5.64±2.70
Traditional songs & dances	4.90±2.66	5.33±2.76	5.44±3.35
Traditional plants & animals	6.83±3.10	7.38±3.12	7.00±3.58
N	**49**	**44**	**66**
Response Rate (%)	**83.67**	**88.64**	**66.67**

As expected, this arrangement forced a substantial separation of opinion. It elicited the information that traditional stories, knowledge, and skills were far more important elements of cultural heritage than archeological sites of the Indigenous Chamorro culture. And these sites, in turn, were far more important than traditional crafts and dances. Colonial heritage sites of the Spanish, German, Japanese, and World War II periods all ranked very low. Yet, it tends to be these sites that see most of the management investment.[40] The study was repeated in 2004 with an increased sample population, but the results are still to be analyzed. Repeating such studies at regular intervals will permit an assessment of shifts in opinion over time.

If heritage is to have a future, its management has to be sustainable, both economically and socially. Moreover, socially sustainable interest in heritage will ensure that adequate funding is allocated by government.

While heritage surveys give detailed insights into the perception of heritage among the wider community, and while such surveys can provide information on the relative significance of classes of heritage sites, they ostensibly provide us with only a snapshot of the status quo. Yet, at the same time, by targeting emerging population members, such as college and high school students, we can gauge their awareness and can, within reason, predict any value shifts likely to happen in the immediate future.

If heritage is to have a future, its management has to be sustainable, both economically and socially. Moreover, socially sustainable interest in heritage will ensure that adequate funding is allocated by the government. Thus, it is incumbent on heritage managers to work towards creating favorable conditions for heritage to flourish in the future.[41]

Public Education and the Next Generation

The obvious target is the next generation of citizens. Cultural heritage must have a firm place in school curriculum and in curriculum development.[42] There are a growing number of examples in the United States where historic preservation and archeology are being introduced in classroom settings. But is that enough?

There is also a good deal of public education taking place, ranging from the annual Historic Preservation Month to site specific campaigns. Looking at this activity from the outside, it is about celebrating selective elements of the past. What relevance does such a heritage place have to disadvantaged recent immigrants? To families with meager resources?

Historic preservation must be actively and holistically promoted to the general public. Consider for a moment that heritage places are deemed significant based on the values that the community projects onto them. Consider further that historic preservation as an activity is only important as long as the community values it. Finally, take into account that the values are mutable qualities that will change over time. It follows that the heritage community needs to influence and foster those values that are supportive of heritage protection, those values that currently give significance to the properties that, after due consideration, are deemed worth maintaining and conserving. In essence, the heritage community needs to engage in a process that perpetuates these values.

While there is a great deal of historic preservation advocacy, we need to develop a medium- and long-term historic preservation strategy at the national, state, and local levels that promotes heritage and historic preservation in a fashion that is community-owned and sustainable. Such a strategy has to be founded on an in-depth understanding and appreciation of the heritage values held by the community, as well as an understanding of the attitudes towards heritage encouraged by planners and social service personnel. Ideally, such studies are carried out first at the local level, creating a patchwork quilt of values and attitudes. Commonalities can be extracted to the state and ultimately to the national level.

The benefits of embarking on such a process are twofold. First, we are gaining an insight into the nature of values the community—and that includes the silent majority—holds with respect to its heritage and historic preservation. Second, simply by embarking on this process and engaging the whole community, we demonstrate to the community that their views are widely sought and recognized as important to the heritage profession. If that effort is followed up by concerted action, both in the heritage planning and protection area, but also in the heritage publicity and education area, then our past will not only have a future, but we can also shape that future.

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Notes

1. This essay was adapted from a keynote address delivered at the international luncheon at the California Historic Preservation Conference, Riverside, CA, May 13, 2005.

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5. J.E. Tunbridge and G.J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester, England: John Wiley, 1996) and Rosemary Hollow and Dirk H.R. Spennemann, "Managing Sites of Human Atrocity," *CRM Magazine* 24 no. 8 (2001): 35-36.

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7 D.D. Rypkema, *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader's Guide* (Washington, DC: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1994).

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10. M. Lockwood and Dirk H.R. Spennemann, "Value Conflicts Between National and Cultural Heritage Conservation—Australian Experience and the Contribution of Economics," in *Heritage Economics: Challenges for Heritage Conservation and Sustainable Development in the 21st Century* (Canberra, Australia: Australian Heritage Commission, 2001).

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13. Australian Heritage Council, "World Heritage—What Does It Mean?" (2004) http://www.deh.gov.au/heritage/worldheritage/about.html, accessed on February 20, 2006.

14. See, for instance, the mission statement of Canadian Heritage: "Towards a more cohesive and creative Canada."

15. German concentration camps are among the more recognizable examples of such places. See Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*.

16. K. Bhatnagar, "Adaptive Re-use of Historic Properties in India: Aesthetics and Appropriateness," presented at the UNESCO Conference on Adaptive Re-use of Historic Properties in Asia and the Pacific, Penang and Melaka, Malaysia, May 1999; also K. Murali, "Chennai's architectural heritage," *Frontline* [Dehli] 20 no. 10 (2003).

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31. Spennemann, "Your solution, their problem." An example are historical societies that are usually included as key stakeholders in any heritage identification process, yet considering both the age structure and ethnicity of most historical societies, they are not representative of the population.

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Theoretical and Practical Arguments for Values-Centered Preservation

by Randall Mason

If there is no such thing as an eternal art-value but only a relative, modern one, then the art-value of a monument ceases to be commemorative and becomes a contemporary value instead. The preservation of monuments has to take this into account, if only because it may have a practical and topical significance quite apart from the historical and commemorative value of a monument.

—Alois Riegl, 1903[1]

It is axiomatic that historic preservation reflects, in some manner, its society in the choices of what gets preserved, how it is preserved and interpreted, and who makes the decisions. In light of this rule, one should expect that the social changes of the last couple generations would move the field toward new paradigms in preservation. Indeed, some fairly dramatic changes have taken hold in the practice of preservation in the last generation or so. Preservationists deal with more kinds of heritage today, representing a wider variety of narratives and historical moments and a wider range of places and objects and scales.

The preservation field is seen as having great responsibilities for managing the built environment and social memory. Some see these developments as part of the natural evolution of the field. Others understand the burgeoning of preservation as coming from outside the field itself and as an effort to counteract the anomie of modern consumer-driven life, a reaction to sprawl, or an outgrowth of the massive socio-economic transformations falling under the rubric of globalization. Whatever one's view about whether change comes from within the preservation field or from outside, the connections between the preservation field and the larger trajectories of society are important for understanding how preservation actually works.

Values-centered planning and management have emerged as a way of formalizing strategies for dealing with these new preservation challenges. At the level of preservation strategy, the important contribution of values-centered preservation is the framework it offers for dealing holistically with particular sites and addressing both the contemporary and historic values of a place. As implemented, values-centered preservation drives a regime of planning and site management described as, "the coordinated and structured operation of a heritage site with the primary purpose of protecting the significance of

the place as defined by designation criteria, government authorities or other owners, experts of various stripes, and other citizens with legitimate interests in the place."[2] The "significance" is drawn from the values of which we speak, and the professional's understanding of a site's significance lies at the core of all decisions. To fully understand the range of values at play, though, professionals must solicit the views of congeries of stakeholders, both official and unofficial, experts, and laypeople.

FIGURE 1
St. Paul's Chapel on Broadway in Lower Manhattan, shown here in a 1937 HABS photograph, has artistic, historic, spiritual, and economic value. (Photograph by Arnold Moses, courtesy of the Library of Congress)

Recent discussions about values in historic preservation indicate sea changes happening in the field in the last generation.[3] The following pages trace these changes in terms of the history of the preservation field—particularly, the rise of values and other sociological and anthropological concepts in preservation thinking—and why they have come about. Secondly, values-centered preservation as a model is explored, especially as a preservation planning tool. Finally, a couple examples and applications of values-centered preservation "on the ground" are offered.

First, a word about the word "values." The sense in which "values" is used in this paper does *not* refer to ethics or morals, but rather to the simple insight that *any particular thing or place has a number of different values in the sense of characteristics*. Take, for instance, St. Paul's Chapel in lower Manhattan.(Figure 1) An Episcopal church constructed in 1766, St. Paul's can be easily understood as having artistic value (as a work of architecture, and in particular, a fine piece of work by the architect John McComb), historic value (it is one of the oldest buildings in Manhattan, and is noted as the place where George Washington worshipped immediately after being inaugurated as the first President of the United States), spiritual value (as a place of Christian worship), economic value (the church and its yard occupy extremely valuable land in the lower Manhattan skyscraper district), and so on. Each of these kinds of value influences our ideas of why this place should be preserved.

The multiplicity of values in heritage is not a new idea. It was recognized in the Venice (1964) and even the Athens Charter (1931), and had been elucidated by the early 20th-century art historian Alois Riegl through his framework of age, historical, use, and newness value.[4] The concept of any particular object's several values was beautifully stated by the 18th-century philosopher David Hume: "a thousand different sentiments, excited by the same object, are all right; because no sentiment represents what is really in the object... Beauty is no quality in things themselves: it exists merely in the mind which contemplates them; and each mind perceives a different beauty."[5]

This idea has been developed by geographers and others into a concept of "place" that has gained great currency (and even overuse) in contemporary debates about preservation, development, and community life. Besides the multiplicity of values ascribed to any particular object or place one also can

readily observe that these different values are perceived through different lenses, they can conflict (often, but not always), and are susceptible to change. "Place," in other words, should not be seen as a simple notion. Places contain a great deal of complexity and contradiction, as does any effort to preserve, develop, or manage them.

The work of historic preservation gets more complicated as we parse these broad notions of value and understand more precisely how we put the different conceptions of value into play in our work. Of great importance, for instance, are the very different ideas about cultural value and economic value, as articulated by art historians and economists.[6] Are artistic and historic values incommensurable with market values, as suggested by the notion that certain landmarks hold such value for society as to be "priceless"? Or are these different conceptions of value just at odds, and in fact commensurable if a satisfactory technical solution can be found to equate them? The balance of the paper attempts to shed some light on this black box of "values."[7]

Historic Preservation and Society

Theoretically and historically, how does preservation relate to society writ large? Why has preservation emerged as a professional field in modern societies, and what social functions does it perform? While these might seem simple and straightforward questions, the answers are more complicated than the preservation field, as a whole, has ever been eager to entertain. For many in preservation, the field seems inherently good and, therefore, beyond question and in no need of further examination. The assumption behind this paper, by contrast, is that one must explore the specific economic, political, cultural, and material conditions and conflicts that give rise to the need for historic preservation.

Answers begin with study of the social history of preservation, and questions of how, over time, preservation has related to issues like development, social well-being, cultural expression, discrimination and immigration, politics in the sense of big "P" (institutional politics) and little "p" (any sort of power relation, formal or informal).

David Lowenthal's landmark book, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, provides the seed of many answers. In modern society, one of the fundamental conditions is that a relationship to the past (individually and socially) is not a given. It has to be constructed—that is, shaped by social forces, politics, traditions, economic pressures, and so on. No longer does an organic, lived, continuous connection to the past predominate or get passed down informally. Rather, a "usable past" needs to be constructed out of various remnants, stories, and fragments. Lowenthal's social history of attitudes toward the material past identifies the necessity for some form of historic preservation in all modern societies.

FIGURE 2
The Dyckman House in Manhattan, pictured here in this pair of 1934 HABS photographs, is an example of the curatorial impulse in early 20th-century preservation practice. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

FIGURE 3
Devised by the National Trust in the 1970s, the Main Street Program has stimulated the preservation and economic revitalization of many commercial districts, such as this one in Chatham, New York. (Courtesy of the author)

Françoise Choay's magnificent history, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, draws the trajectory of this idea from the beginning of the modern period in Europe up to the present.[8]

Preservation was once notorious for minding its own business, separating preservation concerns from bigger social issues and leaving the effects of preservation on society as a whole unexamined. For instance, there was much talk in the 19th and early 20th centuries of preservationists fighting the "juggernaut of progress." In the history of historic preservation in the United States, one finds two main, simultaneous impulses when it comes to the field's relation to society. One impulse (call it the *curatorial* impulse) looks inward, building on preservation's roots in connoisseurship and craft approaches to conserving artworks. The social life of this impulse in preservation is consumed with professional self-definition and ever greater technical and historical skill in determining the truth and pursuing authenticity.(Figure 2)

The other impulse (call it the *urbanistic* impulse) looks outward, seeking to connect historic preservation to the work of other fields and disciplines, such as planning, design, and education, in pursuit of solutions that address broader social goals. As a social movement, this impulse relies on creating partnerships with other, non-preservation interests, and crafting preservation efforts that satisfy non-preservation goals, too.[9](Figure 3) Those subscribing to the curatorial impulse contemplate preservation for its own sake; those subscribing to the urbanistic impulse see preservation more as the means to some other end (social well-being, environmental stewardship, and so on).

At its roots (before, say, 1920), historic preservation in the United States was urbanistic *as well as* curatorial. Both impulses were evident, as the field gelled from many different sources. Over the 20th century, it became more curatorial, in ways specific to architecture and the participation of professional architects in the growing field. The pioneering work of William Sumner Appleton is often cited as embodying this approach. Preservation also became more institutionalized in government agencies and nonprofit organizations in the 1920s and after. Institutionalization helped cast the die for the current preservation culture, in which *distinguishing and separating* preservation from other pursuits is valued over *merging* preservation with other pursuits. This historical distinction among different professional curatorial and urbanistic cultures within historic preservation parallels a contemporary distinction between technical and strategic decision-making facing the field today in which values-centered preservation can figure strongly.

Memory cultures

This article is only concerned with the history of historic preservation insofar as it relates to the theoretical shifts that have brought about values-centered preservation. The kind of historically informed theoretical explanation relevant

to this discussion is represented well in a book recently published by literary critic Andreas Huyssen.[10] The opening essay in his *Present Pasts* gives a short theoretical and historical account of why preservation—and more broadly, issues of social memory—is important in contemporary culture, and why there are new ways of talking about and dealing with it. He speaks of a "memory culture" having burgeoned and reached an apex in the 1990s, and having played a strong role in the construction of culture writ large.[11]

Huyssen sees the 1990s as a time when historical and social remembering took center stage in global society (as well as in states and localities), and a time of both innovation and crisis in how society deals with memory through various means, including museums, memorials, the media, politics, and preservation. The reason for it, he argues, is a reaction to deep, fundamental dislocations in society caused by mega-trends like globalization, regional economic transformations, post-colonial political shifts, migration, and the influence and reach of the media. He postulates a quite direct connection between economic and political groundswells at a global scale and the cultivation of memory cultures, at many scales, as cultural responses.

Huyssen's characterization of global society at the end of the 20th century echoes another historical-geographic moment—American cities, in particular New York, at the beginning of the 20th century. The rise of "memory culture" was also notable in this time. In fact, the decades around the turn of the 20th century were a critical, formative time in the development of historic preservation in the United States.[12]

The parallels between the general social trends of the 1900-1910s and 1990-2000s are remarkable. Both periods in the United States were characterized by convulsive, global economic and social changes; periods of considerable political flux and angst; and trenchant discussions about the proper scopes and roles for governments.

As a result, there are remarkable parallels between the memory cultures of these two periods. They include spikes of interest in memory across many cultural sectors, such as the arts, architecture, literature; social institutions emerging to organize memory work (government and nonprofit organizations, as well as professional and civic groups, with specific preservation or memorial briefs); memory being constructed and shaped deliberately, and a proliferation of *new* material, urban, and artistic forms taking shape (for example, public statuary and plaques, or websites); and ideas about the past being literally built into public space through a combination of new construction (historical revivals in architectural style, for example) and retention of old fabric (creation of house museums).

As striking as these parallels may be, they should not be surprising—both memory cultures emanate from what the geographer David Harvey called time-space compressions—moments of global historical importance and convulsive, transformative change.[13] Such moments are historically specific, of course, not generic. But they are portents of sweeping change and some of their results can be seen as uniform across time—including the stimulus they provide to new forms of memory culture.

For all their similarities, the *differences* between these two memory cultures of the early and late 20th century are very instructive, and the factors that distinguish these early- and late-20th century memory cultures set the stage for new ideas and techniques like values-centered preservation in the preservation field. The more recent memory culture— which is still dominant if not ascendant today—seems distinguishable from that of the early 20th century in at least three ways:

1) the current memory culture is more grassroots and therefore less elitist (although these are matters of emphasis and degree, not absolute terms);

2) it is more openly politicized, and the awareness of unequal power among agents in the memory culture is notable (witness the ubiquitous concern with "participation" and "access" these days); and

3) contemporary memory culture is inseparable (or nearly so) from the market.

Whereas cultural spheres were once self-identified and acknowledged for their separateness from the market, market dynamics are now sought as partners of the memory culture (as evidenced, for instance, in the proliferation of arguments for the economic rationality of investments in the arts, and indeed in historic preservation). So "public memory" in the sense of something apart from the market may not even be possible in contemporary society.

In light of these theoretical and historical logics, preservation professionals have an abiding responsibility to deal *fully* with cultural politics, economics, and social issues that attend to preservation because these broad, external forces have created our current "memory culture." Indeed, the greatest threats to historic fabric and its preservation come not from natural factors, but from broad cultural forces (mostly external to the preservation field) such as urbanization, disinvestment, iconoclasm, anomie, and so forth. At the same time, we also have to deal with all our traditional issues of fabric, materiality, craft, representation, aesthetics, and history. The difficulty is in joining these varied and seemingly divergent concerns and conditions with the trajectory of global society and with the particulars of the project at hand, which is precisely what values-centered preservation has emerged to help us do.

Preservation cultures

Understanding the historical emergence and theoretical underpinnings of "memory cultures" helps explain why the need for values-centered preservation approaches has arisen recently. The contemporary memory culture demands a different sort of preservation practice, in which preservationists' traditional focus on materiality is augmented by means for dealing with different cultural interpretations, competing political demands, and economic influences.

In practice, policy, and education, there remains a tension between two "cultures" in the profession of preservation, which are best described as *pragmatic/technical* and *strategic/political*. They represent two ways of framing preservation decisions or, rather, two poles on either end of a spectrum of preservation approaches. The older and more established of these two mindsets, the pragmatic/technical, relies on preservationists' exclusive knowledge about technical solutions to preservation questions. Expertise in technical aspects of material science, architectural conservation, architectural history, or design lies at the core of this approach. It is well represented in the 1931 Athens Charter.[14] Collaboration tends not to go beyond recognized experts and institutions, and the approach can be described as inward looking. Research, methodology, and, thus, decision-making tend toward objective studies, where "right" or "best" solutions can be clearly identified.

The strategic/political mindset embodies a different way of framing preservation solutions and making decisions. Seeking to learn the interests of stakeholders ranging outside the realm of experts, professionals with this mindset find the common ground between purely technical solutions and solutions that are desirable and can be implemented in the context of economic and political opportunities and obstacles. Looking outward to engage non-preservationists as partners, this approach seeks the best solution in a particular moment. It frankly embraces politics, which, in the pragmatic and technical mindset, are mere complications and obstacles to be avoided. Can these two approaches co-exist? Absolutely. The best preservation practices, in fact, merge these two approaches.

Over the last generation, we have seen in general a shift away from the curatorial model to a more politically open, culturally attuned, urbanistic model. For instance, contrast Williamsburg in its early days, a canonical project of the pragmatic/technical approach, with efforts to preserve New York's African Burial Ground, which has been characterized by divisive politics while also relying on technical excellence.(Figure 4)

Whether we seek it or not, the preservation field is as much engaged with (and implicated in) contemporary cultural politics as with cultivating curatorial and archeological knowledge about material culture. The embrace of cultural politics is rarely simple or without controversy. More than a generation of such engagement can be glimpsed in Philadelphia's Independence National Historical Park.

FIGURE 4
Lower Manhattan's African Burial Ground, pictured here in 2003, has been the focus of preservation activity and intense cultural politics since 1991. (Courtesy of the author)

FIGURE 5
Benjamin Franklin's house (right) and the President's House site (below) at Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, represent the creative and political aspects inherent in all preservation work. (Courtesy of the author)

Uncertainty remaining after technical investigations of Benjamin Franklin's home was clearly expressed in the design of the historic site, while a recent focus on interpreting evidence of slavery at President George Washington's house in Philadelphia is still being worked out. The message is that the politics of the memorial process, questions regarding the authority of technical preservation work, and responsiveness to local and cultural politics can be good things, provocative elements of interpretation that engage the public.(Figure 5)

We are, as a field, challenged to *join* these two very different impulses. Indeed, perhaps the greatest imperative for the preservation field today is to re-connect core preservation goals, that is to say, sustaining social memory through preservation of the built environment, to the pressing social and cultural issues of the day and to re-assert the relevance of preservation—its particular insights, its ethical principles—in contemporary design and society.

Values-centered Preservation in Theory

Culture as process

Preservationists often pride themselves on working "in the trenches," having "battled" some enemy or otherwise toiled against the ignorance, sloth, or greed of non-believers. Such practical, on-the-ground experiences are routinely cited as the source of insight about how preservation should be practiced. But this habit also brings with it a disdain for theory that hampers the field. The metaphorically martial experiences of preservation advocates should not be the only guide for the field. As valuable as it is to draw on past experience to inform future practice, it is also important to have ideals—specifically, ideals in the form of a theoretical understanding of how the preservation field works as part of modern society.[15]

Historic preservation is one of the deliberate ways that culture is shaped in modern society, so any theory of preservation must start with a model of what culture is and how it works. Many books have been written trying to define culture—the critic Raymond Williams famously wrote that it "is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language"[16]—but this simplistic insight provides a starting point: the idea that culture is a process, not a set of things.

Culture is dynamic and changing, a notion reinforced by our current period of intense globalization with all its attendant cultural conflicts, shifts, and innovations. This dynamism makes the study of culture difficult and raises the question of how to deal with the contingencies and changefulness of cultural forms. It also contrasts with the more traditional notion of culture on which the traditional practices of the preservation field are based: that is, that culture is defined by sets of artifacts that are easily knowable and that, once identified, can be used to create static, or fixed, cultural norms ("high style," "vernacular," and so on).

Corollary to the idea of culture as a process is the idea that culture is encompassing: It consists, not just of the arts, religion, and traditions (all defined broadly), but of all contemporary "ways of living together" including market relations, media, political systems, and so on. The process of culture, in other words, is interwoven with politics and markets in modern society, making it far more difficult to justify the theory that culture is a separate sphere of things remote from these other social phenomena and forces. In light of understanding culture as a broad social process, the question becomes how to preserve culture as a process when our preservation concepts and tools depend on us seeing culture as a set of artifacts with fairly fixed meanings to preserve and interpret.

Under the umbrella of traditional, static views of culture, preservation theory focused on how to approach and solve well-defined, technical and artistic problems such as anastylosis,[17] the interpretation of monuments, and listing of individual buildings and districts. Against the backdrop of process-based views of culture, preservation theory has to re-examine some old questions and branch out to engage some different questions—especially those involving the political and economic aspects of preservation.

Here is where values-based theories of preservation can provide a framework. By centering a model of preservation on the perceived values of places, as opposed to the observed qualities of fabric, values-centered preservation acknowledges the multiple, valid meanings of a particular place. It acknowledges their multiplicity, their changeability, and the fact that values come from many different sources. By validating the idea that heritage is valued in myriad different ways, by myriad different people and institutions with different world-views and epistemologies, values-centered theory ineluctably leads practitioners to inquire and consult widely in performing research on places and in formulating plans for them. Participation—acknowledged widely as one of the urgent needs in contemporary preservation practice—is part and parcel of the values-centered model of preservation.

There is, as yet, no comprehensive work tying together the many strands of cultural theory (from anthropology, geography, sociology, literary studies, and more) and packaging them in an omnibus values-centered theory of preservation. Nor, importantly, have economic perspectives on the values of heritage been adequately reconciled with the many cultural perspectives now seen as valid. [18] However, we can envision what this future theory might be like by re-reading Alois Riegl's "Modern Cult of Monuments" and imagining an even more encompassing, sprawling, and complex model that articulates, as Riegl did, the number of different meanings, values, and images our contemporary society creates through the construction of "monuments."

Theory into practice

In contemporary society, there is some inherent uncertainty and changeability when it comes to preservation values and significance. Values are not fixed; they are in some respects situational, and change over time.[19] Acknowledging and embracing the *changeability* of values and significance brings historic preservation in line with the dominant contemporary understanding of culture as a *process* not a *set of things* with fixed meaning. In material terms, we find some expression of this principle back at St. Paul's Chapel. Recently, an additional layer of value—at once social and (someday) historical—has been added to the significance of this site. In the aftermath of September 11, 2001, the chapel served literally as a sanctuary for rescue workers at the neighboring World Trade Center site. In repairing and restoring the building after serving as a way station for months, it was decided to retain the scratches and dents workers' equipment had inadvertently made on the pews instead of erasing these marks in restoring the chapel's interior. Thus, the scratches and marks made by 9/11 rescuers took their place alongside George Washington's pew and Pierre L'Enfant's altar sculpture.(Figure 6)

FIGURE 6
These 2003 photographs show the interior of St. Paul's Chapel and the scratches in the back of the pews made by the 9/11 rescuers. (Courtesy of the author)

Values-centered preservation establishes a process by which preservation practitioners can track the changing meanings of a particular place—as culture continues to shift, evolve, create, and destroy meanings—and incorporate them in policies and plans for conservation, interpretation, protection, and investment. The approach is defined by the central role of significance (comprised of some number of different values) in decision-making, and the participation of a number of different parties—not just "the experts"—in decisions.[20]

The Burra Charter has been influential in advancing and codifying values-centered preservation.[21] First issued in 1979 by Australia ICOMOS, this charter included two particular innovations. First, it defined the identification and retention of "cultural significance" as the central goal of preservation practice (as opposed to some notion of material integrity). Second, it set the stage for a more participatory and open process of consultation. Offered as an ideal framework, adaptable to many situations facing heritage preservation practitioners—and not as a statutory document or regulation—the Burra Charter has nonetheless been very influential.

Cultural significance was defined in the Burra Charter in terms of four kinds of value: historic, aesthetic, social, and scientific. Any heritage place, the framers held, should be understood as having a range of different values, as seen by a corresponding range of different experts and other stakeholders. Indeed, these values define the heritage place, and make up our understanding of a place's "significance."[22]

"Significance"—the synthetic statement of a site's value and the reason why

FIGURE 7
This view of the English market town of Richmond from the castle tower encompasses the town square—with its church, shops, and monument—and the lands surrounding the town. (Courtesy of the author)

it should be preserved—warrants our close attention. Elsewhere, it has been argued that the significance concept has been treated as too rigid.[23] It is essential to realize that these values are not fixed or intrinsic; they are situational, constructed and shaped by the time, place, and people involved in articulating them. They are not chimerical, but they do change and get reinterpreted, and indeed should be *expected* to change.[24]

The Burra Charter has been used extensively as a guide to preservation practice in the last few decades, and its influence has been felt far beyond Australia.[25] Critical in values-centered preservation is the exercise of outlining and researching the values that contribute to cultural significance. The Burra Charter's four-part values typology—historical, aesthetic, social, and scientific—has been well tested, though an even broader typology may be called for, depending on the particular qualities of the site in question. If a site clearly has ecological importance, for instance, ecological values should be included in the interests of dealing holistically with the place.

The town of Richmond, Northumberland, England, illustrates a quick way to outline a values typology.(Figure 7) Economic values present a particularly thorny set of problems in this vein. Opinions differ as to whether economic values consist of an additional set of values to those the Burra Charter identifies, effectively widening the spectrum of values appropriate to consider in heritage decisions, or whether economic values present a different and alternative way of looking at *all* the values of a site. [26] Economic values, in many instances, *do* constitute an additional set of values for most heritage sites (and certainly a different set of stakeholders and constituents). Thus, in order for historic preservation to truly account for site values holistically, economic values must be included.

The conflicts between economic and cultural schemes for looking at heritage values have been well established.[27] The incommensurability of cultural and economic valuing stems from real epistemological differences, and it also owes a lot to disciplinary separations deeply entrenched over the 20th century.[28] To

overcome these real, epistemologically rooted differences, one can think of the broad spectrum of site values in terms of "heritage values" and "contemporary values." This way of thinking captures the more present and meaningful conflict when it comes to managing or making decisions about a site. Heritage values are those contributing to the sense of a place being endowed with some legacy from the past—quite literally the stuff in need of preservation. It typically would include artistic values tied to the original vision of an artist, as well as those accumulated over time. It would also include historical values associated with the site, as well as the scientific or "archeological" values embedded in the material layers of the site. Contemporary values are distinct in that they are important for reasons other than recovery or retention of cultural significance, but nevertheless are recognized as legitimate values of a site, such as profit, recreational use, ecological integrity, and public health.

However a site's values are organized, articulated, and assessed, the key point vis-à-vis preservation decision-making and management is that these different values often conflict. Because all values cannot be maximized simultaneously and because resources available to preservation are limited, trade-offs are necessary and priorities must be made. One could ignore the conflicts, but this would presuppose having chosen to elevate, *a priori*, one type of value over others. Indeed, this has been the traditional strategy of preservation: Elevate historical and aesthetic values over all others, and when even these particular values conflict, let professional judgment (not a logical process) be the guide to good decisions. As an alternative, the strategies of values-centered preservation enable a truly holistic handling of a site's values and bring to bear tools for dealing with the values and their conflicts rationally as well as politically.

Values-centered Preservation Planning as a Methodology

The emphasis on values and cultural significance as opposed to the traditional emphasis on fabric is an important though subtle shift. This argument does *not* suggest that fabric and materiality cease to be a main concern for preservation. Though concern with fabric remains central to values-centered preservation and all activities and discourses of the historic preservation field, values-centered preservation decisions place priority on understanding *why* the fabric is valuable and *how* to keep it that way, and only then moving on to decide how to "arrest decay."

Benefits and complications of values-centered preservation

What does this recognition of the central role of values get us that we did not have before? Why does accounting for more values lead to better decisions? There is no empirical evidence as yet, though anecdotal evidence and case studies strongly suggest that values-centered preservation is a step ahead of traditional preservation practices. Here, four arguments are offered in favor of values-centered preservation:

1) *Values-centered preservation enables the holistic understanding of sites.* In a simple, empirical sense, this principle acknowledges and addresses the reality that heritage places have a whole range of values—they are not *just* old or beautiful—and that the success and relevance of preservation will be judged against this reality.[29]

2) *Values-centered preservation leads to an acknowledgement and inclusion of a greater range of stakeholders by accounting for all the values of a site.* As a corollary to understanding site values holistically, site stakeholders also have to be fully recognized. Inclusion of stakeholder concerns is quite clearly a political imperative in contemporary society; handling cultural activities such as preservation in normative ways is simply untenable—not because it is unfashionable, but because the politics of public culture have fundamentally changed. Recognizing the range of stakeholders thus builds political and hpotentially economic support.[30]

3) *Values-centered preservation is based on comprehensive knowledge about a site's values, which is essential to support the long view of stewardship that is one of the most basic contributions of historic preservation thinking.* Abiding by the previous two principles invokes a third, which is absolutely foundational to the historic preservation field. Holistic and broadly supported preservation helps ensure the long-term viability of preservation schemes.[31]

4) *Values-centered preservation reveals serious gaps in knowledge about the historic environment and how the historic environment is used.* Professionals in the preservation field are generally uncomfortable talking about what they do not know and too often tend to narrow their field of responsibility when challenged.[32] Knowing what we do not know enables us to conduct research on the balancing of values, about how preservation functions as part of civil society, about real and potential sources of political and financial support for preservation. It also amounts to a recipe for continued research, learning, and professional development for the field of preservation as a whole and for individuals working within it.

Putting more values into the preservation equation also makes preservation more complicated. Traditionally, preservationists have been focused on historic and aesthetic values.[33] What got lost in this focus, and now seems very imbalanced, was the contemporary value of places that also (maybe even primarily) constituted important reasons that society valued these sites. As historic preservation has become a more widely accepted and supported public purpose, it has had to compete for support and assert heritage values in the same arena as contemporary values. Witness, for instance, the well-publicized debates over the fate of Manassas National Battlefield in Northern Virginia, where plans for extending battlefield protection, creating shopping malls and subdivisions, widening roads, and allowing Disney's *America* theme park all competed.

Is there such a thing as admitting too many values? Admitting contemporary economic, social, and political values into the preservation equation does certainly complicate things, but in the end it strengthens the ability of preservationists to compete with other uses of heritage sites. Certainly, accounting for more values makes for more complicated planning, management, and decision-making of all kinds. But other fields, such as city planning, environmental conservation, and public health, rise to the challenge of recognizing the diversity and even divergence of views about their core concerns. The historic preservation field needs to rise to this challenge, too.

Should all values be treated the same? A larger debate surrounds the fact that not all values are the same, and treating them equally strikes some preservationists as departing from core purposes. The principle of accounting for all the values of a heritage site does not suggest that all values should be treated equally, or—more to the point—should be afforded the same priority in decision-making. The fact is that preservationists will continue to emphasize historical and aesthetic values. These are the core values preservationists see in heritage sites and the ones that activate our participation and our "stake" in these places. Admitting the existence of other, contemporary values of heritage sites does not suggest, though, that our core purpose of protecting the cultural and historical significance of the built environment has changed. On the contrary, it can help sharpen our focus on heritage values.

Preservationists have traditionally seen aesthetic or historic values as most important. Economic values, when they are introduced into the discussion about a heritage site by a developer or owner or elected official, tend to trump others. The criticism of both modes is that exclusive focus on any one type of value at the expense of others will yield lesser results. Economic values are excluded from the Burra Charter on the reasoning that the economic value of heritage places is secondary (i.e., it only exists because of the heritage values), and including it as part of a site's significance would dilute focus on preservation of the core heritage values.[34] One should have faith, though, that preservationists *can* look at contemporary and heritage values side-by-side, and be able to keep them separate.

