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# CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship

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# CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship

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# Introduction

*by Martin Perschler, Editor*

In December 2005, the magazine *Saveur* ran an illustrated piece on the Basque American community that has inhabited Idaho's Boise Valley since sheepherders from northern Spain first settled there in the 1880s. Author Lynne Sampson used the annual Sheepherder's Ball in the state capital as the point of departure for an engaging overview of the Basque presence in the American West, where the cultural legacy endures in everything from food to music to public celebrations.

The recipe-laden essay achieved something remarkable by cultural resource stewardship standards. In the span of 10 pages bracketed by a photograph of red bean soup and suggestions on where to eat and what to do in Boise, Sampson introduced more than one million food enthusiasts to a place unlike any other in Idaho, or the world. Whether Sampson's readers make the trip to the Boise Valley or settle for their own home-cooked version of Basque-style lamb stew, they will have moved beyond the printed page and had an experience that forever connects them to that place.

*Memorable connections and experiences are increasingly part of heritage stewardship strategies that successfully make use of the power of place. These strategies often involve the full range of regional cultural production and practices . . . . Such strategies can simultaneously conserve historic resources, revive local economies, sustain traditions, and foster a sense of pride, place, and belonging.*

Memorable connections and experiences are increasingly part of heritage stewardship strategies that successfully make use of the power of place. These strategies often involve the full range of regional cultural production and practices and require the participation of a broad range of stakeholders for brio and depth. They may include a venerated old seafood shack known for crab cakes, a local craft or family tradition passed on from generation to generation, or media kits, feature articles, and other cultural heritage promotional materials designed to reach new or different audiences. Such strategies can simultaneously conserve historic resources, revive local economies, sustain traditions, and foster a sense of pride, place, and belonging.

A number of essays in this issue touch upon those themes. Rolf Diamant, Nora J. Mitchell, and Jeffrey Roberts highlight some innovative European and American resource stewardship strategies for working cultural landscapes that address contemporary concerns about preservation, sustainability, authenticity, and sense of place. Bernard Lubega Bakaye explains the importance of cultural heritage and local traditions in economic development decision-making in the African nation of Uganda. Projects and activities reported by Kristen Griffin, Jeremy Spoon, and others demonstrate that inclusiveness and a diversity of viewpoints in heritage stewardship matters benefit us all. Exhibit reviews relating to architecture and food remind us that, when it comes to cultural heritage and identity, actions and decisions are not strictly matters of taste.

The full enjoyment and appreciation of cultural heritage requires moving beyond words and images to experience shaped by people and place. A diversified strategy for facilitating such experience will engage many minds, enliven all the senses, and connect people to places in personally relevant, memorable ways.

# Place-based and Traditional Products and the Preservation of Working Cultural Landscapes

*by Rolf Diamant, Nora J. Mitchell, and Jeffrey Roberts*

Preserving working cultural landscapes is one of the most complex challenges facing resource management professionals today. These landscapes, whether located within or adjacent to parks and other protected areas, contribute in a fundamental way to the heritage value and purpose of federal and other land conservation designations. The significance and authenticity of these landscapes often depends on the continuity and vitality of the cultural systems and traditional production that have created, over time, characteristic patterns of land use and a unique sense of place.

Many of these traditional land uses and their related products, which, less than a generation ago were taken for granted, are in danger of being destabilized and displaced. Changing demographics, escalating land values, the industrialization of agricultural production, and competition from global markets are all contributing to the unraveling of traditional social and economic relationships to the land. The speed and scope of these changes are unprecedented and have significant implications for the management of cultural heritage, including the fragmentation and development of cultural landscapes, the loss of market share for traditional products, and the concurrent erosion of regional identity and distinctiveness.

These challenges require some rethinking of the conventional relationships between parks, protected areas, and land stewards on one hand, and local communities and producers on the other. It is no longer enough to strive for a friendly co-existence. Stakeholders must be more intentional and proactive in defining their mutual interests and crafting new, cooperative strategies for enhancing the competitiveness and sustainability of those land practices and production methods that contribute to the long-term conservation of working cultural landscapes.

## Authenticity, Sustainability, and Cultural Landscapes

Much has been written about the conservation dilemmas of historic cities, working cultural landscapes, and other dynamic cultural heritage sites, particularly in relation to authenticity.[1] Renewed discussion of authenticity of cultural landscapes followed their formal recognition in the United States in the late 1980s and internationally in the early 1990s when they were determined eligible for inscription on the World Heritage List.[2] Also in the early 1990s, an interna-

tional dialogue on authenticity took place in Bergen, Norway, and Nara, Japan (both in 1994), followed by national discussions in several countries, including the United States (San Antonio, Texas, 1996).[3]

The resulting "Nara Document on Authenticity" and the "Declaration of San Antonio" provided insights into key issues and began to address some of the dilemmas posed by cultural landscapes. First, they acknowledged that the concept of authenticity evolves. David Lowenthal, a key figure in the discussions, noted that "each culture and entity accords authenticity a different meaning—a meaning which moreover shifts over time."[4] Reflecting on this concept, Herb Stovel, Secretary General of ICOMOS in the early 1990s, observed that—

*The definition of cultural heritage is broadening. . . A concern for the monumental had implicitly focused the attention of conservators on essentially static questions—on the ways in which the elements of existing fabric could meaningfully express or carry valuable messages. A concern for the vernacular, or for cultural landscapes, or for the spiritual, has moved the focus toward the dynamic, away from questioning how best to maintain the integrity of the fabric toward how best to maintain the integrity of the process (traditional, functional, technical, artisanal) which gave form and substance to the fabric.*[5]

Christina Cameron, the director general of national historic sites for Parks Canada, suggested that a broad definition of cultural heritage requires a broad definition of authenticity. In her remarks in San Antonio, Cameron observed that—

*definitions of heritage have broadened from single architectural monuments to cultural groupings that are complex and multidimensional. . . This wider definition of heritage necessitates certain distancing from bricks and mortar into the less well-defined "distinctive character and components"—a phrase added to the test of authenticity a few years ago when world experts worked on cultural landscapes criteria.*[6]

Cameron's observation is important because until the Nara conference, most aspects of authenticity had focused primarily on materials and physical form.[7] Article 13 of the Nara Document expanded that definition of authenticity—

*Depending on the nature of the cultural heritage, its cultural context, and its evolution through time, authenticity judgments may be linked to the worth of a great variety of sources of information. Aspects of these sources may include form and design, materials and substance,* use and function, traditions and techniques, *location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors. The use of these sources permits elaboration of the specific artistic, historic, social and scientific dimensions of the cultural heritage being examined.*[8]

Significantly, this expanded list of attributes for authenticity has recently been incorporated directly into the *Operational Guidelines for Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* used for evaluating nominations to the UNESCO World Heritage List.[9]

The participants at the 1996 San Antonio meeting not only concurred with this expansion of the concept of authenticity, but they also expounded on the implications for cultural landscapes—

*We recognize that in certain types of heritage sites, such as cultural landscapes, the conservation of the overall character and traditions, such as patterns, forms, and spiritual value, may be more important than the conservation of the site's physical features, and as such, may take precedence. Therefore authenticity is a concept much larger than material integrity.*[10]

The San Antonio Declaration addressed the issue of authenticity in direct and more explicit terms—

*Dynamic cultural sites, such as historic cities and cultural landscapes, may be considered to be the product of many authors over a long period of time whose process of creation often continues today. This constant adaptation to human need can actively contribute to maintaining the continuum among the past, present and future life of our communities. Through them, our traditions are maintained as they evolve to respond to the needs of society. This evolution is normal and forms an intrinsic part of our heritage. Some physical changes associated with maintaining the traditional patterns of communal use of the heritage site do not necessarily diminish the site's significance and may actually enhance it. Therefore, such material changes may be welcome as part of on-going evolution.*[11]

The San Antonio Declaration also addressed the issue of sustainability, recognizing that "sustainable development may be a necessity of those who inhabit cultural landscapes, and that a process for mediation must be developed to address the dynamic nature of these sites so that all values may be properly taken into account." UNESCO's *Operational Guidelines* likewise recognize that the management of World Heritage properties "may support a variety of ongoing and proposed uses that are ecologically and culturally sustainable," provided that "such sustainable use does not adversely impact the outstanding universal value, integrity and/or authenticity of the property."[12]

**Preserving Landscape Character from Forest to Field**

The National Park Service became directly involved in the issues of authenticity and sustainability in the course of developing a management plan for the historic Mount Tom forest at Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park near Woodstock, Vermont.[13] The Service investigated a number of cultural

landscape stewardship strategies, including third-party certification of stewardship practices and various ways of using harvested wood in the fabrication of value-added forest specialty products. Third-party forest certification offered a way for the park and the Service to receive market recognition for good forest stewardship through credible, independent verification in the areas of forest practices, environmental impact, social impact, and civic engagement.

In August 2005, Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller became the first national park or national forest in the United States to be third-party certified by the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC).[14] That certification, moreover, is the very first public or private woodland certification substantially based on preserving cultural as well as natural heritage values. Products made from wood harvested from the park can now carry the FSC label.

Eastern National, the park's nonprofit partner, commissions local wood craftsmen to make a variety of products from that wood, for sale at the visitor center store. These products have added significance because of their clear association with place, heritage, sustainable management, local production, and craftsmanship. What is not yet clear, however, is how best to label and market these and similar products from around the National Park System in the United States. Among the options under consideration are separate or distinct "brands" associated with individual parks and places and affiliated or shared brands associated with the National Park System as a whole.

### Knowledge Gained from International Exchange

The questions related to certification and value-added products at Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller prompted the park to learn more about similar efforts in other places. That inquiry resulted in a professional exchange between the National Park Service, parks in Italy (including the Nature Conservation Service and the Lazio Regional Park Agency), and protected areas in the Czech Republic. The program has enabled park managers on both sides of the Atlantic to share ideas and experiences and promote best practices in sustainable tourism and the stewardship of national parks.

Since 2000, Italy and the United States have been cooperating on the protection and management of national parks and other protected areas. Under the bilateral agreement, Italy hosted an international workshop, "Local Typical Products: Parks and Communities Working Together for a Sustainable Future," at Cinque Terre National Park and a number of protected areas around Rome managed by the Lazio Regional Park Agency. Seven National Park Service managers and nonprofit partners joined their Italian counterparts to discuss strategies for marketing and branding traditional products and crafts produced in and around parks as a way of strengthening economic sustainability, resource stewardship, and ties between local communities and park areas.

FIGURE 1
*An innovative land leasing program at Italy's Cinque Terre National Park is bringing abandoned vineyards back to life. (Courtesy of the authors)*

At Cinque Terre National Park, participants studied the recovery and economic revitalization of a World Heritage cultural landscape of steep coastal vineyards. Of particular interest was the park authority's program to facilitate the leasing of abandoned vineyards to maintain the production of the traditional *Sciacchetrà* wine and retain the historic hillside terraces.(Figure 1) Cinque Terre is also developing one of the world's most comprehensive programs of sustainable tourism based largely on its environmental quality brand. The quality brand is a voluntary certification instrument that encourages tourist sector businesses, including accommodations and restaurants, to meet specific environmental and heritage sustainability benchmarks in their operations.

FIGURE 2
*Agreements with area farmers to preserve agricultural heritage helps protect the Appian Way Regional Park outside Rome, Italy, against further urbanization. (Courtesy of RomaNatura)*

The second venue for the workshop was in the Lazio region, where the regional park agency (the first Italian regional parks authority devoted to managing a system of protected areas) showed how typical products and sustainable tourism strategies can be applied in urban park settings. These efforts were exemplified by the collaborative work in that region of the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica (Appia Antica Regional Park) and RomaNatura, the City of Rome's regional park authority.(Figure 2) RomaNatura has agreements with farmers in a 14,000-hectare greenbelt around Rome to preserve agricultural heritage, provide farm-based education experiences for Roman school children, and support local, sustainable, organic production for city markets. The greenbelt is the setting for the beginning of the Appia Antica (the Appian Way), the ancient Roman road to the port of Brindisi on the Adriatic Sea. The collaboration has helped stabilize traditional agricultural land patterns and protect the section of the Appian Way within the greenbelt against further urbanization. The Lazio Regional Park Agency has highlighted Roman specialties such as sheep's cheese in its atlas of typical park products, *Natura in Campo* (*Nature Takes the Field*).[15]

By investing in the revitalization of traditional products, park managers in Italy are attempting to preserve an important sense of local identity and perpetuate local traditions and knowledge, even in the most densely populated cultural landscapes such as the Roman greenbelt. Many of these landscapes also serve as critical ecological corridors, buffer areas, and viewsheds. Managers are testing creative approaches to attract and employ young people, often producing or selling products with a clear social and economic agenda to strengthen the next

generation's commitment to parks and heritage values. Workshop participants from both Europe and the United States found that "a well managed protected area can become a place where innovations in partnerships, integrated natural and cultural conservation, and thoughtful socio-economic strategies, can become a model for sustainable development."[16]

### The Potential Role of Certification and Branding

At the invitation of the Quebec-Labrador Foundation's Atlantic Center for the Environment (QLF) and the United States Embassy in the Czech Republic, co-author and Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller superintendent Rolf Diamant spoke at a half-day seminar at the U.S. Embassy in Prague in 2006 on the marketing and promotion of local heritage products and their relationship to the conservation of parks and protected areas. Diamant also participated in a three-day stewardship workshop on the topic for park and cultural heritage professionals from the Czech Republic and Slovakia.[17] Czech and Slovak participants included craftspeople, small business owners, civic leaders, professionals, and volunteers working with local heritage organizations, museums, youth centers, schools, rural community development groups, environmental education centers, parks and protected areas, and greenways.

This exchange with the Czech Republic focused on a number of areas of mutual interest, specifically branding and certification systems, cultural authenticity, park related products, civic engagement, and public agencies as institutional consumers. The participants compared different national experiences in the use of independent evaluation and the application of certification systems in expanding consumer choice, encouraging sustainable practices, and guaranteeing greater public transparency in the management of park and protected areas. The workshop participants also touched upon other issues, including the authenticity of processes that help retain a continuity of landscape character, branding and co-branding, selling points and distribution systems, the cultivation of a stewardship ethic among young people, strategies for providing jobs and opportunities that would encourage young people to remain in rural areas, and the alignment of organizational procurement practices with organizational values in support of sustainability and products having a clear association with place, craftsmanship, public health, and resource stewardship.

The group used the *Bile Karpaty*—the White Carpathian Mountains, an agricultural area on the Slovak border and the site of the workshop—as a case study. A landscape of mountain meadows, orchards, and sheep pastures, the White Carpathians are well known for traditionally produced and wood kiln-dried fruit, including many commercially unavailable heirloom varieties of apples and pears.(Figure 3) In the last 15 years, the area has witnessed a precipitous decline in traditional agriculture resulting from global commodity competition, the importation of fruit from other countries in Europe and Asia, and the industri-

FIGURE 3
*The White Carpathian Mountains abound in heirloom fruit varieties. (Courtesy of Traditions of the White Carpathians)*

alization of the fruit drying process in other countries using large-scale gas-fired kilns.