Values have unequal weight, and this will remain the case when it comes to figuring priorities and making decisions for a particular site. Significance, in effect, requires figuring out these priorities. But the task of eliciting values should be distinguished from the task of prioritizing them.[35]

How does values-centered preservation work in everyday practice? The tough issue in practicing values-centered preservation is committing to bringing *contemporary values* (social, economic) as well as heritage values (narrative, associational, aesthetic) into the framework of decision-making. If the work of preservation is to be relevant to contemporary society and connected with

other social needs, we have to be able to deal with *both* sets of values—as matters of vocabulary (we need to be able to talk about them), research (we need to know how to gauge them), and engagement (we need to talk to others interested in the different values and enlist them as partners).

Different methods and partners are needed to build knowledge of the various value types. Historians, designers, and preservationists need to be joined with anthropologists, economists, ecologists, and others as appropriate to understand the place at hand. The importance of multi-disciplinary teamwork and mutual respect for and understanding of different disciplinary discourses, cannot be overstressed—it will be the basis for the *next* cultural shift within the preservation field.

A preservation planning framework

The values-centered approach to preservation places great stock in planning. As noted above, values-centered preservation approaches constitute planning in the most straightforward sense of establishing a rigorous program of research and analysis to set the stage for decision-making. Values-centered preservation also has some interesting wrinkles that render it both more promising and more problematic.

Values-centered preservation is defined and driven by an openness to considering the multiple conceptions of a place's values, from which stem two practical challenges: that of analyzing a sufficiently full range of values in order to understand the site holistically and of engaging both experts and lay people as sources of intelligence on values, on priorities, and on management options.[36] Considering all aspects of a place's value is important despite the fact that it takes preservationists beyond their comfort zone of expertise with materials and design history and into areas where the rest of society sees value and preservationists might not. By contrast, the traditional alternatives to values-centered preservation are approaches to historic preservation driven *a priori* by maximizing *one type* of value over all others and strictly focused on fabric.

At its base, values-centered preservation is a logical process for considering *all* aspects of a place's value as a precursor to undertaking any conservation (or other) decision or action. It is premised on the notion that full knowledge of the values of a site—not just some of them, but all of them—will support the best decision-making processes. In explaining the rationale for a values-centered approach, Martha Demas writes, "the best or most appropriate decisions for a site are those that will preserve the [full range of] values of the place and are sustainable." The planning processes advocated by the Getty Conservation Institute or Australia ICOMOS do not magically yield the right decisions, but they provide an excellent road map. Of course, things do not always work as smoothly and as easily in practice. Indeed, these diagrams are ideal templates and suggestions that need to be adjusted and modified for use in a particular project.

Australia ICOMOS's Burra Charter, an important source of values-centered thinking, captures a general decision-making regime in a diagram.[37](Figure 8) Deceptively simple, the diagram provides great benefit when it comes to marshalling the participation of a wide circle of stakeholders and constituents.[38] A second diagram published by the Getty Conservation Institute, another advocate of values-centered preservation, shares important features of the Burra process.(Figure 9) This diagram emphasizes the central role of creating a statement of significance, not simply as a listing of the site's values, but as a synthesis of them. This part of the process must include research on *contemporary* values as one aspect of a site's significance, not merely as subsidiary to the heritage values.[39] All these planning frameworks beg an important question: Should some values be elevated, *a priori*, over others?[40]

FIGURE 8
This diagram outlines the values-centered preservation process advocated by Australia ICOMOS's Burra Charter.

(Adapted from Marquis-Kyle and Walker, The Illustrated Burra Charter *[2004], 111)*

THE BURRA CHARTER PROCESS
Sequence of investigations, decisions, and actions

FIGURE 9
This diagram shows a values-centered preservation planning process.

(Adapted from Demas, in Management Planning for Archaeological Sites *[2002], 30)*

PLANNING PROCESS METHODOLOGY

1.0 Identification and Description
Collecting Information

1.1 **Aims**
What are the aims and expectations of the planning process?

1.2 **Stakeholders**
Who should be involved in the planning process?

1.3 **Documentation and Description**
What is known about the site and what needs to be understood?

2.0 Assessment and Analysis
Taking Stock

2.1 **Cultural Significance/Values**
Why is the site important or valued and by whom is it valued?

2.2 **Physical Condition**
What is the condition of the site or structure; what are the threats?

2.3 **Management Context**
What are the current constraints and opportunities that will affect the conservation and management of the site?

3.0 Response
Making Decisions

3.1 **Establish Purpose and Policies**
For what purpose is the site being conserved and managed?

How are the values of the site going to be preserved?

3.2 **Set Objectives**
What will be done to translate policies into actions?

3.3 **Develop Strategies**
How will the objectives be put into practice?

3.4 **Synthesize and Prepare Plan**

Periodic Review and Revision

Identification of stakeholders is a critical part of the initial phase of goal setting and project scoping. Though it is represented in the diagrams as a discrete exercise in the initial phases of a project, it ought to be an ongoing task. Often, as a project unfolds and detailed research on the various values is prosecuted, additional stakeholder groups come to light. Because there is always the potential for learning something substantially different and new from a new stakeholder or interest, one abiding task is to be on the lookout for them.

One of the traditional strengths of preservationists, site documentation and description remains a fundamental type of research and analysis activity in values-centered preservation. Characterization and assessment of values are critical and particularly difficult because they require potentially many different methods and many collaborating professionals. For epistemological reasons, different types of value are susceptible to different methods: Quantitative methods are ill-suited for articulating a place's historic value, for instance,

and it is difficult to imagine representing a place's social or economic value adequately by drawing, painting, or photographing it.[41] Fully understanding the values of a site is likely to involve some methods beyond the normal capabilities of preservation and planning professionals (for instance, contingent valuation studies, or ethnographic documentation and analysis). Thus, collaboration across disciplines is essential.

The *integration* of value assessments warrants particular emphasis as a specific step in this process. No magic formula for group process or analytic method has been suggested for integrating the value assessments for a site. The way this knowledge is brought together depends on many factors—the personalities, capabilities, mind-sets, mandates, expertise and training, the complexity of the site, and so on—such that the only generalization one can make is that the method for integrating assessments is situational.[42]

One of the most innovative ideas from values-centered preservation to be implemented is the concept of "commemorative integrity," created by Canadian national authorities. Conceived as part of the monitoring and evaluation stages of preservation site management, commemorative integrity is a yardstick used to evaluate how well the significance of Canadian National Historic Sites is being preserved.[43] The import of commemorative integrity as a practice and policy innovation is great: It not only advocates a broad accounting of heritage values, but it also insists on effectively communicating them to lay audiences. With this concept in hand, the *intention* to preserve a full range of values is no longer sufficient. The *result*—as perceived by experts and non-experts alike—becomes the real test. Commemorative integrity explores the tough question of whether the values that professionals intend to preserve at a site are actually the values being received by their audiences.

Values-centered Preservation in Practice

A couple examples of the practical application of these ideas will help explain the utility and insights of values-centered preservation and point out some of the difficulties of implementing values-centered approaches.[44]

Upper Darby, Pennsylvania

An inner-ring suburb in metropolitan Philadelphia, just over the city line, Upper Darby was the site of a recent project undertaken by the graduate Preservation Studio course at the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate Program in Historic Preservation. Upper Darby was a non-traditional place for preservationists to work: Mostly there is 20th-century fabric, with a few earlier and landmark buildings. The township has a reputation for being unlovely, lower middle class, and immigrant. There is little appetite among local officials to implement historic preservation policies, as they regard it as elite, irrelevant, and unhelpful to them in increasing the prosperity of the township.

FIGURE 10
These views of the early-20th-century suburb of Upper Darby, Pennsylvania, showing (above) the commercial district and (below) a typical row of dense, developer-built houses, illustrate the community's architectural resources. (Courtesy of the author)

Focusing on the historic core of the township (Figure 10), the various values of the place were studied by graduate students organized into four thematic groups: historical research (primary and secondary); architecture and urban form; economic development and public policy; and social values. Historical and architectural research illuminated the strengths of the place: intact, early 20th-century suburban housing developments displaying a great variety of forms, many built in styles featuring local stone (Wissahickon schist); and a few landmark buildings distinguishing the core commercial district, including the headquarters building of the most prominent developer—the McClatchy Building.

Regarding economic development and policy, there was a clear mandate of increasing revenue from commercial development, though market-appropriate building sites were few. The social-value research, undertaken with a variety of ethnographic methods, yielded some essential insights—that the diversity of classes, ethnicities, and life-stages was a signal feature of the place—leading the project team to make connections between contemporary social issues (ethnic conflicts, crime fears, pressures on the school system) and the historical provenance of the small houses and small commercial districts that still comprise the built environment.

Consideration of all the values led to some non-traditional policy recommendations. The team shied away from traditional policy choices like districting and design guidelines in favor of education and economic development policies, which were felt to be of higher priority. In integrating studies of the different values and enabling environment, the team found a lot of positive overlap in the strategic directions that flowed from addressing the various values.

Preservation-centered economic development strategies dovetailed with the high values placed on cultural diversity, and this diversity resonated with the early 20th-century history of the place as a first-step, inner-ring suburban community. Instead of suggesting new historic districts or conservation overlays, the primary policies related to education (public and school-based) and preservation-led economic development, including Main Street/Elm Street and reuse projects.

In the end, the assessment of the varied values of Upper Darby did not find them to be in conflict. The project team approached them within a framework of looking for leverage between the strengths, addressing the weaknesses of the place in serious ways (even if there were not necessarily clear "preservation" actions), and thinking carefully about sequence of actions. Even if resource protection was the ultimate goal, a number of things had to happen before that would be accepted in the community.

The social-value research added a great deal of insight into things the students would not otherwise have known. Local stakeholders—not just ordinary citizens and political officials, but also the preservationists—did not recognize the historical and architectural values of most of the existing 20th-century landscape. In order for historic preservation to gain credibility at all, a connection to existing local economic development strategies was key and could be clearly preservation-led. Even with the limitations of a graduate studio project, the project team felt that the various education efforts could help stimulate thinking about the whole range of values that this place does—and could—have for its residents.

Fulton Street Mall, Brooklyn, New York[45]

Fulton Street is a shopping district at the historic core of downtown Brooklyn, which, before the 1898 consolidation of New York's five boroughs, was the fourth largest city in the United States.(Figure 11) Beginning as one of the oldest streets in Brooklyn—connecting the ferry landing to the village of Flatbush—Fulton Street thrived as a middle- and upper-class shopping district from the mid-19th century through the 1940s, fed by transit access and the development of numerous department stores and other shops. In the 1970s, a five-block stretch of the street was redesigned and traffic restricted to create Fulton Mall. Reflecting vast changes in the social geography of the inner city, shoppers on Fulton Mall today are primarily African American Brooklynites.

Downtown Brooklyn is slated for big changes. A major rezoning plan to stimulate office tower development was recently approved, and new cultural and sports facilities designed by famous architects are bringing the buzz of anticipation for changes welcomed by some and feared by others. These new developments threaten Fulton Street's historic resources—primarily a varied collection of 19th-century commercial architecture, featuring cast-iron fronts and fine masonry structures; there are also some frame houses from earlier in the 19th century—and also threaten the Mall's vibrant life as a thriving, inner-city shopping district.[46] In the universe of places likely to be the object of "historic preservation," it is non-traditional to say the least. Traditional preservation approaches—resting on an appraisal of architectural and historical values, and perhaps a recommendation for city landmarking—seemed particularly ill-suited to addressing the preservation of the buildings *and* the social and economic life they support.

The goal of this project was to create a set of preservation planning recommendations based on a thorough understanding of the place's resources and values, not just the historical and architectural ones, that could address and stitch together the divergent concerns of the existing stakeholders and also help identify potential stakeholder groups. The preservation community's response to impending change seemed very partial and unsatisfactory: designate a few buildings as landmarks, and otherwise let the chips fall where they may.

FIGURE 11
This photograph shows the Fulton Street Mall, part of the shopping district at the historic core of downtown Brooklyn, New York. (Courtesy of the author)

This traditional approach would hardly affect what is likely to happen here: wholesale commercial gentrification, drastic changes in who shops and works there, who cares about it, whose identity is supported by this place, as well as changes to the historic scale and quality of the place.

In addressing the future of Fulton Mall, the project team adapted a values-centered approach. Initial phases of research included documenting architectural and historical values, and collecting basic demographic information and other contemporary data. Working in concert with local business groups and owners, their consultants, and a studio course on retail planning, the team also consulted far and wide with individuals and institutions having some stake in the future of Fulton Mall with an eye toward using its shopping and commercial history as a common ground for organizing a more robust vision for the place. The team also undertook a major effort—surveys, observational mapping, ethnography, interviews, and focus groups—to understand and document the area's social values so that we might include the views of constituent groups—shoppers, workers, people who otherwise hang out there—that are mostly without voice in the planning and preservation process for Fulton Mall.

Policy recommendations stemming from this research are designed to address the core concerns of the different stakeholders—business operators, public and business-group leaders, preservationists, citizen-users of the Mall—while also identifying strategic actions that will directly and materially create common ground where it has not existed among these groups. The recommendations aim to support short-term vitality while paving the way for long-term preservation and evolution of the whole place as a commercial-cultural center. For

instance, recommendations identify a package of public policies for utilizing spaces above the first floor, suggest how streetscape improvements can enhance historic aspects of the built environment, and illustrate how a "history of shopping" perspective on the history of the street can link advocates of historic architecture to contemporary shoppers looking for the latest retro sneakers and hip-hop gear. The business opportunities of immigrant vendors, the uses of signage, and the crafting of "development scenarios" suggesting arts and culture, housing, and other appropriate commercial development mixes for specific blocks, are also part of the recommendations.

Learning from these cases

Values-centered preservation will be particularly helpful in working on places where architectural and historical values are not well recognized or do not clearly predominate over others. Places where there are not likely to be pitched battles over preserving resources with outstanding architectural or historical value have mostly been addressed. What remains are the far more numerous places where preservation and other uses will have to coexist.

Values-centered preservation does not rely as much on technical solutions and expert knowledge. Rather, it is much more attuned to politically sensitive preservation practice. Such cases as Upper Darby and Fulton Mall indeed take us in to the realm of the politics of doing values-centered preservation, which do not get captured on the diagrams. In both cases, project teams struggled with finding the right balance of pragmatic-technical and strategic-political orientations and interventions through the application of values-centered preservation.

In both cases, the study and articulation of social values markedly changed our approach to policies and priority actions. As preservation professionals, we, of course, see these places for their heritage value. Many other people do not sense this value. Understanding the ways these places are valued for non-heritage reasons has been essential to connecting our arguments for preservation to other, non-heritage plans for the place. Fabric-centered preservation would have led us in different directions. By connecting the heritage values of these places more realistically to the values that other stakeholders see, we believe we are making preservation a more viable part of the place's future.

The Future of the Field

Is preservation becoming more outward-looking or inward-looking? As represented in the development of the Burra Charter in the late 1970s and a gathering chorus of voices among younger preservation professionals, the field is answering the challenges of being more outward-looking, more strategic, and more politically engaged—answering, in short, the challenge of being a more engaged partner with other fields, institutions, and ideas in creating a civil society.

The advancement of values-centered preservation is part and parcel of this shift toward an urbanistic sort of preservation practice, toward broad social engagement, and the connection of preservation goals to society's broadest wants and needs. It is a direction we need to keep pursuing, but it is also daunting because we have a lot of work to do in figuring out new methods and theoretical frameworks and in getting ourselves and our institutions to change.

The values-centered shift in preservation plays out not just in theory, but also in many specific questions about practice for which we do not yet have all the answers: Who is involved in preservation? What kinds of places warrant our attention? What tools do we have or do we need? How can we translate our greater awareness of cultural change and social issues into preservation strategies? What new roles will we find for professionals and experts?

Values-centered preservation differs from traditional preservation practice. It responds directly to the multivalent nature of heritage places and to the trenchant insight that culture is best understood as a process, not a set of things. Putting this idea into practice, values-centered preservation makes cultural significance the linchpin of preservation decisions and takes a broader and more problematized look at significance based on a full range of historic and contemporary values. Placing high priority on significance and how it changes, values-centered preservation challenges the preservation field's traditional fixation on arresting decay and canonizing the meaning of historic places. These technical pursuits are best seen, not as the *ends* of preservation, but as the *means* to the end of preserving a place's cultural significance. Values-centered preservation puts conservation in context and positions us best to make our work relevant to the rest of society.

The social contexts of historic preservation—the changing structure and tenor of contemporary culture, the influence of market thinking, and the particular societal forces and tensions we face at any given moment—demand new frameworks and practices for historic preservation. We in preservation tend to think incorrectly that being resistant to change is a virtue and part of preservation ideology. As society and cultural process get more complex, the means and ends of preservation, too, get more complex. While not a panacea, values-centered preservation is a way to organize this new paradigm.

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Notes

1. Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: It's Character and Its Origin," 1903; trans. Kurt W. Forster and Diane Ghirardo, *Oppositions*, 25 (fall 1982): 23. Thanks to Judy Oberlander of Simon Fraser University, and Alastair Kerr of the Heritage Branch, Ministry of Community, Aboriginal and Women's Services, British Columbia, for inviting a lecture on this topic. My

understanding of values-centered preservation has been greatly influenced by Marta de la Torre and Erica Avrami, former colleagues at the Getty Conservation Institute, and extended by working with students at the University of Pennsylvania and colleagues Vicki Wiener, Setha Low, and Frank Matero.

2. Randall Mason, David Myers, and Marta de la Torre, *Port Arthur Historic Site: A Case Study* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Conservation Institute, 2003[2005]), 1. This report is available online at http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications/pdf_publications/port_arthur.pdf.

3. Marta de la Torre, ed., *Assessing Values in Heritage Conservation* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Conservation Institute, 2002); Erica Avrami, Marta de la Torre, and Randall Mason, eds., *The Values and Benefits of Cultural Heritage Conservation: Research Report* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Conservation Institute, 2000); Randall Mason, ed., *Economics and Heritage Conservation: A Meeting Organized by the Getty Conservation Institute* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Conservation Institute, 1998 [1999]).

4. See note 1 above.

5. David Hume, [1777] "Of the Standard of Taste," in *Of the Standard of Taste and Other Essays*, ed. John Lenz (Indianapolis, IN: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), 6.

6. Mason, *Economics and Heritage Conservation*; David Throsby, *Economics and Culture* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Arjo Klamer, ed., *The Value of Culture: On The Relationship Between Economics and Arts* (Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).

7. Avrami, de la Torre, and Mason, 2000. See also the annotated bibliography in same report.

8. David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, trans. Lauren M. O'Connell (1992; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

9. The National Trust for Historic Preservation's Main Street Program is one result of this line of preservation thinking.

10. Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003).

11. Even though Huyssen criticizes this recent memory culture for its obsession with victimization narratives (invoking the Holocaust), it earns no less regard as a dominant trope of recent cultural debates.

12. Max Page and Randall Mason, eds., *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004); Michael Holleran, *Boston's "Changeful Times": Origins of Preservation and Planning in America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

13. David Harvey, *Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, UK: Blackwell, 1989).

14. The Athens Charter is available online at http://www.icomos.org/docs/athens_charter.html, accessed on March 2, 2006.

15. "Theory," as used here, is simply a model of how the historic preservation process works. And it is not just a model of how it *should* work, but a reasoned, careful, generalized understanding of how the process *does* work. We profit by taking a step back from pure advocacy to understand the contexts in which advocacy is practiced and received. The theory behind values-centered preservation is therefore not a worthless subject, nor an idle pursuit of academics, but a useful model for imagining how preservation can be most effective.

16. Raymond Williams, *Keywords*, rev. ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985), 87.

17. Anastylosis is the reassembly of a building or artwork existing only as fragments, with missing fragments recreated.

18. A number of recent efforts by the Getty Conservation Institute pushed in this direction. See Avrami, de la Torre, and Mason, 2000; also Randall Mason and Marta de la Torre, "Heritage Conservation and Values in Globalizing Societies" *World Culture Report 2* (Paris, France: UNESCO, 2000).

19. The changeability of heritage values is treated at greater length in Randall Mason, "Fixing Historic Preservation: A Constructive Critique of 'Significance,'" *Places, a Forum of Environmental Design* 16 no. 1 (2003).

20. Martha Demas has written that values-centered preservation (planning) "places values and the participation of a wide spectrum of interested parties at the core of the decision-making process." See Martha Demas in *Management Planning for Archaeological Sites: An International Workshop Organized by the Getty Conservation Institute and Loyola Marymount University, Corinth, Greece, 19-22 May 2000*, ed. Jeanne Marie Teutonico and Gaetano Palumbo (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Trust, 2003), 29.

21. See Peter Marquis-Kyle and Meredith Walker, *The Illustrated Burra Charter: Good Practices for Heritage Places* (Burwood: Australia ICOMOS Inc., 2004).

22. Significance is the benchmark of preservation. It is not only the goal of what one is trying to preserve, but also the guide in decision-making.

23. Mason, 2003.

24. One can expect change via at least two means: the continual discovery of new information, and the changing social/cultural contexts that shape the meaning of things.

25. Michael Pearson and Sharon Sullivan's *Looking after Heritage Places: the Basics of Heritage Planning for Managers, Landowners and Administrators* (Carlton, Victoria, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1995) is an excellent practitioners' guide.

26. Mason, ed. 2000; Throsby, 2001.

27. Michael Hutter and David Throsby, eds., *Beyond Price: In Search of Cultural Value* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

28. Contrast the 20th-century intellectual culture so defined and disabled by disciplinary distinctions and over-specialization, to the world of Hume.

29. Understanding heritage sites *holistically*, that is to say, in terms of their heritage values and contemporary values, is logically the soundest basis for decision-making. Recognizing that heritage sites most often have other, non-preservation uses, a holistic view can take the different uses of a site into consideration in projecting future use. Once the most urgent needs of a place are identified, policies and actions to address preservation needs must take into account their implications on *non*-preservation aspects of the site's value. It prepares us to understand decisions such that we are not unintentionally trading some values off for others (or at least when we do trade them, we realize the implications). Preservation, after all, should not be seen as an end in itself, but rather a means to the end of social well-being.

30. It is crucial to know about and respond to the multiple values of heritage places in order to meet some of the fundamental goals of contemporary preservation: Speaking to and engaging different constituencies and stakeholders is part and parcel of this approach. This approach, moreover, is a departure from the field's traditional mode of focusing on the few values the experts are most comfortable with, and excluding other values and stakeholders (or, perhaps worse, claiming that we *are* speaking for them when we are not qualified to do so).

31. Some call this "sustainable preservation," which is not inaccurate but makes it seem like purely a technical question. The ethic of long-term stewardship that is so important to

preservation is primarily a political and social ethic—not a technical problem—so it could also be referred to as the historic preservation field's primary act of social responsibility and responsiveness.

32. This habit is manifest, often, in defensiveness and an impulse to retreat to areas of certainty, such as materials performance, decay-arresting measures, architectural history canons, and the moral imperative that preservation is a good thing.

33. There were good reasons for this. Historically, the field is rooted in the connoisseurship of art and the craft of art conservation, so the aesthetic qualities of art are foundational to preservation. Plus, in the mid-20th century, the turn toward more exclusive focus on historic values—associational value, age value—marked a response to Modernism, urban renewal, and their perceived depredations.

34. Sharon Sullivan, personal communication.

35. These processes involved in eliciting values and prioritizing them are addressed in Randall Mason, "Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices," in de la Torre, 2002, pp. 5-30.

36. The participation of non-experts is critical and fairly radical, and we in the preservation field have yet more to learn about how to do it meaningfully. The value of participation and advocacy has a much longer history in preservation's allied field of city planning. See Paul Davidoff's seminal article, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 31 (1965): 544-555. Henry Sanoff presents a good overview of methods in *Community Participation Methods in Design and Planning* (New York, NY: Wiley, 2000).

37. To state the obvious, the Burra Charter process echoes many other planning processes by following the standard, three-stage framework of research, then analysis, then recommendations.

38. Marquis-Kyle and Walker's *The Illustrated Burra Charter* reflects more of the complexity of using this process, demonstrating the range of situations, contingencies, resources, and stakeholders who can benefit from use of this process.

39. Ibid.

40. Some would see this as giving up the central role of preservation. It strikes me as more pragmatic; clearly, if we fail to give heritage values some primacy we are no longer doing preservation—this is preservationists' basic insight.

41. Alternatively, of course, one can approach this problem as an economist and translate all kinds of value into dollars, which brings its own set of trade-offs.

42. While there is no formula, some guidelines are offered in Mason, "Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices," in de la Torre, 2002.

43. *State of Protected Heritage Areas* (Ottawa, Ontario: Parks Canada, 1999), 39. According to Parks Canada, commemorative integrity "defines the health and wholeness of a national historic site. A site is said to possess commemorative integrity when: the resources that symbolize or represent its importance are not impaired or under threat; the reasons for its national significance are communicated to the public effectively; and all its heritage values are respected."

44. The two projects briefly outlined are more works-in-progress than finished preservation plans, yet they illustrate the potential of values-centered preservation for preservation planning.

45. A project of Minerva Partners and the Pratt Center for Community Development.

46. Historic resources include a number of 19th- and 20th-century buildings related to commerce and perhaps the Underground Railroad.

An Interview with Elizabeth Barlow Rogers

(Courtesy of Elizabeth Barlow Rogers)

Elizabeth Barlow Rogers is a pioneer in the preservation and restoration of urban parks. Born in San Antonio, Rogers was educated at Wellesley College and obtained a master's degree in city planning from Yale University. In 1971, she published her first book, The Forests and Wetlands of New York, *followed a year later by* Frederick Law Olmsted's New York. *In 1975, she became director of the Central Park Task Force, which led to her appointment as Central Park Administrator in 1979. She held this position as well as that of President of the Central Park Conservancy starting in 1980, until 1996. During this period, she directed the landscape preservation planning process and authored* Rebuilding Central Park: A Management and Restoration Plan, *which details the analyses, surveys, and recommendations that continue to serve as a systematic program for managing Central Park today. She is author of the 2001 book,* Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History. *Antoinette J. Lee (AJL), former* CRM Journal *editor, interviewed Rogers in her New York City home on November 16, 2005.*

AJL: Please tell us about where you were born, where you grew up, and how you came to develop an interest in historic preservation and landscapes.

EBR: I grew up on the edge of San Antonio, where I played in a vacant lot that seemed to a small child to be deep and mysterious woods. A nearby park provided me with the ability to explore further afield. Back then children were safe and could wander about the neighborhood at will. This was the beginning of my interest in nature. Historic preservation came later.

I graduated from Wellesley College, which has a beautiful campus. I found the New England landscape to be very different from the Texas landscape, and it had an unconscious influence on me. At Wellesley, I majored in art history. In my mind, landscape architecture is an extension of architecture, painting, and sculpture, the topics traditionally covered in art history courses.

AJL: Were there major planning or design figures at Wellesley who influenced your education and career?

EBR: In the 1950s, the professors at Wellesley were outstanding. I would be hard pressed to single out anyone in particular. Some were highly trained German-educated émigrés.

AJL: What is the Wellesley campus like?

EBR: When Caroline Hazard was president of Wellesley College (1899-1910), she invited Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., to advise on the campus plan. He was impressed by the site's glacier-created topography, which includes beautiful Lake Waban. In the 1920s, buildings designed by Ralph Adams Cram and others were constructed on hilltops, leaving open meadows in the valleys between them as Olmsted had advised.

Ten years ago, I was asked to lead a visiting committee that Wellesley's current president, Diana Walsh, assembled to study the campus's deteriorated landscape. The committee's report recommended a comprehensive management and restoration plan that would treat the campus in its entirety and systemically. The landscape architect Michael Van Valkenburgh directed the planning process. His firm then prepared a design for Alumnae Valley that replaced an ugly parking lot with wetland meadows containing small ponds. This landscape design was incorporated into the college's recent capital campaign and has recently been completed.

AJL: What did you do after graduating from Wellesley?

EBR: After Wellesley, I moved to Washington, DC, where my first husband was an officer in the Navy. At that time—the end of the Eisenhower era—the nation's capital was a sleepy Southern city. There I discovered Rock Creek Park, Georgetown, and the beauty of L'Enfant's monumental plan, which had been extended, clarified, and embellished with the Lincoln and Jefferson memorials at the turn of the 20th century.

AJL: What did you do next?

EBR: I enrolled in the city planning program at Yale University, where I learned how to look at cities as design problems. Jane Jacobs's famous book, *The Life and Death of Great American Cities* published in 1961, was for me very influential. But my professors did not uniformly endorse my advocacy of a denser kind of planning, cluster development, and open space preservation because this was the era of urban renewal. I was very interested in regional planning as typified by Reston, Virginia, and Columbia, Maryland, both of which were then just getting started. I followed what was going on in one of the older neighborhoods in New Haven, Wooster Square, where houses were being restored with appropriate materials. At Yale I was fortunate to study city planning with Christopher Tunnard, who is remembered today as an early champion of the modernist style in garden design.

AJL: What were some of your early planning projects?

EBR: After I received my master's degree in city planning in 1964, I moved to New York City. Because of my interest in open space planning, which included protecting parks and nature, I became a volunteer with the Parks Council. I studied the city's waterfronts. Those that ringed the edge of Manhattan were still mostly industrial port facilities. In the other boroughs, I discovered some of the outlying parks of the city, such as the wildlife refuge in Jamaica Bay and forested Inwood Hill Park in northern Manhattan. I made excursions to these places, which I followed up with historical research at the New-York Historical Society and other libraries. The result of this was my first book, *The Forests and Wetlands of New York City*.[1]

New York parks, of course, are not primarily nature preserves. Most are designed landscapes. I wondered about how Central Park, Prospect Park, and other great 19th-century New York City parks had come into being. This was during a time when Frederick Law Olmsted was virtually forgotten. I did research on Olmsted, which led to my second book, *Frederick Law Olmsted's New York*,[2] published in conjunction with the Olmsted Sesquicentennial exhibition at the Whitney Museum. My research on Olmsted led me to the late Charles McLaughlin of Washington, DC, who sent me the original typescript of his Harvard thesis, "The Selected Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted," the precursor of the publication of the multi-volume Frederick Law Olmsted papers, an editorial project that has done a remarkable job of re-establishing Olmsted's reputation.

AJL: Describe the evolution of Central Park from its status in the 1970s through its revival and preservation during the past quarter century.

EBR: The New York City Landmarks Commission was established in 1965, and in 1974, Central Park was designated as the city's first landscape landmark.

The mid-1970s, however, represented a low point in the city's fiscal fortunes and, in spite of its historic landmark status, Central Park was poorly maintained and considered unsafe. Garbage lay on the ground; benches were broken; light fixtures did not work. Graffiti was found on just about every stone, brick, and wood surface. The lawns were bare and without grass. The New York City Parks Department was in a state of paralysis, and the workforce was demoralized.

During the 1970s, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), within the U.S. Department of Labor, provided grants for job training. The Parks Department used the CETA program to keep some of its existing workforce employed. This was, of course, contrary to the intent of the law, which was designed to teach new skills to unemployed youths. A friend who was then serving as a deputy parks commissioner asked me to run a

summer program for teenagers when additional federal funding produced money for this purpose. I accepted the job and became an employee of the Central Park Task Force, a small privately-funded not-for-profit organization operating within the Parks Department. After the summer, I became the director of the Task Force. It encouraged volunteers to perform badly needed horticultural maintenance and school teachers to use the park as a learning laboratory. A grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities enabled us to produce a film for public television. Exxon funded *The Central Park Book*, a series of essays on the park's history and natural history. The Astor Foundation enabled us to undertake an educational program, and a wonderful donor, Iphigene Sulzberger, allowed us to continue the summer youth program the following year.

The Central Park Community Fund, which had been founded in 1974 to provide funds for needed maintenance equipment, sponsored a management study that analyzed the management structure of the park and suggested ways to improve it. I initiated an internship program that hired young graduates in horticultural degree-granting programs. This allowed us to begin assembling an auxiliary workforce made up of privately-supported employees.

With the election of Mayor Edward I. Koch in 1978, his first parks commissioner, Gordon J. Davis, began to restructure the agency. In 1979, he asked the mayor to appoint me as the privately-funded Central Park administrator. In addition, funds to continue the work begun by the Central Park Task Force had to come from private sources because the city was still digging its way out of its fiscal crisis. This led to the creation of the Central Park Conservancy in 1980. With the establishment of the Central Park Conservancy, the Task Force and the Community Fund went out of business. Some board members from each organization became the nucleus from which the Conservancy's board grew.

As Central Park administrator and head of the Conservancy, I was able to convince additional prospective board members and donors that Central Park was like any other major cultural institution. It was as rich as a library or museum in its collections—specimen trees, statuary, wildlife—and a great cultural and educational resource. It was deserving of a board and private support. Happily, we were successful in building a multi-ethnic citizen-led board with broad contacts in the corporate and philanthropic sectors of the city.

AJL: Tell us more about the restoration plan for Central Park.