The sharp decline in orchard production and grazing has had major natural and cultural impacts on the White Carpathian region. Lost agricultural jobs have not been replaced, one result of which has been the steady migration of the region's young people to larger cities and towns in search of work.
As abandoned mountain meadows transition to forest or non-agricultural uses, biodiversity decreases, threatening the high ecological values of the region. Meanwhile, the cultural connections to the region weaken, putting local foods, traditional methods and practices, and seasonal rituals at risk of disappearing.

The Centre for Sustainable Rural Development in the Carpathian village of Hostětin and its nonprofit sponsors have developed several intiatives to reverse this trend.[18] They include a nursery program to propagate orchard trees, a regional juicing and bottling facility for the production of organic and specialty fruit juices, a demonstration traditional wood-fired kiln for dried fruit, and a branding program—*Traditions of the White Carpathians*.(Figure 4)

FIGURE 4
*This new regional juicing and bottling facility in the Czech village of Hostětin helps sustain local agricultural heritage. (Courtesy of Traditions of the White Carpathians)*

The Czech Republic has one of the first national certification systems for heritage products–a spin-off of the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe's Natura 2000 "People for nature, nature for people," a public outreach project financed by the European Commission.[19] By successfully linking traditional land uses to biodiversity, the nonprofit Regional Environmental Centre (REC) Czech Republic is creating a broad-based alliance of local businesses, farmers and small producers, local and protected areas authorities, and other nonprofits and regional stakeholders.

Key steps in this certification project are—

1. Review and analysis of certification systems;
2. Development of integrated standards for regional products;

3. Establishment of an independent certification body;
4. Development of unified marketing and communication plans; and
5. Evaluation and selection of local fairs, markets, and retail selling points.

Certified products include food (cheese, cured meats, wine), crafts, and natural products (compost, mineral water, medicinal herbs). Certification involves an evaluation of product quality, environmental friendliness, regional origin, and uniqueness. The Czech Republic has also developed a sophisticated branding and graphics program that allows for regional variation within an overall national identity. Since the system's inception, the boundaries of the original participating regions have been expanded to embrace larger bio-cultural landscapes. The Czech alliance acknowledges how these broader, more integrated landscapes offer greater opportunity for success than initiatives limited to areas within delineated protected area boundaries.

The alliance anticipates that the program will help draw attention to protected areas within the Natura 2000 network of European protected sites and promote higher quality stewardship of the landscape and environment. That attention, in turn, will promote a more stable, sustainable model of tourism and rural economic development. Certification will also help all consumers distinguish between authentic products and substitutes from outside the region.

**Creating an Atlas of Traditional Products in the United States**

The lessons learned from these exchanges are now being applied to cultural landscapes across the National Park System in the United States. For example, the National Park Service's Northeast Regional Office and the Service's Conservation Study Institute in Woodstock, Vermont, are publishing *Stewardship Begins With People: An Atlas of Places, People & Hand-Made Products*.(Figure 5) The *Atlas* illustrates the many different ways national parks and other protected areas in the United States work in partnership with local communities to promote and market products that strengthen community ties to cultural landscapes and preserve threatened heritage values and authenticity. The *Atlas* is modeled in part on several publications produced by park colleagues in Italy and their nonprofit partners including Slow Food.[20] Each Italian park atlas beautifully illustrates an extraordinary array of authentic traditional food products—*prodotti tipici*—and identifies the park areas in which they are grown or made.[21]

FIGURE 5
An Atlas of Places, People & Hand-Made Products *will highlight those who practice a stewardship ethic and commitment to sustainability in and around national parks and other protected areas in the United States. (Courtesy of the authors)*

*An Atlas of Places, People & Hand-Made Products* highlights the stories of friends, neighbors, and communities who practice a stewardship ethic and commitment to sustainability in and around national parks, heritage areas, and national historic landmarks. The publication describes examples from nearly two dozen national parks where people preserve authentic traditional cultures and significant cultural landscapes through their work and the products they make.

The *Atlas* also recognizes recent initiatives undertaken by National Park Service concessioners and park nonprofit partners.

Stories appearing in the *Atlas* include—

*Cuyahoga Valley National Park, Brecksville, Ohio.* Leasing farmsteads through the Cuyahoga Countryside Initiative, the park's effort to revitalize an Ohio landscape is well underway with three pilot enterprises demonstrating environmental stewardship while preserving traditional agricultural practices.(Figure 6)

FIGURE 6
*New farmers markets are opening with producers who have long-term leases on historic farmsteads in Cuyahoga Valley National Park in Ohio. (Courtesy of Cuyahoga Valley National Park)*

*Canyon de Chelly National Monument, Chinle, Arizona.* In 1864 the United States Army drove the Navajo people from their homelands and destroyed irrigation canals and well-established orchards. The Navajo returned in 1868 and brought peach orchard stock obtained from the Hopi. Canyon de Chelly National Monument is now home to 80 Navajo families, some of whom produce these heirloom peaches.(Figure 7)

*Haleakala National Park, Makawao, Hawaii.* Formed to revive Hawaiian culture and stewardship practices, the nonprofit Kipahulu 'Ohana friends group has restored 14 *l'oi*, or taro patches, to active production. The friend's group plans to restore the entire *'ahupua'a*, or tract of land from the mountains to (and including) the sea, to a self-sustaining community. The group wants to rebuild traditional 19th-century agricultural and aquaculture elements, remove invasive species, and reintroduce native and Polynesian plants.

*Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Ganado, Arizona.* This Arizona park fulfills its stewardship mission by supporting the local economy through collaboration with the Navajo Nation and the Western National Parks Association. Traditional weaving demonstrations and semiannual auctions help educate visitors about Navajo culture.(Figure 8)

FIGURE 7
*Navajo families grow heirloom peaches in the Canyon del Muerto and other locations within Canyon de Chelly National Monument in Arizona. (Courtesy of Canyon de Chelly National Monument)*

*National Park Service Concession Environmental Management Program, nationwide.* National park concessioners, including ARAMARK, Delaware North, Forever Resorts, and Xanterra, have green initiatives to increase the use of locally-grown and organic foods in their operations.

*National Park Cooperating Associations, nationwide.* These nonprofit partners play a growing role in marketing park products and developing and maintaining relationships with producers. The Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy's Warming Hut store on Crissy Field, for example, has a café menu that offers mostly organic or locally grown foods from around the San Francisco Bay Area.

FIGURE 8
*Traditional Navajo weavings continue to be a mainstay at Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site in Arizona. (Courtesy of the authors)*

**Stewardship Begins with People**

In order to preserve the authenticity and character of working cultural landscapes, communities must strike a delicate balance between continuity and change. Cultural traditions and associated land uses are critical to the equation, but these processes must be sustainable. Many cultural landscapes bear the imprint of 19th- and early 20th-century land use practices that have ceased to be economically viable. Consequently, the key to the successful conservation of these landscapes lies not in recreating the past at these sites, but in building on that past and crafting an economically viable future for these special places.

The case studies discussed above point to a new way of preserving the authenticity of cultural landscapes through the certification and marketing of local and regional specialty products. While often associated with traditional cultural practices, many of these products have close ties to contemporary activities that strengthen a sustainable economic relationship between people and the land. Over the last several years, park and protected area systems worldwide have become more cooperative and entrepreneurial in their interactions with the regions and local communities that have a critical role in the long-term stewardship of cultural landscapes.

Branding and certification are powerful tools for providing consumers with critical knowledge about the nature of the products they buy. They help individuals and organizations make free and informed choices that are in alignment with their values. Certification, however, is very fragile: Once a certification system has earned the public trust, it must constantly guard and renew that trust. It is very difficult, and in some cases impossible, to reestablish the credibility of a certification system once it has been compromised. If done carefully, a successful certification system enables people to make more educated choices between competing products with a clearer understanding of the intended and unintended consequences of their marketplace decisions.

The upcoming National Park Service publication, *Stewardship Begins with People: An Atlas of Places, People & Hand-Made Products*, is generating interest

on both sides of the Atlantic. While conventional wisdom now suggests that "parks are not islands," parks and protected areas are only beginning to appreciate the many ways they can work with neighbors and partners to encourage stewardship of their cultural landscapes and achieve broader social benefits in the process. The idea has clearly arrived in many of the protected area systems of Europe and the National Park System in the United States, as evidenced by the surprising number of national parks and programs that have contributed stories and photographs for the *Atlas*.

Writer Wendell Berry has observed that "[most] people now are living on the far side of a broken connection."[22] The *Atlas* is one step in re-establishing a connection between parks and living cultures, between people and the food they eat, and between communities and the stewardship of park cultural landscapes and a more sustainable future for everyone.

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## Notes

1. In particular, we have drawn from Knut Einar Larsen and Nils Marstein, eds., *Preparatory Workshop, Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention* (Oslo, Norway: Directorate for Cultural Heritage, 1994); Knut Einar Larsen, ed., *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention* (Paris, France: UNESCO, 1995); and Gustavo Araoz, Margaret MacLean, and Lara Day Kozak, *Proceedings of the Interamerican Symposium on Authenticity in the Conservation and Management of Cultural Heritage of the Americas* (Washington, DC: US/ICOMOS, 1999).

2. *National Register Bulletin 18* (1987) was the first to provide advice on the evaluation of cultural landscapes and was followed in 1990 by *Bulletin 30* on rural historic landscapes. *Bulletin 30* was the first to describe the importance of processes in landscape analysis—

   *Landscape characteristics are the tangible evidence of the activities and habits of the people who occupied, developed, used, and shaped the land to serve human needs; they may reflect the beliefs, attitudes, traditions, and values of these people. The first four characteristics are processes that have been instrumental in shaping the land, such as the response of farmers to fertile soils. The remaining seven are physical components that are evident on the land, such as barns or orchards.*

   Linda Flint McClelland, J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller, and Robert Melnick, *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1990) 3-4. For an international perspective, see Bernd von Droste, Harold Plachter, and Mechtild Rossler, eds., *Cultural Landscapes of Universal Value, Components of a Global Strategy* (Jena, Germany: Gustav Fischer, in cooperation with UNESCO, 1995). The latter examines a series of case studies from all over the world following the inclusion of cultural landscapes in UNESCO's World Heritage Committee *Operational Guidelines* in 1992 (most recently revised in February 2005).

3. The international dialogue focused on the lack of attention paid to one of UNESCO's requirements that sites inscribed on the World Heritage List meet a "test of authenticity." The key references are *Preparatory Workshop, Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention*, and *Proceedings of the Interamerican Symposium on Authenticity in the Conservation and Management of Cultural Heritage of the Americas* (see note 1 above).

4. David Lowenthal, "Criteria of Authenticity," in Larsen and Marstein, 36.

5. Herb Stovel, "Foreword, Working Towards the Nara Document," in Larsen, xxxiv. These discussions also stressed the importance of evaluating the authenticity of cultural heritage on a case-by-case basis and the impossibility of developing any fixed criteria for evaluation. Furthermore, the Nara conference highlighted the importance of working within an analytical framework and making the connection between heritage values and authenticity explicit. Stovel has argued that "without clarification of this fundamental relationship—cultural values and authenticity/integrity—between values and the genuineness of the manifestation of those values (physical or otherwise), advance in the clarity of thinking and practice will be difficult." In practice, therefore, it is critical to define the values of the landscape in question, which can include processes (traditions and land use), character, and physical components, in order to lay the groundwork for an authenticity evaluation. Stovel, "Foreword, Working Towards the Nara Document," xxxv; also Herb Stovel, "Notes on Authenticity," in Larsen and Marstein, 105.

6. Araoz, MacLean, and Kozak, 11.

7. Stovel describes the four areas of "design, material, workmanship, and setting" used to evaluate authenticity of World Heritage List property nominations in Larsen and Marstein, xxxiii. These areas are similar to those used in the National Register guidance on evaluation of landscape integrity. The exception is *National Register Bulletin 30* on rural historic landscapes that identifies 11 characteristics, 4 of which are "processes that have been instrumental in shaping the land... [including] land uses and activities, patterns of spatial organization, response to the natural environment, and cultural traditions" and relates these to historic contexts and, presumably, to integrity. In reflecting later on the authenticity of landscapes, Dean Robert Melnick at the School of Architecture and Allied Arts, University of Oregon, and one of the co-authors of *National Register Bulletin 30*, noted that "standards for landscape integrity...must stem from an understanding of the landscape... That understanding requires, first, that the landscape is understood as a process as much as a product; that landscape is a verb as well as a noun." Melnick, "Strangers in a Strange Land: Dilemmas of Landscape Integrity," printed in compilation of draft papers for a conference "Multiple Views, Multiple Meanings," at Goucher College, Towson, Maryland, March 11-13, 1999.

8. "Nara Document on Authenticity" in Larsen, xxiii. Emphasis added.

9. *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (Paris, France: UNESCO, 2005). The *Guidelines* are available online at http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/, accessed January 3, 2005.

10. Araoz, MacLean and Kozak, xi.

11. Ibid., xii.

12. *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, 28.

13. The Mount Tom forest, now a national historic landmark and part of the National Park System, is the oldest continuously managed woodland in North America and a storied landscape that illustrates the evolution of progressive forestry in the United States. The historical significance of the forest is directly related to the continuity of forest management and the legacy of careful stewardship.

14. The Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) is "devoted to encouraging the responsible management of the world's forests. FSC sets high standards that ensure forestry is practiced in an environmentally responsible, socially beneficial, and economically viable way." FSC standards for forestry stewardship "represent the world's strongest system for guiding forest management toward sustainable outcomes." Information about the FSC and its programs is available online at http://www.fscus.org/, accessed November 5, 2006.

15. Regione Lazio, *Natura in Campo, Atlante dei prodotti tipici e tradizionali dei Parchi del Lazio* (*Nature Takes the Field, Atlas of Typical and Traditional Products of the Lazio Parks*) (Rome, Italy: Assessorato all'Ambiente della Regione Lazio, 2006).

16. Federico Niccolini, Gay Vietzke, and Rolf Diamant, *Protected Areas and Local Communities: Working Together for a Sustainable Future*, International Workshop Final Report (Philadelphia, PA: National Park Service Northeast Regional Office, 2002).

17. The regional workshop, coordinated by the Quebec-Labrador Foundation, is part of a two-year program to promote stewardship of cultural heritage through a series of international exchange activities linking community-based initiatives in the northeastern United States, eastern Canada, and Central Europe. This program, "Stewardship of Cultural Heritage: An Exchange Program between Central Europe and North America," aims to strengthen the capacity of communities and local institutions in these regions to understand, maintain, and promote local cultural heritage in ways that support local and regional identity, cultural diversity, rural development, civic engagement, and the conservation of parks and protected areas.

18. The Center for Sustainable Rural Development, Hostětín, White Carpathians, is an educational and informational facility developed by the environmental nonprofit, Veronica. The center's program focuses on sustainable development projects and regional branding in the White Carpathian region.

19. Initially, the Czech Republic envisioned limiting its certification program to producers located within the boundaries of established protected areas but quickly decided to include larger regional cultural landscape and traditional heritage practices outside protected area boundaries.