EBR: At the outset, the mission of the Conservancy was to make Central Park clean, safe, and beautiful. People were especially concerned about park safety in those days. Along with rebuilding the workforce, we needed to revisit the

FIGURE 1
This 1984 photograph shows the cast iron bridge that spans the bridal path north of the reservoir in Central Park. (Photograph by Jet Lowe, courtesy of the Historic American Engineering Record Collection, Library of Congress)

park's original design and to study the existing park, not piecemeal but in its entirety. I assembled a team of professionals led by four landscape architects who directed the work of architects, urban sociologists, soil scientists, hydrologists, and wildlife experts as we studied the park's 843 acres between 1982 and 1985. The plan, published as *Rebuilding Central Park: A Management and Restoration Plan*,[3] has served as the basis for the park's restoration up to the present. It has also been the basis for fundraising. We guided gifts for individual projects in such a way that they became part of a greater whole. Today, this kind of plan would be done with GIS technology, which would give it a more dynamic representation; however, the basic methodologies we used to inventory the park and plan its restoration are still valid.(Figure 1)

Central Park's restoration is based on understanding that Central Park is a single, unified composition, an organic whole. It contains interconnected systems of drainage, traffic circulation, architecture, and vegetation. In order for a restoration to be effective, it has to be regarded as a series of integrated components rather than as a number of stand-alone projects.(Figure 2)

Our management and restoration plan offered a clearly defined shopping list of gift opportunities, including requests for funds for an endowment. It would have been pointless to restore the physical park without creating the tree crew, turf crew, planting crew, historic restoration construction crew, and zone gardeners to maintain it.(Figures 3 and 4)

Today, the Conservancy provides more than 85 percent of Central Park's $23 million annual operating budget and is responsible for all the basic care of the park. It does so under contract with the City of New York Department of Parks and Recreation. Ownership and park policy remains with the city,

FIGURE 2
This 1984 photograph illustrates workmen performing rehabilitation work on the Pinebank Arch, near Columbus Circle, in Central Park. (Photograph by Jet Lowe, courtesy of the Historic American Engineering Record Collection, Library of Congress)

FIGURE 3
This image of Bethesda Fountain in Central Park was made in 1975. (Courtesy of Patricia Heintzelman)

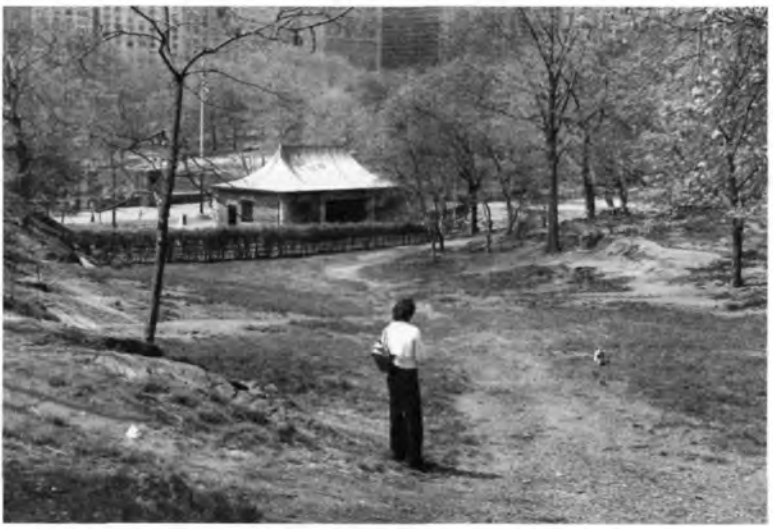

FIGURE 4
This 1975 image illustrates the area behind Wollman Rink in Central Park. (Courtesy of Patricia Heintzelman)

while the Conservancy has responsibility for day-to-day management. Today, the Conservancy's staff cares for Central Park and handles much of the work, from conserving monuments, bridges, and buildings to pruning trees, raking leaves, planting shrubs and flowers, and removing graffiti. Volunteers add a critical component to the workforce, giving the park the most precious gift anyone can give: his or her time.(Figure 5)

FIGURE 5
The 2005 outdoors installation, "The Gates," included the Gapstow Bridge in Central Park. The exhibit drew thousands of visitors to the park. (Courtesy of Victoria Loubriel)

AJL: What was the effect of Central Park's turn-around on parks in other urban areas?

EBR: Other cities are interested in the Central Park public/private partnership model and want to learn more about how it operates. However, many public officials are reluctant to turn over major responsibility for managing parks to private organizations. Launching a park conservancy requires an act of political will, and this depends on both citizen initiative and a positive attitude on the part of the city government.

AJL: What have you done since leaving the Conservancy and your position of Central Park administrator in 1995?

EBR: I left when the partnership to maintain Central Park became institutionalized and had a life of its own. I was there a total of 20 years.

After leaving, I had the time to complete my most recent book, *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History*.[4] This book required a good deal of travel and research time. It looks at the landscapes of cities, parks, and gardens as products of human culture from prehistoric time to the present.

In 2002, I started a program in Garden History and Landscape Studies at the Bard Graduate Center, and this gave me an opportunity to teach a survey course based on the contents of my book. I am now working on a broader basis to build my field through the Foundation for Landscape Studies. One of our initiatives is publication of the journal *Site/Lines*.

AJL: When people ask you how they can have a career like yours, what do you advise them?

EBR: There is no recipe for this career. Mine grew out of a moment in New York City's history and a certain passion on my part.

The Central Park Conservancy was born in a time of adversity. Private citizens were willing to roll up their sleeves and get the park back on its feet. Many of the people who began their careers in Central Park have gone on to remarkable jobs in historic landscape preservation elsewhere. And many of the people I hired have remained employees of the Conservancy and had equally remarkable careers. Douglas Blonsky, my current successor as Central Park administrator and president of the Central Park Conservancy, whom I hired 21 years ago, is in my opinion the best leader of park stewardship in America.

Today, partnerships between the public and private sectors and government agencies have become common. These kinds of partnerships present new challenges and rewards as well as the makings of new kinds of careers. It is a matter of taking the initiative when these opportunities occur.

Notes

1. Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *The Forests and Wetlands of New York* (Boston, MA: Little Brown, 1971).
2. Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *Frederick Law Olmsted's New York* (New York, NY: Whitney Museum Praeger, 1972).
3. Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *Rebuilding Central Park A Management and Restoration Plan* (New York, NY: Central Park Conservancy, 1985).
4. Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History* (New York, NY: Abrams, 2001).

Cultural Resource Management and Heritage Stewardship in Peru

by Helaine Silverman

As peoples around the world gained independence from colonial regimes, many felt the need to mark and further their emergence as free countries. Various ideological and material projects contributed to the process of nation-building, also described as the forming of "imagined communities."[1] The creation of national museums and national laws governing the remains of ancestral cultures often rapidly followed the overtly political actions undertaken in the nascent postcolonial era by these new states. As cultural anthropologist Richard Handler has argued, "possession of a heritage, of culture, is considered a crucial proof of national existence."[2] One might add that possession of a heritage is also proclaimed by national leaders as crucial proof of worth on today's global stage.[3]

Peru is a prime example of these processes because the coastal and highland regions of its vast national territory are not only dotted with abundant monumental sites of the great Inca Empire and pre-Inca civilizations but also peopled by millions of their descendants. This article considers the functional meanings of cultural resource management and heritage stewardship in Peru in terms of Peru's history and evolution. In particular, it examines the dynamics and tensions (even contradictions) of cultural resource management and stewardship as functions of national ideology, legislation, and global tourism. It concludes with comments on some of the contemporary uses of Peru's past and speculation about its future.[4]

Heritage or Patrimony

The index in David Lowenthal's outstanding book, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, has a series of entries for "patrimony" followed by directions to "see also heritage."[5] The entries for "heritage" are even more extensive and are followed by the complementary indication to "see also history, patrimony." Indeed, as used by Lowenthal, one of the most precise and articulate authors on the subject, the terms are synonymous, as seen in the following passage—

The world rejoices in a newly popular faith: the cult of heritage. . .only in our time has heritage become a self-conscious creed, whose shrines and icons daily multiply and whose praise suffuses public discourse. Regard for roots and recollection permeates the Western world and pervades the rest. Nostalgia for things old

and outworn supplants dreams of progress and development... Once the term patrimony implied provincial backwardness or musty antiquarianism; now it denotes nurturance and stewardship.[6]

Handler, one of the first scholars to write on this topic, almost always uses the term, *patrimoine*, in his critical analysis of nationalism and the politics of culture in Québec. He deconstructs Québécois usage of *patrimoine* as referring to "old things...tangible...historic buildings and monuments, antiques, ethnographic objects, and works of art...[including] animate objects and famous people as well as inanimate objects."[7] In his English parsing, *patrimony* and *heritage* appear equally synonymous. Citing a Québécois author's statement that "language is an important part of our *patrimoine*, of the common property of the Québécois," Handler concludes that "the French language is often described as an important part of Québec's *heritage*."[8]

It is important to consider the words *patrimony* (*patrimonio*) and *heritage* (*acervo*) in Spanish and as used in Peru today because their semantic differences result in different practices. The *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* of the Real Academia Española and its 21 affiliated academies define *patrimonio* as the "wealth that one inherits from one's ancestors, the sum of values assigned to resources that are available to a country for use in economic life and goods belonging to the Crown." In this definition, there is an intrinsic utilitarian sense. In Peru, *manejo del patrimonio cultural* (management of the cultural patrimony) is the conceptual equivalent of cultural resource management in the United States. The cultural patrimony in Peru encompasses archeological (pre-Hispanic) sites and Colonial Period monuments (churches and mansions, for example).

The *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* defines *acervo* as the "totality of goods (moral, cultural) accumulated by tradition or inheritance, pertaining to communities of various people." These communities could include the "nation" or, on a smaller scale, business partners and co-inheritors. *Acervo* has the semantic sense of the cumulative repository of those works that in their totality (knowledge, beliefs, practices, objects, and so on) define that which is particular to or characteristic of a human group and differentiate that group from others. *Acervo* implies works that are valued and considered culturally authentic by virtue of their history and symbolic prestige.

Although Peru has laws concerning site protection, it lacks an explicit philosophy of heritage stewardship in the sense of the Society for American Archaeology's first principle of archeological ethics—

It is the responsibility of all archaeologists to work for the long-term conservation and protection of the archaeological record by practicing and promoting stewardship of the archaeological record. Stewards are both caretakers of and

advocates for the archaeological record for the benefit of all people. . .they should. . . promote public understanding and support for its long-term preservation.[9]

Heritage stewardship is seen differently in Peru, in socially engaged and indigenist terms, as—

giving voice to those who today have no voice because they are the ancestors of the deprecated popular sector of society or are ancestors of those who do not have valid representatives to argue for their rights, this being an outcome of the Spanish Conquest and their allies from other lands. . . We want to contribute to bettering the conditions of life of those who, in one way or another, made possible our existence in this land and who are the real inheritors of those goods that our ancestors created.[10]

The sites that in their totality comprise the cultural patrimony (resources) of a nation-state may be rearranged in any number of compositions according to the needs of the time, especially economic and political necessities.[11] *Contemporary circumstances, in turn, determine which history of the past is told. . .*

The concepts of heritage and patrimony are *social constructions* with *policy implications*. Far from being inherent sentiments, concepts of cultural patrimony and cultural heritage imply value judgments about those sites, objects, and traditions that are considered worthy of being conserved and managed, and those that are not. The sites that in their totality comprise the cultural patrimony (resources) of a nation-state may be rearranged in any number of compositions according to the needs of the time, especially economic and political necessities.[11] Contemporary circumstances, in turn, determine which history of the past is told and which heritage the nation constructs and references.[12] Both cultural patrimony and cultural heritage are dynamic and mutable, rather than unchanging and bounded phenomena.

It follows, then, that heritage stewardship and cultural patrimony (resource) management encompass the *social circulation* of sites in and out of circuits of perceived and actualized value or worth. Social action taken upon sites can—and frequently does—transcend national borders, as seen in the power structure underwriting concerned international intervention in the management of ancient archeological and historic sites in the developing or underdeveloped world. These actions are premised on the notion, which is promoted by UNESCO under the banner of World Heritage, that a country's *patrimony* is a *heritage* belonging to all humankind.[13] National ideology and approaches to heritage management may or may not conflict with that universalizing assertion.[14]

National Ideology in Peru

The preceding semantic analysis is important when discussing Peru because of how deeply felt the *patrimonio cultural* of Peru is. It is conceived as an inheritance (*herencia*) from the ancestors. Ricardo Marcenaro Frers, President of the Protocol Commission of the Peruvian Congress, expresses this sentiment succinctly: "It is our obligation as...citizens to preserve our cultural patrimony because it is our inheritance. An inheritance of which we Peruvians are very proud."[15]

This inheritance from the ancient Peruvian civilizations has been recognized as important to the nation since the creation of the independent territorial state in 1821, and it serves as the foundation of Peru's national ideology. By 1822, authorities had issued the first *decreto supremo*, or executive decree, regulating the protection and conservation of the *patrimonio cultural*. That decree, which also created the National Museum, states—

The monuments that remain from ancient times of Peru are the property of the Nation because these pertain to the glory that derives from them...the time has come to put to a national use all the exquisite things that our soil produces... With pain it has been seen that here unappreciated objects are sold and taken to where their value is known, thereby depriving us of the advantage of possessing that which is ours... [Therefore] the extraction of rocks, ancient pieces of pottery, and other objects that are found in the huacas [artificial mounds] is absolutely prohibited, unless the government grants an express and special license.[16]

In 1840, the government sent a letter to the prefects of all departments (states) of Peru explicitly requesting them to encourage citizens to donate their antiquities to the National Museum because "it is a duty of the Government to seek to enrich the National Museum with all those objects that the country produces... with Peruvian antiquities and other precious items."[17]

The symbolic significance of the National Museum is confirmed by the fact that invading Chilean troops sacked the museum in Lima during the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). Peru had no national museum from the fall of Lima in January 1881 until 1905, when President José Pardo re-founded it, stating that the "culture of the country demands the formation of a museum that contains, conserves and exhibits to the public...those objects that are related to our history in the epoch prior to Spanish domination."[18] This emphasis on the pre-Conquest era was still expressed in 1980 when then-director of the National Institute of Culture, Ricardo Roca Rey, referred to Peru's millennial culture as the foundation and origin of its nationality ("*El Perú milenario, base y origen de la nacionalidad*").[19]

As recently as 2000, the President of the Congress of Peru stated that "[p]atrimonial properties must be rehabilitated and their cultural content

must be disseminated as must be their capacity as a symbolic force for the consolidation of local identities and the national identity."[20] This statement is more sophisticated and self-aware than those of the previous two centuries, yet the same national ideology underwrites them all. Although the Colonial Period constitutes the other half of Peru's readily admitted condition of *mestizaje* (racial and cultural mixture of indigenous and Spanish-European), official statements and actions repeated over centuries clearly indicate that the ancient pre-Columbian civilizations, especially the Inca Empire, are the foundation upon which the Peruvian nation builds its pride and forms the identity that is projected back to citizens and packaged for the world under the rubric of global tourism.[21]

Legal Framework

The office charged with implementing the spirit and essence of Peru's cultural patrimony legislation is the Instituto Nacional de Cultura or INC (National Institute of Culture). It was created in 1970 as a decentralized public entity within the Ministry of Education and was a direct outcome of the 1968 coup d'état that brought a progressive military government to power. The revolutionary government's overriding concern was agrarian reform and the integration and valorization of Peru's disenfranchised and impoverished indigenous population. Under General Juan Velasco Alvarado, the state took particular interest in Peru's past as a means of empowering the living descendants of the great pre-Columbian civilizations.

Arguably, the greatest difference between *manejo del patrimonio cultural* in Peru and cultural resource management in the United States is constitutional in nature. Unlike the United States Constitution, which limits state authority over private property, Peru's Constitution asserts national sovereignty over all buried and standing archeological sites of any size, kind, or time period within the national territory.[22] Peruvian law addressing the management of the cultural patrimony is couched in this sense of state ownership.

The major laws protecting Peru's cultural patrimony—both unmovable remains and portable objects—have evolved since 1822. In Peru's era of professional archeology, which began in the early 20th century, there have been two principal cultural patrimony laws, Laws 6634 and 24047.[23] Promulgated in 1929, Law 6634 reiterated the nation's claim to all pre-Hispanic remains on private property with the exception of artifacts and antiquities already in the possession of individuals when the law was enacted. Among other provisions, the law obligated the government to develop a national archeology program and to provide its local branches (municipalities, police, and so on) with sufficient resources to implement and enforce it (a provision that has never been met in any iteration of Peru's cultural patrimony law).[24]

Preceded by several other largely reiterative laws, the first major revision of Law 6634 took place in 1985 and was promulgated as Law 24047. The law went into much greater detail about the particular national, regional, and local offices responsible for the identification, protection, investigation, restoration, and maintenance of archeological remains, along with the dissemination of knowledge about them. Overall, it strengthened Law 6634, especially by recognizing that archeological remains were distinct from historic ones and thus required special treatment. The context of Law 24047 was the government of the populist president, Alan García, whose APRA party (Partido Aprista Peruano) had long used an image from Peru's millennial Chavín "mother culture" as its symbol. García was also responsible for the creation of a new archeological museum in Lima, the Museo de la Nación, which to this day co-exists with the older National Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, now the National Museum of Anthropology, Archaeology, and History.

In 2003, the Peruvian Government issued several more decrees and laws affecting the cultural patrimony. These new decrees signal a departure from the centralizing impulse that had shaped cultural resource policy in Peru since the early 19th century. Executive Decree No. 017-98-PCM (May 7, 2003) facilitates the granting of property titles to squatter populations on archeological sites. Law 26961 (May 29, 2003) grants the Ministry of Trade and Tourism control over those sites deemed to have potential value for tourism and obligates the INC "and other public and private entities that protect or administer the Cultural Patrimony" to invest at least 70 percent of the income from museums and monuments "in the maintenance, conservation, recovery and security of the Cultural Patrimony." Executive Decree No. 008 (June 5, 2003) permits abandoned state lands, even those with archeological sites, to be transferred into private development hands unless the INC has previously presented a legal brief documenting the existence of ruins and their precise locations, complete with maps and a description of materials present at the site. This decree appears to contradict the fundamental constitutional premise that the cultural patrimony belongs to the nation.[25]

Challenges to Preservation

Although Peru has deemed its cultural patrimony as crucial to a sense of national identity, that patrimony is impacted by shifts in ideology and management practices. It is also directly affected by global tourism and economic development. Although Lowenthal has argued that "[we] sustain organic touch with heritage not by striving to preserve its every vestige forever, but by accepting attrition and mortality as inevitable, and by pridefully adding our own creations to ancestral bequests," his premise, while healthy, is not universally accepted.[26] In Peru, the rudiments of site mitigation (identify, investigate, record, destroy) or *liberación de terreno* are not often applied, even at the most redundant of non-monumental sites. An

ideology of *intangibilidad*—the idea that no site may be destroyed, even after study—characterizes the general approach to management of the archeological record. Thus, whereas in the United States it is typical to want to conserve and "superbly manage" only the most spectacular of sites and leave "the run-of-the-mill everyday landscape devoid of control or care" (bearing in mind, however, that a staggering 80,000 properties are listed in the National Register of Historic Places), in Peru, all sites are regarded as important, which can result in a sizeable stewardship burden on the nation.[27]

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As in other countries, budgetary constraints in Peru make it difficult to protect more than the most important sites because of the country's size, the remote locations of many of its archeological sites, the lack of resources with which to patrol the countryside, and the determination of those involved in the illegal antiquities trade.[28] Global tourism poses its own set of challenges, and in the case of Peru, it has already had impacts on the nation's most cherished sites, including the ancient Inca site of Machu Picchu, one of six of Peru's archeological sites on the UNESCO World Heritage List and the cultural *sine qua non* of the modern Peruvian national identity.[29] Machu Picchu is responsible for the vast majority of tourism to Peru and a major economic engine for metropolitan Cusco, the former capital of the Inca Empire, the modern capital of the Department of Cusco, the "tourist capital of Peru," "archaeological capital of South America," and the predominant contemporary point of access to Machu Picchu.[30] As a result, any major management decisions affecting Machu Picchu are destined to have a major economic impact on the Cusco region and the nation.

Global tourism and economic development have also had unanticipated social consequences. In Cusco, tourist services have pressed against the city's historic district and have claimed physical and social space.[31] In the small city of Nazca on the south coast, which is noted for the great geoglyphs on the nearby plain, increased tourism has contributed to rapid urban growth and sweeping demographic changes.[32]

A different scenario has emerged in the Lambayeque Valley on the north coast, where the past is much more monumental and visible than in Nazca. On the one hand, there is now a massive re-identification with the ancient Mochica people who created spectacular monuments in the valley, including the widely publicized gold-filled tombs at Sipán.[33] Local interest in the ancient past is broad and intense. Some people identify specifically with the post-Mochica Sicán culture of the Ferreñafe area, which is famous for its pyramids and rich tombs.[34]

On the other hand, global tourism has exacerbated the inequalities between town and countryside. The discovery of spectacular tombs at Sipán led to the construction of a state-of-the-art multi-million dollar museum for the recovered materials, but not at their place of discovery in the countryside. Rather, the museum was created in Lambayeque, a small city some 35 kilometers away that has burgeoned into a major tourist destination. The impoverished farmers living alongside the site at Sipán continue to demand basic public services and lament the physical loss of *their* heritage and *their* rights, as local stakeholders, to ownership of the past.[35]

Creative Approaches

Despite the challenges, people are making concerted efforts to achieve an effective level of cultural resource management and heritage stewardship in Peru. Some archeologists at the INC in Lima and the regional offices go to considerable lengths to protect the archeological sites in their jurisdictions, getting media attention, taking legal action, and running educational programs to educate the public about the value of the past.

FIGURE 1
The manual Salvemos lo nuestro! *helps raise awareness of the importance of caring properly for Peru's cultural patrimony. (Courtesy of the author)*

With support from UNESCO's Peru office, the INC published *Salvemos lo nuestro!* (Let's Save That Which Is Ours!), an excellent and inexpensive manual for teachers and local and regional authorities. Printed in at least three editions since 1980, *Salvemos lo nuestro!* presents both the cultural and natural patrimony of the country in the readily understood and entertaining format of a comic book.(Figure 1) Intended for mass distribution, the manual has three goals: to facilitate teaching about cultural and natural patrimony; to assist local authorities in complying with Peru's laws and disseminating knowledge about them; and to instill in all Peruvians—

a conscience about the value of Peru's natural and cultural riches for each individual and to suggest some concrete activities that can be undertaken by schools and communities to eventually help protect Peru's patrimony by means of fomenting in the population a legitimate pride in that which is theirs.[36]

Currently, the INC is promoting concern for the wide range of objects and traditions that constitute the nation's *patrimonio* within the ideological context of *diversidad cultural* (cultural diversity).

An array of public and site museums, archeological parks, and state-managed archeological sites fall under INC oversight. Site museums can be the first line of defense for archeological sites since the physical presence of a resident archeologist or a community organization can deter looters. These museums also present fascinating information about the site and region that can serve to instill local pride, generate employment, and thus contain or reduce the site destruction caused by agricultural, industrial, and other economic development projects.

A number of privately funded innovative site museum and museum-related projects have borne significant fruit in recent years. The National Sicán Museum (NSM) was created by Izumi Shimada and Carlos Elera with Japanese funding but functions within the national system of museums. Located in Ferreñafe, the NSM is a state-of-the-art facility with exhibition and research areas. Importantly, it displays only materials that were scientifically excavated, and along with exquisite objects excavated from rich Sicán tombs, the museum presents a holistic vision of the Sicán culture, including environment and the daily life of commoners and craft production.

In an effort to engage the local population in their activities and to engage tourists in the local community, archeologists Luis Jaime Castillo and Ulla Holmquist have designed a system of modest modular museum exhibits. The exhibits have been placed throughout a poor rural community in the Jequetepeque Valley on whose occupied lands the archeological site of San José de Moro was found. By dispersing the exhibits, the archeologists seek to motivate tourists to walk through town, availing themselves of its various services such as food kiosks and handicrafts.

The site museum in Pucará was created by Rolando Paredes, Graciela Fattorini, and Elizabeth Klarich in collaboration with the local office of the INC and archeologists from University of California, Los Angeles. The museum is located alongside Pukara, one of Peru's great monumental sites. Here their intention is manifold: to store excavated materials from the projects conducted at Pukara; to teach local people about their past (for here they are clearly the descendant community) and instill pride of self and place; to promote craft production as a viable commercial enterprise (notably pottery, for which Pucará has long been famous); to place Pucará and Pukara on the south highland tourist circuit to generate income through visitor admission fees, purchase of handicrafts, and employment of local people as guards and guides; and to further community involvement, public education about cultural resources, and site protection.

Mention also must be made of the exceptional vision of Ruth Shady Solis, one of Peru's foremost archeologists, who has been working at the enormous and precociously complex Late Archaic-Late Preceramic site of Caral for 10 years.[57] Shady is trying to create an agricultural-ecological tourism program to better the lives of local farmers and to open Caral to archeological tourism that also will generate income in the area. She is promoting the organic cultivation of traditional crops whose paleobotanical remains are recovered at Caral, the production of cotton garments using the traditional colored cotton species also found at Caral (and widely along the coast of Peru), honey production, and artisanal crafts. Among her innovative ideas is a chain of kiosks for marketing these goods outside Caral. Her stated intent is that the local population identify with the cultural patrimony on the basis of the benefits to be received from it.

Non-archeologically motivated adventure tourism also can have a major impact on archeological sites. Justin Jennings describes the camping and tramping of whitewater rafters who collect potsherds, remove textiles from mummies, and climb fragile stone walls at remote sites.[38] These visitors also leave behind organic and inorganic debris. Their actions are the result of ignorance and curiosity. Jennings is working with adventure tour companies to promote effective archeological stewardship for long-term site preservation and protection. Measures for sustainable tourism include designating camping grounds, removing all waste generated by visitors, creating routes around archeological sites, training river guides about the archeology of the region (the Cotahuasi Valley in southern Peru), and cooperating with local villagers.

The Future of Peru's Past

Pride is at the crux of the relationship between heritage stewardship and nationalism in Peru. Lowenthal has proposed that "[to] care well for what we inherit we must form the habit of admiring our own works too."[39] The reification of the Incas and other great pre-Columbian civilizations contributes to a pervasive official and vernacular discourse of lament about the cultural underdevelopment of contemporary Peru. This phenomenon resembles Michael Herzfeld's "structural nostalgia" through which people long for an age before the present nation-state and—

use images of a lost perfection to try to explain away the sorry state of today's world. . .they invoke images of a now-vanished condition of perfect social harmony and blame the outside world [in the case of Peru: the Spanish Conquest and subsequent Spanish Colonial regime] for the present state of moral [and practical] disintegration.[40]

Whereas Handler observes a general "proliferation in the number of social domains considered capable of generating heritage," in Peru it is the archeological past, above all, that generates heritage—for the nation-state at least.[41]

Luis G. Lumbreras, current director of the INC, articulates this idea, saying—

[in] contemporary Peru we must know the manner in which our ancestors understood life and faced its challenges. Peru today must look to the future with respect and knowledge about the past. Peru today must constantly recall that which it has and propose new forms to enter the road of modernization with its own styles and content.[42]

This heritage is not solely claimed by the nation-state. Individuals and communities are making similar assertions for a range of intensely personal as well as civic reasons.[43] On the north coast, for instance, volunteer "citizen

brigades" of local farmers are patrolling the Lambayeque landscape in an effort to curb looting of the region's extraordinarily rich archeological sites. They explain their motivation as "respect for their ancestors" and express consternation that "outsiders from the city" are looting for profit (as opposed to local people who loot for subsistence).[44] But in Nazca, on Peru's south coast, where the geoglyph-marked plain nearby has transformed the town into an international tourism destination, residents identify less with or express an interest in the ancient inhabitants of the region.[45]

The future of Peru's past is challenging yet promising. There is a clear perception among the majority of the coastal and highland populations that the national identity is strongly predicated upon the pre-Columbian civilizations, especially the Incas. Tourism is constantly spoken about in the media and official discourse (including that of rural municipalities), with archeological sites being widely recognized as Peru's major selling point.[46] In addition, national and foreign archeologists are becoming increasingly involved in development projects at the sites where they work, and site museums are beginning to figure prominently in these efforts. The INC and Ministry of Education are committed to teaching about the ancient civilizations of Peru as part of the nationwide mandatory school curriculum. However, cultural resource management is seldom taught at the university level.[47]

The archeology and affiliated communities also benefit from a vigorous and rigorous publication regime that can be seen in the superb themed journal edited by Peter Kaulicke at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, *Arqueología PUCP* (recent volumes are the product of major international conferences held at the university); the fine contributions that have appeared in the sporadically published *Gaceta Arqueológica Andina*, *Arqueológicas*, and *Arqueología y Sociedad*; several outstanding volumes on Mochica archeology published by the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo in partnership with other institutions including the PUCP; and major edited volumes sponsored by the cultural offices of various Peruvian banks and businesses (those produced by PUCP archeologist Krzysztof Makowski are exemplary).

With better funding from the state and continued private and public efforts locally, Peru's cultural patrimony may still be protected. By and large, the Peruvian public is well aware that tourism is predicated upon the remains of ancient civilizations. Even remote communities are trying to attract tourists to their archeological sites, and these communities realize that looting is counterproductive. The national government views the past as a marketable resource and a tool for promoting an ideology and a national identity. A better balance will have to be achieved between preservation and development, laws enforced, and realistic heritage management plans put in place if effective stewardship is to be achieved.

The community development efforts currently underway at site museums may well mark the beginning of a viable Peruvian model of site management. Site museums are feasible in Peru precisely because of the patrimonial wealth of the nation. Fascinating, visible sites abound in every valley of the coast and highlands. Museums at the more impressive of these sites can anchor regional strategies for cultural resource management, including non-touristic but nevertheless archeologically important sites, and thereby lead to a meaningful concept and practice of heritage stewardship. Strategies emanating from site museums would be decentralized and bottom-up rather than centralized and top-down, which could greatly increase their chances for success. Indeed, as one Bolivian case study has revealed, local communities themselves may generate the request for a site museum rather than it being suggested by archeologists.[48]

Conclusion

The closer the communication, alliance, and equality between local communities and archeologists, the greater the chance for success in many areas, including coordinated programs of site protection against looting; field investigation of archeological sites so that they are places of scholarly investigation and local employment (from laborers on excavations to site guides, guards, crafts sellers, and hostellers); survey and the prioritization of sites; and the targeting of excavations and effective mobilization of archeologists and other experts in advance of planned new development.

A true measure of the full impact of global tourism, economic development, government policy, and the creative efforts of concerned individuals and organizations locally and worldwide on the management of Peru's archeological sites might be years away. Peru nevertheless offers valuable insight into the issues and challenges faced by developing countries in which cognate economic constraints, political ideologies, and related long-term social problems exist.

The Peruvian case is particularly resonant with the management of heritage in developing countries where nation-building and the construction of a national identity may rely heavily on the interpretation and showcasing of the archeological patrimony. If these sites are well managed, they can continue to play a positive role in the aesthetic, intellectual, and ideological efflorescence of a nation on the world stage.

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Notes

1. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983); Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 6-8.

2. Handler, 142.

3. One need only think of the repeated public references to Mesopotamia as the cradle of Western civilization made by Tariq Aziz, former Foreign Minister of Iraq.

4. This article is written from the perspective of an archeologist who, like all archeologists working in Peru, whether Peruvian or foreign, has interacted frequently with the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC). The author has observed it as an institution, both firsthand and through frequent newspaper accounts over many years.

5. David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

6. Ibid., 1.

7. Handler, 140.

8. Ibid., 141, emphasis added.

9. Mark J. Lynott and Alison Wylie, eds., *Ethics in American Archaeology*, Second Revised Edition (Washington, DC: Society for American Archaeology, 2000).

10. See the Colegio de Arqueólogos del Perú (COARPE) website, http://www.coarpe.org, accessed on October 17, 2005. Translated by the author.

11. A striking example is former President Alberto Fujimori's appropriation of Chavin de Huantar, Peru's millennial "mother culture." See Helaine Silverman, "Archaeology and the 1997 Peruvian Hostage Crisis," *Anthropology Today* 15 no. 1 (1999): 9-13.

12. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1995).

13. UNESCO maintains that "[w]hat makes the concept of World Heritage exceptional is its universal application. World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located." See UNESCO World Heritage Centre, http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/, accessed on October 19, 2005, and March 8, 2006.

    Although 180 countries have signed the World Heritage Convention, tension nevertheless may develop when UNESCO intervenes in the heritage management of a participating state. Archeologist Steve Vinson has characterized UNESCO as a dominant form of political organization, created in the first era of globalization, which enforces "particular types of attitudes toward the past and its material remains. [It] create[s] the concept of heritage as a kind of property that has to be managed and used for the benefit of its putative owners." Similarly, archeologist Denis Byrne argues that, through paradigms such as World Heritage, Europe has exported its model of archeological practice to less developed countries in a continuing expression of colonialism, albeit through the transfer of ideology rather than imposition, which has resulted in a worldwide uniform style of archeological heritage management that is premised on the archeological construction of *universal* significance—the goal, according to him, of processual archeology. See Steve Vinson, "From Lord Elgin to James Henry Breasted: The Politics of the Past in the First Era of Globalization," in *Marketing Heritage: Archaeology and the Consumption of the Past*, ed. Yorke Rowan and Uzi Baram (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004), 57-65; also Denis Byrne, "Western Hegemony in Archaeological Heritage Management," *History and Anthropology* 5 (1991): 269-276.

14. In a thoughtful essay on managing archeological heritage sites, Kristian Kristiansen reminds us not only that there are different national visions of appropriate heritage management, but also that each age "has its own conception of what is important," contingent upon science and

politics. See Kristian Kristiansen, "Perspectives on the Archaeological Heritage: History and Future," in *Archaeological Heritage Management in the Modern World*, ed. H. F. Cleere (London, UK: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 23-29, 27 and 29; Robert Layton, "Introduction: Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions," in *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*, ed. Robert Layton (London, UK: Routledge, 1989), 1-21; and Byrne, 273.

15. Translated by the author from Ricardo Marcenaro Frers, "Prólogo," *Patrimonio Cultural del Perú I* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2000), 15-18.

16. Portion of Executive Decree, April 2, 1822, translated by the author, published in *Arqueológicas* 10 (1967): 1-2. This issue of *Arqueológicas* is entitled *Historia de los Museos Nacionales del Perú, 1822-1946*, ed. Julio C. Tello and Toribio Mejía Xesspe (Lima: Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología and Instituto y Museo de Arqueología de la Universidad Nacional de San Marcos, 1967).