    The goal of the 2004-2005 "People for nature, nature for people" project was to "provide accurate and easily accessible information about the Natura 2000 Network in order to empower and involve citizens." Scottish Natural Heritage defines Natura 2000 as "a European network of protected sites which represent areas of the highest value for natural habitats and species of plants and animals which are rare, endangered or vulnerable in the European Community. The term Natura 2000 comes from the 1992 EC Habitats Directive; it symbolises [*sic*] the conservation of precious natural resources for the year 2000 and beyond into the 21st century." The Natura Network Initiative website (http://www.natura.org) offers detailed information on the initiative, its enabling legislation, and a list of participating sites. See Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (REF), "REF Country Office Czech Republic," http://www.rec.org/REC/Introduction/CountryOffices/CzechRepublic.html; Natura Network Initiative, http://www.natura.org/about.html; and Scottish Natural Heritage, "Natura 2000," http://www.snh.org.uk/about/directives/ab-dir03.asp, accessed September 24, 2006.

20. Slow Food is an international association founded in Italy in 1986 for the promotion of food and wine culture and agricultural biodiversity. The association opposes the "standardisation [*sic*] of taste, defends the need for consumer information, protects cultural identities tied to food and gastronomic traditions, safeguards foods and cultivation and processing techniques inherited from tradition and defend[s] domestic and wild animal and vegetable species." For more information, see the Slow Food Italian and International websites at http://www.slowfood.it and http://www.slowfood.com, accessed September 24, 2006.

21. Realizzato da Slow Food, in cooperation with Legambiente and Federparchi, *Atlante dei produtti tipici dei parchi Italiani* (*Atlas of Typical Products of Italian Parks*) (Rome, Italy: Ministero dell'Ambiente e della Cutela del Territorio, 2002); and *Natura in Campo*.

22. Wendell Berry, "In Distrust of Movements," *Resurgence* no. 198 (January-February 2000): 4.

# Cultural Heritage and Poverty Eradication in Uganda[1]

*by Bernard Lubega Bakaye*

The economist David Throsby has observed that "in an increasingly globalized world, economic and cultural imperatives can be seen as two of the most powerful forces shaping human behaviour."[2] Throsby alludes to the increasing recognition of the important role of culture in economic development. This author wishes to add his voice to the ongoing debate that seeks to show how preserving and promoting cultural heritage and cultural products is fundamental to the eradication of extreme poverty in developing countries like Uganda that are economically poor but endowed with a rich and diverse cultural heritage. Local communities in these countries can harness cultural heritage to stimulate sustainable economic growth and, thus, help meet some of their country's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).[3]

Uganda's current efforts to eradicate extreme poverty are similar to those of other developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. This author believes there to be a direct correlation between local participation in preserving and promoting cultural heritage and the success or failure of poverty reduction measures and the long-term sustainability of other poverty eradication interventions. Although Ugandan central government policy documents recognize the importance of community participation in implementing such measures, more must be done to address the practical challenges of empowering people to harness the economic potential of their cultural heritage for their material benefit.

## Uganda the *Poor* and *Rich* Country

Over the past 20 years, Uganda has been grappling with the issue of mass poverty. The situation is extreme in rural areas where more than 85 percent of the population lives.[4] According to UNICEF and World Bank reports, Uganda is one of the poorest countries in the world with a gross national income (GNI) per capita estimated at between $250 and $270 (US) per year in 2004.[5] Also in that year, life expectancy at birth was as low as 48 years, and infant and child mortality rates were estimated at 80 and 138 per 1,000 live births respectively.[6]

At the same time, it may be said that Uganda is one of the richest countries in the world when it comes to natural and cultural heritage. Situated at the geographical heart of the African plateau, Uganda has long been a cultural melting pot, as evidenced by the 56 ethnic groupings and over 40 different

indigenous languages belonging to four distinct linguistic groups (the Bantu, Nilotic, Nilo-Hamites, and the Madi-Moru). The country's earliest inhabitants, confined to the hilly southwest, are the Batwa and Bambuti Pygmies, descendants of the hunter-gatherer cultures that once occupied much of East Africa and left behind a rich legacy of rock paintings.

In northeastern Uganda are the Karimojong, traditional pastoralists whose lifestyle and culture are reminiscent of the renowned Maasai.[7] The northwest is characterized by a patchwork of agricultural peoples whose Nilotic languages and cultures are rooted in what is now Sudan. The Rwenzori foothills are home to the hardy Bakonjo tribe, whose hunting shrines are dedicated to a one-legged, one-armed, one-eyed pipe-smoking spirit known as Kalisa, while the Bagisu of the Mount Elgon region are known for their colorful *Imbalu* ceremony, an initiation of young boys to manhood that peaks in activity in and around August of every even-numbered year.

At the cultural core of modern-day Uganda are the Bantu-speaking kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole, and Toro, whose traditional monarchs—reinstated in 1993 after having been abolished by the former President of Uganda Milton Obote in 1967—are important cultural figureheads and symbols of a common cultural identity.[8] According to oral tradition, these centuries-old kingdoms are offshoots of the medieval kingdoms of Batembuzi and Bacwezi that lay in the vicinity of present-day Mubende and Ntusi, where archeological evidence suggests the existence of a strongly centralized polity by the 11th century.

**Can Cultural Heritage Contribute To Poverty Eradication?**

To address the question of whether cultural heritage activities can contribute to poverty eradication in Uganda and other countries, a clear understanding of the terminology is imperative. As used by this author, the term "cultural heritage" includes both the monumental and physical remains of cultures (the tangibles) and the traditional cultural practices of a people (the intangibles). Cultural resource management professionals now pay attention to the dramatic arts, languages, traditional music, and the spiritual and philosophical systems underlying those creations. Today's concept of cultural heritage also incorporates contemporary culture as much as that of the past.

In Uganda, no distinction is made between the intangible and tangible aspects of cultural heritage. Uganda's draft National Culture Policy defines cultural heritage as consisting of artistic and cultural expressions. Artistic expressions include "the various art forms and artifacts while cultural expressions include indigenous knowledge and skills, local languages, values, norms and traditions."[9] The forms of Uganda's cultural heritage include oral traditions, languages, historic sites, natural sacred sites, museums, handicrafts, rituals and festive events, rites and beliefs, music (vocal and instrumental), traditional knowledge and

practices, performing arts, traditional medicine, literature, culinary traditions, and traditional sports and games. The country's revised Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) recognizes cultural heritage as "intrinsically valuable and an important dimension of identity" to all Ugandans.[10] Cultural heritage is also recognized as a "form of capital which when well harnessed can help to move people [especially the rural poor] out of income poverty."[11]

*If the community is involved in the cultural heritage project planning process, it can help with decisions regarding the location of services, beneficiaries, and community leadership. Participation also ensures control over the allocation and mobilization of community resources and the sustainability and ownership of the projects.*

Turning to community participation, the term implies that people are directly involved in projects intended to improve their lives. Participation is especially important when it comes to cultural heritage projects because culture is a human activity first and foremost, and without people, cultural heritage is meaningless. Community participation helps keep the lines of communication between the government or development entity and the community open, which, in turn, makes a coordinated and integrated approach and conflict avoidance possible.

Community participation also helps decision makers utilize their limited resources to the best possible extent, address micro issues, and identify and understand what the community needs and feels about its cultural heritage as a whole. If the community is involved in the cultural heritage project planning process, it can help with decisions regarding the location of services, beneficiaries, and community leadership. Participation also ensures control over the allocation and mobilization of community resources and the sustainability and ownership of the projects.

For planning purposes, PEAP defines poverty as low income, limited human development, and powerlessness.[12] This author would add that poverty is the *negative* analogue of human development. If human development signifies the process of enlarging the scope of people's choices and opportunities that are most basic to human development, poverty signifies their denial. Poverty includes material deprivations of food, health, education and literacy, safe water and sanitation, and clothing and shelter; and deprivations of security on account of vulnerability to external events such as war, natural disaster, illness, and economic shock (that is to say, sharp declines in terms of trade) that reinforce material deprivation. To all these must be added the deprivation of human rights through discrimination, disempowerment, exclusion, and the loss of human dignity. In order for cultural heritage projects to have a positive impact, they must address these issues.

## Different Schools of Thought

There are three different schools of thought with regard to whether cultural heritage can contribute in any meaningful way towards poverty eradication and national economic development in Uganda. The traditional economists, who have great influence on national economic policies and determine the allocation of resources in the country, generally view cultural heritage as a barrier to poverty eradication and economic development. A recent study of culture and media in Poverty Reduction Strategic Papers (PRSPs), of which Uganda's PEAP is one, noted that a number of countries, including Uganda prior to 2004, "make no reference to culture or only mention culture in a way that it implies a negative or lacking societal characteristic that needs to be addressed."[13]

The second school of thought is that of professional cultural workers and scholars. Because of the passion they have for culture, this group sees cultural heritage as an indispensable and vital force in fostering social and economic development. François Matarasso has called for rethinking the role of culture vis-à-vis development in view of the growing economic, environmental, and social challenges of the new millennium. Matarasso notes that—

- *cultural resources are replacing natural resources as the primary raw material of economic growth. Where timber, iron and oil once ruled, knowledge, creativity and design are establishing themselves as the crucial sources of added value;*
- *cultural routes are often the most effective way of achieving non-cultural objectives, from health promotion or education to employment and economic growth;* [and]
- *globalization offers benefits to humanity, but unless local cultural values are recognized and allowed to adapt new ways of doing things to local circumstances, it and its consequences will produce injustice, reaction and resistance.*

He concludes that "culture shapes everything we try to do. If we fail to take account of it, we stumble around blindfolded; if we learn to see it as a resource and understand how it affects us all, we may be able to create a really sustainable approach to human development."[14]

The third school of thought belongs to the cultural practitioners and the majority of members of local communities. Due to the lack of vital information, they are uncertain whether cultural heritage has the potential to reduce poverty. Some of them are skeptical, while others just admit they do not know.

One need not look far into Uganda for proof of cultural heritage's potential as a significant factor in poverty eradication and development. Cultural heritage can directly contribute to poverty eradication by acting as a resource that cultural practitioners and local communities can use to generate income, create employment for themselves and others, and ultimately improve living

conditions. Today, many young Ugandans are engaged in music—a cultural industry—and earning money from producing and selling recordings and performances. The handicraft industry employs many Ugandans in the commercial production and marketing of items such as baskets, mats, and decorations from which they earn an income to support their families. Uganda also has many traditional healers whose main source of income is the practice of medicine and the sale of medicinal herbs.

*UNESCO affirms that in recent years cultural industries have become a significant source of social and economic development and are now recognized as a powerful driving force of world trade, offering great potential for developing economies rich in cultural heritage.*

UNESCO affirms that in recent years cultural industries have become a significant source of social and economic development and are now recognized as a powerful driving force of world trade, offering great potential for developing economies rich in cultural heritage. Recent figures clearly illustrate the economic and job creation potential of cultural industries. In 2001 and 2002, the creative and copyright industries alone accounted for 3.3 percent, 5 percent, and 5.24 percent of the gross domestic products of Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, respectively.[15]

Furthermore, cultural heritage can indirectly contribute to poverty eradication by cultivating environments in which other poverty reduction interventions can succeed. Cultural heritage influences how people make choices and respond to various development initiatives in their localities. If development initiatives ignore cultural considerations, they can easily fall short of achieving the desired impact on the lives of target communities. In the late 1990s, for example, the government of Uganda had initiated a project to facilitate the transport of goods for the Bakonjo people of the Kasese district in the southwest. The Bakonjo live in the Rwenzori Mountains and have to transport goods from Kasese Town at the foot of the mountains to their communities in the hills. Perhaps due to inadequate consultation and community involvement in the planning process, the government procured male donkeys for use as pack animals. The Bakonjo refused to use the donkeys because according to Bakonjo culture, the carrying of goods is the domain of females. Had cultural considerations been part of the planning process, this unfortunate misunderstanding might have been avoided.

**Two Case Studies**

The following two case studies show some of the ways in which cultural heritage and community participation can continue to play central roles in government efforts to eradicate extreme poverty in Uganda and elsewhere.

### *The Twekobe Reconstruction Project*

A symbol of Buganda's cultural heritage, the *Twekobe* is the official residence of the *Kabaka*, or king, of Buganda, one of three extant structures within the palace grounds (the *Lubiri*) at Mengo.[16] In 1966, Obote's army, led at the time by Idi Amin, badly damaged the *Lubiri* and the *Twekobe*, turning what remained of the latter into an army barracks. In preparation for the Kabaka's royal wedding in 1999, the *Katikkiro* (the Prime Minister of Buganda), Joseph Semwogerere Mulwanyamuli, called on the *Baganda* (the people of Buganda) to help rebuild the palace. Semwogerere's successful appeal was a measure of the strength of the traditional cultural institution of the Kabaka and the tradition of *bulungi bwansi*—working for the common good—that is said to have inspired the construction of Makerere University, Namirembe Cathedral, Rubaga Cathedral, Kibuli Mosque, and the *Bulange* (Buganda Parliament Building). The project also showed the power of cultural heritage and identity as a driver of economic development.

The sociologist Charles Kleymeyer has observed that—

*a strong sense of shared identity can energize people and inspire them to take collective action to improve their lives. When individuals see themselves as proud members of a culture, they are more likely to organize and work for change. Organizations built on the bedrock of cultural identity seem better able to single out common problems and collectively seek appropriate solutions.*[17]

In the case of the Twekobe, the Baganda and other Ugandans believed in the importance of Bugandan cultural heritage and generously contributed materials, labor, and money towards the restoration effort. The project also provided employment opportunities for Bugandan and other Ugandan engineers, masons, laborers, and tour guides. Outside the cultural resource arena, local and national leaders have used Bugandan cultural heritage and identity to mobilize community support for government sponsored development programs in agriculture, immunization and disease prevention, and education.

### *The Handicrafts Industry*

In 2005, Uganda developed a handicraft export strategy to tap the industry's latent economic potential to create wealth, generate income, and reduce poverty in rural and urban areas. Although clearly economic development-driven—the objective of the handicraft strategy is "to build the capacity of handicraft producers and exporters in order to meet international standards and to penetrate international markets"[18]—the strategy recognizes Uganda's wide array of traditional handicraft products ranging from basketry, mats, ceramics, beads, pottery, textiles, toys, jewelry, bags, ornaments, leather products, batiks, and wood craft. These items are produced in nearly all regions of Uganda using locally available raw materials, with product differentiation based on cultural

traditions and skills handed down from generation to generation. Although these traditions have weakened over time, and the number of master craftsmen has diminished, traditional handicraft production is on the upswing thanks to a growing number of artisans, traders, and exporters who now view traditional handicrafts as an economically viable and sustainable business venture.

Handicrafts export in Uganda is still insignificant compared to raw materials export, but it has great growth potential.[19] In order to achieve that potential, however, Uganda must address a number of important issues. Currently, local artisans are neither well organized nor mobilized to produce quality goods for an international market, and they lack convenient access to external financing for investment to improve productivity. Uganda itself lacks a pro-artisan marketing strategy that protects handicraft makers against exploitation.[20] Furthermore, Uganda has no national permanent body or institution dedicated to coordinating and overseeing the handicrafts industry. The Uganda Export Promotion Board, Uganda Women Entrepreneurs Association Limited (UWEAL), the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) Office, Uganda Small Scale Industries Association (USSIA), the National Organization of Women Associations in Uganda (NOWAU), the National Arts and Crafts Association of Uganda (NACAU), Private Sector Foundation Uganda (PSFU), the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), and other organizations help promote traditional handicrafts production, but they are not responsible for developing or promulgating a comprehensive national handicraft policy.