    In a newspaper (*El Comercio* [Lima]) interview on August 5, 2005, Luis G. Lumbreras, director of the INC, reminded his interviewer and the public that "when the Republic was created, three cultural entities were formed even before the Constitution was written: the National Museum, The National Library, and the Historic Center." Lumbreras argues that the Peruvian state has always been concerned with "culture," understood in its broadest sense and including the cultural patrimony.

17. Letter, October 27, 1840, published in *Arqueológicas* 10 (1967): 18. Translated by the author. The letter is addressed to the departmental prefects (unnamed) and is signed by Augustin G. Charún.

18. Executive Decree, May 6, 1905, published in *Arqueológicas* 10 (1967): 60. Translated by the author.

19. In *Salvemos lo nuestro!* (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1980), 9.

20. Martha Hildebrant, "Presentación," *Patrimonio Cultural del Perú I* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2000), 11-14.

21. A current example is seen in President Alejandro Toledo's opening remarks at the 2003 summit of Latin American presidents held in Cusco. Toledo used the summit as the appropriate moment in which to inaugurate the new, private Museo de Arte Precolombino in the city, saying, "We are showing the world our cultural wealth. I am profoundly proud that [we can display] a little of the culture that belongs not only to Peru, but to Latin America," (author's translation). See "Toledo Inauguró el Nuevo Museo de Arte Precolombino de Cusco," from Terra Networks at http://www.terra.com.pe/noticias/cumbre/30523-2.shtml, accessed on October 17, 2005. As I explain in a recent article, "With this statement, Peru's past was deployed as the sign of Peru's modernity, transnational engagement, and developmental promise for the future," see Helaine Silverman, "Two Museums, Two Visions: Representing Cultural Heritage in Cusco, Peru," *SAA Archaeological Record* 5 no. 3 (2005): 29-32.

22. Article 21 of the Constitution of the Republic of Peru and Executive Decree, April 2, 1822.

23. For a summary of Peru's cultural patrimony legislation through 1974 see Rosalía Avalos de Matos and Rogger Ravines, "Las Antiguedades Peruanas y Su Protección Legal," *Revista del Museo Nacional* 40 (1974): 63-458.

24. For more information and background on Law 6634, see discussion in Peter Flindell Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2000), 241-247.

25. On July 24, 2004 the Peruvian Congress considered a new Ley General del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación (Law No. 28296). Insofar as I understand the text of this law it is not much different from earlier laws in that it reaffirms the state's and nation's ownership of all components of the cultural patrimony and exhorts their protection. It specifically replaces Laws 24047 and 27173, and any other previous norms that would be in conflict with the text of 28296. See "Arqueología Andina y Tiwanaku," http://www.tiwanakuarcheo.net/16_legal/ley_28296.htm, accessed on October 17, 2005.

26. David Lowenthal, "Pioneering Stewardship: New Challenges for CRM," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 1 no. 1 (2003): 7-13.

27. Ibid., 12.

28. See, e.g., Sidney D. Kirkpatrick, *Lords of Sipán: A True Story of Pre-Inca Tombs, Archaeology, and Crime* (New York, NY: William Morrow, 1992). For a fascinating historical perspective on looting see Jorge Zevallos Quiñones' treatment of the Spanish Crown-sanctioned act of "treasure hunting" (*búsqueda de tesoro*) during the Colonial Period in his book, *Huacas y Huaqueros en Trujillo Durante el Virreynato (1535-1835)* (Trujillo: Editora Normas Legales, 1994). For more information on the looting carried out by impoverished farmers in the countryside, see Gregorio Martínez, *Canto de Sirena* (Lima: Mosca Azul Editores, 1977).

29. Machu Picchu is a remote 15th-century Inca settlement situated on terraces built into the mountainside northwest of the ancient Inca city of Cusco. It is widely regarded as the architectural and urbanistic achievement of the Inca Empire at its height. See Luis G. Lumbreras, "Machu Picchu," at http://www.machupicchu.perucultural.org.pe/ingles/presentacion.htm, accessed on April 8, 2006.

30. Helaine Silverman, "Touring Ancient Times: The Present and Presented Past in Contemporary Peru," *American Anthropologist* 104 no. 3 (2002): 881-902, n. 3.

    Although the main entry point to Machu Picchu, Cusco is not the only one, since many tourists choose to board the train at two towns closer to the site in the so-called "Sacred Valley." In fact, Cusco and the Sacred Valley towns have been battling in recent years over the distribution of income from archeological tourism.

    Equally determined to achieve regional dominance in the tourist trade centered on Machu Picchu are the residents of Aguas Calientes, who are not a descendant community but commercially-interested migrants from across the country who have located at the base of the site. To further their claim to Machu Picchu (or, more precisely, their right to live at the base and control the commerce and the buses that ascend the zig-zag road to the sanctuary), Aguas Calientes has sought legal recognition of its name change to Machu Picchu Pueblo.

31. See Silverman, "Touring Ancient Times," for a fuller presentation of this argument. See also, Helaine Silverman, "The Historic District of Cusco as an Open-Air Site Museum," in *Archaeological Site Museums in Latin America*, ed. Helaine Silverman (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, forthcoming).

32. Josué Lancho Rojas, personal communication, May 2005. Tourism in the Nazca region is not generating sufficient employment. As a result, the youth of the city are leaving for Lima and other countries, including the United States. Today only about 30 percent of the population is local in origin.

    On the geoglyphs near Nazca see, for example, Helaine Silverman and Donald A. Proulx, *The Nasca* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 163-192; Helaine Silverman, "Beyond the Pampa: The Geoglyphs in the Valleys of Nazca," *National Geographic Research* 6 no. 4 (1990): 435-456; Anthony F. Aveni, *Between the Lines* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

33. See, for example, Walter Alva, *Sipán* (Lima: Cervecería Backus & Johnston, S.A., 1994) and Walter Alva, *Sipán: Descubrimiento e Investigación* (Lambayeque, 2004).

34. Helaine Silverman, "Embodied Heritage, Identity Politics and Tourism," *Anthropology and Humanism* 30 no. 2 (2005): 141-155; Izumi Shimada, *Cultura Sicán: Dios, Riqueza y Poder en la Costa Norte del Perú* (Lima: Banco Continental, 1995); Izumi Shimada, "Perception, Procurement, and Management of Resources: Archaeological Perspective," in *Andean Ecology and Civilization*, ed. Shozo Masuda, Izumi Shimada, and Craig Morris (Tokyo, Japan: University of Tokyo Press, 1985), 357-399; Izumi Shimada, "The Batan Grande-La Leche Archaeological Project: The First Two Seasons," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 8 no. 4 (1981): 405-446.

35. This argument is presented fully in Silverman, "Embodied Heritage."

36. Sylvio Mutal, "Presentación," *Salvemos lo nuestro!*, 7. Translated by the author.

37. In addition to her prolific publications in Spanish, see the excellent synthesis in English, Ruth Shady Solis, "America's First City? The Case of Late Archaic Caral," in *Andean Archaeology III: North and South*, ed. William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman (New York, NY: Springer, 2006), 28-66.

38. Justin Jennings, "Ruins on the Rapids," *Archaeology* (November-December 2003): 31-35. See also his chapter, "Landscape Site Museums and Adventurers in Peru's Cotahuasi Valley," in *Archaeological Site Museums in Latin America*, ed. Helaine Silverman (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, forthcoming).

39. Lowenthal, "Pioneering Stewardship," 11.

40. Michael Herzfeld, *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State* (London, UK: Routledge, 1997), 22, back cover.

41. Handler, 153. Peru's *patrimonio cultural* is distinguished from the *patrimonio peruano*, which in *Salvemos lo nuestro!* is considered to be everything, tangible and intangible (geography, food, languages, dance, history, etc.), that forms the multicultural Peruvian national identity and signifies "*quiénes somos*" (who we are).

42 Luis Guillermo Lumbreras, "Presentación," *Patrimonio: Diversidad Cultural en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 2004), 7. See also my comments on the relationship between the display of the archeological past and modernity above.

43. As found in Cusco, where the author recently conducted an applied archeology-ethnographic project on the role of the ancient and contemporary built environments in generating an identification with the Incas within the context of global tourism. See Silverman, "Touring Ancient Times."

44. Roger Atwood, "Guardians of the Dead," *Archaeology* 56 no. 1 (2003): 42-49.

45. Silverman, "Touring Ancient Times."

46. But the ancient past is not the only focus of tourism ads. Ecotourism (jungle, mountains), adventure tourism (hiking, mountain biking, river rafting) and ethnotourism (visiting native communities) are also featured in their appropriate media outlets, especially specialized magazines.

47. To the best of my knowledge, only the Universidad Nacional Federico Villareal offers coursework in cultural heritage management, taught by my colleague Miguel Pazos Rivera. It is out of the UNFV's interest in applied archeology that COARPE was born. The premier academic programs in archeology are based in other universities, most notably at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, which is about to launch a doctoral degree.

48. Christine A. Hastorf, "Building the Community Museum at Chiripa, Bolivia," in *Archaeological Site Museums in Latin America*, ed. Helaine Silverman (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, forthcoming).

Black Soldiers and the CCC at Shiloh National Military Park

by Timothy B. Smith

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp at Shiloh National Military Park in Tennessee looked the same as any other camp of the era. The living quarters were neatly arranged. There were latrines, cooking areas, parking areas for wheeled vehicles, commissary, quartermaster, and medical facilities. The men milled around, going about their business under watchful supervision of the officers. Above it all flew the United States flag. Nothing was out of the ordinary except the men themselves. This camp, situated near Pittsburg Landing on the battlefield of Shiloh, was for African American veterans.[1]

The year was 1934, and the Federal Government had just sent more than 400 black World War I veterans to Shiloh to work in two CCC camps.[2] Over the course of eight years, the men improved the park and aided in the battlefield restoration that the park founders had so dearly desired. These black veterans who had risked their lives for their country in the Great War now worked to preserve a battlefield of an earlier generation.

Shiloh had special meaning for these men: The Civil War battlefield played a major role in the Union's eventual victory over the Confederacy. Sadly, even as they restored one of the very spots where their freedom had been partially won, they faced Jim Crow segregation and other forms of racism.[3] Their story is one of many such paradoxes, of honorable work that benefited the nation, and of prejudicial treatment in the national parks. It offers valuable insight into the nature of race relations, government New Deal work, and the management of cultural resources in the United States during the Great Depression.

Shiloh and the Civilian Conservation Corps

Among the chief beneficiaries of the New Deal's job creation programs were Shiloh and other national parks, to which thousands of laborers were sent to construct, rehabilitate, and restore. In the case of Shiloh, the Civil Works Administration (CWA) employed several hundred local men from Hardin and McNairy counties on erosion control projects, road maintenance, and excavations at Shiloh's Indian mounds. The Public Works Administration (PWA) also provided money for new visitor, employee, and administrative facilities and funded several writers who studied and wrote about Shiloh's history. The Bureau of Public Roads surveyed the park and funded road modernization projects. By far, however, the CCC was the dominant New Deal program at Shiloh.[4]

Normally, the CCC employed young men between the ages of 18 and 25.[5] Although World War I veterans were much older, they were allowed to work in the CCC because of the efforts of the "Bonus Army." Wanting to cash in their congressionally appropriated service bonuses, the unemployed veterans marched on Washington, DC, in the summer of 1932 to demand their money. What they received instead was a rough handling by Douglas McArthur and the army, along with an offer to join the CCC. Some 200,000 World War I veterans ultimately joined the CCC, 30,000 of them black veterans.[6]

Daily Life at the Shiloh Camps

The first of the two black CCC camps at Shiloh, Tennessee Camp MP-3 (Camp Young), was established on July 15, 1933.[7](Figure 1) Made up of men from Company No. 2425, Camp Young was situated at the southwestern corner of the park. The earliest enrollees lived in tents "deep in the shade of the large white oaks," as one eyewitness described it, while they built permanent quarters on the other side of Shiloh Branch.[8] Ultimately, the camp boasted 18 buildings, with the 4 barracks aligned in 2 rows with a "beautiful green carpet of grass" in between, a mess hall and recreation hall on opposite ends of the green, large oaks, and numerous flowerbeds. The camp had an initial enrollment of approximately 200 men from across the South.[9]

The second camp, Tennessee Camp MP-7 (Camp Corinth), was established nearly a year later on June 14, 1934, approximately 22 miles southwest of the park.[10](Figure 2) Enrollment at Camp Corinth fluctuated more than at Shiloh, with numbers ranging between 150 and 200 enrollees, most coming from the South also.[11]

The two camps had similar organizational structures. White military officers on detail oversaw the camps: An army captain or navy lieutenant normally served as camp commander, and a junior officer served as second in command. A camp surgeon was similarly detailed from the military. Each camp also had a corps of white technical officers who led the work groups and advised on engineering, forestry, and other technical matters. Camp foremen who served as clerks, mechanics, historical assistants, and landscape personnel came and went. Enrollees with specialized skills were detailed as foremen, drivers, clerks, storekeepers, or cooks and were given supervisory responsibilities over other enrollees. All worked closely with the Shiloh National Military Park superintendent, who developed the work programs.[12]

The camps also resembled each other in their physical arrangement. Originally, Camp Young consisted of two office buildings (one with an engineer's room), several tool storage areas, a mess hall, and a recreation center. Four large bunkhouses eventually replaced the original tents. By 1941, the camp had 18 permanent and 6 portable buildings heated by coal stoves and a modern,

FIGURE 1
The Civilian Conservation Corps officers and enrollees of Camp Young, shown here in this undated photograph, worked on a number of improvement and beautification projects in Shiloh National Military Park. (Courtesy of Shiloh National Military Park)

FIGURE 2
This 1937 photo collage of Camp Corinth enrollees offers insight into different aspects of camp life and work life. (Courtesy of Middle Tennessee State University)

enclosed latrine and septic system. The enrollees burned their refuse daily, hauled away other garbage, and initially drew water from a nearby spring on Shiloh Branch. Like Camp Young, Camp Corinth had an ample latrine and septic system. The camp drew water from a 134-foot deep well that furnished "ample water which is potable without chlorination."[13]

Upon entering service at the Shiloh camps, the enrollees were given a medical examination and inoculations and were issued uniforms. Most brought personal items from home: a nice suit for going to town, a musical instrument. An "Oath of Enrollment" was also required, with the men promising to remain in the camp for at least six months and obey the orders of their superiors. Some enrollees were sent to conditioning camps to develop the health and fitness required to perform the work. The men were paid $30 a month, $25 of which was sent home to their families. Enrollees who moved up in the ranks over time received higher wages. This introduction to the CCC was similar to the experience of thousands of other whites and blacks in camps across the nation.[14]

To make sure the enrollees at the Shiloh camps remained in good physical health, the camp surgeon visited them daily and examined the men for venereal diseases once a month (kitchen personnel were examined more frequently). The buildings were also inspected monthly, and a camp safety program required weekly meetings, safety posters, fire drills, and proper work safety precautions. The state board of health approved all of the health measures.[15] Laundry was thoroughly checked for "bed bugs or other vermin" and sent to the cleaners weekly.[16]

The daily routine in the two CCC camps resembled those at other camps, white or black. Reveille sounded at 6:00 a.m., followed by calisthenics and breakfast at 6:45 a.m. The men worked from 8:00 a.m. until noon. After lunch, they returned to their job sites and worked until 4:00 p.m. They had an hour to themselves before reporting in dress uniform for supper at 5:30 p.m. Lights went out at 10:00 p.m., with taps played 15 minutes later. Saturdays were a time of leisure or field trips, unless work had been missed during the week due to bad weather. Sundays and holidays were days of rest and, if the men so chose, worship.[17]

The Camp Corinth enrollees worked on the 17 miles of the Shiloh-Corinth Highway connected to the park. Their two major duties were road improvement and telephone line construction. They maintained the highway and the rights-of-way and adjoining areas, graded the sides of the road, planted grass and laid sod, planted trees and shrubs, and collaborated on transplanting projects. Where drainage and erosion were problems because of years of excess pasturing and over-cultivation, they built check dams and riprap or improved or sloped banks. By example, they encouraged the local farmers to adopt similar conservation measures on their farms, which resulted in terracing and better methods of farming. The enrollees also placed pipelines and conduits along the road and removed tree stumps, the ultimate goal being the "general beautification of [the] highway."[18]

Camp Young enrollees performed a variety of jobs in the park, including roadwork, erosion control, landscaping, forestry management, and fire prevention. The workers streamlined drainage in the park and the national cemetery, building small dams at strategic locations to prevent erosion. At the Confederate general Albert Sidney Johnston death site, they built 96 dams. They also filled in and beautified an eroded area called "Dead Man's Gravel Pit," which was so named because of a rockslide that had killed three workers in 1899. They created a test area in Rea Field on Shiloh Branch for experimenting with new methods of erosion control and new types of wood and stone dams.[19]

Most of the Camp Young enrollees worked on road cleanup and the general beautification of the park, and several features they built still exist, including the guardrails along the tour route, a bridge near the mouth of Dill Branch, and seven parking areas within the park. They also built foot trails, leaf pits,

a fire tower, a brick restroom at the headquarters area, picnic areas, and a 50-foot protection wall to keep a road from being undercut. At the campsites, they built several buildings, razed others, installed a camp phone system, laid approximately 450 feet of water pipe, and removed several non-historic roads. They also gathered firewood and performed other odd jobs.[20]

When not working, camp life revolved around recreation opportunities and education programs for which the CCC was well known. At Corinth, the camp had the benefit of "ample class-rooms, libraries, black-boards and textbooks, and especially a sympathetic co-operation of the Commanding Officer." Yet in 1935, only about 30 percent of the enrollees took advantage of the classes. One inspector noted "it has not been an easy matter to get any major percentage of their number interested in any form of education training." The average educational level of the men was 4th grade, and 24 men had no schooling at all.[21]

The apathy changed when African American military officer and former coordinator of Tuskegee Institute, Captain Toliver T. Thompson, became both camps' educational director. It was said he "injected a new spirit into the educational and recreational work here." Thompson implemented many new programs, as well as scientific films and lectures on topics such as the battle at Shiloh, tree pruning, and explosives. The educational staff kept the training at an elementary level, teaching evening courses in arithmetic, reading, spelling, history, writing, English, and citizenship. These educational activities were important to a generation of Americans who did not have much formal education, and especially to the black enrollees who had even less because of segregation.[22]

The vast majority of enrollees were interested in vocational training, and the corps shifted its focus accordingly. The men were taught woodworking, blacksmithing, carpentry, auto repair, and other trades, including "rabbit production." Some of their efforts resulted in a profit, which the company commander placed in a bank account at the Farmers and Merchants Bank in Corinth.[23]

The camps did well in monthly and annual inspections. Camp numbers fluctuated depending on discharges, new recruits, sickness, and an occasional absence without leave. Camp Young won the title of best in its district for 1935, earning a tremendous compliment from the Army inspector: "It is with great pleasure that I select Co. 2425, MP-3, as the outstanding company in my entire district. The appearance of the camp is excellent. The morale is high, and the conduct of the members is highly commendable. I do not believe that I have seen a better camp in my two years of contact with the CCC." The Corinth camp won the award for 1936.[24]

Segregated Camps at Shiloh

The major differences between white and black camps in the CCC were the segregation and other forms of racism that pervaded camp life and the local opposition that the black camps encountered. It appears that, at first, Tennessee state officials were uncertain how even to manage the public reaction to such camps. The State Commissioner of Agriculture, O.E. Van Cleve, mentioned to Tennessee Governor Hill McAlister that "should you be called upon to designate a particular project for colored camps you might suggest the National Parks." Federal officials agreed, directing "complete segregation of white and colored enrollees" and establishing the black camps at Shiloh and other "military reservations."[25]

Despite the precautions, area residents complained about having black camps nearby. United States Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee told Governor McAlister, who had chosen the camp locations, that the "colored camps are problems, and the only way they can be managed is to take them up with the local authorities before making a recommendation." Likewise, the governor felt that "it [is] far better for the colored race not to have these camps in our State if they must be established where race hostility will immediately develop." McNairy county was particularly vocal in its objection to black camps, with citizens issuing a statement in the *McNairy County Appeal* that "[voiced] the sentiment of our entire population." "We do not want them here," the statement read, "as ours is not a negro community, and we do not know how to handle them." The locals raised such a furor that the projected camp at nearby Adamsville was changed from a black to a white camp.[26]

In 1937, a resident of Corinth wrote to President Roosevelt himself:

*The Negro CCC camp is near here and the houses are rented to these Negros [*sic*] and family while the land is rented to the Government. A poor farmer is unable to pay big rent for a house and has to have land to work so they are left out here. While the Negros* [sic] *feed families and relatives from the camp. Aren't these barracks built for them. Please look into this.*[27]

The men themselves seemed to be highly motivated and satisfied, although some complained about unfair treatment. At Camp Young, the enrollees and their foremen were separated from the white officers in the mess halls and served food of lesser quality. "The Army officers have steaks, salads, desserts and all this was and is paraded before our eyes," one man reported, and he also complained that they were forced to use a bathhouse located several hundred feet away from their quarters because the one in their quarters was reserved for the army officers. "What is good enough for one is good enough for the others," wrote one of the foremen.[28] An enrollee at Camp Corinth, writing under a pseudonym, complained to the Veterans Administration about "this

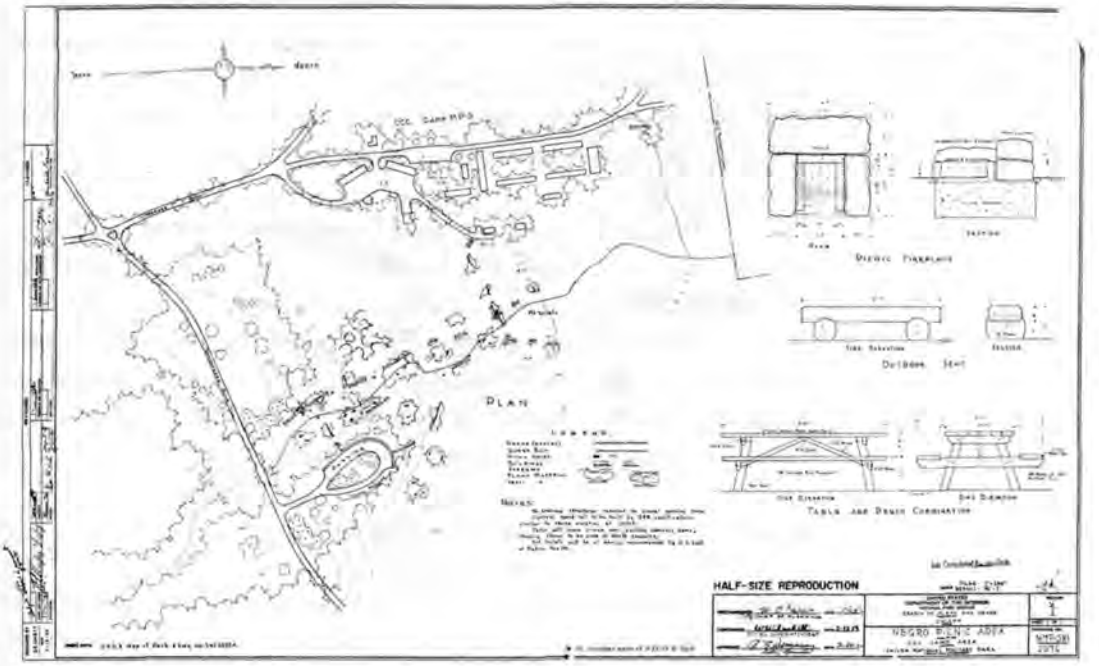

FIGURE 3
This 1939 site plan of a picnic area for black CCC enrollees and their guests at Shiloh National Military Park is a reminder of the segregation and other forms of racism that pervaded camp life. (Courtesy of the National Park Service)

commander that won't proper feed us," and accused the camp commander of diverting money allotted for food to buy paint for his own quarters. "We feel we should have a fair deal such as is due," he protested, "Please let someone come."[29]

In response, the Veterans Administration sent a special investigator who, upon discovering that the signature (I.E. Smart) was fictitious, concluded that the letter was written in reaction to the camp's strict discipline. The investigator told the enrollees that "they should be appreciative of what the Government is doing for them." Although the men said they were well fed, they expressed their desire for simpler food such as cornbread and buttermilk—something more akin to what they were used to at home. The investigator explained that they needed certain calorie levels so they could perform their work but recommended that the camp commander look into broadening the menu.[30]

Segregation was the norm. Although the enrollees had built picnic areas at the Indian mounds and Rea Springs, they were not allowed to use them because the areas were reserved for whites only (they had to build their own picnic area adjacent to their camp on Shiloh Branch).(Figure 3) When family and friends visited, the enrollees had to remain in designated areas. Such face-to-face encounters with segregation and other forms of racism at Shiloh remained in the minds of the black veterans who had served their country twice on battlefields: first in combat and later in conservation.[31]

Conditions were such that some of the enrollees complained to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the fall of 1937 about the treatment of blacks at Shiloh. "We are advised," the NAACP

leadership informed the CCC, "that a gang of outsiders working around the camp steal the clothing and shoes of the enrollees for which the enrollees have to pay; that no serious effort is made by the officers to patrol the camp so that the property of the enrollees can be protected; that there is a further complaint about food." The letter prompted another investigation by CCC leaders.[32]

The forms of racism practiced or tolerated at Shiloh were nothing out of the ordinary for the time. Rather, they were indicative of the racism that existed in the CCC and many other New Deal agencies. Housing segregation in the Tennessee Valley Authority and Federal Housing Authority occurred frequently. Blacks were often paid less than whites in many New Deal programs. Racial discrimination and segregation ran rampant particularly in the South, where Federal Government officials deferred to local laws and practices.[33]

Long-term Impact of the Shiloh CCC Camps

Camps Young and Corinth continued to function independently until October 31, 1941, when the two were joined into NP-9, and enrollees worked on both the park and the roadway. Some of the men were assigned to a short-term "side camp" at Lookout Mountain in Chattanooga, Tennessee; others worked at nearby Pickwick Dam. The outbreak of World War II marked the beginning of the end for the CCC camps, with the extra manpower and labor redirected towards the war effort. Shiloh's combined CCC camp, reduced in status to a side camp, was disbanded on April 15, 1942.[34]

The contributions of the CCC and other New Deal programs to the development and management of the national parks are comparable to those of the National Park Service's Mission 66 program.[35] The long list of projects at Shiloh alone illustrates the enormity of that legacy and the importance of understanding the diversity of the CCC experience in evaluating the resources where CCC activities took place.[36] More difficult to quantify but of tremendous significance was the impact that the CCC camps had on their enrollees. The 30,000 black World War I veterans were a small but important part of the New Deal effort. In many national and state parks, they performed good, solid work and made substantive and lasting contributions to the nation.

However, their CCC experience was a double-edged sword: The vocational, financial, and educational opportunities the CCC provided lay under the mantle of segregation and other forms of racism that affected African Americans nationwide. While work and camp life were supposed to be regulated uniformly across all camps, black enrollees had to endure prejudicial treatment that white enrollees never faced, much of it codified by the Federal Government. Sadly, African American veterans were denied full equality in the CCC camps, even on a hallowed battlefield where their very freedom and citizenship had been partially gained.

At the same time, the New Deal's relief and recovery programs also helped African Americans on a fundamental level by providing work, food, housing, and educational opportunities to those in need of assistance. Although segregation had permeated New Deal programs, the New Deal marked an important point in the steady march towards equality for African Americans that led to the desegregation of the United States military in 1947 and the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.[37]

Of all the benefits accrued from the New Deal, perhaps the most profound was the renewed sense of purpose the CCC experience instilled in the enrollees and, in the case of the Shiloh camps specifically, in the middle-aged men whose service in World War I had been too quickly forgotten. They became actively engaged in the important work of improving a national park for the benefit of present and future generations. One camp inspector said it best when summing up the results of the educational and work programs in 1939: "Results as yet Intangible Mentally and Spiritually as affecting rehabilitation of vets, but *indicated* from present participation percentage of 98.96."[38]

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Notes

1. The treatment of black soldiers in Civil War history is much debated. Most of the attention focuses on northern recruitment of black regiments and their wartime service. More recent research examines the possibility of black soldiers in the Confederate Army. Yet, the story of Shiloh does not *usually* include African American soldiers on either side. Coming early in the Civil War before the Lincoln Administration had made any decisions about the fate of former slaves, Shiloh had no United States Colored Troops (USCT) regiments and few individual black men among the masses of soldiers that fought on April 6-7, 1862. Even so, the history of Shiloh *does* have hundreds of black soldiers in it. For African American soldiers in the Union Army see Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York, NY: Longmans, Green and Company, 1956) and Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1990). For African Americans in the Confederate Army, see Richard Rollins, ed., *Black Southerners in Gray: Essays on Afro-Americans in Confederate Armies* (Murfreesboro, TN: Southern Heritage Press, 1994).

2. Established in 1894 under the War Department, Shiloh National Military Park entered the National Park System in August 1933, when it and other military parks and national cemeteries were transferred to the National Park Service. The preservation of Civil War battlefields as national parks was (and still is) widely considered to be an appropriate way of commemorating the men whose bravery and sacrifice during the Civil War changed the course of American history. For Shiloh, see Timothy B. Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh: History, Memory, and the Establishment of a Civil War National Military Park* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2004).

3. Jim Crow segregation grew out of the sectional reconciliation that had begun in the 1870s but had deteriorated by the 1890s, allowing segregation to dominate race relations. Segregation received official sanction in the 1892 *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision, and it was the

norm in the 1930s when the Federal Government created the CCC. See James M. McPherson, *Ordeal By Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1982); Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 1989); for race and segregation, see David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in Memory and Reunion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001) and C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1989).

4. Charles E. Shedd, *A History of Shiloh National Military Park, Tennessee* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1954), 45-46; "Research Studies Made During the CWA Period, Shiloh National Military Park," in Historical Reports: Research Reports on Army Units in the Army of Tennessee, Vertical File, Shiloh National Military Park.

5. Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed the idea of a civilian conservation corps during his 1932 presidential campaign. He signed the CCC into law in March 1933—not long after his presidential win.

6. "Dedication of THC Marker for CCC Co. 2425, MP-3, Shiloh National Military Park, July 14, 1990," in Dedication Remarks for Placement of CCC Marker, July 14, 1990, Vertical File, Shiloh National Military Park; John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1985), 97. For African Americans in the CCC, see Olen Cole, *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps* (Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 1999).

7. The camp was originally organized in June at Fort Oglethorpe in Georgia.

8. The permanent quarters were completed in November 1933.

9. "ECW Monthly Progress and Cost Report," February 1937, RG 79, E75, Box 7, National Archives and Records Administration, hereafter cited as NARA; "Dedication of THC Marker for CCC Co. 2425, MP-3, Shiloh National Military Park, July 14, 1990," in Dedication Remarks for Placement of CCC Marker, July 14, 1990, Vertical File, Shiloh National Military Park; "Camp Inspection Report," October 3, 1938, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; "2425th Company, MP-3, Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee," *Official Annual Civilian Conservation Corps "C" District, Fourth Corps Area – 1937*, Patsy Weiler Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, hereafter cited as MTSU. The *Official Annual* is also in the CCC in Tennessee Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, hereafter cited as TSLA. See also Civilian Conservation Corps, RG 93, TSLA, for Tennessee camps. The enrollees came from Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, and South Carolina.

10. Like MP-3, MP-7 had begun operation elsewhere, at Fort McPherson, Alabama, in July 1933, and then moved to Glencoe, Alabama, near Gadsden. Camp MP-7 was called Corinth because of its proximity to the Mississippi border town bearing that name.

11. Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh*, 123; "2423rd Company, MP-7, Corinth, Mississippi," *Official Annual Civilian Conservation Corps "C" District, Fourth Corps Area – 1937*, Patsy Weiler Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU; "Tennessee Camp MP-7," May 25, 1937; "Emergency Conservation Work Camp Report," November 29, 1935, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; "Camp Report," July 8, 1934; "Camp Report," May 25, 1937; Toliver T. Thompson to J.S. Billups, November 29, 1935, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; Jean Hager Memo, May 25, 1937, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; Shedd, *A History of Shiloh*, 46. Enrollees came from Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee, and Florida. Later, men from New York, New Jersey, and West Virginia also joined the camp.

12. "Rated Members," November 27, 1936, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; "Camp Report," July 8, 1936, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; "Forestry Personnel," November 27, 1936, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; "Army Personnel," November 27, 1936, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; "Camp Report," November 29, 1935, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; "Fourth Enrollment Period Report, Tennessee Camp MP-3," March 31, 1935, Shiloh National Military Park Archives, hereafter cited as SNMP; Paige, *An Administrative History*, 66. For more information on District C, Fourth Corps Area, see the CCC in Tennessee Collection, TSLA.

13. Later, a pump house was built, with iron piping to all the buildings.

14. Paige, *An Administrative History*, 74-76.

15. T.J. McVey Report, June 18, 1934, and "Camp Report," November 6, 1937, both in RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; "Camp Inspection Report," October 3, 1938, May 15, 1940, and May 1, 1941, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA.

16. "Camp Report," November 29, 1935, November 27, 1936, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; T.J. McVey Supplementary Report, November 27, 1936, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA.

17. Paige, *An Administrative History*, 79-82.

18. Camp Report, July 8, 1936, November 27, 1936, May 25, 1937, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; T.J. McVey Construction Report, November 27, 1936; RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; Narrative Report of Tennessee Camp MP-7, March 31, 1935, RG 79, E 42, Box 28, NARA.

19. Erosion Control Memo, March 11, 1935, Series 2, Box 9, Folder 168, SNMP; Alex Bradford to R.A. Livingston, March 31, 1935; RG 79, E 42, Box 27, NARA; Smith, *This Great Battlefield of Shiloh*, 99. For a detailed look at a particular project, see "Final Construction Report, Shiloh National Military Park, Eastern Corinth, Hamburg-Crump, and Peabody Monuments Roads, project 4A1," Series 1, Box 76, Folder 1126, SNMP. Included are maps, paperwork, and bids for the project.

20. The company also responded to a major flood on the Tennessee River, for which it received letters of commendation from the corps area commander and the Red Cross. See T.J. McVey Report, June 18, 1934; "Camp Inspection Report," May 31, 1939, "Work Project Report Supplemental to Form 11," April 30, 1941, "ECW Monthly Progress and Cost Report," February 1937, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; Alex Bradford to R.A. Livingston, March 31, 1935; RG 79, E 42, Box 27, NARA; "2425th Company, MP-3, Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee," *Official Annual Civilian Conservation Corps "C" District, Fourth Corps Area - 1937*, Patsy Weiler Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU.

21. "Report of Education Program," November 29, 1935, "Monthly Camp Education Report," June 1936, "Camp Educational Program," November 27, 1936, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; Fourth Enrollment Period Report, March 31, 1935, SNMP; "CCC Camp Educational Report," May 31, 1939, RG 35, E 115, NARA; Paige, *An Administrative History*, 86. Educational classes were standard in the early years of these camps.

22. Ibid.

23. "Report of Education Program," November 29, 1935, "Monthly Camp Education Report," June 1936, "CCC Camp Educational Report, May 31, 1939, "Camp Educational Program," November 27, 1936, "Monthly Camp Educational Report," April 1937, "Supplementary Report," May 31, 1939, "Work Project Report Supplemental to Form 11," April 30, 1941, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; "CCC Camp Educational Report," May 31, 1939, RG 35, E 115, NARA.

24. "Camp Report," November 29, 1935, and undated, both in RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; "2423rd Company, MP-7, Corinth, Mississippi," *Official Annual Civilian Conservation Corps "C" District, Fourth Corps Area - 1937*, Patsy Weiler Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, MTSU; Fourth Enrollment Period Report, March 31, 1935, SNMP.

25. O.E. Van Cleve to Governor Hill McAlister, July 19, 1935, and Secretary of War to Senator Kenneth McKellar, July 15, 1935, both in Hill McAlister Papers, Box 77, Folder 8, TSLA; John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967). The black CCC companies at Shiloh were but two of the nearly 150 such companies at camps nationwide.

26. Kenneth McKellar to Governor Hill McAlister, August 27, 1935; Governor Hill McAlister to Kenneth McKellar, August 30, 1935; John W. Hamilton to Governor Hill McAlister, August 14, 1935; and Ralph Perry to John W. Hamilton, August 15, 1935, all in Hill McAlister Papers, Box 77, Folder 8, TSLA. Further research may reveal the extent to which public resistance to the presence of black CCC camps pushed the activity of the CCC to national parks.

27. "A Corinth Citizen" to President Roosevelt, June 30, 1937, RG35, E 115, Box 199, NARA.

28. Unknown to James C. Reddoch, January 24, 1936, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA.

29. I.E. Smart to "Officers of the Veterans Administration at Washington DC," April 13, 1936, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA.

30. J.S. Billups to J.J. McEntee, July 13, 1936, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA.

31. Chief National Park System Planning Section to Acting Superintendent, July 27, 1939, Series 2, Box 12, Folders 225, SNMP.

32 Charles H. Taylor to Adjutant General, October 5, 1937, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA. Although the CCC investigated the matter further, its results are not documented.

33. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, 3rd Edition (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1969), 534-536; Leslie H. Fishel, Jr. and Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro American: A Documentary History* (1967; Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1976), 448, 455, 463; James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *Hard Road to Freedom: The Story of African America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 265-267; Paige, *An Administrative History*, 94.

34. "Camp Inspection Report," May 15, 1940, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA; Michael A. Capps, "Shiloh National Military Park: An Administrative History" (Shiloh National Military Park, 1993), 43-45. For more information on the side camp, see Series 2, Box 7, Folders 112-113, SNMP. The side camp workers built the Ochs Museum at Point Park.

35. See Timothy M. Davis, "Mission 66 Initiative," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 1 no. 1 (fall 2003): 97-101 for more information on Mission 66.

36. Shiloh was one of many national and state parks that benefited from CCC labor.

37. Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 523-525, 534, 538; Paige, *An Administrative History*, 97.

38. "CCC Camp Educational Report," May 31, 1939, RG 35, E 115, Box 199, NARA.

The Discography Project at Ellis Island Immigration Museum

by Eric Byron

Old, worn, and often severely scratched, phonograph records produced for mass consumption during the late 19th and early 20th centuries can provide interesting insights into American history. Millions of records were made through the 1950s, many of which convey how ethnic and non-ethnic communities in the United States viewed themselves and each other.

Anticipating what might be found on these recordings, staff and volunteers in the Museum Division of Statue of Liberty National Monument launched a cataloging project in 1997 to organize the information for research and analysis.[1] To date, the project has cataloged and collected data from approximately 100 different sources including books, online resources, and private collections. The author has collected more than 1,200 records and contributed recording equipment and a vintage windup phonograph to the project. Volunteer discographers have transcribed and translated recordings and entered information into a database that can be used to learn more about ethnic stereotyping, audience preferences, and other broad cultural patterns that are not perceptible in a single sound recording.

Brief History of Sound Recordings

Young recording companies began recording skits, songs, dramas, comedies and other popular forms of entertainment in the 1890s. Thousands of these early recordings, intended for a white audience,[2] exploited ethnic and other stereotypes, including rural populations. Cognizant of a burgeoning population

FIGURE 1
This 1910 phonograph advertisement in a Yiddish publication, Der Groyser Kundes, *reads: "Today and tomorrow we will sell everyone a Victor Talking Machine or an Edison Phonograph, free without payment. All you need to do is come in one of our two stores and pick out a Victor or an Edison phonograph and we will send it to your home free, and if the machine pleases you, then you can have it for a small weekly payment." (Courtesy of YIVO Institute for Jewish Research)*

FIGURE 2
This circa 1920 Slovak advertisement in Americky Kalendar Pre Slovakov-Luteranov *reads "Sonora Phonograph. Buy one of these machines to have more fun at home, its voice is nice and sounds clear. It won the highest prize at the fair in Panama. Price $55.00 and up." Translation by Tomas Vajda. (Courtesy of the Immigration History Research Center)*

of foreign-born consumers from places like southern Italy and Russia, the recording companies eventually shifted their marketing focus to include immigrant groups.(Figures 1-3) By the early 1920s, Victor and Columbia, the two largest companies, offered more ethnic recordings in their catalogs than non-ethnic ones.[3] Between 1900 and 1950, American companies produced over 30,000 different 78-rpm records targeting foreign-born communities.[4] A significant number of these recordings dealt with the everyday travails of new immigrants, including the difficulties of living in a new country.(Figure 4)

FIGURE 3
The Okeh Phonograph Corporation made this 1926 recording for Neapolitan immigrants. (Courtesy of the author)

FIGURE 4
In 1922, Sam Silverbush recorded this Yiddish dramatic skit, "Ellis Island," in which an immigrant Jewish woman desperately fleeing a pogrom is interrogated by an immigration officer and reunited with her husband. (Courtesy of the author)

Scope of the Discography Project

The project database currently contains more than 7,000 entries and continues to expand. Each entry will eventually include details about the recording, its catalog, and matrix numbers (the matrix number is the number assigned to each master recording), ethnic focus, recording and release dates, keywords, and availability, along with transcriptions, translations (where necessary), and descriptive summaries.

When actual sound recordings are available, they are converted to CDs using a windup phonograph, recording equipment, and sound enhancing computer software.[5] The CDs are then transcribed and translated by volunteers.

The project uses ProCite reference management software, which allows researchers to access entries by keywords or conceptual units. Project volunteer Charles Lemonick created a customized worksheet for gathering information. He also advised the project team on data organization and entered all of the project data. As a result of his efforts, researchers can combine, separate, compare, and contrast recordings and parts of recordings.

Results

The cataloging project has revealed that almost every aspect of a recording is recycled or repeated. The two- to four- minute time limitation of the media

did not allow for much variation in themes, plots, accents, or settings. Even the names of characters and the characters themselves were likely to be reused from one recording to the next. The number of recurring elements identified will likely increase as the project database grows.

The data collected thus far suggests that many, if not most, immigrant groups initially adopted the same English words and expressions, or created words and expressions that combined English and their native language. The recording companies often had the performers employ this language when making new records. Several of the borrowed English words and expressions, such as "boarder," "policeman," "job," "landlord," "that's alright," and "shut up," surface time and again, suggesting the kinds of relationships and situations new immigrants often encountered in America. Later recordings reflect much more complicated arrangements that have yet to be investigated fully.

Researchers can access the database by visiting the library of the Ellis Island Immigration Museum in New York. The project team is currently seeking volunteers to help transcribe and translate hundreds of additional recordings, the majority of which are in Yiddish and Italian dialects.

Eric Byron is the coordinator of the Ellis Island Discography Project at the Ellis Island Immigration Museum of Statue of Liberty National Monument. He can be reached at eric_byron@nps.gov.

Notes

1. Volunteers are the driving force behind this project and are all the more important due to limited funding. Volunteer Charles Lemonick contributed nearly 8,000 of the roughly 12,000 hours donated to this project.

2. During the period in which most of these recordings were made (from the 1890s to the 1930s), few people distinguished between "race" and "ethnicity." In fact, the word "ethnicity" did not appear in Noah Webster's 1900 *American Dictionary of the English Language* (New York, NY: The Werner Company, 1900). [The word "ethnic" did, however, but it was defined as "heathen" or "pagan."] Steamship manifests from 1903 included a category for "race" or "people," under which appeared references to Italians, Hebrews, the Irish, Germans, Poles, and others. Yet, many Americans simply classified Northern Europeans as "white" and Eastern and Southern Europeans as "less-white" or "non-white." Such broad perceptions of race and ethnicity helped recording companies insofar as the perceptions identified potential audiences for their recordings.

3. Victor Greene, *A Passion for Polka: Old-Time Ethnic Music in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 77.

4. William Howland Kenny, *Recorded Music in American Life: The Phonograph and Popular Memory, 1890-1945* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1999), 67.

5. Although many recordings *about* ethnic groups can be found on the Internet, recordings *by* ethnic groups are rare. The project has relied on private collectors for access to the latter.

Historic Context and National Register Eligibility for Colorado Irrigation Ditches and Canals

by Michael Holleran and Manish Chalana

Landscape features related to irrigation have unique cultural significance in the American West. Like the Spanish colonial *acequias*, or irrigation ditches, that are preserved and interpreted as part of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park in San Antonio, Texas, historic irrigation systems in communities throughout the West have potential as vital cultural resources. A recent project in Colorado has confirmed this to be the case in the Rocky Mountain State.

In Colorado, most of the land is semi-arid, and, like the rest of the interior West, its settlement depended upon irrigation. The first order of business for settlers was digging ditches to take mountain snowmelt from streams to fields on the dry sunny lowlands. The earliest "pioneer ditches" watered bottomlands next to streams through small, hand-dug channels. By the 1880s, professional engineers and armies of paid laborers built great canals up to 100 miles long, financed by out-of-state capital. Beginning early in the 20th century, the Bureau of Reclamation built comprehensive water development projects, frequently incorporating earlier ditches and canals into their distribution systems. Colorado was the nation's leading state in irrigated acreage from 1899 to 1919. The irrigation ditch in all of its forms is the characteristic landscape feature of settlement in the region.

As the West has urbanized and agriculture has modernized, how have these landscapes evolved, and what remains of them? These questions arise formally because our system of managing cultural landscapes—the National Register of Historic Places and cultural resources surveys—requires some means of evaluating both the *significance* of individual resources and the *integrity* of their surviving fabric. The multi-faceted irrigation ditch system, like other utilitarian landscapes, was not created and did not evolve in the same ways as the individual historic buildings around which these concepts were first formulated.

To address these issues, the Colorado Center for Preservation Research at the University of Colorado at Denver recently completed a historic context report for irrigation and water supply ditches and canals in Colorado, with support from the Colorado Historical Society's State Historical Fund.[1] This report includes a history of Colorado's water systems, a guide to research sources, and an illustrated taxonomy of the parts of ditch and canal systems and other property types that may be associated with them. It also addresses the challenge of applying National Register eligibility standards to these fluid landscapes.

Over nearly 40 years, more than 3,300 Colorado cultural resource surveys have recorded ditches or portions of ditch systems. These surveys offered a starting point, but closer examination revealed redundancies indicating that the number of unique ditches at least partly surveyed was closer to 1,000. Additional documentary research was necessary to understand what fraction of Colorado's historic irrigation resources this represented. The 1950 U.S. Census counted 9,258 "irrigation enterprises" running 17,000 miles of canal in the state.[2] This total includes main ditches but not the tens of thousands of miles of *lateral* ditches that distribute water from main ditches to the fields.(Figure 1)

FIGURE 1
This 2004 view shows the 1852 San Luis People's Ditch. (Courtesy of the author)

More detailed information was available through the Colorado Department of Water Resources (DWR). The State Engineer's Office within DWR regulates and keeps records of every diversion from a natural stream. The DWR database does not include complete information about ditch lengths, but it does link to records on water rights, so sorting for the earliest water right linked to each ditch gave an excellent approximation of its date of construction. DWR data was also used to compile a statewide list of 22,800 ditches and canals, with about 17,500 of these constructed before 1950 (the increment above the census numbers reflects mainly smaller ditches, serving a single farm or ranch and thus falling below the census threshold for "enterprises"). The vast majority were constructed between 1870 and 1920, peaking in the 1880s.

Depending on which figure one takes as a total, only 4 to 10 percent of Colorado ditches had been surveyed. Fortunately, Colorado's water resource database also included locational data, which together with the dates of water rights, made a mapping of historical water development at a stream-by-stream level of detail possible.

National Register Significance Criteria

Many ditches meet National Register criteria for at least local significance.[3] The development of water resources is central to Colorado's history, and individual ditches and canals were essential to the development of particular communities and regions, meeting criterion A for association with events contributing to broad historical patterns. Such significance is not limited to the earliest pioneer ditches but may arise from later phases of historical development. In addition, ditches represent not only physical systems but also social institutions. In the Hispanic cultural region of New Mexico, Texas, and southern Colorado, the same word "acequia" denotes both the physical ditch and the community organization that manages it.[4] While many canal systems have always operated within the labor relationships of the commercial economy, others remain mutual ditch companies that have been cared for by their shareholders for generations.(Figure 2)

FIGURE 2
Photographed by Louis Charles McClure between 1908 and 1915, this view, entitled "Irrigation in Routt County," shows a simple wooden lateral turnout. (Courtesy of the Denver Public Library Western History Collection)

The other broadly applicable category of significance is criterion C, resources embodying the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, including individual features more appropriately considered together as a district. Such significance may arise from vernacular construction or from advanced engineering and may reside in individual components or in the arrangement of a whole system. Small ranch ditches, or laterals within larger systems, may not meet significance criteria on their own but are apt to be important contributing components in any larger site or district.

Significance under criterion D, the potential to yield information important in prehistory or history, is not limited to defunct ditches that exist only as potential archeological sites. Functioning ditch systems may yield information unavailable

elsewhere. Ditch laterals, for example, whose location and arrangement were seldom contemporaneously documented, can provide information on the historical arrangement and use of agricultural lands. Remnant lateral turnout gates, where the laterals themselves have disappeared, may be the only evidence of previous development patterns.

Evaluating the Integrity of Working Landscapes

While a completed context study makes establishing significance for Colorado irrigation ditches and canals relatively straightforward, a significant property must also possess *integrity* to be eligible for the National Register, that is to say, it must have the ability to convey its significance through key identifying features. The National Register recognizes seven aspects of integrity—location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association—that are prioritized according to the reasons a property is significant and evaluated against comparable sites. The ditch context study concluded that a more holistic approach to assessing integrity through design and location, as well as an increased emphasis on feeling, may be the most effective way of assessing the integrity of these historic resources.

For working landscapes that continue in use, integrity can be a challenging question. A ditch that no longer functions may be more likely to retain intact original components such as wooden control gates. A working ditch wears out wooden structures, and even concrete ones, but continues the historic use of the resource. To encourage the preservation and recognition of working landscapes, the evaluation of integrity must accommodate the changes that are normal, or least necessary, for continuing operation.

Initial construction (at least until the Federal Government projects after the Newlands Act of 1902) was governed by expediency to get water running.[5] It was partly a matter of survival, but it was further reinforced in law. Water rights in Colorado were based on the date at which one began working to divert water and carried that work expeditiously through to completion. Speed was of the essence. Durability could wait for the second draft.

This technological evolution was evident on almost every ditch in the replacement of components, most often one piece at a time rather than wholesale along its entire length. The new component was usually something of familiar form in new materials, and almost always something of similar function on the same location. For example, ravine crossings were first bridged by open-channel hollow logs called *canoas*. Later variations on this same form were constructed of milled lumber and then semicircular sheet metal channels on wood frames. Thus the ditch as a system remained stable, functioning in the same way on the same alignment. Integrity of *design* was maintained if design was considered at the level of the whole system rather than individual

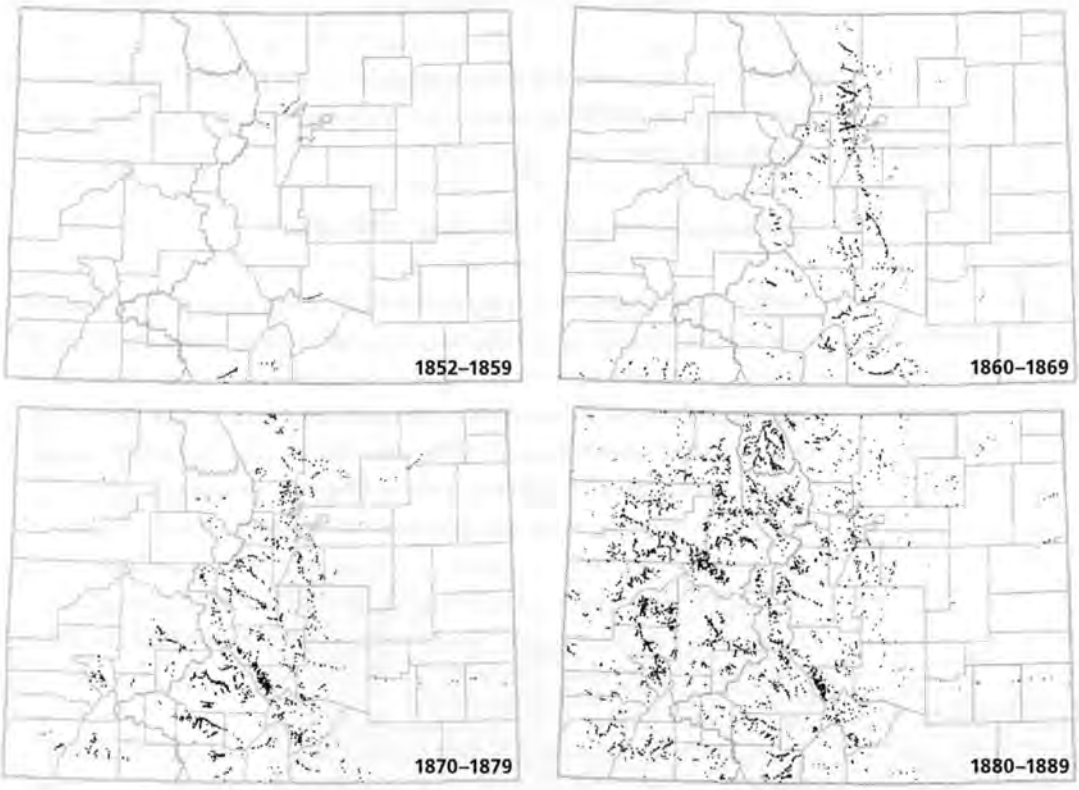

FIGURE 3
Early ditch headgates in Colorado have been mapped by decade. (Courtesy of the authors)

components. The timing of replacement was not arbitrary, but most often took place after ditch components failed in floods or other crises.[6]

One recurring example was the diversion dams of river stones or brush that directed water toward the headgates of little pioneer ditches.(Figure 3) They washed out in the high waters of spring and were rebuilt as the waters fell. Ditch users who still reconstruct a diversion dam each year in this manner represent a survival of tradition, and that tradition is one of cyclical renewal. Such renewal may operate on cycles longer than a year. Many components, built of permanent-looking materials, are routinely replaced long before they are 50 years old in order to assure continued functioning of the system.

Over the long run, even ditch alignments may change in normal operations. Where ditches cross drainage channels, where they traverse unstable soils, or where their banks are colonized by muskrats, they can wash out. The channel traditionally was restored by digging it farther into the slope, moving the alignment uphill. *Location,* like design, should be evaluated for a whole ditch, rather than for every point along it. A ditch is not a collection of points or features but a whole, both functionally and as a presence in the landscape.

Operating ditches are also a resource type whose integrity may be reinforced by the elusive aspect of *feeling.* Flowing water in an arid environment is dramatic and evocative. The sight and sound of water, and our awareness that it is on its

way to be useful, may help a ditch express its essential significance, and thus retain integrity in the face of other changes.

The Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation used the ditches and canals context report as the basis for a multiple property nomination to the National Register. A clearer understanding of the variety of ditch and canal resources assisted in evaluating and listing them. Smaller-scale contexts for individual river valleys (as have been produced for the New Mexico State Historic Preservation Office) might provide more specific background for evaluating individual ditches. The experience of this project suggests that the State Engineer's water databases, analyzed through GIS, can be an effective tool in producing such contexts. A better understanding of the ways that these dynamic resources change in the course of ordinary operation will help in evaluating their integrity, and in maintaining them as working landscapes and a continuing part of the region's heritage.

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Notes

1. Michael Holleran, *Historic Context for Irrigation and Water Supply Ditches and Canals in Colorado* (Colorado Center for Preservation Research, University of Colorado at Denver/ Health Sciences Center, 2005). The report can be downloaded at http://www.cudenver.edu/preservation.

2. See Charles A. Lory, "Foreward," in Colorado Water Conservation Board, and Colorado State University, *A Hundred Years of Irrigation in Colorado; 100 Years of Organized and Continuous Irrigation, 1852-1952* (Fort Collins: Colorado Water Conservation Board and Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1952), 4.

3. National Register, History and Education, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, (Washington, DC: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1997).

4. José A. Rivera, *Acequia Culture: Water, Land & Community in the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); Stanley Crawford, *Mayordomo: Chronicle of an Acequia in Northern New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988).

5. Named for Rep. Francis G. Newlands of Nevada, the Newlands, or Reclamation, Act of 1902 set aside funds from the sale of public lands in 16 western states for the construction of irrigation projects intended to reclaim arid lands.

6. Early ditches retain few if any original components, as shown by a detailed survey of three ditches in Boulder, Colorado, dating from 1860, 1862, and 1888. In 25 aggregate miles, out of 358 recorded features, the only ones that date from original construction are some of those integral to the channel itself: one tunnel, several rock cuts, possibly some retaining walls. None of the others, with the possible exception of one cistern, dates from the 19th century. This data seems to indicate a remarkable bias against any first-generation survivals.

Recording a Mid-century Modern Landscape in Denver, Colorado

by Ann Komara

Flashback, April 2003

Demolition fences are soon to go up around Skyline Park, a 30-year old Lawrence Halprin design in the heart of downtown Denver, and a $10,000 Colorado State Historic Fund Emergency Grant just came through to record the site before it succumbs to the wrecking crew. Time is of the essence. Yet, the "principal investigator" for the documentation grant has 40 papers to grade, and the potential corps of landscape architecture volunteers is entering final juries and exams. Admittedly, this urban park is small—only 3.2 acres—but it is signature Halprin: an integrated sculptural design with many concrete walls; three unique fountains; and a series of built-in seats, lights, drinking fountains, and waste receptacles. What appears so unified actually contains a lot of variation and unique responses to achieve the three-block long, urban promenade.(Figure 1)

FIGURE 1
This general view looking west in Skyline Park's 3rd block, between 17th and 18th streets, shows details of the concrete walls and seats. (Courtesy of the author)

Documenting all of Skyline Park, including the board-formed, cast-in-place concrete detailed with reveal lines, battering pattern, and several surface finishes, looms as a daunting task. The project, moreover, is destined to be HALS No. CO-1, the first landscape survey for the National Park Service's Historic American Landscapes Survey program in the State of Colorado.[1] Guidelines for HALS exist but are in draft form and are largely untested for the nuances that distinguish landscapes from buildings and other structures.

Flash forward, February 2006

Three years later, Halprin's mid-century modern landscape has been replaced with a "living room" constructed with expensive materials but that remains

unfinished.[2] The HALS documentation has only a few, final edits before heading to the Heritage Documentation Programs of the National Park Service (HABS/HAER/HALS) and then to the Library of Congress. To celebrate the recording project's completion—and to mark the passing of the original design—an exhibition of the Skyline Park HALS work is going up at the University of Colorado's College of Architecture and Planning. How was the HALS project done? What strategies, pitfalls, and successes figured into the HALS recording process? What distinguished this particular documentation project from others?

Drawing for HALS

Time and money shaped the parameters for the HALS documentation of Skyline Park. The initial emergency documentation grant was supplemented with support from the State Historic Fund, the National Park Service, and some private donors.[3] The unhappy coincidence between receipt of the initial funding with the academic schedule and the site's demolition created two immediate problems. First, despite the lure of pay, students were able to work for only limited periods of time. As a result, the field crew neared two dozen in number, and the few who had experience were rotated among the field teams. Second, the timing necessitated certain methodological practices aimed at efficiency.

The most decisive move was to use the full set of construction drawings produced by Halprin's office. The very large drawings were scanned and reproduced, and they formed the basis for the fieldwork. The teams measured vertically and horizontally against the drawings, noting alteration and differences. This approach saved time on the ground and facilitated the development of the Auto-CAD base plan and sections.

The resulting set of 11 drawings follows National Park Service standards. Students revised and then printed the CAD-based information and then rendered directly on Mylar sheets, splicing revisions when necessary, and producing archival-quality final drawings.(Figure 2) Yet, there were seemingly minor administrative factors that affected aspects of the drawing process. No HALS title block existed, so students had to develop one for approval by our local National Park Service liaison, Thomas Keohan, before setting any ink on the page. Moreover, the three-block length of the park required using the 34 x 44 inch mega sheets, which in turn dictated decisions about the scale of the drawings and the associated sections. The choice of a scale of 1 inch = 10 feet made it difficult to depict the variations in surface finishes and details but allowed for the spatial reading critical to understanding the park. In retrospect, perhaps the sections called for a layout counter to the traditional format: A "butterfly layout" set directly in relationship to the plan might have better shown the conditions unique to the shifts in elevation and differences longitudinally.

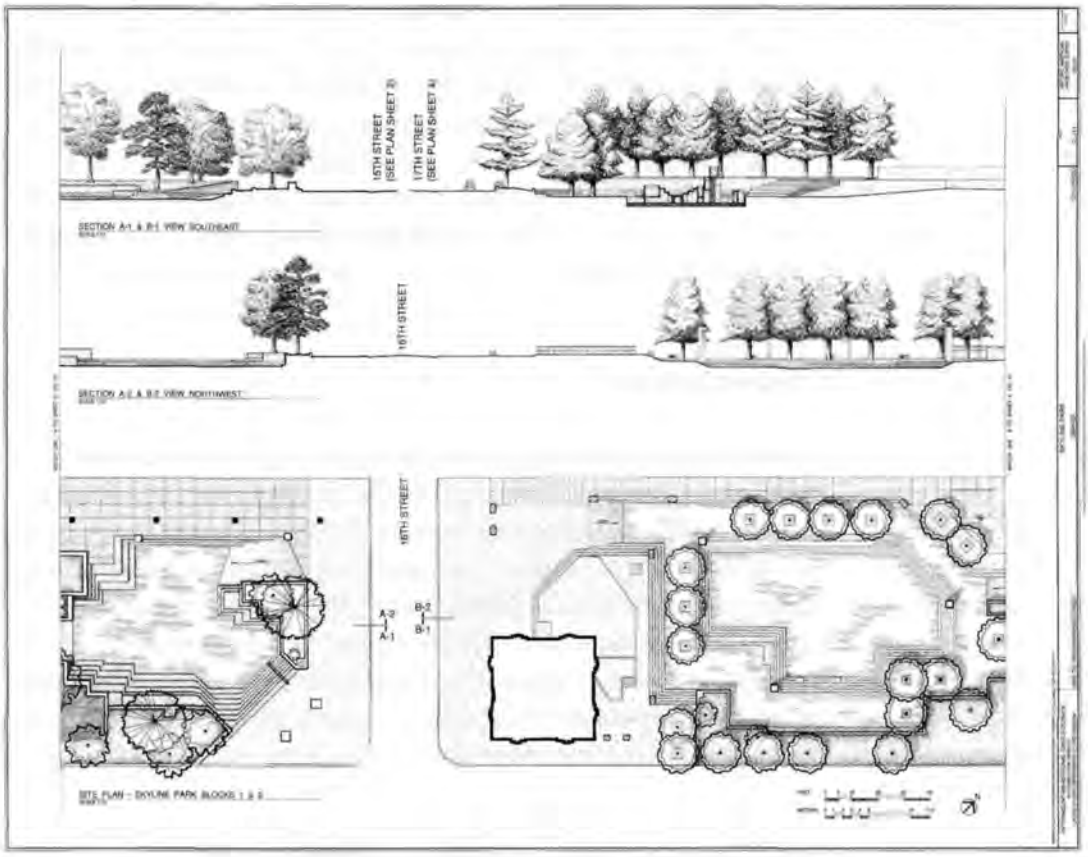


FIGURE 2
This ink-on-Mylar drawing by Sebastian Wielogorski is in a preliminary stage of production. (Courtesy of the author)

The sheets also include details and a unique component of analytical drawings reflecting how the park worked. The historical report and photographs complement the drawing set. The 75 large-format black-and-white photographs include some bird's-eye views from adjacent buildings that capture the park's spatial layout, planting, and circulation system. The photographs also provide sequenced views moving through the park and multiple shots of the three fountains.(Figure 3) Additional graphics are contained in numerous slides and field photos, both conventional film and digital, which will go to the Library of Congress as supporting documentation, along with the field measurements. These supplemental materials, referred to as "field notes," remain linked to the specific recording project for which they were produced.

At the onset of this project, the HALS guidelines were largely untested, and in some cases, undefined. Although similarities pervade HALS drawings and those produced for the Historic American Buildings Survey and the Historic American Engineering Record, and general conventions hold true for Skyline, some decisions were ad hoc. Plant materials, for example, need specific attention in all HALS projects. They posed a challenge in Skyline Park because the condition of the planting was the most degraded aspect of the site at the time of documentation. What are the best ways to reflect overgrowth, decline, and absence, or to distinguish and render the various species? For Skyline, how

should the conditions in the field be shown, such as bare patches of dirt instead of grass, and trees that were either dead, cut to stumps, or in need of pruning?

Ultimately, the basic differences in tree species were rendered, but it proved difficult to draw the specific conditional qualities of each tree in situ. This situation was mitigated by a document placed into the field notes: A thorough spreadsheet of the trees (each numbered) recording species, caliper, height, and condition. The documentation also includes a video capturing the experiences of the landscape, conveying movement through space, the activation of the space with people and water, the play of light and shadow, and peripheral sound. These aspects were all critical to Halprin's design approach.

FIGURE 3 *These HALS photographs by Gifford Ewing show the fountain in block one of Skyline Park. (Courtesy of the author)*

Two pitfalls are evident in the Skyline footage, however. First, like all the other fieldwork, the footage in the park was shot within a short time frame under conditions that were not ideal, and the team had little time to review, edit, or supplement what had been done. Second, because of current archiving practices at the Library of Congress, this documentary of the park and the preservation saga shown through interviews with key people involved must be submitted as part of the field notes.

The loss of Skyline Park should be a wake-up call for historic preservationists. Hindered by a lack of awareness of the project's vulnerability, the design and preservation communities failed to assay the quality of Skyline Park within its evolved urban context or articulate the park's position within Halprin's oeuvre

and its exemplary reflection of the optimism and spirit of its era. In the face of this larger shortcoming, the recording of a significant work of mid-century landscape architecture for the young HALS program might be considered a small measure of success.

Ann Komara is an assistant professor of landscape architecture at the University of Colorado at Denver/Health Sciences Center and the principal investigator and project coordinator for the documentation of Skyline Park. She can be reached at ann.komara@cudenver.edu.

Notes

1. This project was administered by Colorado Preservation, Inc., and the University of Colorado at Denver/Health Sciences Center [UCD/HSC] Department of Landscape Architecture. Field documentation, including video footage by Eric Altman and photography by Gifford Ewing, was completed two weeks prior to the start of demolition of the park in May 2003. The field team included the following University of Colorado students: Manish Chalana, Yi-Ping Fang, Kristen George, Arina Habich, Simone Howell, Erik Husman, Casey Martin, Carol McClanahan, Joey Noobanjong, Leanne Vielehr, Pearl Wang, Susan Whitacre, and Eugene Yehyen-Chun. Names of delineators, research assistants, and authors appear in the formal documentation.

2. The City and County of Denver hired the landscape architectural firm, Thomas Balsley Associates, of New York, to study the park and offer solutions for the redesign. The process included many public meetings, several design alternatives, and, finally, the resulting design, which has kept a few Halprin-era elements within the park, notably two of the original fountains. Balsley referred to the site as downtown Denver's "living room" in 2003.

3. The initial grant applications, written by Ann Mullins and submitted through Colorado Preservation, Inc., were for support from the Colorado State Historical Fund, a program of the Colorado Historical Society, Project #04-Mi-015. Funding and support were also provided by the City and County of Denver, the UCD/HSC Department of Landscape Architecture, the UCD/HSC Center for Preservation Research, the UCD/HSC Colorado Center for Community Development, and the National Park Service. Individuals contributing financial support included Tom Balsley, Ann Mullins, Jeremy B. Fletcher, and David Owen Tryba.