## The Future

As Uganda works towards eradicating extreme poverty and realizing the United Nations' other Millennium Development Goals, policy makers have an unprecedented opportunity to create a favorable policy environment that will encourage active community participation in, as opposed to passive acceptance of, cultural heritage development projects. Although Uganda's revised Poverty Eradication Action Plan, Social Development Sector Strategic Investment Plan, draft National Culture Policy, National Tourism Policy, and other government policy documents take community participation into consideration, the central government must move beyond theory and into practice.[21] It must also address the existing operational and practical challenges that hinder participation at the local level. By involving local communities in planning and implementation processes, policy makers and other government officials may well discover that people are willing to work hard to make sure their cultural heritage development programs achieve the desired objectives.

Uganda's Local Governments Act of 1997 radically changed the nature of decision-making in the country by decentralizing many government functions.[22] It seems logical that the central government would adjust its cultural heritage

policies so that they fall in line with the law and thereby strengthen cultural heritage decision-making at the local level. District local governments, municipalities, sub-counties, and town councils (the lowest government levels with executive powers) would be able to make resource allocation decisions for specific cultural heritage projects and programs in their jurisdictions. Cultural heritage policies that support decentralization would also empower community development workers to devise and implement appropriate strategies, foster positive attitudes towards cultural heritage, and improve community involvement in heritage development projects.

Uganda should also increase the role of traditional cultural institutions in cultural heritage projects. Experience has shown that projects that are either initiated or managed by traditional cultural institutions such as the Buganda Kingdom garner the popular support of their constituents, who want to see the projects through to completion. As the Twekobe reconstruction project has shown, that support may range from monetary support to labor and other resources. By virtue of their standing as cultural leaders, traditional cultural institutions are inherently interested in looking after and maintaining cultural heritage sites that are meaningful to them and that the central or local government might not be able to preserve on its own.

Although increased public sector investment in cultural heritage projects is desirable, experience has shown that this approach may not be feasible given that cultural heritage in Uganda is still competing with other funding priorities. The more pragmatic approach, at least for the near future, would be to utilize the resources of the communities themselves and supplement them with external support from development partners, nonprofits, and the private sector. An integrated funding strategy that emphasizes community participation would enhance community ownership while at the same time discourage donor dependency, which can subvert sustainability. The central government could create a public-private partnership for supporting the creation of handicrafts cooperatives and other cultural enterprises at the local level that would have poverty eradication and sustainability as their central focus.

Local communities must have access to specialized knowledge and skills for managing cultural heritage projects effectively. They will need to develop the creative capacity necessary for producing and marketing cultural goods and services that meet industry standards if Uganda is to participate in international trade. Demonstration projects would help tremendously in this regard, as would training—"learning by doing," essentially— in new technologies for improving productivity and the quality of cultural products.

## Conclusion

Uganda—and Sub-Saharan Africa in general—is at a development crossroads. It must explore all possibilities for stimulating economic growth and eradicating extreme poverty. But concentrating development efforts in a few economic sectors, notably agriculture, which is extremely competitive on the international market, may not be the solution. Cultural heritage and the cultural industries it supports offer equally attractive opportunities for creating jobs, increasing incomes and export earnings, and improving lives. The country's national culture policy, tourism policy, and national handicraft export strategy all point in the right direction. The government must make a concerted effort to strengthen the role of traditional cultural institutions, invest in cultural heritage industries at the national and local level, and help the population, especially Uganda's youth, understand the value of their cultural heritage.

In 1990, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, the former president of the United Republic of Tanzania, told a group meeting in the town of Arusha that—

*Our major resource is our people. We all recognize the inherent relationship between people and development. We are fully conscious of the fact that the primary objective of development is to improve the living conditions of our people. But we also know that it is the people who are the principal actors in the recovery and development process. It is obvious, therefore, that the success of the recovery and development process very much depends on the effective participation of the people in that process.*[23]

The answer lies in integrating cultural heritage into Uganda's poverty eradication strategies but with the effective participation of those who own that heritage.

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## Notes

1. An earlier version of this essay was presented in April 2006 at the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, at the end of the fellowship program.

2. David Throsby, *Economics and Culture* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge UP, 2001), v.

3. At the United Nations Millennium Summit held in New York City in 2000, heads of state from more than 150 countries signed the Millennium Declaration, committing their nations "to raise the poor out of poverty and hunger, get every child into school, empower women, reduce child

mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases...ensure environmental sustainability [and eradicate poverty worldwide]...through a global partnership for development" by 2015. Millennium Campaign, http://www.millenniumcampaign.org, accessed October 15, 2006.

4. As of Uganda's 2002 census, the population stood at 24.2 million people. UNICEF put Uganda's population at 27.8 million in 2004. Uganda Bureau of Statistics, http://www.ubos.org/, accessed October 15, 2006; UNICEF-Uganda-Statistics, http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/uganda_statistics.html, accessed October 17, 2006.

5. The United States' GNI per capita was $41,440 (US) in 2004.

6. UNICEF-Uganda-Statistics, http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/uganda_statistics.html, accessed October 17, 2006.

7. The Maasai are a semi-nomadic, East African ethnic group.

8. The 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda officially recognized Uganda's historic kingdoms as traditional cultural institutions. Chapter 16 of the constitution states that the "institution of traditional leader or cultural leader may exist in any area of Uganda in accordance with the culture, customs and traditions or wishes and aspirations of the people to whom it applies." By "traditional leader or cultural leader," the Constitution means a king or other leader "who derives allegiance from the fact of birth or descent in accordance with the customs, traditions, usage or consent of the people led by that traditional or cultural leader." *The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995*, http://www.trybunal.gov.pl/constit/constitu/constit/uganda/uganda-e.htm, accessed October 17, 2006.

9. *National Culture Policy*, draft (Kampala: Uganda Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development, 2005), 5.

10. *Poverty Eradication Action Plan*, revised (Kampala: Uganda Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development, 2004), 178, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/UgandaPEAP(2005-Apr).pdf, accessed October 31, 2006. The PEAP notes that "[t]raditional skills and indigenous materials are often accessible to poor and disadvantaged groups, and as such form a potentially viable avenue for poverty-reduction."

11. Ibid., 178. In Uganda, most poor people live in rural areas where communities are still largely homogeneous and closely attached to their cultures.

12. Ibid., 1.

13. Cecilia M. Ljungman, Helga Ronning, Tejeshwar Singh, Henrik Steen Pedersen, et. al., *Sida's Work with Culture and Media, Annex 8* (Stockholm, Sweden: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency [Sida], 2004), 86. As defined by the International Monetary Fund, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), of which Uganda's Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) is one example, describe a country's "macroeconomic, structural and social policies and programs over a three year or longer horizon to promote broad-based growth and reduce poverty, as well as associated external financing needs and major sources of financing." International Monetary Fund, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), http://www.imf.org/external/np/prsp/prsp.asp, accessed October 31, 2006.

14. François Matarasso, ed. *Recognizing Culture: A Series of Briefing Papers on Culture and Development* (London, United Kingdom: 2001), 4.

15. Uganda's total export earnings in core cultural goods in 2002 was $206,800 (US) while that of the United Kingdom was $8,55 billion (US). *International Flows of Selected Cultural Goods and Services, 1994-2003* (Montreal, PQ, Canada: UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2005), 59, http://www.uis.unesco.org/template/pdf/cscl/IntlFlows_EN.pdf, accessed October 15, 2006.

16. The two other structures are the *Bulange*, or Buganda parliament, and the Kasubi Tombs.

17. Charles David Kleymeyer, ed., *Cultural Expression and Grassroots Development: Cases from Latin America and the Caribbean* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1994), 19.

18. *Uganda Handicrafts Export Strategy* (Kampala, Uganda: Uganda Export Promotion Board, 2005), 14, http://www.ugandaexportsonline.com/strategies/handicraft.pdf, accessed October 14, 2006.

19. According to the Uganda Export Promotion Board, coffee ranked as Uganda's leading export in 2005. Uganda Export Promotion Board, Statistics, http://www.ugandaexportsonline.com/statistics.htm, accessed October 14, 2006.

20. In Uganda, village artisans and producers typically sell their products locally to domestic craft traders or tourists. The domestic craft traders serve as intermediaries between the artisans and the local markets and exporters. Because of poor community organization and the lack of a proper marketing structure, local artisans work in a fragmented environment with little knowledge or consideration of market requirements, quality, design, or standards. Design innovations and product adaptations are limited due to the rudimentary skills and limited capacity of Uganda's artisans.

21. *Social Development Sector Investment Plan* (Kampala: Uganda Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development, 2005); *National Tourism Policy* (Kampala: Uganda Ministry of Tourism, Trade, and Industry, 2004).

22. *Local Governments Act*, 1997. See Uganda Ministry of Local Government website for more information: http://www.molg.go.ug/publications/statutory.htm, accessed October 17, 2006.

23. Suleiman Ngware, "Empowerment of Local Institutions in Poverty Eradication in Tanzania" (paper presented to the members of Parliament's Committee on Environment, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, May 6-7, 1999).

# An Interview with Frederick C. Williamson

*Frederick C. Williamson was born in Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1915. His family moved to Providence, Rhode Island, when he was 14. In 1941, Fred left the jewelry business in Providence to work for the United States Navy at Quonset Point Naval Air Station, where he advanced rapidly to become a supervisory management analyst and head of the Management Planning Branch of the Quonset Point Supply Department. In recognition of his outstanding record, the Navy presented him with its Meritorious Civilian Service Award in 1954. During this period, Fred furthered his education through specialized courses at Brown University, the University of Rhode Island, and the University of California at Berkeley, and he has three honorary doctorates. He was founder and first president of the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society. In 1969, he accepted appointment by the state's governor as director of the newly created Department of Community Affairs. Later that same year he became State Historic Preservation Officer, a position he still holds. Among his many awards are the Louise Dupont Crowninshield award presented in 1998 by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and a Lifetime Achievement Award from the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers (NCSHPO) in 2006.*

*On September 20, 2005, the Rhode Island Historical Preservation and Heritage Commission (RIHPHC) hosted a celebration in Providence on the occasion of Fred's 90th birthday. Along with friends and family, representatives of many state and national preservation and conservation organizations, led by the Governor of Rhode Island, paid tribute to the career of the longest serving State Historic Preservation Officer in the United States. On the following day, present and former colleagues sat down with Fred to talk about his experiences and contributions to the field of historic preservation. Present were Ted Sanderson (TS), executive director of RIHPHC and Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer; Eric Hertfelder (EH), former executive director of the Commission and NCSHPO; Tom Merlan, former New Mexico SHPO; and Elizabeth A. (Liz) Lyon (EAL), former Georgia SHPO who led the interview.*

## Early Years

EAL: Tell us about your early years growing up in Lowell and Providence.

FCW: Let me start with having been born in Lowell, Massachusetts. My mother came from Beaufort, North Carolina. Her brothers were all seamen who

contracted out on fishing vessels to fish on the Grand Banks. Mother married her childhood sweetheart, and her new husband contracted out on a commercial fishing vessel and, along with one of her brothers, went north to the fishing grounds. On the way back, they ran into a storm off Cape Hatteras, and the ship sank. My mother was distraught, and my grandfather decided to send her north to live in Providence, Rhode Island, because two other brothers and a sister lived there. While she was there, she was attracted to Lowell by its status and reputation as a leading cotton manufacturing community.

In Lowell, she met my father, who was from Prince George County in Virginia, and they raised a family of my two sisters, a brother, and me. We lived in one of those connected houses built originally for mill workers, but none of my family worked in the mills. My father worked for a man named Haines who ran the Middlesex Steam Laundry. Haines had an estate with a barn and horses, and my father took care of the place for him. I went there as a child and remember being carried out by him one time to a racetrack where he had a couple of racehorses. Father used to raise chickens, and people in the neighborhood remember that he also raised peacocks.

I had plenty of playmates in the neighborhood and we played a lot of ball games at a nearby field. We did the things that youngsters like to do, including sliding down Cogan's Hill in the wintertime. I also did a lot of skating. My father took me around, and I guess he was very proud of me because I learned on single runner skates rather than double. I was about six years old then.

EAL: So, you spent most of your younger years in Lowell. Were there any old buildings that you may have noticed as interesting?

FCW: Not to the extent that you could say it was the beginning of an historic preservationist. I do remember the downtown area where we kids would go Saturday mornings to watch the movies, which cost 10 cents. We liked cowboy and adventure movies. I could not get the 10 cents until I had finished my morning chores, one of which was to go up to the neighborhood bakery and pick up the baked beans. On Fridays, women would prepare their baked beans—everyone had baked beans on Saturday—and we would put the baked beans on our carts and take them up to the bakery, where the baker would put them in the brick ovens he used to bake his bread, and they would slow-bake all night. Next morning, we had to go pick them up and bring them back home before we could get our 10 cents for the movies. Although I do not remember the buildings, I do remember the atmosphere, the feeling that these were the things and places we enjoyed.

EAL: And, then your family moved to Providence?

FCW: Yes. My mother and father separated when I was a teenager, and I came to Providence to live with my Uncle Fred. I lived in a cottage on Central Avenue in

East Providence, where I had visited when I was growing up. I lived and went to school in East Providence until my mother moved down from Lowell with my sisters and brother. She found an apartment in the Roger Williams housing project on Thurber Avenue in South Providence, and we all went to school there.

I later switched to Technical High School in the central city, but I had to leave before graduating. My mother was the only one supporting the family financially, and we needed to have some resources, so I became the man of the family. Since I had gone to work and was making more money than allowed in the housing project, we had to move. We lived for a while in an apartment in another area on the fringe of South Providence nearer the downtown area, and then we moved to Lippett Street on the east side. We lived on the second floor of a two-family private house.

I worked in different stores in Providence. One in particular, Baird North, was the largest mail order jewelry store in the country. I handled the shipping and mailing and saw to all the things that sales people did not have to do, including jewelry repairs, and I maintained contact with all of the jewelry repair businesses.

EAL: How did you happen to join the civilian work force for the Navy?

FCW: In September of 1941, I answered an ad I saw in the Post Office and went along with 25 or 30 other men to the Quonset Point Naval Air Station. After objecting to being herded off to an unknown site with no explanation of the work, I was allowed to meet with a very gracious Lieutenant Commander, who said that they had a maintenance unit in the airplane overhaul and repair department that needed help and that he would send me down there. I worked for about six months doing everything. It was a big place, like an aircraft factory, a small hangar and a big hangar where planes were repaired and overhauled. This was in the early days when everybody was trying to do what they could, it seemed, to make work while we waited for the schedules from Washington. A few months later the planes began to come in for maintenance and repair. There was a big storeroom with storekeepers and half a dozen or so young lieutenants who had just graduated from six months of training.