The Recovery of the Longfellow Landscape

by Mona McKindley and Scott Law

Efforts to restore the landscape of Longfellow National Historic Site are well underway.[1] The site is located on 1.98 acres in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and includes the 18th-century house the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow received as a wedding present in 1843. While only the core of the original 1759 estate remains, many of the 18th-century landscape features are still evident, such as the Brattle Street forecourt of American elms framing the house, the terraces, and the front fence. Longfellow and his heirs were also successful in preserving parcels of land stretching from the house proper to the Charles River.

It was the river frontage that first gave the property its historic cachet. Its strategic location captured the attention of General George Washington, who lived and made his headquarters here during the Siege of Boston in 1775-76. The Washington connection attracted Longfellow to the property, who, once there, added his own touches to the landscape, including a formal flower garden planted behind the house in 1847. Consisting of eight beds in all—four tear-drop shaped beds and four triangular ones at the corners—the garden resembled a Persian carpet in design, with flowers surrounded by a low border of boxwood.[2]

Creating the Colonial Revival-era Garden

Longfellow's children and the Longfellow House Trust oversaw the preservation of the house and grounds for more than a century. The poet's daughter Alice nurtured the site's historical connections with Washington and her father in the hopes of establishing a memorial to the two men. While the property was under her care (from 1882 to 1928), portions of the grounds were overlaid with a Colonial Revival landscape that mingled formal axes and vistas with the over-grown, loosely pruned varieties of native plants found in less formal gardens.[3] The Colonial Revival penchant for the beautiful and quaintly old-fashioned is exemplified in Longfellow's formal garden, which was expanded in 1904 and again in 1925 by two of the leading landscape architects of the day, Martha Brookes Hutcheson and Ellen Biddle Shipman.(Figure 1)

In 1904, Hutcheson refurbished the flower beds Henry Wadsworth Longfellow had created, re-setting the boxwood, adding an elaborate pergola to the east, installing a lattice garden fence with ornamental gates, and reorienting a lattice screen with pediment.[4] The pergola, finials, and lattices called to mind the architecture of the colonial era in their detailing, whereas the arrangement of

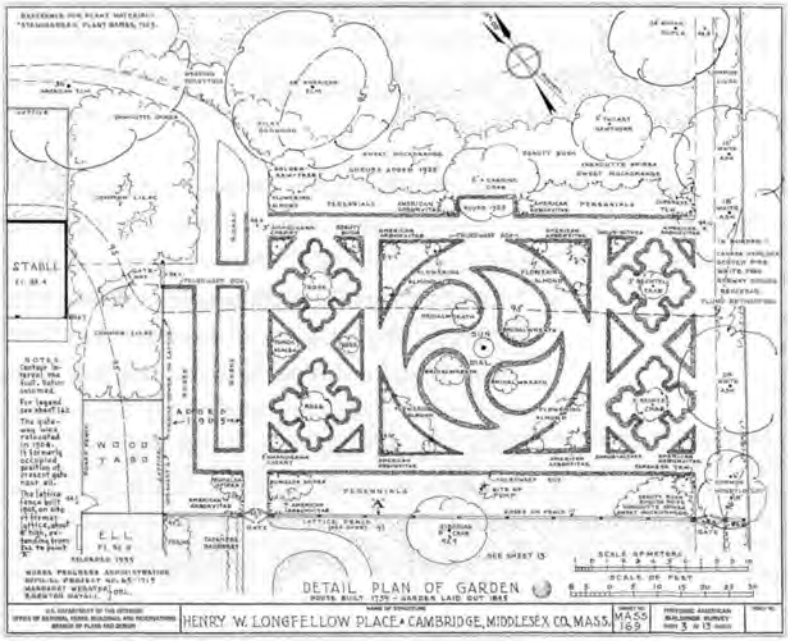


FIGURE 1
HABS produced this plan of the Longfellow formal garden in the 1930s. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

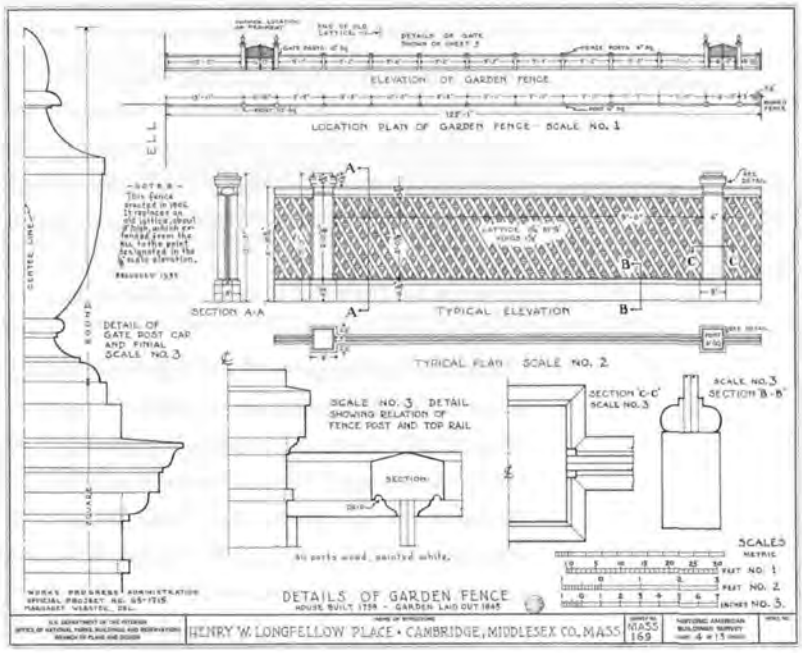


FIGURE 2
This detail from a 1930s HABS drawing was instrumental in recreating the fence at Longfellow National Historic Site. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress)

hedges, walls, pathways, vine-covered trellis screening the stable, and other garden features reflected Hutcheson's personal, more contemporary design preferences. The pergola offered shade and provided a focal point for an otherwise "uninteresting distance," to use Hutcheson's words. A loosely defined border of plantings softened the transition from the garden to the field beyond.[5]

Hutcheson had transformed Longfellow's flower garden into a well-defined outdoor room. In 1925, Alice Longfellow recruited another prominent land-

scape architect, Ellen Biddle Shipman, to rejuvenate the plantings. Shipman added popular flowers from the colonial era and maintained flowers favored earlier by Henry Longfellow. She surrounded the 1904 garden with rectangular beds of roses and other flowering shrubs and introduced columnar arborvitae, ornamental cherry trees, and dwarf crabapples for a more dramatic, three-dimensional effect.[6]

By the end of the 20th century, many of the historic design features of the Longfellow landscape had either been altered or had disappeared or deteriorated. In the 1930s, for example, a hurricane destroyed the large pergola in the formal garden (the pergola was never rebuilt). Around 1970, the garden itself was reduced to one-third its original size for ease of maintenance. As a result of these changes, the landscape appeared spare and institutional compared to the profusely planted, romantic one known and loved by the Longfellows.

Restoring the Longfellow Landscape

FIGURE 3
This view shows the repairs made to the gate posts. (Courtesy of Longfellow National Historic Site)

The restoration of the Longfellow landscape has been ongoing since 2000, and the Colonial Revival-era garden is one phase of this effort. Tasks have included the removal of invasive plants, the restoration of pathways and planting beds, the rehabilitation or replanting of screen trees and ornamental shrubs along the northern and eastern boundary lines of the property, the reconstruction of the large pergola, the reproduction of garden pots and wooden bench, the realignment of the garden's Hutcheson-era lattice fence, and the re-installation of the garden gates.

Before the last task could be completed, the fence and gates had to be reconstructed. National Park Service woodcrafters created a new "old" fence based on surviving architectural fragments and graphic evidence. Early Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) drawings of the gardens at the Longfellow House provided many of the specifications.(Figure 2) The lattice fencing was crafted out of mahogany, a wood noted for its water resistant qualities. The lattice was rebuilt with specially made rails and thin mahogany strips. The post skirts and caps were carefully beveled and hand-sanded to shed water. The HABS drawings and an architectural fragment also guided the design and production of four carved mahogany urns for adorning the post caps at the gates.

Unlike the lattice fence and posts, the Colonial Revival-era pine gates needed only spot repairs. In sections where the wood had rotted, new pieces made of pine were cut to fit and glued into place.(Figure 3) In instances where the extant latches and hinges were brittle or cracked, the hardware was reproduced in a more pliable bronze alloy. Both the fence and gates received coats of paint as an additional measure of protection against the elements. Preliminary studies revealed the original fence footings, which made an historically accurate realignment of the fence and repositioning of the gate posts possible.[7]

Once the fence was in place, the National Park Service grounds crew planted a large collection of custom-propagated heirloom roses in the west end of the garden, along with over 2,000 fragrant, heirloom perennials, in an attempt to recreate the garden's 1925 appearance. More than 300 heirloom annuals and 1,075 bulbs—tulips, daffodils, dahlias, and gladiolas—will be planted by next spring. Once complete, the Longfellow garden, with its profuse plantings and exemplary Colonial Revival features, will flourish once more.

Mona McKindley is an estate gardener and **Scott Law** is a woodcrafter at the Longfellow National Historic Site in Cambridge, Massachusetts. To learn more about the landscape recovery project, contact them at mona_mckindley@nps.gov and scott_law@nps.gov.

Notes

1. The restoration of the Longfellow formal garden is based on the research, analysis, and recommendations of a three-volume Cultural Landscape Report compiled between 1991 and 1997. Project support was provided by the Friends of the Longfellow House, a 2003 "Save America's Treasures" grant, and public and private donations. Project participants not mentioned elsewhere in the report included Steve Law and Leonard Giannetti of the National Park Service.

2. Catherine Evans, *Cultural Landscape Report for Longfellow National Historic Site* vol. 1: *Site History and Existing Conditions* (National Park Service Cultural Resource Management Program, 1993), 44, 63-64.

3. Alan Axelrod, ed., *The Colonial Revival in America* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1985); Mac Griswold and Eleanor Weller, *The Golden Age of American Gardens: Proud Owners, Private Estates, 1890-1940* (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1992); and Susan L. Hitchcock, "The Colonial Revival Gardens of Hubert Bond Owens" (master's thesis, University of Georgia, 1997).

4. Evans, pp. 63-65; Martha Brookes Hutcheson, *The Spirit of the Garden* (1923; Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001): 104-05; "Henry Longfellow Place" (HABS No. MA-169), Historic American Buildings Survey, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

5. Evans, 63-69; Hutcheson, 104-05, 155-58.

6. Evans, 71; Judith B. Tankard, *The Gardens of Ellen Biddle Shipman* (Sagaponack, NY: Sagapress in association with the Library of American Landscape History, 1996).

7. Marrying the original garden gates to the new lattice fence posed a challenge that the archeologists answered with their investigation of the formal garden. The National Park Service grounds crew had already felled two large crabapples that had grown into the fence, and archeologists determined that the tree roots could also be removed from the fence line without adverse effects. In 2004, Longfellow National Historic Site contracted with Earth Tech, whose archeologists worked under Stephen Pendery, chief archeologist for the National Park Service's Northeast Region, to locate the original postholes and remove old footings in preparation for the installation of the new fence.

   By spring 2004, test-fitting of the posts and fence installation were underway. Each post consisted of a steel interior member set into concrete footings and covered by a wood sleeve. Care was taken that the wood post with its skirt did not touch the soil. By late summer, the posts were in place. As the sections of the fence went in, the archeological trench was backfilled. This process continued into the next spring. See Stephen Pendery, *Management Summary Longfellow Garden Excavations, 2001-02* (Lowell, MA: Northeast Region Archeology Program, March 2003).

The Historic American Landscapes Survey Documents Congressional Cemetery in Washington, DC

by Julia A. Sienkewicz

Years before the establishment of Arlington National Cemetery, *The New England Farmer and Horticultural Register* took up the issue of Congressional Cemetery, Arlington's lesser known predecessor on the Anacostia River. "In the congregation of the dead," the *Register* noted, "you may study and catch the manners of the living, discovering in turn refinement or rudeness of taste, knowledge or ignorance, ostentation or modest retirement."[1]

The first national cemetery in the United States, Congressional offers insight into the evolution of cemetery design nationwide. In form, the cemetery, which began as a modest churchyard, reflects vernacular traditions but also bears the distinctive imprint of talented local craftsmen who were versed in the latest trends in architecture and landscape. Modified in the mid-19th century in accordance with the ideals of the rural cemetery movement, the cemetery was reworked a second time in the late 19th century to approximate a lawn cemetery. These developmental patterns, which are still evident in Congressional Cemetery's landscape, guided a recent pilot history project for the National Park Service's Historic American Landscapes Survey (HALS).[2]

The first project objective was to establish Congressional's place in the history of national cemetery design. The second was to test the effectiveness of the new HALS history guidelines for documentation of historic landscapes and, by doing so, help codify the new program's landscape documentation methodology.

The First "National" Cemetery

In 1807, the District of Columbia passed a law calling for the improvement of its two public cemeteries that had been in use without government supervision or regulation since 1798.[3] Henry Ingle, one of the three city commissioners named to carry out the act, also joined a group of private subscribers in founding a third cemetery. This new, privately-owned cemetery—known as Washington Parish Burial Ground and later Congressional Cemetery—was always envisioned as a "public" burying ground for the capital city even though it was to be given to Christ Church Episcopal once its subscribers had been repaid. Christ Church owned and administered the cemetery from 1812 until 1976, when it leased the operation of the non-denominational cemetery to the nonprofit Association for the Preservation of Historic Congressional Cemetery.

FIGURE 1
This 2005 HALS photograph shows the Acquia sandstone cenotaphs erected by the Federal Government, beginning around 1817, to commemorate Congressmen and other officials. (Photograph by James W. Rosenthal, courtesy of the National Park Service)

FIGURE 2
This HALS view from 2005 depicts the flagstone-covered footpath that served as the main ceremonial axis of Congressional Cemetery during the 19th century. (Photograph by James W. Rosenthal, courtesy of the National Park Service)

The transition from a public burial ground to a national one occurred in 1817 when the church donated 100 burial plots to the Federal Government for deceased congressmen and public officials who could not be transported to distant home states for burial. While extant records do not indicate the church's motives, it seems likely that the church elders desired to raise the cemetery's status. In the aftermath of the War of 1812, when the future of Washington, DC, was in question, they might also have seen an opportunity to solidify the government's ties to the city by creating a site for national commemoration. Almost immediately after this decision was made, the site came to be known as the National Burying-Ground, or Congressional Cemetery, and it rapidly developed into an important place in the national consciousness.

Key elements of the site date from the early- to mid-19th century when the cemetery occupied the limelight of national memorialization. During that time, the Federal Government installed identical sandstone cenotaphs over the site of each Congressman's grave, using a design traditionally credited to architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820).[4](Figure 1) In 1832, a public vault was constructed to house the remains of government officials until arrangements were made for proper burial. Around 1857, the main entry path was paved with flagstones and lined with trees, accentuating the cemetery's role as a site of memory and ritual.(Figure 2) Perhaps most importantly, the Federal Government constructed a graded and graveled road in the 1850s to connect the then rural cemetery with the Capitol building. Although Arlington and other military

cemeteries overshadowed Congressional's importance in the years following the Civil War, surviving features such as the cenotaphs, public vault, and flagstone path testify to the cemetery's national prominence during much of the 19th century.

Historic Cemetery Development Patterns

Congressional Cemetery also reflects the major trends in American cemetery design. The oldest square of the cemetery is in the form of a churchyard burial ground. The 1791 L'Enfant Plan for Washington provided the cemetery's underlying geometry. Additions to the burying ground included overlays of picturesque plantings and memorials mimicking the principal formal qualities of the rural cemetery. A final addition of ground was laid out in the manner of a lawn cemetery, a late-19th century trend characterized by the reduction in size and number of above-ground monuments and the elimination of many of the structured picturesque elements of the rural cemetery landscape. This layout allowed for more expansive and easily maintained stretches of turf.

Congressional Cemetery is exceptional because it combines a reform-minded cemetery design with a national iconographic program predating the rural cemetery movement. It also includes a cast of characters who are known for their work on other Washington landmarks from the same period. Besides Latrobe, the cemetery's first trustees, George Blagden, Griffith Coombe, and Henry Ingle, were all involved in the construction of the city's public structures, including the Capitol.

FIGURE 3
This historic photograph taken for a 1913 cemetery brochure shows the public vault built with federal funding in 1832. (Photograph by E.R. Thompson, courtesy of Washingtoniana Division, District of Columbia Public Library)

FIGURE 4
This 2005 HALS view shows the public vault and flagstone path. (Photograph by James W. Rosenthal, courtesy of the National Park Service)

Following the HALS history guidelines, the Congressional Cemetery report combined a detailed contextual narrative with descriptive categories tailored to landscape forms, building on the time-tested historical report methodology used by the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) and the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER). The current features and conditions of this complex landscape also were recorded in large-format black-and-white photographs, including contemporary recreations—rephotographs—of selected views published in a 1913 cemetery brochure.(Figures 3 and 4) In many instances, the juxtaposition of historic and contemporary views reveals the changes in the landscape more effectively than any written description.

This HALS study has opened the doors for a future cooperative effort between the National Park Service's Cultural Resources GIS Facility and the Association for the Preservation of Historic Congressional Cemetery. The potential CRGIS project would create an interactive map and accompanying database to aid management and interpretation of the cemetery.

A doctoral candidate in Art History at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, **Julia A. Sienkewicz** worked on the Congressional Cemetery HALS project while a Heritage Documentation Programs (HABS/HAER/HALS) summer employee in 2005. She may be reached via email at jsienkew@uiuc.edu. Inquiries regarding HALS documentation and guidelines can be directed to Paul A. Dolinsky, manager, HALS, paul_dolinsky@nps.gov.

Notes

1. "National Burying Ground: Extract of a Letter from one of the Editors, now in Washington," *The New England Farmer and Horticultural Register* 1, no. 26 (January 25, 1823): 206.

2. Julia A. Sienkewicz, HALS No. DC-1: Congressional Cemetery (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2005). Other cemeteries recently recorded under the HALS banner include the Woodlands Cemetery in Philadelphia (HALS No. PA-5; completed in 2004) and several national cemeteries managed by the National Cemetery Administration (underway). For more information on the latter, see Sara Amy Leach, "The National Cemetery Administration's Documentation Initiative," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 3, no. 1 (winter 2006): 74-78. HALS was created in 2000 in response to a growing interest in landscape documentation, following in the tradition of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), founded in 1933, and the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER), founded in 1969.

3. "An act for the improvement of the Grave Yards in the City of Washington, for the appointment of Sextons thereto, and for other purposes," *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser* 7, no. 990 (March 20, 1807): 1.

4. The term "cenotaph" is used here because, while some of the monuments do, in fact, mark graves, others are purely commemorative. Latrobe is best known for his design for the United States Capitol during the early 19th century and other prominent commissions, including the Roman Catholic Basilica of the Assumption in Baltimore.

Reviews

BOOKS

Unlocking the Past: Celebrating Historical Archaeology in North America

Edited by Lu Ann De Cunzo and John H. Jameson, Jr. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, in cooperation with the Society for Historical Archaeology, 2005; x + 255 pp., index; cloth $39.95.

Heritage of Value, Archaeology of Renown: Reshaping Archaeological Assessment and Significance

Edited by Clay Mathers, Timothy Darvill, and Barbara J. Little. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005; xviii + 368 pp., index; cloth $69.95.

Unlocking the Past and *Heritage of Value, Archaeology of Renown* both offer real value to anyone interested in the practice of archeology in the service of history and historic preservation and each, in its own way, focuses on current issues in their own part of that practice (or *praxis* as some would have it). While both sets of editors offer detailed views of their respective sides of the coin, neither book touches upon critical aspects of the other side. And with the exception of a few contributors, neither book really explores its own practitioners' stake in the results of determining what happens to archeological sites.

"Celebrating" is the key word in the De Cunzo and Jameson volume, *Unlocking the Past: Celebrating Historical Archaeology in North America*. Every contribution is written by an expert in the field, and in most ways the book is an enjoyable non-technical book to read.

The titles of the first five sections of this book reveal that the editors mean to cover a lot of ground ("Cultures in Contact: Melting Pots or Not?;" "Challenging and Changing Environments: Exploring New Lands and Exploiting New Environments;" "Building Cities: Tales of Many Cities;" "Making a Living in Rural America: the Archaeology of Work;" and "Cultures in Conflict: Contests on Land and Sea"). In those sections, the substantive chapters are of variable usefulness: A few are too narrow; a lesser number read like a press release, while one or two look like the last paragraph of a grant report.

The better chapters are general historic overviews of one or another aspect of the discipline presented through the medium of personalized and engaging "just-so" examples. Although identified by unexplained font changes, these call-outs, which are embedded in the larger chapters, are ultimately distracting: They do not appear in the index or in any table and pose a dilemma for those readers who might wish to cite them.

The reader is treated to a lot of the very interesting "low hanging fruit" to be found among the methods and conclusions historical archeology uses and yields, but is presented with no broad justification for the discipline until section 6, "Unlocking the Past: From the Past in the Present to the Future." This section introduction by Lu Ann De Cunzo and the well-written chapters by Maria Franklin and John Triggs are the intellectual heart of the book.

The publisher claims "this book [*Unlocking the Past*] describes compelling discoveries unearthed by archaeologists in search of North America's historical past." However, the history in this historical North

America begins only with the Norse and the continent ends abruptly at the Rio Grande. Perhaps that is just as well, since this book does not grapple with the question of just what makes archeology at a particular site "historical" archeology. The Mexicans with whom I have worked quite correctly considered excavations at their Mayan sites in the Yucatan to be historical archeology. One might debate whether the late American Indian sites in the Great Lakes region became historical sites when Columbus landed on Hispaniola in 1492 or when Champlain sailed up the Saint Lawrence to Lake Huron in 1612, or whether they became historical sites when they were vaguely referred to on a 1640 French map.

The concept underlying most of this book is that material culture, as discovered and studied through historic archeology (not through politicized texts), is the way to understand an unlettered proletariat or the disesteemed indigenous peoples still present in the world. But perhaps that asks too much: However correct it may be to question the motive behind every historical document, archeologists cannot thoroughly study human behavior without those documents and without recognizing the importance of motive—often individual motives.

The book's stated *raison d'etre* is to raise public interest in historical archeology, and to be sure the point is understood, John Jameson, Jr.'s concluding paragraph exhorts the reader to follow that flag. But while many of the editors and authors work in museums or for public agencies, with the exception of Pamela Cressey's contribution, this book is all about the experts. Nowhere is there any dialogue with the public, and the absence of any map to help readers find Jamestown, Shaker Village, the Lowell Mills, Louisbourg, or the scores of antebellum plantations mentioned in the text makes the book seem less than user-friendly. Readers may also be disappointed to find the first references to websites more than three quarters of the way into the book.

The good chapters are very good, and the topics they present—arcane forensic science, the discovery of buried cities, identifying some long-forgotten craftsman's family history, recognizing mysterious but once familiar objects, re-fighting famous battles and exposing inept generals—these are unquestionably topics that spark public appreciation for archeology. *Unlocking the Past* would make a nice present to give anyone curious about historical archeology as a career.

At first glance, the volume *Heritage of Value, Archaeology of Renown: Reshaping Archaeological Assessment and Significance*, edited by Mathers, Darvil, and Little, appears to be an altogether different book. According to the publisher, it "raises concerns and. . .revives the critical debate concerning significance and value while emphasizing innovations in both theory and practice in what has become in the 21st century an increasingly diverse discipline." Yet, the book presents few new innovations in either theory or practice.

Following a very clear introduction by the editors, part 1 contains three chapters on archaeology and heritage. Darvill's and Tainter and Bagley's discussions relating "significance" to site size and descriptive simplicity—suggesting that we all too readily pigeonhole data—are intriguing. Part 2, "Archaeology in Context," provides four governmental historical essays on assessing site significance from rather different international perspectives, but a critical comparative analysis of the reasons behind or the effects that resulted from applying those different national rules and regulations would have strengthened this part. Part 3, "Judging Value and Importance," contains a *potpourri* of chapters running from mathematical modeling of uncertain applicability to the very interesting issue of the equally ethnocentric value judgments about site preservation being made by Australian aborigines and American archeologists. And while I would not deny there has been controversy in the American heartland over American Indian sacred sites, these issues have moved beyond where author Sherene Baugher has portrayed them.

After reading the chapter, "Traditional Cultural Properties and the National Preservation Program in the United States," by Swidler and Yeatts, I wondered why a book whose purpose is clearly informed by the "liberation theology" of continental academicians would ignore discussion of the National Park Service Thematic Framework for History and Prehistory developed in 1991 and adopted in 1994—a new cultural history approach that finally expanded historical and archeological "significance" for cultural resources, taking it from the plantation veranda to the "dependencies," and from William Vanderbilt's Biltmore Estate to Appalachian coal company towns. This omission appeared especially curious since editor Barbara Little wrote an excellent summary of that document for the Society for American Archaeology *Bulletin* in 1996.

The three chapters in part 4, "Managing Valued Places," show that an archeological site, like an architectural one, can be commodified as a cultural heritage site not unlike (and not infrequently linked to) locales promoted for ecotourism. Commodification implies another meaning of value, albeit one assessed more frequently by the local Chamber of Commerce than the local historical society.

These worthwhile books offer many new views of the "values" placed on uncovering, interpreting, and preserving the remains of the past. Yet, the fact that we have been reduced to selling the past by fantastic promises of its future earning power says a lot about our cultural values. I could not help but think that among all of the "values" that we, as professionals, were prepared to dissect, the value of furthering our professional careers was not on the table.

That oversight was also manifest in the "who we are and how we got that way" parts of both of these volumes. It seems that too few authors are familiar with the literature of their disciplines prior to the start of their own careers. Equally surprising, encomiums offered by both sets of editors to their immediate intellectual forbears ignore many of the truly pioneering archeologists and much of the disciplines' multi-lineal history that wrestled with these issues before the current paradigms coalesced. But as every contributor to both of these books should acknowledge, and as Sir Winston Churchill is reported to have said, "History shall be kind to me for I intend to write it."

David Brose
Imprints From The Past, LLC

How Students Understand the Past: From Theory to Practice

By M. Elaine Davis. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2005, 200 pp., illustrations, tables, appendices, index; cloth $72.00, paper $29.95.

Author M. Elaine Davis is an archeologist and educator who employs standard analytical techniques from the disciplines of public archeology and public history to support major points of traditional and non-traditional learning. She approaches her young, grade school learners as an anthropologist by building rapport with them to obtain research information in a non-threatening, non-invasive style of mutual respect for teacher and learner. Anthropology and the linguistic turn of the 1960s have also profoundly influenced her work. These influences, along with language and other post-modern nuances, constitute the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of her new book, *How Students Understand the Past*.

The book contains 9 chapters divided among 3 parts, plus an introduction, 3 data appendices, and 12 numerical tables sprinkled throughout. Although the book's title includes the phrase, "the past," it should be noted that the more recent, historical past and historical methodologies are given short shrift compared to the archeological past.

The introduction begins with the sentence, "History is made." This position is clearly articulated

at length in Part II, "Constructing the Past: A Case Study from Southwestern Colorado." Her premise is that historical discourse itself is an artifact. The four chapter titles in this central Part II belie its contents. Chapter 3, "A Sense of Place," typifies the National Park Service approach to public history. Archeologists primarily, but also educational researchers, will like the methodological approach of chapters 6-8: "The Research Design and Project Parameters," "Pieces of the Past," and "Making Meaning of the Past." Also, Part I, "Teaching and Learning History," is for the historian and archeologist, the educator and the learner. Moreover, Part III, "Teaching a History That Matters," introduces the following topics: pedagogy (chapter 7), dialogue (chapter 8), and the reflexive *double entendre*, "Understanding Understanding" (chapter 9). Davis provides a practical reader's guide to the use and reading of the book.

In the author's view, historical and archeological narratives are the result of a subjective selection of documents and artifacts that survive fortuitously through many millennia and generations from the past. Is there a single past out there, back then, a single past that we are trying to rebuild through research and then teach to the next generation? Davis certainly answers with a resounding "no." There are as many manufactured histories as there are culture bearers in the past and learners in the present, as many histories as there are historians, as many types of historians as there are university history departments, as many historians as there are ethnic groups.

The causes of Davis's resounding "No" are populism, pluralism, and relativism. Everyone owns a "piece of the past" (her chapter 7 title). The question is, "What real-world limitations are there to this logico-conceptual world of an infinite number of histories?" From a research perspective, the answer is the primary source documents for historians and preserved artifacts for archeologists, which reduce the infinite to a miniscule number of peepholes into the past. From a teaching perspective, Davis argues in Part III, "Teaching History That Matters," the limitation is what is individually meaningful to each learner.

In both the introduction and chapter 1, Davis introduces an innovation on the winding road that never reaches, but tends toward, Peter Novick's "golden goose of objectivity."[1] She presents her "personal history" as the means of stating her investigative bias up front in a direct and forthright manner, categorizing it as context, which is very admirable and a feature of post-modern social science that is neglected by many archeological practitioners. Other archeological authors of the late 1980s have labeled it as the "unmasking" of one's biases.

Davis employs another unmasking technique, one that is required by the National Park Service's own Cultural Resource Management Guidelines (formerly NPS-28): namely, an explicit research design (chapter 3).[2] Her research design is interdisciplinary, crossing the bridges between archeology, history, educational psychology, and developmental cognition. Its topic is how youthful learners construct and internalize knowledge of the past received from teachers and from each other. The adult teachers in this process employ published essays, textbooks, field visits, museum trips, and reflexive introspection of self and learner. Davis's tactics for implementing this research design are many and also interdisciplinary. Sociological and anthropological tactics such as interview, questionnaire, and first-hand observation are used, as is documentary research and psychological (self-) profiling. In true anthropological fashion, she maintains the privacy of her informants and their institutions by the use of pseudonyms (except for Crow Canyon in which Stuart Struever, one of my mentors, played a large role).

In chapter 2, she addresses *time* (the archeological *sine qua non*), beginning with evolutionary time and creatively weaving in classical Piagetian developmental time, the Aquinian-Lockean *tabula rasa* issue, Wineburg's tensions, and, ontologically,

homeostatic mental equilibrium.[3] Wineburg's tensions in education refer to what Davis calls "the long ago as far away" or Lowenthal's synonymous book title, *The Past is a Foreign Country.*[4] In order to understand this "foreign country," we must express it in our own language to make it familiar and understandable. This translation process constitutes Wineburg's cognitive tension in education and also the paradox of history. Anthropologists have developed a complex language to address this issue of describing and explaining exotic cultures, but that lexicon has not made it into either the public or the educational domains.

What has been learned as a result of Davis's research project in archeological education? Davis's answer is that a hybrid of core teaching techniques is useful.[5] This hybrid is complex, multivariate, and situational, because the educational settings are multiple: traditional classrooms; middle school seminars; outdoor archeological sites; as well as traditional "pheasant under glass" and more innovative "please touch" museums. Many techniques are drawn from undergraduate education that, decades ago, were the exclusive province of graduate education, such as guided independent studies, group and collegial seminars, intellectual coaching, and even old-fashioned traditional pedagogy (that is to say, didactic instruction). Techniques have gradually filtered down from higher levels of education to lower levels.

What all this means to this reviewer is that traditional barriers have been crossed—barriers between research and education, between graduate school education and middle school education, and between adult teacher and youthful learner. This process has been on-going for half a century. Education and research have been democratized in the current phase of American cultural populism.[6] Moreover, two emphases of the 18th-century Enlightenment, individuation and the breakdown of institutional authority, are proceeding apace today and have reentered the American classroom. Davis's heavily structured, heavily methodological research is one such well-reasoned and well-researched move in that direction.

Huzzah for Davis, an archeologist in part, which is not surprising considering that Michel Foucault—a 20th-century, enlightened French philosopher—had written *The Archaeology of Knowledge.*[7] Foucault's book was instrumental in destroying barriers in the 1960s, creating ripples in many tradition-bound disciplines. Archeologist Davis's *How Students Understand the Past* holds similar promise for the 21st century.

James W. Mueller
Independence National Historical Park

1. Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

2. National Park Service, *Cultural Resource Management Guideline*, Release No. 5 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1997).

3. Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001).

4. David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

5. Those core teaching techniques are drawn from *Understanding by Design* and from the Paideia Active Learning model associated with philosopher Mortimer Adler, which Davis references along with Wineburg, *Historical Thinking* (cf. note 3). See Grant Wiggins and J. McTighe, *Understanding by Design* (Alexandria, VA: Association for Curriculum Development, 1998); and *The Paideia Seminar: Active Thinking Through Dialogue* (Chapel Hill, NC: National Paideia Center, 2002).

6. These transformations are not surprising. See, for instance, Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835-40; New York, NY: A.A. Knopf, 1945); and Jose Ortega y Gassett, *The Revolt of the Masses* (1930; New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 1960).

7. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. Sheridan Smith (1969; New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1972).

Finding Sand Creek: History, Archaeology, and the 1864 Massacre Site

By Jerome A. Greene and Douglas D. Scott. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004; illustrations, maps, index, 241 pp.; cloth $24.95.

In early January, at the annual meeting of the Society of Historical Archaeology in Sacramento, California, a historian told a room full of archeologists and historians that the two groups do not pay any attention to each other. According to him, each profession thinks the other is rife with particularists and therefore is not worthy of attention.

The man has obviously never read this fine study by Jerry Greene and Doug Scott, two of the best in their respective professions. The project that culminated in the location of the village massacred by the Third Colorado Volunteers commanded by Colonel John M. Chivington on November 29, 1869, could not have been successful without the cooperation, mutual respect, and deep admiration these two professionals have for each other and the dozens of people who worked with them.