They all had jobs to do, and I ended up with Lieutenant Iverson (he became an Admiral later on), who had charge of all the storerooms. I told him that I had maintenance experience. I had worked for a retail store and knew about stocking and taking inventory. I asked him about the chances of being transferred to the storeroom. He said he would see what he could do.

I had a pretty good relationship with a commander. When he was on lunch, he would grab me and start talking, as there were things that went on there that

he did not know about. We talked about many different subjects—worldwide subjects—such as the possibility of war. I think he influenced Iverson, and I was transferred from maintenance to the storeroom.

One day, a bunch of younger workers were horsing around, when the Chief Warrant Officer came in and saw that I was the only one working. He told them they needed some supervision, made me their supervisor, and instructed them to do what I said. That led to a job as supervisor for the whole shop stores and eventually to the front office. The shop stores officer to whom I, as a civilian, reported wanted closer communication with me, so over one weekend he had a whole crew of sailors move all my stuff to the front office. Looking at this when I came to work the following Monday, I remembered that when I had first come in to Quonset eight months earlier, I was part of the crew washing and waxing that office and here I was up there supervising half the office including the whole stock control group.

**State Government Years, 1969-1985**

EH: How did you become involved in state government?

FCW: All the time I was at Quonset working for the Navy, I was still doing community work. I became President of the Urban League, president of this and that, chairman of this and that, working on a lot of issues in the community. I also worked with the *Chronicle*, Rhode Island's black newspaper, and wrote a weekly column called "Sideglances." Frank Licht, a judge and a good friend, and I sat on the same committees and boards. When problems such as housing came up in certain areas, we would go there and discuss them with the people. Licht later became governor and appointed me director of the Department of Community Affairs, a new department that included planning and community development among its many responsibilities.

One day he called me in and said he had another job for me. "We don't have this one yet," he said, "but you are going to be the State Historic Preservation Officer." When I asked him what that was, he laughed and began explaining how important it was and that he would like to have someone there who could work with him.

EAL: Had you heard the term, "State Historic Preservation Officer," prior to that time?

FCW: Yes, but I certainly did not know much about it. Antoinette Downing headed the Rhode Island Historical Commission.[1] The first meeting I had with any of the Commission members, including Antoinette, was at the Parker House in Boston, where some of the early issues were discussed. The second one was in Lincoln, Rhode Island, where some brick mill houses were being restored.

I made what seem now to be rather cliché statements about preservation in response to a question about whether they were doing the right things. Off the top of my head, I said some of the things that should have been done to preserve the historic features of the buildings. Antoinette looked at me and said, "Hey, that's my line." So, I said, "well, Antoinette, that's the way things should be," and she said "I know, but I didn't expect you to know that." I said that was how I felt about it, and she told me to continue to have those feelings.

EAL: Tell us about the College Hill neighborhoods and early urban renewal activities in Providence during the 1950s and 1960s that led to the influential 1959 College Hill plan.

FCW: I had no official position in those activities, as I was still working for the Navy, but I did participate in the community organizations that talked about them and complained about the proposed demolition of historic buildings that were part of our neighborhood. On the east side of the city, there were black neighborhoods all around the central core of Brown University. The neighborhood where I lived then is now occupied by the University Heights Apartments. It was a mixed neighborhood of houses, at least two churches, funeral parlors, doctor's and law offices, and a jazz club where nationally known musicians performed.

EAL: When the governor asked you to head up the new department and become the historic preservation officer, did the community activities in housing and the environment in which you were involved provide some background?

FCW: Yes, they did. I think being involved with some of the organizations in the neighborhood provided a background for understanding what was going on and for making some of the decisions later on.

Much of what I thought in those days, and I still do, was that the goal of historic preservation is really to establish an environment with a sense of place. Historic preservation for many was little old ladies in tennis shoes puttering around and that sort of thing. A good deal of what we did and could do was tied up with what people thought of historic preservation and whether they accepted it as a viable part of restoring and rehabilitating places.

EH: Can you tell us why you came to believe that the Department of Community Affairs was a good fit with historic preservation?

FCW: DCA had its own structure for dealing with the historic preservation organizations in the community, and it included them in its planning efforts. I felt this was a very good idea because of all the other programs we supervised for cities and towns, but I did not want historic preservation to get lost in the departmental bureaucracy. We maintained the separate identity of the Rhode

Island Historic Preservation Commission. Through the funds we provided cities for professional planning services, we made sure that they looked at the value of historic preservation in their planning activities.

EAL: In 1970, you were involved in the controversy over the Brick Market in Newport and plans for a highway that called for the demolition of most of the neighborhood. Tell us about that experience.

FCW: I felt very uncomfortable about that road. It cut across the waterfront, destroyed the whole area—the ambience, the connectivity of it; there is a looseness about that whole area now that is not very comfortable.

*We must ask ourselves what is being destroyed and how we would feel without it being there. And, is there some way that a necessary item, such as a highway, can be built without destroying an area? Are there any alternatives? We cannot simply say we do not want it to be built if it is needed...*

Of course, the Federal Highway Administration and the State Department of Transportation were angry. A highway is an important thing to have. You cannot have a community without a highway, but where you put it can affect your entire feeling about a particular area. In so many cases, historic preservation comes up against important items for the public good, such as transportation, and you cannot say that's not important. But it is a question of which is more important at a particular point. Is that highway so important that we must throw away the historic character of the area? In this very early [1970] Section 106 case, the controversy was about a road that would sweep around Newport from the 18th-century Brick Market and along the edge between the city and the water. Tearing down structures to build this road eliminated much of the early Newport waterfront. We had some influence in saving the Brick Market but the project had devastating effects on the neighborhood.

That is one example of the kind of obstacles and problems that we face almost every day. We must ask ourselves what is being destroyed and how we would feel without it being there. And, is there some way that a necessary item, such as a highway, can be built without destroying an area? Are there any alternatives? We cannot simply say we do not want it to be built if it is needed and there is money to do it. In some ways, it is the difficult question of how can we have our cake and eat it, too.

EAL: What other challenges and pressures did you experience?

FCW: There was a lot of pressure from those who had made it commercially and who felt that they had the power, as they still do today, to put their muscle into what they think will benefit their commercial interests. What I have been saying is that historic preservation itself cannot produce all the good things that people think are important. Preservation is simply the nuts and bolts in the rehabilitation of neighborhoods and in a sense, of people. When people live in nice areas they adopt the goodness of the area. We are facing similar economic pressures right now with the relocation of the World War II aircraft carrier, *Saratoga*, from Middletown across Naragansett Bay over to Quonset Point by a nonprofit organization. There is some industrial and commercial activity in the buildings at Quonset now, and the Rhode Island Department of Environmental Management maintains that the *Saratoga* project is not in the best interests of economic advancement there. Some people cannot see the benefit of a nonprofit, patriotic enterprise, but the governor has given the *Saratoga* organization two years to raise funds and develop a plan.

*When you look at what is happening today in the rehabilitation of industrial neighborhoods and other areas of commercial properties, we can shout from the roof tops that we have been successful. Our success is more long-term and not necessarily dependent on the short-term results of typical commercial ventures.*

EAL: Do you explain such issues to antagonists in any different way today then you did then?

FCW: Well, things keep coming down to an either-or situation for some of the antagonists today who feel that it is all about money. That is why the historic preservation tax credits are now so helpful. Historic preservation provides resources that can accomplish the same, or usually better, results. We are more competitive now because we have the dollars-and-cents benefits of preservation to hold up against the alternatives. When you look at what is happening today in the rehabilitation of industrial neighborhoods and other areas of commercial properties, we can shout from the roof tops that we have been successful. Our success is more long-term and not necessarily dependent on the short-term results of typical commercial ventures.

EAL: It sounds as if you are saying that some of the same arguments that you used to face challenges in the very beginning are still valid today.

FCW: We have more of the public on our side today. People have become enthralled with what they see in preserved historic neighborhoods. We can

point to a history of accomplishments that we did not have before. We have developed, and we continue to develop, facts and figures that are irrefutable. We are still on the right road, and we cannot give up but must keep moving ahead.

EAL: During this period in state government you became concerned that all aspects of the state's heritage were not being addressed, and so you helped found the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society. What were some of the challenges you faced, especially regarding public attitudes within the historic preservation movement and the African American community? Were there unusual problems that you did not have with the state program?

FCW: I don't think I had too many problems, as far as the black community was concerned, although historic preservation was not necessarily on the front burner. First of all, the people involved in forming the society were not on the same track as the white community with regard to historic preservation. You have to be proud of who you are and where you are, and then the place you live becomes something valuable, and you want to maintain it. In establishing the Black Heritage Society, the question was: What do we have to be proud of? We needed an organization to sponsor activities that would counter that attitude, would encourage people to become proud of who they are. The Black Heritage Society fills that need.

**National Involvement**

EAL: As an officer of the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers (NCSHPO) in the 1970s, you were able to incorporate the organization and establish a staff and office in Washington. What were the obstacles to this important step in strengthening the organization, and how was this accomplished?

FCW: Well, it took many board meetings in the cash room of the Treasury Department Building in Washington. You have to think about what happens to people when they allow their own deficiencies to color their attitudes about things. Among the SHPOs, there was concern that, based on their experiences working in their own communities, they could not obtain funding for NCSHPO dues for a staffed office. We were telling them that historic preservation was like a faith that you believed in and followed. We all wanted success in historic preservation, and historic preservation was the same whether you are talking about Tulsa, Atlanta, or Boston. We had to work together. There was old-fashioned strength in having our own organization, and we all had to go down the same road together if we wanted to be successful. We were all subject to so many community pressures from one place to another, one set of officials to another. The idea was that out all the welter of "yes, no, maybe" we needed a dedicated group of people who could follow their own rules. Little by little, the

SHPOs came on board despite their skepticism about money. But we needed the money just the same, and to come together and give examples that could be used in various states. Like all successful organizations, we needed the assets to make it happen, and we did that.

EAL: *During the 1980s, you sat on the Board of Trustees of the National Trust. Tell us about those years.*

FCW: Among many experiences as a Trustee, I was able to make a trip in 1982 to China with other preservationists to visit sites they were trying to preserve. We discussed at each place how the area fit into their urban planning. They were approaching historic preservation in the same way that we were in terms of the process. But the guides were self-conscious about some places, especially the housing sites, because they felt they cast a cloud on what they were doing. Yet, these sites were historic and represented how they lived, and we felt that it was important to show how these places were part of their culture. They seemed embarrassed, but we thought they were wonderful. The Chinese are very energetic as we once were. I wish today we had some of their energy and emotion.

EAL: *You have been chair of the Rhode Island Historical Commission since 1995. Has the Commission's work changed over the years?*

FCW: The program has become a more integral part of what's going on in Rhode Island, meaning that there is an acceptance of historic preservation. It seems that we have accomplished one of the early goals of tying historic preservation to development. It is no longer a question of whether to or not. I do not distinguish federal from state—the idea being that if it is in the National Register, we will work to preserve, and we do not ask why. People are ready to cooperate, whereas before they asked why preservation was necessary. Now it is taken for granted.

**Philosophy and Process**

EH: *Do you have any thoughts about why you have been so successful in convincing people to do the right thing, in bringing out people's better nature and community spirit? I remember you going into meetings where people were shouting and waving their hands and being very passionate. You would come into the room and like Moses parting the waters, you calmed them down, and somehow they found a solution. Has anyone ever told you that, and do you have a strategy when you go into a meeting like that?*

FCW: I don't think about how I feel about it, but I am concerned about how the people think and feel about what is going on. I cannot understand why some people do not support preservation. I have to figure out why they are on the

other side of the issue. If I manage somehow to be, as you say, "Moses," I never think of myself that way. I don't think of the effect, but how the people are dealing with each other. I get so engrossed in the subject matter that if I begin thinking of myself as calming the waters I would never get anything done. At the end of those meetings, I never took the trouble to sit down and analyze how we managed to get to a happy ending or at least to one that would get the job done.

EAL: So, it was not a conscious strategy but a drive to focus on the issues at hand?

FCW: Much of my training came from working for the Navy, where one had to develop a "can do" attitude. I remember a terrific fire that destroyed the Engine Overhaul Building—a huge structure 1,000 feet long and about 400 feet wide. The building had to be completely reconstructed, and the commanding officer called me in, relieved me of my normal responsibilities, and said we had to get the building done in time to rehabilitate jet engines. Like other jobs I have been involved with, including historic preservation, I had never taken a course, but if that building was to be rebuilt in time to provide engines to the fleet, I had to know what I was doing. First, I had to find the blueprints of both floors and all the equipment. I went back and forth to Washington dealing with contractors, arranging for shipments, inspecting the shipments, and denying others that were not up to specifications. You do not do something like that on your own. You have to draw on the different information that everybody has, that they have been taught, always remembering that there is an overall objective and that all the little pieces put together produce the big piece. And if you do not know about the big piece, find the guys who know about the little pieces.

EAL: There were people at your birthday reception who said you had inspired them to go into historic preservation. What would you tell young people today?

FCW: I would tell them that there are many areas of interest in historic preservation. You can be an architect, a planner, or any number of things that can get you into the field. I think that if the story is properly told—not sure I can do that—many young people, as well as adults and professionals, might want to switch to historic preservation because it includes so many areas of interest. I think that once they know the story, a lot of young people are interested in historic preservation because it is more exciting and has more promise than many other types of jobs.

EAL: How important is it for young people to understand the culture of the country and the history of historic preservation? Should this be part of their education?

FCW: I hope that whatever courses they take in college offer an emphasis on historic preservation in some shape or manner because I think it can fit into

any curriculum. The point is that the preservation movement encompasses our national heritage and goes beyond bricks and mortar. It expands our understanding of American culture.

EAL: How important do you think it is to continue to address the issue of diversity in the professional work force and in preservation programs and activities?

FCW: It is still important to tend to diversity. You should not cater to diversity at the expense of qualified people in the preservation workforce, and it is always good to hire or appoint people who have the proven skills, knowledge, and ability, which books often cannot teach. Diverse people should pay attention to what is needed, and there should be programs to provide them with the skills and knowledge that will allow them to be part of the big preservation effort.

In a sense, diversity is even more important these days when the whole world is looking at us. It has always been my personal goal to learn about and understand the place of African Americans in the history and making of America, how they were part of the early history and struggles, and especially the questions asked most recently about slavery.

EAL: Was it that feeling that led to the study of St. John's Lodge and the First Rhode Island Regiment of black troops during the Revolutionary War, and to the establishment of the commemorative park in Portsmouth, Rhode Island?

FCW: We now call it Patriots Park. Whether we called it that in those days I'm not too sure. There were several groups, including the Newport Branch of the NAACP and others, who wanted some physical representation of that early history of blacks in America, a place to talk about things that brought blacks together, a place where they could celebrate on holidays like Martin Luther King Day, and a place for tourists to visit. Their work led to the creation of Patriots Park [dedicated in 1976]. During this period, I was already doing some other things and serving as a member of other organizations. My interest in those days was in how African Americans were looked upon and accepted. It is important to understand the culture of America and its utilization of immigrants. I still believe what I said about the possibilities of historic preservation, especially with all of the immigrants coming to America now: "As the mosaic of the nation's people becomes more diverse, we are on the threshold of even greater opportunities to connect historic preservation to broader social, economic and cultural objectives that truly represent our full national heritage."

EAL: In a recent book, Bob Stipe has suggested that what we need is a special commission, a body of people outside of the established institutions, agencies, and organizations to come together to review the whole preservation

movement, all of its programs, philosophy, structure, and focus, and to make recommendations. Is this the type of assessment you mean?

FCW: Yes, it is always good to look at yourself, turn yourself inside out and ask what am I about? Here we are talking about historic preservation programs, and it appears we are on the right track because we have been so successful. Well, that's fine, but how can we continue without someone trying to upset our apple cart? Whether we do this through a special commission or whether we have someone from each historic preservation group sit down and talk about why things are so good, we need to review where we are and what we are about. It is an excellent time to do it because we are not pushing for some particular piece of implementing legislation, even though we may be facing threats to what we have.

EAL: Do you have any final thoughts you would like to share?

FCW: Let's not forget that in these times we must take a hard look at where we are. We have accomplished so much of what we were trying to do years ago. I think that we have really established the environment that we thought we needed, but now we have to maintain it, not let it slip away. It would be nice to set up a conference to review where we are and what we can do to strengthen historic preservation for the future. We should not sit down and close the book, because the book is not ready to be closed yet.

## Notes

1. Antoinette Forrester Downing (1904-2001) chaired the Rhode Island Historical Preservation Commission from 1968 to 1995 and was a nationally known author and preservation leader.

# Gazetting and Historic Preservation in Kenya

*by Thomas G. Hart*

## Kenya Yesterday and Today

On a fine sunny day in Nairobi in October 1927, Governor Sir Edward Grigg put pen to paper in his mock-Tudor official mansion, setting in motion historic preservation in Kenya Colony with the signature of "An Ordinance to Provide for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments and Objects of Archeological, Historical, or Artistic Interest."[1](Figure 1)

FIGURE 1
*Sir Edward Grigg signed the first Kenyan ancient monuments act into law in 1927. (Courtesy of Kenya National Archives)*

Why adopt such legislation in Kenya in 1927? A memorandum to the law explained that the government "followed the scheme of the Indian Act," which was "the late Marquess Curzon's especial care."[2] Curzon, former Viceroy of India, was a statesman of the British Empire who died in 1925; it is likely that Kenyan colonial administrators, many from India, meant to honor him.(Figure 2) Grigg himself had been born in Madras and must have known Curzon well during his own colonial career. While Great Britain began protecting its own heritage with ancient monuments acts in 1882 and 1913,[3] the Indian crown jewel of empire produced a very different version of such legislation in 1904. The legal framework of Indian colonialism afforded a convenient model for the new (1895) British protectorate of Kenya, and this authoritarian model would mark Kenyan preservation policy.

FIGURE 2
*Viceroy of India George Nathaniel Curzon and Lady Curzon, shown here about 1899, played a central role in establishing the Indian ancient monuments act that, in turn, inspired the Kenyan monuments act. (Courtesy of the British Library)*

Kenya today is a nation of over 30 million people, about the size of Oregon and located on the east coast of Africa at the equator. It gained independence from British colonial rule in 1963. The nation enjoys a diverse and rich physical heritage consisting of paleontological sites of world importance to human origins; the sites and artifacts of the many indigenous African ethnic groups; the legacy of the unique Swahili culture born of African and Arab sources on the Indian Ocean coast; and the British colonial imprint.

Protected places and buildings in Kenya are termed "monuments"—part of the nomenclature put in place in 1927. Their registration is called "gazetting" from the practice of publishing legal notice of protected sites in the official *Gazette*. Kenya's system is centralized and national, run by conservation professionals, and dependent on criminal penalties to protect heritage sites. The prime keeper of Kenyan heritage is the National Museums of Kenya, with over 1,000 employees at 19 sites around the country.(Figure 3) Its stewardship responsibilities range from the epochal skulls of early man, to a 1498 pillar

FIGURE 3
*Headquartered in this building in Nairobi, the National Museums of Kenya is responsible for Kenyan heritage under the Antiquities and Monuments Act. (Courtesy of the author)*

FIGURE 4
*The National Museums of Kenya preserves the 1498 Vasco Da Gama Pillar at Malindi. (Courtesy of the author)*

FIGURE 5
*The National Museums of Kenya manages the Karen Blixen Museum in Nairobi, the former home of the late baroness author of* Out of Africa. *(Courtesy of the author)*

erected by Vasco da Gama, to the home of Baroness Karen Blixen, author of *Out of Africa*.(Figures 4-5) The Sites and Monuments Department within the National Museums is responsible for gazetting and other preservation functions.

The system is comprehensive in the African context and has done an excellent job with archeological sites and objects despite a lack of resources, lack of public awareness, weak involvement of local communities, and the absence of economic incentives. In the last decade, however, Kenya has encountered a number of obstacles to protecting buildings still in use, particularly privately owned properties, under the gazetting system. In fact, some 19 property owners have objected to and challenged gazettement in recent years. The following critical review of Kenyan preservation policy and practice highlights some of the issues that differentiate centralized penalty-based historic preservation systems from decentralized incentive-based alternatives. It ends with some suggestions for how Kenya might adapt its historic preservation program to new challenges and changing circumstances in the 21st century.

## Kenya's 1927 Ancient Monuments Act and Its Successors

The 1927 Ancient Monuments Act was the first of five successive pieces of Kenyan preservation legislation. The acts of 1934, 1962, 1983, and 2005 each repealed and replaced its predecessor, but also built on it to create a system with as much continuity as change.

The draconian and highly centralized tenets of the Indian law that were the basis for the 1927 act would not have been accepted by the British parliament or the public.[4] They seemed to suit, however, the fundamentally undemocratic nature of Kenya's colonial rule. In some ways, it resembles the utopian work of a preservationist philosopher-king, unfettered by public opinion, politics, or property owners. A comparison of the text of the 1927 act with the Indian Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904 reveals that it was adopted practically verbatim. Many sections from turn-of-the-century India remain ossified in the current statute.[5] The Indian act established a model of central government control over historic sites that endures in spirit—and often to the letter—today.

The most fundamental of the major powers of this act still in force is the power to declare protection of historic sites by announcement in the *Gazette*, a document akin to the *Federal Register* in the United States. The government is also empowered to direct control of protected sites and objects through a variety of means, including compulsory acquisition by right of eminent domain, agreements with owners, or assumption of guardianship of any unowned site or object.

The power to fine and imprison gave (and gives) the law teeth: "Anyone who destroys, removes, injures, alters, defaces or imperils a protected monument or antiquity" was guilty of a crime. The maximum fine of 100 pounds in 1927 compared to an average British salary of about 5 pounds per week, and to that of Africans of a few shillings per day. The maximum prison sentence was six months. Heritage conservation was placed squarely within the police power of government.

In 1934, the legislation was expanded to 25 sections, of which 17 were practically identical to the 1927 law.[6] The change came in response to the work of the great pioneer of human paleontology, Louis Leakey. By 1932, Leakey's Kenyan sites had established East Africa as the cradle of humankind, shattering the previous academic consensus that hominid origins lay in Asia.[7] The new sections largely addressed the needs of paleontological discoveries such as research and export permits, ownership and treatment of objects, and control of excavations at protected sites. All of the government powers were retained and, if anything, made more specific. In 1962, the winds of change presaged an end to colonial rule, and the 1934 legislation was hastily converted to the forms of the new nation, almost verbatim.[8]

Two decades after independence, Kenya had become one of Africa's success stories. Coastal tourism brought thousands of European sun-seekers to Indian Ocean beaches, where they eagerly bought (and were eagerly sold) the many relics and artifacts of the Swahili culture, created centuries ago from the cultural intermarriage of indigenous coastal Africans and Arab traders. This African Islamic culture developed the Kiswahili lingua franca of East Africa as well as a unique architecture and related arts.

The most notable Swahili sites in Kenya are the narrow old town mazes of Mombasa and Lamu, an island with no motor vehicles and now a UNESCO World Heritage Site.(Figure 6) Numerous ruins of Swahili settlements dating back to the 9th century dot the coast, notably at Gedi, Takwa, Shanga, Manda, and Pate. By 1980, the elaborately carved doors and windows of the old coral houses, beds and other furniture, jewelry, and porcelain were disappearing at an alarming rate. In response, a new Antiquities and Monuments Act took effect in 1983, the work of curator-turned-politician Omar Bwana and the dynamic Museums director, Richard Leakey, son of Louis. Once again, 24 old sections were substantially recycled.

FIGURE 6
*The well preserved Swahili town of Lamu on the Indian Ocean was the first gazetted historic district in Kenya and the first town to pass a local preservation ordinance. (Courtesy of the author)*

One of the most significant changes in 1983 was the automatic protection of many sites and objects without having to gazette them individually. Under these provisions, any man-made object or structure dating from before 1895 and any Swahili door carved before 1946 are automatically protected. Only historic objects or places dating after 1895 have required gazetting. The 1983

law modified a prior emphasis on paleontology with clear mandates to protect more recent places, structures, and objects.[9]

The most recent and current legislation, the National Museums and Heritage Act (2006), was drafted to address staff restructuring and physical infrastructure for the National Museums of Kenya. For the first time, as the name implies, protection of heritage and the basic text governing the museums are combined. Most changes concern the museums.

The sections that deal with historic preservation are substantially similar to previous texts. The fundamental approach empowering the national government to protect automatically or to gazette sites and objects for protection, to administer agreements with owners, to compel lease or purchase, to issue all permits and licenses, and to fine and imprison violators remains. There is also an effort by the professionals "to limit the powers of the politicians" and avoid some of the abuses of gazettement.[10] Perhaps the most important change is "spot gazetting"—emergency protection for "any heritage. . .in imminent danger of serious damage or destruction."[11] The penalties for violation of the law have also been increased to one million shillings (about $13,700 in a nation with a gross national income per capita of $530 in 2005) and 12 months in prison.[12]

**Kenya's Two Historic Districts**

Kenya has two historic districts with local bylaws in the old town areas of Lamu and Mombasa. Lamu came to international research attention starting in the 1970s, and the entire old town was gazetted for protection in 1986, with local bylaws adopted in 1991.[13] The relatively brief bylaws—three pages in the *Gazette*—adopted the foreign experts' definitions and map of an inner "conservation area" and an outer "protection area."

Lamu's local planning commission consists of three local and eight central government officials. The commission is charged with reviewing all applications to alter buildings or change use or user, making recommendations on building permits, coordinating plans for public areas, and providing technical advice on approved construction. The demolition of coral buildings or any feature in the conservation areas is prohibited. Any alteration is subject to prior approval by the commission, as are any signs or advertisements.

In many ways, the Lamu Planning Commission has been a success. A European Union grant to restore 10 houses launched it to much local appreciation. Citizens are accustomed to having building and other projects reviewed.[14] On the other hand, certain violations (unsuitable signs, encroachment on the waterfront) by influential local businesses have been allowed to stand. Locally authorized fines and imprisonment have never been imposed.

FIGURE 7
*Mombasa Old Town was the second gazetted historic district in Kenya (From Joseph King and Donatella Procesi,* Conservation Plan for the Old Town of Mombasa, *Kenya [1990])*

Preservation bylaws based on the Lamu model were decreed for Mombasa in 1996.[15](Figure 7) Oddly, the conservation commission was not appointed and did not meet for the first decade of the Mombasa bylaws.[16] Rather, the Mombasa Old Town Conservation Office (MOTCO), an office of the National Museums with a staff of three, took charge. Since then, MOTCO has succeeded in getting the property tax rate on homes in the conservation area halved, thwarting a casino project in the old port of Mombasa; preserving public seafront, and blocking the construction of large diesel oil tanks at the old port.[17] MOTCO can also point to restored balcony houses, improvements fronting Fort Jesus, and newly paved roads and alleys. The Mombasa Conservation Commission has finally been appointed and met recently.

Unlike historic districts in other countries, the Lamu and Mombasa historic districts do not have historic building plaque programs, detailed building and rehabilitation guidelines, or integrated "main street" development programs. There are currently no mechanisms in place for proposing local landmarks or new districts, or for holding public meetings for architectural review.

FIGURE 8
*Documentation of historic sites and proposals for gazetting begins at the Sites and Monuments Department research section at the National Museums of Kenya. (Courtesy of the author)*

## Gazetting Procedures and Trends

How does a place become a protected monument? Briefly, the National Museums of Kenya makes a recommendation to the minister of culture and heritage. The Minister then signs the notice and sends it to the attorney general for publication in the Kenya *Gazette*.

Today, the gazetting process begins as five researchers of the National Museums of Kenya's Sites and Monuments Department compile regional catalogues of sites worthy of protection.[18](Figure 8) The resulting eight loose-leaf "inventories," one for each province in Kenya, consist of two-page inventory forms for each building.(Figure 9) The criteria of the inventory

FIGURE 9
*The National Museums of Kenya produces and maintains inventory forms for historic buildings (Courtesy of the National Museums of Kenya)*

FIGURE 10
*Built by the Portuguese between 1593 and 1597, Fort Jesus at Mombasa was one of the first gazetted monuments. (Courtesy of the National Museums of Kenya)*

forms appear to have their roots in those used by the American-educated Italian scholar Francesco Siravo in his survey of old town Mombasa in the late 1980s.[19] Thus, the Kenyan use of architectural merit, historical period, association to significant events, the 50-year rule, and condition—all also criteria for the National Register of Historic Places in the United States—form one of the few parallels between the Kenyan and American models.

Posted and published notice is required to ensure that owners have an opportunity to object to the gazettement, which they may do within one month, but otherwise there is generally no other public input or consultation in the gazetting process. Individual citizens and local governments may not submit gazettement proposals directly to the ministry. The Sites and Monuments Department must first make a determination, which results in less public input but greater curatorial and professional control over the process.

The first list of officially gazetted antiquities and monuments was published on March 19, 1929.[20] Of the 18 listings, 15 were Portuguese or Swahili (often referred to as "Arab") ruins on the Indian Ocean coast, 2 were tribal sacred sites, and 1 was prehistoric. All of the 1929 listings remain gazetted today.(Figure 10) By 1935, the list had grown to 23, with Louis Leakey's activities reflected in the addition of the Kanam-Kanjera fossil beds near Lake Victoria. In the 1950s, the coastal antiquities warden for the Kenyan National Park Service, James Kirkman, began serious research on the lost cities of the Swahili civilization, contributing 40 gazettings of monuments on the coast between 1954 and 1959.[21]

The arrival of Martin Pickford at the National Museums of Kenya in 1978, where he established and headed the Department of Sites and Monuments, marked a watershed. By Pickford's own account, Museums director Richard Leakey was also instrumental in directing attention to many coastal ruins and prehistoric sites during this period.[22] A comprehensive list dating from about 1983, apparently the work of Pickford, listed 79 inland and coastal monuments by that date.[23] In addition to the ever-growing lists of coastal ruins and prehistoric remains, something new appeared on that list: two historic buildings of relatively recent date, still standing and in use. The Italian Church at Kijabe, an architectural gem built by talented Italian prisoners in World War II, was gazetted in 1981, and the house of Jomo Kenyatta, father of independent Kenya, in 1977.