Before I launch into my generally glowing review of their book, I must come clean. I am somewhat biased because I helped get this project off the ground. The day that then United States Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell introduced a bill to create a unit of the National Park System commemorating this massacre of more than 150 Cheyenne and Arapaho men, women, and children, I advised my boss at the time, Jerry Rogers, that he might want to call Washington and warn them that we did not know where the site of that massacre was. When the bill was passed that fall, it was renamed the Sand Creek Massacre Site Study Act of 1998, and it directed the National Park Service to work with the State of Colorado and the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes to identify the location and extent of the Sand Creek Massacre Site and to make recommendations on whether it should become a unit of the National Park System. *Finding Sand Creek* is the culmination of an exemplary interdisciplinary study that I am proud to have touched early in its process.

The book is organized into four very easy-to-read sections. The first part is a succinct and well-told historical overview of the context of the massacre, and the events leading directly up to the event, what occurred during the massacre, and Commander Chivington's movements immediately afterwards. Jerry Greene, the pre-eminent military historian on this team, explains the immediate negative significance of the massacre to Cheyenne social and political relationships and to Indian-white relationships in general. The massacre fragmented the Dog Warrior Society and created a lasting distrust of the Army, which swept throughout all the Plains tribes, escalating hostilities that continued for the rest of the century. Greene believes that echoes of this distrust remain in government-to-government relationships between tribes and the United States government to this day.

In the second part, Greene and Scott walk us through the historical documentation used to estimate the location of the massacre site, which had become confused over the years. Most valuable in this search was a map made by Second Lieutenant Samuel W. Bonsall, who visited the site in June 1868, four years after the massacre. His work constitutes the earliest, detailed map made of the massacre location, which placed it about six miles below a three-way fork in a trail. This fork was visible on a series of Soil Conservation Service aerial photographs from the 1930s.

The third part of *Finding Sand Creek* consists of a description of the National Park Service's archeological work. Scott's 1999 archeological team began a systematic metal-detector sweep north of the traditionally held location, which had already yielded a modest amount of munitions. When his crew arrived about a quarter of a mile east of the position

predicted by Greene and the aerial photography analyst, they found an abundance of artifacts dating to the early 1860s that included domestic items (coffee pots, buckets, kettles, spoons, forks, and cans), tools (files, hammers, and axes), personal items (suspender grips, buttons, thimbles, and tinklers), and horse equipage. All were consistent with the types of supplies issued to American Indian villages in the late 1850s and 1860s.

Most telling, however, was that the ammunition was consistent with what was known to be used by the Third Colorado Volunteers and the telltale 12-pound case shot fragments fired from Chivington's mountain howitzers. The domestic wares had all been broken, thus confirming the Army reports that the volunteers had destroyed the Indians' supplies to impoverish the survivors. Together, the archeologists believed they had discovered powerful evidence of the location of the village site.

The fourth part of the book returns to the historic documentation, offering two maps prepared by survivor George Bent and reinterpreting them based on the archeological evidence. The authors find that the maps make perfect sense, when proportion and scale are ignored.

Finding Sand Creek appendices describe the hundreds of metal artifacts recovered and list common goods issued to tribes during that time to demonstrate how the artifact inventory mimics the known types of items that should have been in the village.

The only weakness of this collaborative effort is the failure to include the Cheyenne and Arapaho oral histories. In terms of timing and tone, perhaps it is too much to ask of this type of study. The authors make a well-articulated point that some of the descendants of survivors and victims of the massacre disagree with the archeological and historical interpretation of the evidence. Greene and Scott do a credible job of explaining the reasons for that difference of opinion, and as team leader Christine Whitacre reminds the reader, the legislated boundaries of the subsequently established National Historic Site are large enough to encompass the historically, archeologically, and traditionally held locations of the site. Even so, a similarly high quality volume on the oral histories would make a good companion to *Finding Sand Creek.*

Catherine Spude
National Park Service (ret.)

Passages to Freedom: The Underground Railroad in History and Memory

Edited by David W. Blight. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, in association with the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, 2004; 337 pp., illustrations, bibliography, endnotes, index; cloth $39.95.

The Smithsonian Institution and National Underground Railroad Freedom Center have given us an excellent study of the public history of America's collective behavior. American cultural and social history communities differ on whether the Underground Railroad was resistance or rescue. Although they may use a common set of historical figures and documents, their expectations and needs color their collective memory.

Editor David W. Blight has assembled an anthology of essays from academic and public historians that look at the Underground Railroad as a metaphor and contact point for studying the impacts of slavery on American history and thought. The essays chart the shift from thinking about the Underground Railroad as a noble resistance movement of everyday Americans and devout Abolitionists to focus on the enslaved who had to choose, to paraphrase Frederick Douglass, between the life that may be lost and the liberty that may not be gained.

They also consider the hold that authenticated and incorrectly "remembered" sites have on American collective memory, making this a valuable text for the classroom, as well as for the stewards of sites and historic houses.

Part 1, "Slavery and Abolition," begins with brief, but clearly written, histories of slavery and the slave trade in the Colonial and Federal eras. Ira Berlin's section on imported Africans in the port cultures brings attention to what he calls the Charter Generation, the skilled workers who were able to earn or purchase freedom and property. Deborah Gray White follows with her study of white power and black survival as those truths impacted all aspects of life. Her essay is based on slave narratives and both legal and financial documents of slavery—documents created under the assumption that people were property.

The section ends with James Brewer Stewart's study of Abolitionism, which is disturbing in its almost complete lack of discussion of the role of women. There were so many women in the movement, writing and representing "moral suasions" against slavery and gathering funds needed for publications and direct services, yet Stewart mentions only Prudence Crandall, the early-19th-century Connecticut educator and advocate, and even she is cited as a victim.

Part 2 retells stories of the true Underground Railroad. The essays are broad in scope, covering what was then the available territory of the United States. They emphasize the wide variety of escape and travel methods used, including the little known route south to Florida. Although these central essays are excellent, they seem to rely on similar narratives: Ellen Craft, who, along with her husband, had escaped to freedom disguised as a Spanish "gentleman" (her) and the gentleman's slave (him), shows up repeatedly in slightly differing references. These chapters focus on the impact of the Fugitive Slave Act, which required active resistance from larger populations in the north. As if to parallel history and memory as equal partners in the book, each of the analyses of that truly evil act of Congress has a different emphasis. Part 2 ends with Bruce Levine's study of active resistance during the Civil War.

In part 3, "The Story Endures in History and Legend," Blight's own essay brings us a history of the historiography. He analyzes the methods used by the first Underground Railroad historian, Wilbur H. Siebert. While sympathizing with the popular fascination with the Underground Railroad, he points out that Siebert skewed (or allowed himself to be skewed in) his study by the Reconstructionist era's "tales of helpless black fugitives and their heroic white rescuers." Blight then directs the readers to revisionist historian Larry Gara and the research by John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger on runaway slaves. By ending with a focus on the Railroad and cultural tourism, he prepares for the essays on place.

Jane Williamson writes about the Rokeby Museum, a national historic landmark and Quaker farm. Associated with this site are a 1905 novel and a family archive that tell contrasting versions of its role in the flight north. Milton C. Sennett discusses sites in New York state and the process that resulted in the Freedom Trail Commission "to aid municipalities and non-profit organizations in preserving structures associated with the Underground Railroad." He links the late 20th-century passion for the Underground Railroad to the Civil Rights era and, from then, to the emphasis on multiculturalism in schools and social history in universities. Sennett brings us the enthusiasts, as well as the institutions, which are documenting New York State's historical figures and sites. Diane Miller follows with an essay on the development of the National Park Service Network to Freedom from disparate documented sites that range from slave markets to river crossings.

The final chapter, by Eddie S. Glaude, Jr., connects the metaphor of the Underground Railroad with the metaphor of the Exodus in 19th-century communal history. Although it is odd that he treats that com-

mon "interpretive template" as a *Christian* religious narrative, he makes a compelling argument that the invocation of the Exodus in narrative and literature was a conscious appropriation. Glaude segues into a reference to the century of resegregation and Jim Crow that closes the book.

Passage to Freedom is a lavishly illustrated volume. The contemporary prints and photographs are excellent, and the designers' use of enlarged details from engravings is striking. One odd note was the inclusion of late Mexican painter Miguel Covarrubias's illustrations from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which seemed overly grounded in fictional melodrama, as if to emphasize the hold of communal memory over history.

Despite the excellence of the studies, there are some deficiencies with the anthology. The authors ignore the performing arts as advocacy tool, including only two Jesse Hutchinson songs (one of which is cited only for its cover illustration). The Abolitionists used songs by the Hutchinson Family Singers, Mrs. E. A. Parkhurst, William Wells Brown, and their colleagues to spread their beliefs and to raise funds. Here too, the authors could have found more examples of women as Abolitionist activists.

As a study of the Underground Railroad, this book is a valuable addition to the library of any public historian or institution, although it should be paired with a revisionist study of Reconstruction. It serves as an impetus to thought and discussion on history and collective memory, inciting us to reconsider our ways of looking at the American past.

Barbara Cohen-Stratyner
New York Public Library

The Columbia Documentary History of the Asian American Experience

Edited by Franklin Odo. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002; xv + 590 pp., expanded list of contents, index; cloth $68.50.

The long and frequently unhappy history of the dominant American culture's relations with Asian immigrants and Asian American citizens is witnessed in this volume of 155 original sources, selected and introduced by Franklin Odo, director of the Asian Pacific American Program at the Smithsonian Institution and a curator at the National Museum of American History. Included are the texts of laws, court decisions, treaties, testimony, correspondence, published articles, popular songs, pamphlets, and internal government documents that cover the Asian American experience from 1850 to 2001.

Only one document predates 1850, the Naturalization Act of 1790, which limited who could become an American citizen to "free white persons." The nation's first immigration law stands as a keynote to the 154 documents that follow, for it was in overcoming its restrictions that, as Odo points out, Asian American identity was forged. The final document in the collection, a 2001 pastoral letter from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops welcoming Asian Pacific Americans, measures both the distance we have come and the distance that we have yet to go.

Odo's intent is to fill a gap in Asian American historiography by assembling and introducing a selection of original sources that "illuminate issues and events of lasting historical significance for a range of Asian American ethnic groups." Each of his six chapters begins with a brief essay introducing the period that follows. All of the entries are placed in context with a brief introductory paragraph and a note on the source of selection. The documents speak, often eloquently, for themselves.

Reflecting the historical pattern of Asian immigra-

tion, most of the selections (300 pages and 96 documents) focus on Chinese and Japanese immigration from 1850 to 1945. The first four chapters in the book cover the same period. The final two chapters and 58 selections cover the periods 1945-1975 and 1975-2001. The aftermath of September 11, 2001, is not included.

Part 1 details the period of overt hostility and conflict, publicly and privately, over Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino immigration in the West. It was not until 1898 that the citizenship rights of Asian Americans born in this country were affirmed by the United States Supreme Court. Part 2 carries the story from 1898 to 1924, a period book-ended by the United States' acquisition of a Pacific empire and passage of restrictive immigration laws in the 1920s. Part 3 reviews the period from 1924 to 1941, a time of accommodation and broadened citizenship for Asian Americans amid continuing white hostility.

Part 4 treats World War II in detail through 19 documents ranging from President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Day of Infamy speech through the War Brides Act of 1945, which exempted the wives of United States servicemen from immigration quotas, thus opening the door to an influx of Chinese, Japanese, and European spouses. Included here is Executive Order 9066 authorizing mass internment of "110,000 Japanese Americans, two-thirds American citizens."

Part 5 covers the period from the end of World War II through the fall of Saigon, which saw a gradual dismantling of restrictions, a growing concern for the civil rights of citizens and resident aliens, and the emergence of ethnic consciousness in differing Asian American experiences. Part 6, the final section, covers the period from 1975 to 2001 and broadens the scope to include Southeast and South Asian Americans, although only one document represents the latter.

Odo combines a good representation of personal and popular documents with the texts of the laws, court opinions, and official documents that made discrimination a matter of public policy. The "Wedding of the Chinese and the Coon" (1897), a "comic song and chorus," is an egregious example of the sentiments that also animate the *Life Magazine* article, "How to Tell Japs from the Chinese," published December 22, 1941, when incidents of vigilante violence were being reported in the news of the day. Selections from 1994 and 2000—a *Los Angeles Times* article, "Asians Are Automatically Labeled Gang Members," and "Association of Asian American Studies Resolution on Wen Ho Lee"—speak to the persistence of ethnic stereotyping in our own time.

The *Columbia Documentary History of the Asian American Experience* is part of a series that includes *The Columbia Documentary History of American Women Since 1941*, edited by Harriet Sigerman (2003); *The Columbia Documentary History of Religion in America Since 1945*, edited by Paul Harvey and Philip Goff (2005); *The Columbia Documentary History of Race and Ethnicity in America*, edited by Ronald H. Bayor (2004); and, *Freedom on My Mind: The Columbia Documentary History of the African American Experience in America*, edited by Manning Marable (2003).

Odo presents this collection of original sources as a companion to Gary Okihiro's *The Columbia Guide to Asian American History* (2001), a collection of secondary materials, narratives, historiographical essays, and bibliographical notes. It should be noted that Odo's *Documentary History* stands on its own as a rewarding and revealing testimony to Asian American life. Together, the *Columbia Guide* and the *Columbia Documentary History* are useful additions to academic and public library collections. By itself, the *Documentary History* offers general readers an insightful tour of unfamiliar ground.

Patrick Norris
Kalamazoo Valley Museum

Common Ground: The Japanese American National Museum and the Culture of Collaborations

Edited by Akemi Kikumura-Yano, Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, and James A. Hirabayashi. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005; viii + 227 pp., photographs, notes, index; paper $24.95.

A publication by a museum outlining its own history, philosophy, organization, and strategy is a significant source of information for interested scholars, curators, and cultural resource professionals. Falling under this category of institutional autobiography is *Common Ground: The Japanese American National Museum and the Culture of Collaborations*. The book offers a collection of 16 essays penned by the curators, staff, and collaborators of the Japanese American National Museum (JANM) that capture the diversity of issues and challenges faced by the museum since its debut in 1992.

The central theme of the book, which not coincidentally is also the core tenet of the JANM, resounds in the book's title: community building through "the culture of collaborations." The book specifically addresses how an ethnic-specific institution in the United States plans for and asserts a local, national, and international presence. The essays are organized into three parts: The first examines the general organization and programs of the JANM; the second documents specific projects and exhibitions; and the third presents international collaborations. Loosely connected, the essays are readable as stand-alone pieces, and each addresses a significant aspect of the museum.

Like the personal autobiography, the institutional autobiography as a genre has its inherent advantages. An evident strength of *Common Ground* is the authors' relatively unfiltered disclosure of the technicalities of managing a museum, its collections, and exhibitions. By discussing tasks ranging from the macroscopic to the microscopic—from fundraising, board development, collection formation, and exhibition conception, to text panel placement and office supplies budgeting—the book reinforces the importance of details large and small in the successful operation of a museum of this scale.

This idea is vividly captured in the book's meticulous documentation of several of the museum's major exhibitions from planning to execution. The book presents different types of exhibits—a permanent exhibit (*Common Ground: The Heart of Community*), a national traveling exhibit (*America's Concentration Camps: Remembering the Japanese American Experience*), and an international traveling exhibit (*From Bentō to Mixed Plate: Americans of Japanese Ancestry in Multicultural Hawaii*)—which helps the lay reader comprehend the many details involved in implementing projects of different scopes.

The book raises a number of important issues. For example, chapter 2 explores the home movie medium as a significant mode of self documentation for first-generation Japanese Americans, emphasizing the recovery of the movies they shot in the 1930s as crucial to de-centering the image of prewar America as, in the author's words, "white, thin, male, young, heterosexual, Christian, and financially secure." The themes of remembrance and acceptance are explored most poignantly in chapters 7 and 8. The former traces the negotiations for an exhibit at Hood River, Oregon, formerly a site of vocal anti-Japanese sentiment, while the latter parses opposing views on the use of the term "concentration camp" for an exhibit on the encampment of persons of Japanese ancestry during World War II. Chapter 16 addresses an equally provocative issue: the implications of using value-laden terminology such as "Nikkei," "host country," and "outmarriage." The authors discuss how tackling these terms, which are indicative of a lingering uncertainty in the American half of the Japanese American identity, constitutes an essential part of the process of member self-definition today.

The theme of collaboration clearly resonates as the institutional mantra and working methodology for the JANM, and the book captures this spirit faith-

fully by emphasizing the different ways the museum has built meaningful relationships and pursued joint projects with other ethnic groups in the United States (Latino, Jewish, and Arab, for example) and with groups of Japanese and Japanese descent outside the United States. As Irene Hirano, president of the JANM, asserts in the introduction, highlighting the heritage and achievements of Japanese Americans has involved establishing linkages with Japan and North and South America. The objective, perhaps counterintuitive, is to emphasize what Japanese Americans hold in common with other ethnicities, rather that what distinguishes them from others.

Because so much emphasis in *Common Ground* is placed on presenting Japanese Americans as the core group that has reached out to work cross-culturally and collaboratively with other groups, the reader might be misled into assuming an existing homogeneity among members of the Japanese American community. Many of the JANM projects and exhibits examined in *Common Ground* actually signal a diverse portraiture of Japanese Americans, as exemplified by the varied times and lives captured in exhibits focusing on Los Angeles (*All Roads Lead to Boyle Heights: Exploring a Los Angeles Neighborhood*), Oregon (*In This Great Land of Freedom: Japanese Pioneers of Oregon*), and Hawaii (*The Kona Coffee Story: Along the Hawaii Belt Road*). Rather than adhering rigidly to the theme of cultural collaborations, the authors should have placed a greater emphasis on the originality and diversity of the JANM's presentation of Japanese Americans.

While useful as an introduction to procedures and issues, *Common Ground* at times suffers from a profusion of unprocessed information. Several chapters and parts of chapters read like reports and meeting minutes. The general writing style of the authors as a group tends to be rich in statistics, step-by-step recitations, and anecdotes, but insufficient in analysis, all of which point to a core problem of *Common Ground*: the intended audience. While the preface proffers the book as a way to "share with the reader the evolving history" of the JANM and implies a general audience, it is difficult to imagine a reader who might wish to learn about museum operations in the most basic yet technically minute terms. Nonetheless, despite occasional lapses in analysis and presentation, *Common Ground* is a book that offers valuable insight—the collected insights of JANM insiders—to this museum's institutional history and methodology. As a whole, the book attests to the efficacy of collaboration, both in content and form.

Alice Y. Tseng
Boston University

Killing Ground: Photographs of the Civil War and the Changing American Landscape

By John Huddleston. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003; 200 pp., photographs, bibliography; cloth $35.00.

These photographs are appeals to peace; they are the most convincing evidence of the tragedy of war.

–Francis Trevelyan Miller, 1911[1]

Rephotography books feature historic photographs alongside contemporary images taken from the same location. By returning to the street corner or rooftop where past photographers positioned their tripods and exposed their glass plates, rephotographers give us a sense of what was there, what has survived, and what has been lost. These "then and now" works provide insights into the transient nature of the landscapes around us and, by extension, the transient nature of our own time within these landscapes.

Their subjects are predominantly urban. Cities at-

tract the attention of major publishers: Canada's Thunder Bay Press, for instance, publishes more than 35 books on locations from Philadelphia to Phoenix, while local historical societies often assemble similar collections for smaller communities. Books that re-document changes to rural and wilderness landscapes have also appeared, including the recently published *Third Views, Second Sights, A Rephotographic Survey of the American West* (2004). A number of rephotography books are thematic rather than geographic, addressing significant moments in history such as the Civil War.

In 2002, the Johns Hopkins University Press published *Killing Ground: Photographs of the Civil War and the Changing American Landscape* by John Huddleston. In the book, Huddleston, a photographer and professor of art at Middlebury College, presents his contemporary color photographs of 62 battlefields next to images taken during the Civil War. Preceding the matched photos, Huddleston offers a brief history of the war and the photographers who documented it, along with an essay describing his methodology and approach to the project. Supplementary materials include a map of the United States noting the battlefields, short descriptions of the battles, biographies of major Civil War photographers, and a bibliography.

Huddleston's work is structured and presented within the tradition of "then and now" books. His 8" x 10" view camera is similar to those used in the 1860s. The author describes his considerable research to identify the "exact physical location of the battlefields" and how he painstakingly arranged to take the photos within days or weeks of the date of battle to maintain consistency of light and foliage. Yet his essay reveals his interest in transcending established rephotography conventions. "I was open," he writes, "to the complexities of the Civil War, to its implications for our present culture and landscape, and to the ways of understanding these issues."

In *Killing Ground*, understanding is derived, not from the explicit matching of period location and contemporary location, but through content, metaphor, and formal structure. This conceptual approach leads Huddleston away from a literal representation of setting to a search for images that offer intersecting figurative meaning. The author breaks not only with the expectation that his paired photos depict identical locations, but that locations will even be depicted. Historic photos selected for comparison include portraits, engravings, and medical photographs documenting amputee veterans and their limbs—all in an effort to establish cultural, political, economic, and environmental links between the past and present.

Relatively straightforward comparisons between Civil War photos showing the war's effect on 19th-century farms, fields, and cities, and Huddleston's images showing these settings today can be compelling. Ruts left by cannon wheels are mirrored on the adjacent page by the tracks left by earth moving equipment used for clearing sites for new houses; the drainage ditch for a 21st-century subdivision echoes a Confederate trench at Chancellorsville. Sets showing war-ravaged hillsides, cornfields, and clearings alongside a contemporary American landscape cluttered with the detritus of development—abandoned buildings and cars, plastic containers, and mine tailings—highlight the myriad impacts (both radical and incremental) that humans have on their surroundings. The author observes that "In a culture with pronounced respect for military endeavor the expedient treatment of these battlefields does not bode well for lands that have no claim to the special status of 'sacred ground.'" In his photographs, human action disrupts the landscape, and nature slowly conceals and heals the scars.

Less effective are the author's comparisons between a compromised contemporary landscape and the lifeless or maimed bodies of the war's participants. Body and land are inseparable in these pairings. The historic image in one set shows an embalming underway, a hose protruding from the chest of a dead soldier. Apposite, a property boundary marker punctures the hillside of a closed and overgrown

strip mine. In several others, portraits of soldiers (some as veterans displaying their wounds, some before they were killed) are matched with contemporary close-ups of battle sites—the muddy bottoms of Beaver Dam Creek, Antietam Creek, and Bull Run.

Rephotography books exhibit a power to connect, compare, and contrast in large part because there is no intermediary. Such works offer little opportunity for individual artistic expression, and commentary is usually limited to accompanying text. The rephotographer is provided a place to put the camera, a direction to point it, a depth of field, an angle of view—even a season and time of day. Because the perspective is unchanged, the line between past and present is easily crossed, and the range of possible conclusions is expansive. In *Killing Ground*, the author has selected the subject of his photographs within a general location and employs an unlimited assortment of historic images for comparison. Although Huddleston seeks to expand our understanding of the connection between the Civil War and today's environment (political, cultural, natural) by broadening modes of interpretation, the result is actually restrictive. By inserting his perspective of where the correlates exist between past and present, the author leaves the reader little choice but to accept these relationships.

Chad Randl
National Park Service

1. Francis Trevelyan Miller, ed., *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York: Review of Reviews Company, 1911), n.p.

Homewood House

By Catherine Rogers Arthur and Cindy Kelly. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004; 192 pp., illustrations, notes, appendices, index; cloth $35.00.

Catherine Rogers Arthur, curator of Homewood House Museum, and Cindy Kelly, former director of Historic Houses of The Johns Hopkins University, collaborated to produce *Homewood House*, a copiously illustrated and scholarly study of this historic house (begun 1801) in the midst of urban Baltimore, Maryland. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence, paid for the construction of the house on 130 acres of undulating farmland in view of Baltimore's harbor as a wedding gift to his son, Charles Jr., and new daughter-in-law, Harriet Chew Carroll. The Carrolls' Homewood House estate showcased the best of Baltimore's skilled craftsmen and the finest building materials available in the early 19th century.

Arthur and Kelly write that architectural historians regard Homewood House as one of the finest existing examples of Federal period domestic architecture in the country. In its richly illustrated chapters, the book chronicles the construction of the house, provides snapshots of the family's lifestyle and social conventions of the day, and recounts the fate and eventual restoration of the home following Charles Carroll, Jr.'s death in 1825.

Baltimore's busy harbor fueled regional commercial development and population growth within the larger slave-based economy of the 19th century. The city's importance as a mercantile center spurred the construction of several magnificent houses in the area. Few of these stately homes survived development demands and demographic changes as the population and urbanization pressures grew, especially after World War II. One house, Druid Hill, was adapted for use as a park pavilion and the

Baltimore Zoo's administration building. Another house, Brooklandwood, became the main structure for St. Paul's School. Two others—Belvidere and Montebello–survive in name only. Sheltered on the grounds of the Johns Hopkins University and by a few foresighted individuals, Homewood House was spared the perils of urbanization and has retained its architectural integrity for more than 200 years.

Arthur and Kelly provide historical details of the 1801 construction of this classically inspired Palladian style house. In choosing a design, Charles Carroll Jr., the authors write, was most likely influenced by the architectural books available to him in his father's extensive library, such as those written by Palladio, Robert and James Adams, and other contemporary writers on architecture. Some of these books provided not only diagrams and designs but also construction guidelines. Highly skilled local craftsmen carried out the plans.

Demands for the best materials and the most fashionable trends of the time caused construction costs to far exceed the expectations of Charles Carroll, Sr., as revealed in correspondence with his son that is included in the book. However, the fine materials and unique architectural details contributed to Homewood House's distinction and longevity.

Homewood House tours the historic mansion's rooms, hallways, basement, and the outlying privy and coach house, highlighting architectural features and unique embellishments. Floor plans accompanying the lush illustrations facilitate identification of the rooms in the scheme of the house. Throughout the book, Arthur and Kelly bring life to the house, adding insight into the social conventions and tastes of the time by speculating on uses of the rooms and their furnishings.

Harriet Carroll commended her husband for his "excellent heart," but the authors tell us that alcohol addiction destroyed Charles Carroll, Jr.'s family relationships. Harriet and their children left Homewood House in 1816. Unable to conquer his addiction, Charles Carroll, Jr., died in a religious retreat house in 1825 at the age of 50, leaving the home to his son Charles Carroll, III. Samuel Wyman purchased the estate in 1838 and made Homewood House his home until the clamor of Baltimore's urbanization became untenable. The estate then became a day school, the Country School for Boys. Minor renovations involving paint, acoustical tiles, and carpeting were made to adapt the structure for use as a school.

In 1902, Homewood House was donated to the Johns Hopkins University. It became a gathering place for faculty and alumni, an exhibition place for antiques, administrative offices, and home to some graduate students. The authors stress that despite its many uses, the architectural honesty of the place was not compromised. In 1971, the house was designated a national historic landmark.

The authors acknowledge Robert G. Merrick, a graduate student who once lived in the house, for his central role in restoring Homewood House and starting an endowment for its continued use as a museum. Preparation for the building's meticulous restoration was a multi-disciplinary effort comprising archeological investigation, historical research of Carroll family correspondence, accounting records and probate inventories, and investigation of architectural trends and social conventions of the time.

Homewood House opened its doors as a museum in 1987, but its role in the life of the university and the community continues to evolve as new information about the house comes to light. This information is shared through informative and entertaining exhibits and historical and cultural programs.

The significance of Homewood House is summed up by the authors: "This museum serves as a laboratory for the study of early-nineteenth-century architecture, decorative arts and social and cultural history, a place for experiential learning." The strength of *Homewood House* is the book's detailed

and scholarly accounts complemented by rich illustrations of architectural details of its original construction and subsequent restoration. While not as expansive as the Thomas Jefferson Foundation's 2002 publication, *Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, Homewood House* succeeds in effectively telling the story of this unique structure. It deserves a place on the bookshelves of architects and historians or in the living rooms of an admiring public.

Charlotte King
University of Maryland

Weaver of Dreams: The Life and Architecture of Robert C. Reamer

By Ruth Quinn. Gardiner, MT: Leslie and Ruth Quinn, 2004; viii + 199 pp., notes, photographs, appendices, bibliography, index; cloth $39.95.

Old Faithful Inn in Yellowstone National Park (1902-04) has become something of an icon in the past quarter century with the renewed appreciation of rustic design. The same has not occurred with the hostelry's architect, Robert Reamer, who remains scarcely known. *Weaver of Dreams* may not rectify the situation, but it does offer an array of new material on this elusive figure and indirectly raises important questions.

Quinn's book is a labor of love. Though not trained as a historian, she has pursued archival sources in many parts of the country to reconstruct a life long forgotten. Her diligence, coupled with her focus on facts, gives the text a solid base upon which scholars may wish to explore further.

The Reamer that the author presents makes such inquiry tempting. Old Faithful Inn is a startling design, employing a vocabulary of log and stone developed over the previous two decades in the Adirondacks, but still largely a private, privileged mode, here inflated to monumental proportions and given the rigor of a well-studied Beaux-Arts composition. Reamer retained domestic allusions, which seem vaguely tied to Swiss chalets, but also suggest an archaic classical temple. Significantly, the exterior eschews the boxy character endemic to sizable resort hotels since the early 19th century.

Inside, Reamer did embrace a hotel idiom, but developed it in a novel way. The multi-storied atrium, which gained legendary status at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco (1873-74) and had been stylishly updated at the Brown Palace in Denver (1890-92), was translated from a quintessentially urban form to an extravagantly rustic one, with a Piranesian forest of logs. At one corner, Reamer set an immense, free-standing stone chimney more akin to an elongated blast furnace at an early ironworks than any interior contrivance. Throughout the effect is one of fantasy, but also of conquest—a quasi-genteel, quasi-heathen celebration of subduing nature (and the continent) for the benefit and pleasure of the well heeled.

How did Reamer do it? Had he been to a great Adirondack camp? Was he a guest at the Grove of San Francisco's Bohemian Club, a redwood forest primeval used for artistic indulgences of the most lavish sort? How familiar was he with the work of the nascent Arts and Crafts Movement? Had he studied the folio volumes of winning designs for the Prix de Rome and other French academic contests? Chances are slim on most counts from what biographical information Quinn has assembled. Reamer's background was limited. As an adolescent he trained with architects and furniture makers of no particular note in the Midwest, and his own work once he began practice in San Diego in the mid 1890s was of a thoroughly pedestrian cut.

So what happened after his principal client put him in contact with Henry Child, the entrepreneur who developed Yellowstone's tourist infrastructure? Was it Child who gave his young architect exposure to a world he had never known before? Did Child, through his many railroad connections, know Collis Huntington, who had commissioned one of the

first large Adirondack camps, or Thomas C. Durant, whose son, William, was weaving the dreams of Huntington and other moguls in the North Country? The Child-Reamer relationship was a productive one, for it continued over several decades. Or might the inspiration have come from a prominent guidebook writer, whose claim to authorship Quinn notes? Whatever the origins of stimulus, Reamer was up to the task, utilizing sources that he would have known mostly from images and transforming them into an extraordinary, original design. Moreover, this opening performance was by no means the last memorable one.

After brief stints elsewhere, Reamer returned to Yellowstone in 1906 to prepare several unrealized designs for the Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel, each increasingly unorthodox and abstract. The final scheme (1909) makes Old Faithful Inn seem timid by comparison. A pavilion plan of huge dimensions is capped by vast, unrelieved hip roofs. Articulating the masses are cyclopean, canted towers that dwarf their chimney prototype at Old Faithful—part elongated blast furnace again, part semi-ruinous pyramid, part natural outcropping. Fronting the main block is a four-story colonnade of tree trunks, repeated around the atrium inside, with waterfalls cascading down the corner towers! Reamer's subsequent scheme for the Grand Canyon Hotel at Yellowstone (1910-11), by contrast, is more a bristling mass of conventional hotel elements. The public rooms, however, form a grand, cascading sequence of horizontal space, articulated with massive wood framing rendered in a forcefully abstract fashion.

As he was maturing, Reamer clearly was looking at a range of contemporary work. Louis Curtiss in Kansas City and Charles Whittlesey in Los Angeles—colleagues who likewise catered to railroad and national park concessioners—were likely important in this regard. The Grand Canyon's interiors bear some affinity with the ones Frank Lloyd Wright would later create in concrete for the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, while the Mammoth's stone towers make it tempting to think Reamer knew of Henry Hobson Richardson's Wyoming monument to Oliver and Oakes Ames, who financed the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad.

Sadly, Reamer did little rustic work after World War I. By 1918, he had relocated to Seattle, where he would spend the duration of his career. Designs from this later period seldom bear an individualistic stamp. Reamer did retrieve his free spirit in the fantasy world of the movie theater. The interior of Seattle's Fifth Avenue Theatre (1925-26) ranks among the most spirited of a flamboyant genre, using "Chinese" motifs in an unabashed display of popularized opulence. The more modest Mount Baker Theater in Bellingham, Washington (1926–27), has an especially imaginative, pictorial exterior composition that makes it an urbanistic *tour de force*. What a pity he could not have done more.

Weaver of Dreams raises many interesting questions, and perhaps that is one of the book's major contributions. Quinn's biography indicates Reamer was a modest, self-effacing man. In demeanor and looks he would hardly seem to be such a weaver of dreams, yet he was by no means the first architect of such temperament to pursue unconventional courses in their work. Such figures underscore the importance of resisting stereotypes in analyzing creative production. Reamer's Yellowstone legacy, which was instrumental in setting the direction of design in the national parks for over three decades, also reinforces the importance of pursuing leisure in remote places as a springboard for innovation in design.

Richard Longstreth
George Washington University

The Train Stops Here: New Mexico's Railway Legacy

By Marci L. Riskin. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005; 156 pp., illustrations, maps, appendices, index; cloth $39.95; paper $24.95.