With the departure of Pickford and the adoption of blanket protections in 1983, gazetting fell into a lull for nearly a decade. The appointment of George Abungu as head of coastal archeology in 1990, later to be director of regional museums from 1996 to 1999 and general director of the National Museums of Kenya from 1999 to 2002, marked renewed gazetting activity and emphasized

FIGURE 11
*George Abungu was responsible for the new directions in Kenyan heritage protection in the last decade. (Courtesy of the author)*

further areas of interest such as cultural landscapes, landmarks of the independence struggle, and buildings of the colonial era.[24](Figure 11)

Thus an increase, as well as a change of direction, in protected properties has occurred since 1990. This group includes a large number of indigenous Kenyan cultural sites, notably the Mukurwe-wa-Nyagathanga shrine, the Bedida and Mrima sacred groves, and 34 *kayas*, the sacred vales of the Miji Kenda people. Landmarks of the independence struggle have been protected recently as well, including Dedan Kimathi's trench and three other Mau Mau sites. Most notably similar to the American experience, conventional urban buildings over 50 years old are now included in significant numbers. The gazetting of the Old District Officer's building in Malindi in 1991 broke the ice for what now comprises a group of over 70 colonial-era structures, including government offices, churches, schools, clubs, and commercial buildings.

What caused the new directions in Kenyan preservation? One must first note that the introduction of blanket protections in 1983 reduced the urgency of individually protecting the prehistoric sites and Swahili ruins that formed the majority of the gazetted list up to then. The growing number of educated indigenous Kenyans in museum service by the 1990s no doubt contributed to interest in tribal sacred sites as well as Mau Mau landmarks. As for the buildings of the colonial period, the opening of the University of Nairobi's architecture school in 1975 led to the study and appreciation of urban buildings (evidenced by the number of master's theses on the topic) by budding Kenyan architects, several of whom joined the Museums' staff.[25] Further, the work of international researchers on historic Lamu Town made local staff aware of the importance of protecting inhabited buildings and urban areas. Many of the current leaders of preservation in Kenya began as understudies to the expatriates directing the Lamu research.[26]

FIGURE 12
*The 1982 demolition of Nairobi House called public attention to the loss of historic buildings in Kenya. (Courtesy of* The Nation *[Nairobi], 1982)*

Mzalendo Kibunjia, the present director of sites and monuments, also notes that before the building boom of the seventies and eighties, older buildings were simply not in danger. Such cases as the 1982 razing of Nairobi House, the former headquarters of the Imperial British East Africa Company, caused considerable controversy.[27](Figure 12)

**Degazettement**

In certain cases, protected status has been removed from a site by a new *Gazette* notice, thereby revoking the previous declaration as a monument. The Mama Ngina Drive area of Mombasa, a public waterfront park containing archeological remnants of the city's foundation, was degazetted in 1993.[28] Politically influential individuals had planned to degazette the oceanfront property, get it allocated to them by the lands office, and resell it at enormous profit to commercial developers. They encountered unexpected opposition

from local groups, including the Friends of Fort Jesus and the Muslim Human Rights League (MUHURI), and had to abandon their plans.

Gazetted in 1997, the Railway Staff Quarters are a group of stone bungalows built in the 1920s for junior European railway staff in Nairobi. A well-connected entrepreneur had the commercially desirable eastern end of the property, on a busy intersection, reallocated in order to resell it to an Asian entrepreneur. Degazettement of the prime plot ensued, and the houses on the eastern side have been razed.[29] Similar cases of degazettment of declared monuments include Nairobi City Park, Lord Edgerton's stone country house, and Westminster House, a 1928 neoclassical office building in the central business district. Yet, the Kenyan preservation system is hardly a paper tiger, and several success stories exist.

The staff of the National Museums in Mombasa awoke one morning in 1997 to find their own parking lot adjacent to the Old Law Courts being excavated for a new bank. Although publicly owned and within the boundaries of the gazetted Old Town Mombasa area, title to the plot passed into the hands of foreign banking interests. The Museums succeeded in halting construction.[30]

In 1999, the Museums succeeded in halting unauthorized work at 17th-century Portuguese Fort St. Joseph in Mombasa, one of the first sites gazetted in 1929. Developers had acquired the land through a questionable title reallocation and started work on a hotel, posting spear-wielding Maasai guards who refused entry even to the judge hearing the Museums' case.[31] Another relatively successful case stopped the destruction of the historic tomb of Bwana Zahidi Ngumi in the gazetted Old Town Lamu district in 1999.[32] In the early 1990s, a New York antiques dealer was caught with "a lorry load" of Lamu antiquities. He was taken to court, found guilty, and fined.[33] These successes not withstanding, with a single lawyer in the legal department of the National Museums of Kenya, initiating legal action is constrained not only by the desire to avoid antagonizing the public, but also by workload factors. As in so many other countries, there is a mismatch between a protection system based on direct legal sanctions and the personnel available to enforce it.

FIGURE 13
*The government acquired the Lamu Museum, formerly the residence of Lamu's traditional rulers (liwalis) and colonial district officers, by compulsory purchase in 1975. (Courtesy of the author)*

The government's right to acquire historic places from private owners by compulsory purchase has been carried out only twice. The first instance was for the Lamu Museum in 1975.(Figure 13) The property was owned by the Busaidi family, formerly the *liwalis* (traditional rulers) of Lamu, whose house had been expropriated by the British district commissioner at the turn of the century. The family wanted it back after independence but was forced to sell to the Museums.[34] The second use of compulsory purchase was the acquisition of what is now the Old German Post Office Museum in Lamu in 1988.[35]

## Objections to Gazettement and Concerns about Alterations

As Kenya has turned to the recognition of a broad range of monumental and utilitarian buildings, owner objections are a growing concern. The 19 objections since 1997 reveal not only a misunderstanding of the law and a need for a nationwide public education strategy, but also the paradox of central government protection in a climate universally suspicious of government motives. In most cases, owners have objected because they believed that gazettement meant their property would be taken by the state, or that no further alterations to their properties could be undertaken, or that it would interfere with their accustomed use of the property. The Presbyterian Church, for example, wrote to ask "what it means. . .in terms of ownership" for two gazetted churches.[36] The lawyer for the owners of Imperial Chambers cited several examples of old buildings "demolished and allocated to politically correct individuals," writing that their clients "are apprehensive whether this is prelude to similar exercise."[37] The owners of the so-called Karen Blixen House in Naivasha confided that they "did not know what" the government was "up to."[38] The University of Nairobi was reassured over ownership of the Chiromo House by the Museums' legal officer, and the director of sites and monuments personally handled a worried call from the head of Nairobi School, who assumed the government was taking over.[39]

Five of the objections cited constraints on altering or enlarging their properties as the main concern. Old Mutual's written complaint noted "major refurbishment of this property" and objected to gazettement "because it is so unclear what you can do and can't do under the historic building scenario."[40](Figure 14) Standard Chartered Bank's objection included "the restriction on making alterations under section 23 of the Act," as did the owners of Imperial Chambers, who had drawn up a remarkably sympathetic

FIGURE 14
*The owner of the Old Mutual building in Nairobi is concerned that gazettement will impede redevelopment and lower property values. (Courtesy of the author)*

FIGURE 15
*The owners of the Standard Chartered Bank in Nairobi object to restrictions on alterations and dispute the building's historic character. (Courtesy of the author)*

expansion to six stories, maintaining the historic stone façade.[41](Figure 15) Similar concerns were voiced by the Bull Café, "being reconstructed into a modern building."[42] St. Peter's Anglican Church in Nyeri was concerned about the "need to renovate and reconstruct."[43]

Although Section 23 of the Act establishes penalties for anyone who "destroys, removes, injures, alters or defaces" a monument, the actual policy is much more flexible.[44] The Sites and Monuments Department, while retaining the right to be consulted on alterations, is "mainly interested in the exterior façade" of historic buildings and will accept sympathetic changes, as in the cases of Grindlay's Bank and the Royal Casino in Mombasa.[45]

Some property owners objected to gazettement on the grounds that their properties did not meet the "historic interest" qualification. Such was the case with Standard Chartered Bank.[46] In the case of Bohra Mosque, the congregation pointed out that the mosque itself was pulled down and rebuilt in 1980, and only the ornate old gateway was original.[47] [They have since agreed to gazette the gate.] Imperial Chambers, the Blixen House in Naivasha, and Grindlay's Bank made similar arguments.(Figure 16)

FIGURE 16
*The Blixen House in Naivasha, shown here in 2001, is under consideration for gazettement. (Courtesy of Tove Hussein)*

FIGURE 17
*The members of the Surat District Association in Nairobi are concerned that gazettement will mean public access to their private religious ceremonies. (Courtesy of the author)*

Owners of three properties (the Nairobi School, Bohra Mosque, and the Surat District Association) expressed concerns about gazettement interfering with use, assuming the public would henceforth have access.(Figure 17) In fact, they had nothing to fear, since under the heritage law public access does not apply to privately owned property. "The public shall have right of access" only to "a monument which is for the time being owned by the National Museums Board or by another authority."[48] In addition to this protection, the Bohra and Surat buildings—the legacy of groups of railway laborers imported from British India—are protected under the Act's special status for religious structures, in language dating from the 1904 Indian law: "When any monument. . .is used periodically for religious observances, the authority shall make due provision for the protection of the monument from pollution or desecration. . .by prohibiting entry therein, except in accordance with by-laws made with the concurrence of the persons in religious charge of the monument."[49] The contentious tangle of Indian religions under the Raj created a text now relevant to two such groups a century later on another continent.

A barrage of letters of objection in late March and early April 2001 took the Museums by surprise. Officials met with or talked to several objectors, and the Museums also took the step of publishing a "Monuments Declaration" in the newspapers "in view of the anxiety caused to some of the owners."[50] In concise bullet points the notice clarified the policy on ownership, public access, alterations, and other issues, and promoted the benefits of gazettement, such as "recognition of the uniqueness of the property" and "potential assistance" from donors.[51] More significantly, the Ministry now requires the Sites and Monuments Department to consult with owners and present evidence of their agreement when sending a draft gazette notice to the Ministry.[52]

## Conclusion

The confusion over the owners' ability to alter their properties points to the need for community supported and administered local preservation ordinances with detailed guidelines for alterations. Currently, the national Act requires no such standards for ordinances or guidelines, and even the existing Lamu and Mombasa ordinances are vague.

When fully informed of the benefits of being listed in the National Register of Historic Places, owners of property in the United States and its territories are more likely to support registration because such recognition now opens the door to a variety of national, state, and local financial incentives.[53] The historian Robert Stipe has noted that—

*The American system of preservation. . .accepts at the outset that the core of the problem of preserving old buildings and neighborhoods is simply a matter of economics. If preservation efforts are to succeed, respect for what is called the owner's bottom line is of paramount importance.*[54]

In contrast to this approach, the Kenyan gazetting system emanates exclusively from the academic conservation and research concerns of the National Museums of Kenya. The Kenyan approach sufficed in the colonial period, when the public had little say, and in the case of paleontological and archeological finds on public land, where the American system is not very different.[55] It worked reasonably well with coastal sites and ruins, although some clashes with local owners and inhabitants occurred. But more recently, when dealing with living communities like Lamu and Mombasa, or with colonial-era buildings still in use, Museums officers responsible for conservation recognize the role economic incentives can play in their preservation efforts.[56]

Kenya's highly centralized heritage preservation system has met with much success in a difficult African context. The efforts of conservation officers are often near heroic. But Kenya is a developing nation. It is difficult to imagine that major new government resources will be available to the Museums any time soon. For this reason off-budget, decentralized strategies such as tax and investment incentives may be particularly practical alternatives to seeking scarce funds from parliament. The National Museums have recognized the value of moving toward a mixed system that includes economic incentives for historic preservation. The Museums are currently working with the new Ministry of Culture and Heritage to draft a series of changes that will guide preservation in Kenya in the future.

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## Notes

1. Government of the Crown Colony of Kenya, *The Official Gazette* (hereafter cited as *Gazette*) (1927), Ord. 17.

2. *Gazette* (1927), 687.

3. John Delafons, *Politics and Preservation: A Policy History of the Built Heritage* (London, United Kingdom: Chapman and Hall, 1997), 25, 30, 31.

4. In the 1913 British Ancient Monuments Act, for example, no penalties for damaging a monument may be levied on its owners; the Indian and Kenyan laws could (and can) fine or imprison owners for altering their own property. Further, punishments were less severe in Britain: a maximum of 5 pounds versus 100 in Kenya, and one month's maximum jail sentence versus six months.

5. Government of India, *The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904*, Indian Bare Acts, http://www.helplinelaw.com/bareact/index.php?dsp=anc-monu-pre, accessed November 2, 2006. Also confirmed by Martin Pickford, interview by author, Nairobi, Kenya, October 12, 2002.

6. *Gazette* (1934), 249.

7. Biography Resource Center, "Louis Leakey," http://www.galenet.com/servlet/BioRC, accessed October 2, 2002 (subscription service).

8. *The Preservation of Objects of Archaeological and Paleontological Interest Ordinance, Laws of Kenya* (1962), Ch. 215.11.1.

9. *The Antiquities and Monuments Act, Laws of Kenya* (rev. 1984), Ch. 215.

10. George Abungu, interview by author, Nairobi, December 3, 2002.

11. *The National Museums and Heritage Act of 2006, Kenya Gazette*, Supplement No. 63 (Acts No. 6), 123.

12. World Bank, "GNI per capita 2005, Atlas method and PPP," http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DATASTATISTICS/Resources/GNIPC.pdf, accessed November 1, 2006.

13. Kenya Subsidiary Legislation, 1991, The Lamu County Council (Lamu Old Town Conservation) Bylaws (1991), Legal Notice No. 292.

14. Ahmed Yassin, interview by author, Nairobi, November 28, 2002.

15. Compare the text for Lamu: "the Lamu County Council makes the following By-Laws" to that for Mombasa: "the Minister for Local Government makes the following order."

16. Yassin, interview; Jimbi Katana, interview by author, Mombasa, Kenya, January 23, 2003.

17. Kalendar Khan, interview by author, Mombasa, Kenya, November 22, 2002.

18. The Monument and Sites Department is under the direction of Dr. Mzalendo Kibunjia, a Rutgers-educated archeologist.

19. Khan, interview.

20. *Gazette* (1929), 507.

21. Pickford, interview; *Laws of Kenya* (rev. 1962), Objects and Areas of Land Declared to be Monuments, Cap. 215, Subsidiary Legislation. Between 1948 and 1970 the Kenyan National Park Service played a role in coastal sites since it had expertise operating public areas. During this period Fort Jesus and Gedi, for example, were degazetted and operated as parks.

22. Pickford, interview.

23. National Museums of Kenya, Sites and Monuments Department, Inland and Coastal Monuments (unpublished typescript, n.d.).

24. The current list stands at 223. George Abungu currently serves as Kenya's representative to UNESCO.

25. Waziri Sudi, Kalendar Khan, and Wycliffe Oloo are among those individuals who studied architecture and then joined the Museums' staff.

26. Athman Lali Omar, Kalendar Khan, Jimbi Katana, and Waziri Sudi are among Kenya's preservation leaders today.

27. *Daily Nation* (Nairobi, Kenya), October 21, 1982.