Open almost any book about railroads and you expect to read about trains, so finding one that explores "everything but the trains," as author Marci Riskin puts it, is intriguing indeed. An architect in Santa Fe who specializes in the adaptive reuse of historic structures, Riskin became interested in railroad structures about a decade ago when she prepared the "Railroad Depots of New Mexico" study for the state's highway department. That interest has blossomed into *The Train Stops Here*, a look through the windows of New Mexico's depots, shops, railroad hotels, and other assorted buildings at the role railroads have played in the state's growth and development. While this book is problematic in some respects, it nevertheless contains a wealth of information for students and aficionados of railroad, state, and southwestern history, and Riskin clearly demonstrates some of the benefits that can accrue from architectural archeology.

The book is organized into five parts. The first two attempt an explanation of the history of American railroading, its equipment, physical plant, and operations in only 37 pages, a task that proved too daunting. The third part deals with the preservation issues and opportunities of railroad buildings, especially depots. By far the most useful section of the book is a company-by-company examination of the state's surviving railroad structures, which is augmented by four appendices later.

Riskin is clearly enthusiastic about railroads and railroading, and particularly so about the buildings designed and built to serve the traveling public. Like many, she seems to think of railroad companies primarily as passenger carriers. Consequently, she sees railroads as being in decline (chapter 10 is entitled "Decline of the Railroad") although today's railroads, focused almost exclusively on freight, are healthier than ever, based on any economic or productivity yardstick. They have certainly changed in dramatic ways, but their problem is how to handle increasing traffic loads, not how to avoid withering away. Passenger service, now only a shadow of its former glory, is—or was—indeed personal and romantic, but Riskin's overall analysis suffers from making it the primary driving force of railroad history. "Railroading's Heyday" did not come to a close with the end of World War I, nor with the demolition of Albuquerque's Alvarado Hotel in 1970, even though the traveling public's switch to automobiles and airplanes during the intervening decades may have made it seem so at first glance.

In short, the first 10 chapters of *The Train Stops Here* will prove of limited use to the serious student of railroading, and some of the factual inaccuracies might derail those coming anew to the field. Context is certainly vital, so a brief, general overview of railroad history would have been more appropriate. It is unfortunate that Riskin did not intentionally limit her study to passenger transportation and infrastructure, since this is her strongest suit.

That being said, Riskin's book has a lot to recommend it. A detailed examination of New Mexico's surviving railroad buildings is filled with valuable information and illustrations. The only difficulty here is in its organization. Each chapter deals with one of five railroad systems in the state, although most no longer exist as such. The more complex systems that consist of several lines built or acquired at different times each receive a subchapter that covers the towns and cities in their geographical order along the line. This arrangement may work well for those familiar with the state, but it can be problematic and confusing for others.

Each section has a state map showing the rail lines, including now-abandoned ones, with the subchapter's line in bold, but no towns or railroad compa-

nies. Appendix 1 offers a large state map with a listing of surviving structures, but, amazingly, this map shows not railroad lines, but interstate highways.

Within each town section, Riskin does a very nice job of describing the surviving buildings and putting them into historical context. Although neither long nor excessively detailed, these descriptions are nonetheless evocative and often supported by photographs of buildings or important details. Riskin took many of these photographs, which with her text show a genuine sensitivity to architectural styles and the structures' importance. As might be expected, depots are the most frequently encountered buildings, but surviving shop facilities, dormitories for train crews, freight stations, and even a coal tipple or two are represented. Of particular interest are the small depots designed and built so that they could be moved on flatcars when the need arose. Chapter 13 on the Santa Fe also includes delightful material on the unique Harvey House hotels and restaurants that were adjacent to Santa Fe depots in major towns and cities and so much a part of that railroad's history.

Curiously, Riskin did not use the current names for most of the carriers, choosing instead to identify them with names one or two generations old. For instance, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, the state's primary system, has been a part of the BNSF Railway (formerly Burlington Northern and Santa Fe) since 1996. Several branch lines once part of the Santa Fe are now independent short lines, but she dealt with those, along with some now-abandoned branches, in the Santa Fe chapter. The Southern Pacific and the Colorado and Southern railroads each have their own chapter, even though they are now part of the Union Pacific and BNSF, respectively. The Denver and Rio Grande (Western) is also part of the Union Pacific, but the D&RGW's lines in New Mexico, which were all narrow gauge, had long been abandoned by the time of its merger into UP, so this anachronism makes sense. Of the railroads listed in chapters 13 through 17, only the Texas-New Mexico Railway still operates by that name.

The Train Stops Here is a unique approach to the study of railroad infrastructure. Every state would be well served by a similar work. Railroad buildings evolved into distinctive structures that are, for the most part, immediately recognizable as components of a vital industry that did much to shape America, even if they are now miles from the nearest track or have been converted into restaurants, museums, offices, or private homes. Riskin clearly appreciates the value of preserving this heritage. The book's organizational oddities, unlabeled maps, and problematic early chapters are serious drawbacks, but the reader who invests the effort and focuses on the last two parts will be rewarded with a comprehensive appreciation of the distinctive southwestern flavor of these utilitarian, but uncommonly appealing, structures.

J. Lawrence Lee
Historic American Engineering Record

San Diego's World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940

By Matthew F. Bokovoy. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005; xx + 316 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index; cloth $29.95.

According to Matthew F. Bokovoy, a historian and acquisitions editor for the University of Oklahoma Press, no two events shaped the interpretation of the Spanish heritage of Southern California and the Southwest more profoundly than the San Diego Expositions of 1915-1916 and 1935-1936. Bokovoy's book chronicles the planning, execution, and legacy of these two massive events in an effort to explore "how the dynamics of imagination and power" shaped American ideas about the region and its diverse peoples.

The first part of the book, entitled "History As Myth," devotes itself to the Panama-California Exposition of 1915-1916. In his brief preface, Bokovoy describes the history of the region and asserts that *fin-de-siècle* Anglo Americans fondly remembered the era of Spanish and Mexican rule, and then he launches into the history of the political preparation required to hold the fair. He explains how San Diego representatives distinguished their exposition from San Francisco's larger Panama-Pacific International Exposition, which was scheduled for that same year, by highlighting the area's unique regional character and its Spanish and Indian heritage in particular. Though labor unrest and political divisions distracted attention from their boosterism, San Diego's civic leaders eventually persuaded Congress to approve the exposition.

The next chapters describe how a 1911 pageant and the 1915-1916 exposition celebrated "progress, pluralism and racial harmony." Bokovoy spends considerable time summarizing the anthropological exhibits and the Spanish colonial revival architecture of the exposition, as well as the complicated negotiations leading to their creation. Drawing on a variety of documents—his visual sources are particularly rich—Bokovoy argues that the overarching message of the fair's buildings and exhibits was at once egalitarian and racist, suggesting to fairgoers that San Diegans of Mexican and Indian origin had come to embrace and live by an Anglo American Progressivism.

His fourth chapter, "A Heritage in History, Forever" succeeds admirably in proving his assertion that Anglos primarily shaped public visions of the past in these fairs, but Indians and Mexicans played a vital role in creating the invented traditions. His description of the Painted Desert is a vivid one, and the story of how the Pueblo peoples employed there both presented and shielded their indigenous culture from outsiders is fascinating. Bokovoy deftly shifts between the varying perspectives of Indians and Anglos, and the chapter explores the methods of resistance (including the theft of illegally recorded films of ritual dances from exposition organizers) Painted Desert Indians used to ensure the integrity of aspects of their culture. Bokovoy mines his sources effectively, and he turns what might have been a hackneyed discussion of agency into an exciting chapter on the complexities of class, race, and ethnicity in the context of fairground life.

In the second half of the book, "Myth As History," Bokovoy turns his attention to the California-Pacific International Exposition. He describes the civic development of San Diego in the interwar period, paying special attention to the city's museums and heritage sites. He also depicts the chronic confrontations over labor during these years, and the way the repressive tactics of San Diego industry leaders particularly affected unskilled Mexican workers. In 1936, wealthy and relatively liberal San Diegans, led by Democrat Frank Drugan, decided to combat Depression-era suffering and the city's class divisions by holding another exposition. Again, local leaders lobbied Congress for support, but this time presented San Diego as a paradise of material abundance and social progress.

Persuaded such a fair would result in a more sophisticated tourist economy for the city, local leaders championed what they called "America's Exposition." Ford and other major corporations sponsored pavilions and exhibits, and exposition planners seemed especially interested in pushing real estate on fairgoers, creating an appealing "Modeltown" that featured small versions of modernized regional architecture. Bokovoy concludes with a description of the "Zocalo" of the 1935-1936 exposition, which updated the exotic entertainments offered by midways at earlier World's Fairs. Adult entertainments like Zorro's Gardens, the Gold Gulch, and Sally Rand's fan dances led to local contests over moral authority and highlighted class and religious conflict between local workers and San Diego's increasingly conservative, middle-class Protestant community.

An expanded version of the author's doctoral dissertation, *San Diego's World's Fairs and Southwest-*

ern Memory reads like two very different books. The first is a detailed, sometimes plodding narrative of the political and administrative decisions leading up to the expositions. The second is a lively exploration of the social significance of the fairs, as well as the cultural machinations of its participants.

Though his assertion that the San Diego expositions had a significant impact on public ideas about the region's ethnic heritage is convincing, at least in the first part of the book, Bokovoy's early declaration that the fantasy heritage promoted by the expositions had positive ramifications for Mexicans and Anglos is far less so. He does not point to significant gains in political or economic equality but bases his statement largely on the period's civic rhetoric.

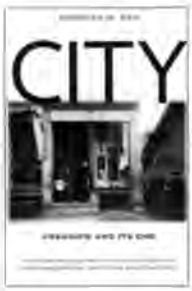
Unfortunately, ethnicity and race essentially disappear in the 1935 fair, weakening his argument, but his descriptions of the Depression-era extravaganza are so entertaining that readers may not care. The photograph of seven women fighting an enormous robot intended to represent machine civilization itself justifies the detour away from his stated argument.

Bokovoy is a diligent chronicler, providing readers with thorough detail about local politics and the planning processes for these two expositions. The book is a solid contribution to the study of California history, and provides a sound overview of San Diego's history and the region's complicated ethnic relationships. Historians of regional development and urban politics will find this book a useful case study, filled with information about the municipal hurdles encountered in the course of staging an extravagant public event. Scholars of public memory and World's Fairs should take a look at chapters 3 and 4 in particular, for Bokovoy provides some excellent insights into the way the fairs combined Spanish, Mexican, Indian, and Anglo heritages under a single Progressive banner.

Victoria Cain
Columbia University

City: Urbanism and Its End

Douglas W. Rae. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003; xix + 516pp., illustrations, maps; cloth $35.00; paper $20.00.



After decades of analysis, the story of the rise and decline of American industrial cities is well known. Works like Sam Bass Warner's *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (1968), Arnold Hirsch's *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (1983), Jon Teaford's *The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940-1985* (1990), Thomas Sugrue's *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (1996), and numerous others have traced the trajectory of urban industrial expansion, population growth, and technological innovation followed by suburbanization, industrial decline, population loss, and racial and economic division. Given the full shelf of urban narratives written over the past half century, what does a monograph on one midsized city—New Haven, Connecticut—bearing the bold title, *City: Urbanism and Its End*, have to add to our understanding?

The answer to this question is the combination of disciplinary perspective and practical application. Douglas Rae is a professor of political science and management who has worked in New Haven's municipal government. From this vantage point, he turns our attention to his home city to ask who has wielded the power there over the last century. The answer, he argues throughout a rich and rewarding narrative, is complex and inseparable from the cultural and social life of the city's streets. It is the combination of Rae's inquiry into power and his attention to the social and cultural details of New Haven that adds to our understanding of both the past lives of cities and contemporary attempts to reinvigorate the urban landscape.

What makes Rae's story interesting is his success in answering the questions of one discipline—political science—with the tools of another—history. As a political scientist, he aims to expand his discipline's picture of the forces that determine the locus of power within cities. Previous authors had asked how and by whom the power of government was exercised. Rae instead asks how and by what forces the power of government has been limited and then—given those limitations—what forces have allowed the city to function successfully in the past.

City: Urbanism and Its End is grounded in the social, cultural, and physical fabric of the city. Rae begins his narrative with a portrait of Joseph Perfetto, the owner of a small office supply store in central New Haven. Perfetto's store is a relic of a city where local economic bonds supported a great variety of small-scale enterprises from corner grocery stores to banks. Through portraits like these, Rae traces the specific economic and technological forces that fostered New Haven's economic base. Fixed rail transportation created a dense urban fabric that helped to support a city government with growing financial coffers and a gainfully employed citizenry. Business grounded in New Haven had a commitment to the well-being of the city. The combination of proximity, interdependence, and relative prosperity forced the residents to negotiate a degree of social harmony. Social institutions that arose from social proximity were the glue that held the city together. Rae calls this social and economic interdependence "urbanism." He argues that "urbanism" allowed for successful governance when New Haven was at its height.

While the city prospered financially, citizens' expectations for municipal government were limited to investments in infrastructure and services. These limited expectations constrained the government's powers and attempts to carry out grand plans, such as a City Beautiful-inspired plan in the early decades of the 20th century.

As the technological and economic underpinnings of the city came apart during the second quarter of the 20th century, this limited view of municipal government continued. The great age of urban renewal during the 1950s and 1960s had little political constituency in New Haven. The combination of land clearance, highway building, and housing projects was run by technocratic organizations that were not directly responsible to elected officials.

Since the heyday of urban renewal, Jane Jacobs has celebrated the lost texture of American urban neighborhoods. Rae makes a convincing argument that the neighborhoods that Jacobs praises were dependent on a set of factors that have almost entirely vanished except in the densest cities. The industry that remains in New Haven is now controlled by distant corporations, and there are few prospects for a revitalization of a central city industrial base. Like many post-industrial cities, New Haven's largest employers are hospitals and universities.

Given the history of urban government, it seems unlikely that a single force can restore this life. Rae, however, sees an opening. He tells the story of Yale University's attempts to develop new buildings in ways that increase the vitality of surrounding neighborhoods. As some American metropolitan areas begin to promote infill development and smart growth, he argues that it may be possible to pursue a purposeful course just as Yale has. New regulations can promote development that encourages social interaction and economic diversity, which, in turn, can foster a sustainable city. If so, then it may be that the telling of stories, the act of remembering, and the commemoration of place from an earlier period of urban vitality can help to inspire the city's stakeholders and citizens to create the conditions for a new kind of urbanism.

Stephen Kidd
Smithsonian Institution

The American Wilderness: Reflections on Nature Protection in the United States

By Thomas R. Vale. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005; published in association with the Center for American Places, Santa Fe, NM, and Staunton, VA; 320 pp.; illustrations; cloth $45.00.

The idea of wilderness is deeply engrained in the American psyche. Rugged, mountainous, verdant landscapes are seen as an expression of American national identity—a pioneering frontier spirit that looks to the untouched landscape to see the mind of God. "Americans carry in their head images of these parks: Yellowstone, Yosemite, Grand Canyon, Mount Rainier, Crater Lake, Glacier. Each name resonates in the mind," says Thomas R. Vale, a past recipient of the James J. Parsons Distinguished Career Award, the editor of a *Fire, Native Peoples and the Natural Landscape*, and author of this book.

In this analysis of American approaches to wilderness, Vale combines a personal passion for wilderness protection with a critique of the multifarious ways that wilderness is defined and conserved. The book is not aimed at providing a history of the area, which has been well covered by others. As such, it presumes some basic knowledge of the nature protection movement in America. That being said, a lack of such background is no impediment to following the arguments of the book.

In the first part of the book, "Contexts," Vale outlines a number of meanings ascribed to wilderness, both positive and negative: sacred space, pleasuring ground, ecosystem, commodity, people's park, evolutionary arena, aristocratic garden, false idol, boorish Americana. In the second part, "Protections," he tackles the surprisingly difficult task of defining what constitutes a protected area, how much there actually is, and the extent of protection. This section exposes the often huge gulf between the designation of "wilderness" or "protected," and the degree to which industry, resource exploitation, and recreational use is permitted. Vale does not offer judgements about these issues, but through a careful comparison of protected areas such as national parks, national wildlife refuges, and national forests, he demonstrates that there are many historical and social factors that influence both their supporters and critics. In the third part, "Issues," Vale looks at some of the critical debates in wilderness protection today: outdoor recreation, conservation, biodiversity, and the "new" nature protection.

From a cultural resource management perspective, the value of Vale's book lies in the direct links he draws between certain approaches to wilderness and the management options that follow from that approach. One perceived meaning of wilderness is "spoiled nature"—that human modification of the landscape has effectively banished nature from wilderness. "The policy response to this vision," Vale comments, "is landscape management designed to re-establish and maintain a prior natural condition." Ironically, this idea may entail introducing active management such as prescribed burning or the reintroduction of predators.

Useful though they may be, it is discussions such as these that reveal the principal weakness of the book. Vale does not engage with the extensive literature developed in cultural resource management and archeology on the cultural landscape, which recognizes value in this very combination of human actions and nature. While heritage managers have engaged with geographical theories of space and place, this books shows that the information flow is still rather one-sided. Vale's considerations of American Indians in the landscape are tacked on as an afterthought rather than integrated into the argument.

Running through the book is the theme of reconciling social justice with nature protection. Vale characterizes the groups who want to protect wilderness and those against whom they wish to protect it. The drivers of wilderness protection

have tended to be the educated, affluent, and white, while the opposition has been the poor, rural, and marginalised, who rely on resources in the "wilderness" for their livelihood. Similarly, environmental activists protecting the wilderness for future generations may also be depriving American Indians of traditional lands and resources. Some have argued that the creation of parks and wilderness areas is simply a new way to colonize tribal lands.

In the section "The 'New' Nature Protection," Vale explores more recent approaches to achieving social justice in protected lands by working with local communities. There is an edge of scepticism in his discussion: He warns that the new conservation "is not simply replacing the old traditions with something necessarily better. Glitz appeals mostly to the myopic eye." In terms of recognizing and managing heritage values within protected areas, however, it is perhaps this approach that offers the most latitude for the cultural resource manager.

In the end, Vale argues that wilderness protection, however conceived and executed, is a way in which people connect themselves to the natural world. Rather than severing people from nature, setting aside parks and reserves forges a new kind of bond. Parks, reserves, refuges, and wilderness areas are cultural artifacts in themselves. This book is a valuable overview of nature protection in the United States, and an interesting contribution to the ongoing debate on the relationship between nature and culture.

Alice Gorman
Flinders University, Australia

EXHIBITS

Benjamin Franklin House: Historical Experience

Benjamin Franklin House, London, United Kingdom
Designer: Event Communication, in partnership with Benjamin Franklin House

Permanent

People on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean are celebrating Benjamin Franklin's 300th anniversary with great style. In December 2005, the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia launched a commemorative exhibit, entitled *Benjamin Franklin: In Search of a Better World*, which is scheduled to travel to St. Louis, Houston, Denver, and Atlanta before heading to Paris, France, in December 2007. In Washington, DC, the Library of Congress mounted an exhibit, *Benjamin Franklin: In His Own Words*, that explores Franklin's achievements as a writer, publisher, inventor, and statesman through books, cartoons, maps, and other important documents. However, those who want to tread the very boards upon which Benjamin Franklin lived and conducted business as colonial agent, diplomat, writer, philosopher, and scientist will have to travel to London, England, to visit the Benjamin Franklin House, that city's contribution to the Franklin tercentennial celebrations.

An actress playing Polly, the adult daughter of Benjamin Franklin's London landlady, guides visitors through 36 Craven Street. (Courtesy of the Benjamin Franklin House)

Opened in January 2006 for the 300th anniversary, the Benjamin Franklin House is an interpretive challenge, for while it is meticulously restored, it contains no furnishings or other artifacts related specifically to Franklin. To overcome this deficiency, the house takes the approach of interpreting Franklin's London sojourn not as a historic site, but as a historical experience. It relies on an innovative mix of panel exhibits, multimedia effects, and actors in period costume to bring Franklin and the house to life.

Benjamin Franklin first sought lodging with the widow Margaret Stevenson at 36 Craven Street in 1757 and stayed there until the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1775. Built about 1730, the house has been designated a Grade I Listed Building by English Heritage for exceptional significance, similar to the national historic landmark designation in the United States. Recently restored with contributions from the Heritage Lottery Fund and other sources, 36 Craven Street is located a block from bustling Trafalgar Square on a quiet side street of similar, modest, Georgian-style houses.

The experience begins at the nearby Players Theatre, where visitors are assembled into small groups before being led to the house and escorted immediately to the basement to view exhibit panels covering different aspects of Franklin's life. The panels include a timeline, a description of Franklin's role in the Enlightenment, and one on the occupants of 36 Craven Street. Following an introductory video on Franklin's life in London, an actress playing Polly, the landlady's adult daughter, opens the basement door and, in an otherworldly tone of voice, invites the group to visit the rest of the house and share her memories of Franklin.

In the first floor parlor, a multimedia show and some furnishings represent a gathering of family and friends. The members of the group hear invisible "guests" banter about political issues of the day and witness the arrival of distinguished individuals. All experience music played on the glass armonica, an unusual musical instrument invented by Franklin while in London. Polly then leads the group upstairs to the two chambers that Benjamin Franklin lived in and used for writing and scientific pursuits. Images and voices fill the rooms, recalling Franklin's inventions, his mapping of the Gulf Stream, his relationship with fellow amateur scientist, the Englishman Joseph Priestley, his study of oxygen, and his unorthodox religious sentiments. Franklin's family life and his extended absence from his wife and children are also addressed in these rooms.

As an agent for the Pennsylvania colony, Franklin found himself embroiled in difficult political negotiations with the British Government while in London. The group watches and listens as he struggles through the controversial Stamp Act of 1765 and colonial resistance to the tax on tea. By 1775, relations between England and the Thirteen Colonies were beyond repair. The visit to the Benjamin Franklin House concludes with Polly urging Franklin to flee. He left England in 1775 and never returned.

As a "historical experience," the Benjamin Franklin House succeeds; however, it has its drawbacks. The time allotted for viewing the exhibits in the basement, for instance, was not sufficient for this reviewer to read all the panels before the orientation video began. Polly's marriage to a well-known doctor of anatomy, William Hewson, and the discovery of a cache of human skeletal remains in the course of restoring the basement are mentioned only in passing. It took a trip to the museum's website to get the whole story. Furthermore, the highly structured and theatrical nature of the historical experience leaves little room for questions from the group or impromptu discussions.

On the other hand, the Benjamin Franklin House experience represents another way of using buildings to tell stories, especially when those stories have little to do with the architecture. Moreover, it brings to life a building that is otherwise devoid of original furnishings, documents, or other physical records of Franklin's time as a resident. Visitors can

focus on Benjamin Franklin's own words and those of his contemporaries because they are free of all those polished and upholstered things that are so commonplace in other house museums. Franklin's wit and humanity fill the physically empty rooms, which is perhaps the most appropriate way of remembering him.

Brenda Barrett
National Park Service

Slavery in New York

New-York Historical Society, New York, NY
Curator: Richard Rabinowitz

Permanent

The unearthing of the 18th-century African Burial Ground, the final resting place of enslaved and free Africans in New York City, during the course of a federal construction project in Lower Manhattan in 1991 caught New Yorkers by surprise.[1] "Wasn't slavery a Southern institution? Wasn't New York a safe haven for runaway slaves?" Fourteen years later, *Slavery in New York*, one of the New-York Historical Society's newest and largest permanent exhibits, focuses on that discovery and attempts to correct many of the myths about New York's role in the history of slavery.

Slavery in New York sets slavery within the context of a colonial and early federal port city that played a central role in the Atlantic triangle trade, the imperial wars over sugar and slaves, and the American Revolution. Those contributed to its meteoric growth first under Dutch, and then British, colonial rule, and ultimately within a new nation. Organized chronologically from the 1620s to 1827, the year slavery was abolished in New York State, the exhibit is the first of a two-part permanent installation. The second, *Commerce and Conscience: New York, Slavery, and the Civil War*, which is scheduled to open November 17, 2006, will continue the story through the second half of the 19th century. The exhibit includes a companion publication, *Slavery in New York*, edited by Ira Berlin and Leslie M. Harris, and a website.[2]

Artifacts on display from the African Burial Ground are especially moving. They include the bones of enslaved Africans that tell the stories of childhood malnutrition and hard labor, along with a silver sugar dish, tea caddy, and other luxury items made by enslaved Africans. The exhibit also features documentary evidence, such as newspaper ads for runaways, where "previously anonymous blacks suddenly [became] people with names, looks [and] skills." Court records bring the voices of blacks in civic life to light through the horrific testimony of four enslaved Africans that visitors can hear at a listening station.

Slavery in New York effectively uses technology to tell its story. An interactive display invites visitors to

This sculpture representing one of the first Africans in New Amsterdam was commissioned from the sculptor Deryck Fraser for the exhibition. (Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society)

Caesar, shown here in this daguerreotype, outlived three slave masters on the Nicoll estate in Bethlehem, New York, outside Albany, until his death at the age of 115. (Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society)

The painter Anthony Meucci painted this portrait of Pierre Toussaint, a prosperous Haitian immigrant who served as the hairdresser to elegant New Yorkers and an important bulwark of his fellow immigrants in the same period. (Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society)

"stand next to the captain as he does the business of slave trading." An ordinary ledger book reveals an itemized list of goods bought and sold en route between West Africa and New York, including a child that could be bought for about 80 gallons of rum made with New World sugar harvested by enslaved Africans. The prices of Africans, too, are displayed over a 100-year period (from 1675-1775), with their initial cost in West Africa (in contemporary pounds sterling), the markup in New York (as little as about 100 percent, as much as 1,000 percent), and, for the purposes of comparison, the total cost in today's dollars. A widescreen monitor displaying slave trade-related financial information in a stock ticker across the bottom of a mock cable news show helps drive home the fact that 12 million human beings were traded as commodities over the course of 400 years.

Equally forceful are the thick wire sculptures that portray enslaved Africans laboring and the story maps showing the growth of Manhattan. The juxtaposition of a familiar historical timeline of the "War for American Independence" and a timeline of the "Struggle for Black Freedom" highlights the difficult choice put before African Americans during the Revolutionary War: fight for the slave owners or fight for Britain and a chance at freedom. As a story about urban slavery in the North, *Slavery in New York* addresses both the human costs of slavery and the contributions the enslaved made in building New Amsterdam (New York City), including what became known as Wall Street, before Southern cotton was king.

At times, *Slavery in New York* treats historical evidence perfunctorily. The visitor reads, for instance, that slavery "always co-existed" with other forms of "unfree" labor, such as indentured servitude, and that it became tied to skin color beginning in the late 17th century; however, neither of these important and potentially confusing statements are treated in depth. Most surprising is the lack of information on other slave-holding colonies and countries. While the exhibit notes that 42 percent of New York households owned slaves in 1703—only Charleston, South Carolina, had more at the time—no explanation is given as to why that was the case. The State of New York begrudgingly abolished slavery in 1827, but its economy, like that of England and Holland, remained as closely tied to the institution of slavery as New England's textile mills were to slave-grown cotton. The exhibit missed an opportunity to highlight these contradictions.

Nevertheless, the exhibit succeeds as an introduction to the study of slavery as a global institution. Building upon the irrefutable physical evidence of slavery in New York that was unearthed in 1991, *Slavery in New York* advances the dialogue on a significant yet painful chapter in the city's past that will resonate with a broad audience.

Holly Werner Thomas
Washington, DC

1. In February 2006, President George W. Bush proclaimed the African Burial Ground a national monument to be administered by the National Park Service.

2. Ira Berlin and Leslie Harris, eds., Slavery in New York: The African American Experience (New York, NY: The New-York Historical Society and the New Press, 2005). The exhibit website is http://www.slaveryinnewyork.org.

WEBSITES AND MULTIMEDIA

History Cooperative
http://www.historycooperative.org

The History Cooperative; accessed on September 5, 2005, and March 23, 2006.

Founded in 2000 by the American Historical Association (AHA), the Organization of American Historians (OAH), the University of Illinois Press, and the National Academies Press for the purpose of offering electronic editions of leading journals in history, the History Cooperative now boasts 18 additional partners and 21 titles.

The founders of the History Cooperative represent the two poles of professional historical studies today: The AHA and OAH are the principal professional associations for American historians, and Illinois and National Academies Presses are leading publishers of historical scholarship. Although the site is intended primarily for professional historians, specifically those who are members of one of the participating professional associations or subscribers-at-large to one or several of the featured journals, non-members and non-subscribers may buy a research pass for full access to the content of the History Cooperative site.

For most historians, the History Cooperative website is an access point to the electronic editions of the *American Historical Review* and the *Journal of American History*, although some will appreciate the collateral content accessible from the History Cooperative's home page. Articles appearing in the *American Historical Review* are now available free of charge, but users must subscribe or join one of the associations to access the full content of the book reviews. Other titles include *Common-place*, *Environmental History*, *The History Teacher*, the *Massachusetts Historical Review*, the *Oral History Review*, and the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*. Search options allow for basic keyword searches and more advanced searches for specific authors or titles. The site is easy to navigate.

Although the journals themselves are exceedingly rich, the collateral content is rather thin. Conference proceedings from 2001, 2003, and 2005 are currently available. The Cooperative's e-Library draws exclusively on the resources of the Center for History and New Media at George Mason University. Two resources stand out, though: the Historical Maps Online offered by the University of Illinois Library and the University of Illinois Press, and the Booker T. Washington papers also offered by the Illinois Press.[1] Historical Maps Online features excellent digitized images of maps of the Americas, and the Washington papers cover the 14 volumes of Booker T. Washington's writings, including his autobiographical works and a cumulative index.

The History Cooperative is an essential research tool for historians in need of electronic access to scholarly articles. The Cooperative provides a valuable service in offering these journals to the public, and it is hoped that the site can expand its offerings for history generalists and specialists alike. Preservationists will appreciate the scholarly articles on regional history and the excellent exhibit reviews in the major historical journals.

Eve M. Duffy
Trinity University

1. The Booker T. Washington papers website was previously reviewed in *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 1, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 148-149

Preservation Action
http://www.preservationaction.org

Preservation Action; accessed on February 21, 2006.

Founded in 1974 as a nonprofit national historic preservation advocacy organization, Preservation Action aspires to make historic preservation a national priority by "advocating to all branches of the federal government for sound preservation policy and programs through a grassroots constituency

empowered with information and training and through direct contact with elected representatives." The organization's website is a natural extension of its mission: It disseminates the latest news and information on historic preservation policy issues under debate in the nation's capital. The website also encourages grassroots involvement in shaping state and national preservation policy and provides address and other information on key players at the state and national levels.

Preservation Action's advocacy priorities appear front and center on the homepage. For 2006, they include funding for state historic preservation offices, *Preserve America*, and barn preservation programs. Many of the agenda items double as hyperlinks to detailed background information and calls to action.

At the time of writing, Preservation Action's website provided legislative updates on one of today's most pressing historic preservation issues: the reconstruction of the Gulf Coast region in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. The site details the issues surrounding the rebuilding of the Gulf Coast, including budgetary matters, potential eminent domain "takings," and the implications of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act on the recovery process.

The "Tools" section of the site offers quick access to names and contact information for Congressional delegations, state historic preservation offices, and statewide nonprofits. The "Internships" section for "pre-professional" preservationists is a tremendous resource for students and other newcomers to the field. Preservation Action and its educational partner, the nonprofit Center for Preservation Initiatives, offer a number of educational internships in areas ranging from preservation advocacy, congressional affairs, fundraising for political causes, policy analysis, to political writing and research.

An innovator when it comes to fundraising, Preservation Action and the Center for Preservation Initiatives co-host an annual auction of historic preservation-oriented vacation packages, one-of-a-kind tours, and collectibles at the annual National Preservation Conference. Called "Bidding for Preservation," the auction was opened to the public for the first time in the fall of 2005 with a portion of the auction items available for bidding online. If continued, the online auction has the potential to become a popular attraction on a website that, up to now, has been geared primarily towards those with a high level of interest and background in historic preservation.

Overall, the Preservation Action website is well-organized and well-stocked to serve the needs of a diverse preservation network of community activists, preservation professionals, historians, commercial investors, civic leaders, and others interested in preserving the nation's heritage. The website is text-rich, and its spartan design is part of its appeal in this reviewer's opinion. However, one definite shortcoming is the lack of a search function, which makes finding things on the site difficult. Nevertheless, anyone involved in historic preservation will benefit from a visit to the Preservation Action website.

Sam Tamburro
National Park Service

Letters

Readers may submit letters to the editor (see contact information on the page facing the table of contents). Letters should include the writer's name, address, and daytime telephone number for confirmation. Letters may be edited for publication, and not all letters may be published. If a letter pertains to an article or review, the editor may forward the letter to the author for reply.

Winter 2006 issue

The Winter 2006 CRM was outstanding. I particularly enjoyed the article by William Moore on the Shakers. He bravely and correctly told the story of how exploitation and conservation work together in preserving and interpreting the Shaker heritage.

Michael Barker
Warren, VT

We are very pleased to tell you that we are already getting a nice response to our essay on our new doctoral program here in industrial heritage and archeology.

Thanks very much!

Bruce Seely
Chair, Department of Social Sciences
Michigan Technological University
Houghton, MI

ON THE COVER

The miniaturist Bartlett Frost, shown demonstrating model-making techniques at the 1935-1936 California Pacific International Exposition in San Diego, was one of several sculptors and exhibit builders supported by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Public Works Administration (PWA), and other New Deal programs to work at the National Park Service's Western Museum Laboratory in Berkeley. While at the laboratory, Frost lent his skills (and his likeness in the case of at least one figurine) to the creation of several highly detailed dioramas for Tumacacori and other Western national parks. Among the highlights of the California Pacific Exposition were a working CCC model camp (shown in the photograph on the right) and a CCC exhibit in the Museum of Natural History building. The exhibit showcased a variety of CCC activities, drawings, photographs, models, and paintings, including a tribute to the World War I veterans of the CCC camp, Temecula, near Riverside, California. (Courtesy of the Historic Photograph Collection, Harpers Ferry Center, National Park Service.)

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