28. Athman Lali Omar, interview by author, Mombasa, November 14, 2002.

29. Zachary Otieno, interview by author, Nairobi, November 8, 2002. The property was gazetted in 1997, then degazetted and regazetted on the same day with new boundaries in 1998.

30. The case is still in court. Katana, interview; *National Museums of Kenya Board of Governors v. Commissioner of Lands, Municipal Council of Mombasa, AIKO investments, and Habib Bank AG Zurich*, HCCC No. 357 (1997).

31. The judge granted the injunction. The case remains in court. Katana, interview; *National Museums of Kenya v. Commissioner of Lands, Municipal Council of Mombasa, and Kamlesh & Hitech Lalitchandra Pandya*, HCCC No. 244 (2000).

32. *Francis K. Mugambi v. Lamu Planning Commission*, SRMCC No. 48 (1999).

33. George Abungu, interview by author, Nairobi, November 4, 2002.

34. Ibid.

35. Khan, interview.

36. P.M. Rukenya, Nairobi, to P.S., Ministry of Home Affairs, Nairobi, April 4, 2001; P.M. Rukenya, interview by author, Nairobi, October 4, 2002.

37. Farouk Adam, Nairobi, to Minister of Home Affairs, Nairobi, April 9, 2001.

38. Tove Hussein, interview by author, Nairobi, November 11, 2002.

39. Jane Kyaka, Nairobi, to R. W. Ngondo, Nairobi, August 20, 2001; Mzalendo Kibunjia, interview by author, Nairobi, September 25, 2002.

40. Stewart Henderson, Nairobi, to Minister for Home Affairs, Nairobi, April 2, 2001; Stewart Henderson, interview by author, Nairobi, October 2, 2002.

41. Les Gibson, Nairobi, to Minister of Home Affairs, Nairobi, April 4, 2001; Lalit Kana, Nairobi, to Minister of Home Affairs, Nairobi, March 9, 2001.

42. Steve Wambugu, Nairobi, to Minister of Home Affairs, Nairobi, April 6, 2001.

43. S.N. Mukunya, Nyeri, to P.S., Ministry of Home Affairs, Nairobi, April 5, 2001.

44. *The Antiquities and Monuments Act*, V/23.

45. Kibunjia, interview.

46. Gibson, interview.

47. H.A. Hebatullah, Nairobi, to Director General, National Museums, Nairobi, March 29, 2001.

48. *The Antiquities and Monuments Act*, V/20/a, V/21/3/a.

49. *The Antiquities and Monuments Act*, V/21/4.

50. "Monuments Declaration (Gazettement)," *East African Standard* (Nairobi), September 3, 2001.

51. Ibid.

52. Mzalendo Kibunjia, interview by author, Nairobi, November 4, 2002.

53. The most successful such incentive in the American experience has been a federal income tax credit for a percentage of an investment that rehabilitates a historic building used for commercial purposes. The private sector's response to the introduction of these tax incentives in 1976 exceeded the expectations of the preservation community. Several U.S. states have implemented their own historic preservation tax incentive programs. John M. Fowler, "The Federal Government as Standard Bearer," in *The American Mosaic: Preserving a Nation's Heritage*, eds. Robert E. Stipe and Antoinette J. Lee (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 66.

54. Robert E. Stipe, "Historic Preservation: The Process and the Actors," in *The American Mosaic*, 5.

55. The American Antiquities Act of 1906 established protections for sites of historic and scientific interest on federal lands. See David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Picaithley, eds., *The Antiquities Act: A Century of American Archaeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006); also Richard Waldbauer and Sherry Hutt, "The Antiquities Act of 1906 at Its Centennial," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 3 no. 1 (winter 2006): 36-48.

56. Currently, Kenya has only one example of a tax advantage for historic properties: the 50 percent reduction in local property tax rates for Old Town Mombasa. Easements with financial advantages exist in Kenyan environmental legislation, but they have not been put to preservation uses.

# Hampden Community Archaeology Project

*by David A. Gadsby and Robert C. Chidester*

The University of Maryland's Hampden Community Archaeology Project (HCAP) has recently completed a second season of excavation in the historically working-class neighborhood of Hampden in Baltimore, Maryland. An urban community of 7,500 residents that dates back to the early 19th century, Hampden is undergoing gentrification and other major changes. Recognizing the value of heritage and heritage awareness in community organization and advocacy, the university's Center for Heritage Resource Studies established HCAP in 2005 to work with Hampden residents on historical research and other projects geared towards empowering them to "advocate for themselves in the public arena" where the community's traditional character is concerned.

Established in the mid-19th century to support a booming textile industry along the nearby Jones Falls and incorporated into the city of Baltimore in 1888, the village of Hampden remained a predominantly white, working-class enclave through the 1970s. During its industrial heyday, Hampden played host to a series of sometimes bitter labor disputes. However, the gradual migration of the mill companies southward in search of cheap labor and the steep decline in the demand for mill products after World War II seriously diminished Hampden's industrial base.

The Hampden neighborhood has undergone demographic changes in recent decades. At first, students and then young families took advantage of low housing prices to buy many of the row houses lining the streets. This influx of new, generally wealthier residents has made this historically insular Baltimore neighborhood more economically and ethnically diverse, but it has also had negative effects. Hampden is well known for its quirky commercial district, and the Hampden Village Merchants Association that oversees the neighborhood's Main Street program has marketed the community so successfully throughout the Baltimore region that soaring housing prices and skyrocketing property taxes have forced out many longtime residents. Coupled with the influx of newcomers, this exodus has disrupted longstanding social and support networks.

## Community Archeology

Convinced that a sense of heritage could empower Hampden residents in discussions about the future of their neighborhood, Robert Chidester, David Gadsby, and Paul Shackel of the Center for Heritage Resource Studies organized a series

FIGURE 1
*This summer 2006 view shows Youthworks student workers Diamond Staley and Jacinda Mackey mapping a foundation using the total station. (Courtesy of the authors)*

FIGURE 2
*In the spring of 2006, volunteers from the Archaeology in Annapolis program helped perform test excavationhs at this early-19th-century house. (Courtesy of the authors)*

of public history workshops. Local historians led community members in lengthy open discussions about the heritage of Hampden and the value of that heritage to the community. The workshops led to the creation of a community archeology program that combines historical, ethnographic, and archeological research in the four targeted areas of class and gentrification, labor and industry, gender and family life, and race and racism.[1]

In Hampden, project participants strive to conduct high-quality archeology that involves community members in all phases of the archeological process. HCAP sponsors a six-week summer field program for young people that generates lectures, weekend "open site" programs, and other public events.(Figures 1-3) During the summer of 2005, HCAP and youth workers conducted excavations at three workers' housing sites in Hampden, locating the traces of household consumption and disposal activities dating from the early 19th century to the present. The excavations continued in 2006 at two additional sites to locate privies and other sealed and buried features. HCAP maintains a project blog to inform and update the community and professionals on the progress of the historical and archeological research.[2]

## Labor, Class-Consciousness, and Forgotten History

Some of the program's greatest successes have been in the complex areas of labor studies and class-consciousness. Historical research thus far has focused on working-class activism in Hampden and local representations of community heritage. While local historians in the later decades of the 20th century have either ignored Hampden's working-class heritage or argued against a strong sense of class-consciousness in Hampden, HCAP research has unearthed much evidence to the contrary. From the 1870s through the 1920s, working-class Hampdenites joined economic cooperatives, helped establish local political parties, and frequently formed union locals affiliated with the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. Furthermore, Hampden was the site of a series of acrimonious labor strikes from 1915 to 1923—proof that Hampden's workers were full participants in the nationwide push for "industrial democracy" during and after World War I.

FIGURE 3
*University of Maryland intern John Molenda taught several Youthworks students how to take elevations in an excavation unit in summer 2006. (Courtesy of the authors)*

Despite this clear pattern of working-class activism, 20th-century representations of local heritage have largely ignored the central role of the neighborhood's textile mills in the life and history of the community. Whereas newspaper accounts and union records (where they exist) are helpful in re-establishing the context in which Hampden's mill workers lived, archeology can offer insights into their everyday lives and legacy. HCAP devoted its first two seasons to the excavation of trash dumps and privies and the study of changes in the appearance and the use of yards for that reason. Although the lab work and analysis are ongoing, a statistical comparison of artifact assemblages recovered from "end of row," or group, dumps with those recovered from single-family dumps, such as yard middens and privies, will shed light on the consumption habits of mill worker households, including how they acquired and disposed of goods, both collectively and individually.

HCAP plans to use the artifacts and knowledge gained from the archeology to engage the community in the rediscovery of the area's past and to talk about the issues of labor, class-consciousness, and community identity in the 19th and early 20th centuries. It hopes that by doing so, all of Hampden's residents will have the opportunity to reconnect with the neighborhood's working-class heritage and to incorporate that heritage into a shared vision of the future.

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**David A. Gadsby** is a doctoral student in the Department of Anthropology at American University in Washington, DC. **Robert C. Chidester** is a doctoral student in Anthropology and History at the University of Michigan. Together they co-direct the Hampden Community Archaeology Project.

## Notes

1. Community archeology is a branch of public archeology in which archeologists encourage community participation into all stages of archeological work. Through community collaboration, community archeologists mediate and facilitate the creation of useful narratives about a community's past.

2. The blog can be found at http://www.hampdenheritage.blogspot.com, and the project web page, including the initial research design, can be found at http://www.heritage.umd.edu/CHRSWeb/AssociatedProjects/Hampden.htm.

# The Freedmen's Bureau Records Project at the National Archives

*by Cynthia Fox and Budge Weidman*

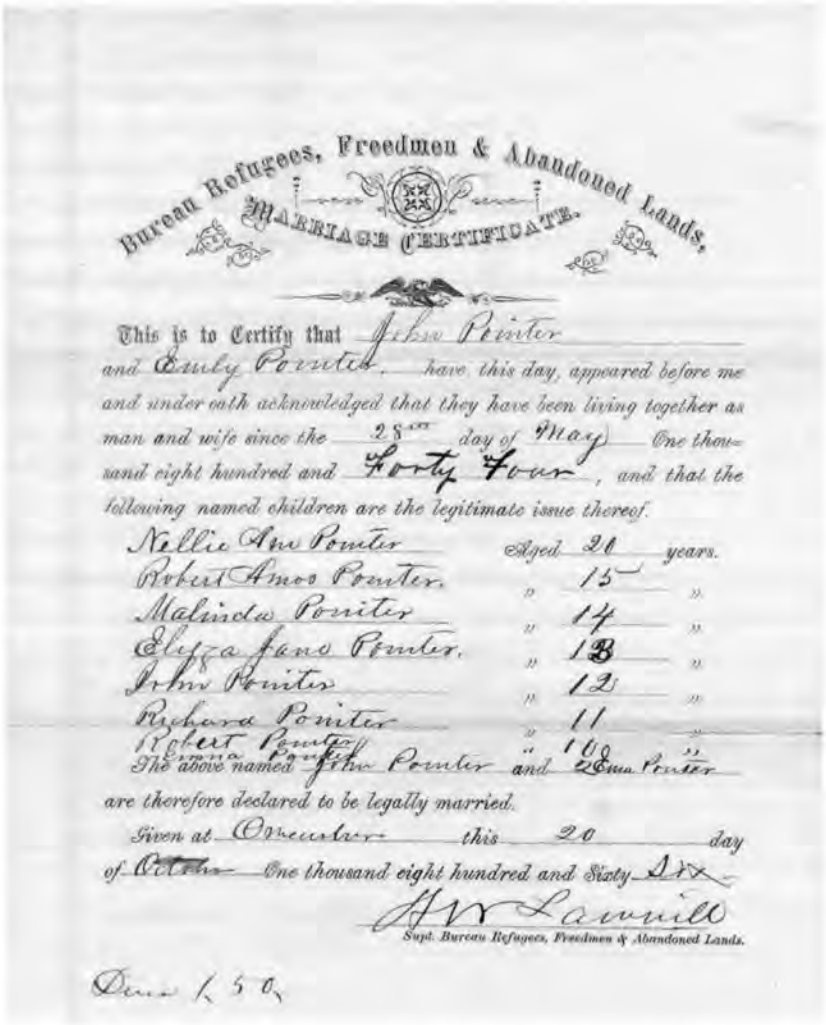
An unparalleled source of information on black life in the late 1860s and 1870s, the Freedmen's Bureau records at the National Archives in Washington, DC, document the Federal Government's treatment of emancipated slaves in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War. For all their value, deterioration due to age and the lack of microfilm copies and a name index had rendered the records difficult to use. To remedy this problem, Congress passed the *Freedmen's Bureau Records Preservation Act of 2000*, authorizing the Archivist of the United States to preserve the records for future generations and to establish partnerships with Howard University and other institutions for the purposes of indexing them and making them more accessible to the public.[1]

The National Archives' Freedmen's Bureau Preservation and Access Project team, established in 2001, included archivists, editors, conservators, microfilm specialists, and Civil War Conservation Corps (CWCC) volunteers.[2] Over five years, the team has preserved and microfilmed 1.2 million pages of Freedman's Bureau records, including city, county, and state field records of the District of Columbia and the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.[3]

Bureau assistant commissioners in these former Confederate states, border states, and the District corresponded extensively with the Washington bureau headquarters and subordinate officers in the cities and counties over the bureau's brief history. This bureaucracy generated thousands of reports, correspondence, and supporting materials. The assistant commissioners received many letters from freedmen, local white citizens, state officials, and other federal agencies on topics ranging from complaints to employment applications.

## History of the Freedmen's Bureau

Congress established the Freedmen's Bureau within the War Department on March 3, 1865.[4] In May of that year, President Andrew Johnson appointed Major General Oliver Otis Howard as bureau commissioner, a position Howard held until the bureau's termination. Although the bureau's early activities involved the supervision of abandoned and confiscated property, helping former slaves transition into "normal" society was its primary mission. Bureau officials issued rations and clothing, operated hospitals and refugee camps, and supervised



Bureau Refugees, Freedmen & Abandoned Lands.

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE.

This is to Certify that John Pointer and Emily Pointer have this day, appeared before me and under oath acknowledged that they have been living together as man and wife since the 28th day of May One thousand eight hundred and Forty Four, and that the following named children are the legitimate issue thereof.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nellie Ann Pointer | Aged 21 | years. |
| Robert Amos Pointer | " 15 | " |
| Malinda Pointer | " 14 | " |
| Eliza Jane Pointer | " 13 | " |
| John Pointer | " 12 | " |
| Richard Pointer | " 11 | " |
| Robert Pointer | " 10 | " |
| Emma Pointer | " 2 | " |

The above named John Pointer and Emma Pointer are therefore declared to be legally married.

Given at Owensville this 20 day of October One thousand eight hundred and Sixty six

H W Lawrill

Supt. Bureau Refugees, Freedmen & Abandoned Lands.

Dec 1, 50.

FIGURE 1
*The Freedmen's Bureau legalized the marriage of John and Emily Pointer and declared their eight children legitimate based on this May 28, 1844, marriage certificate. (Courtesy of the National Archives)*

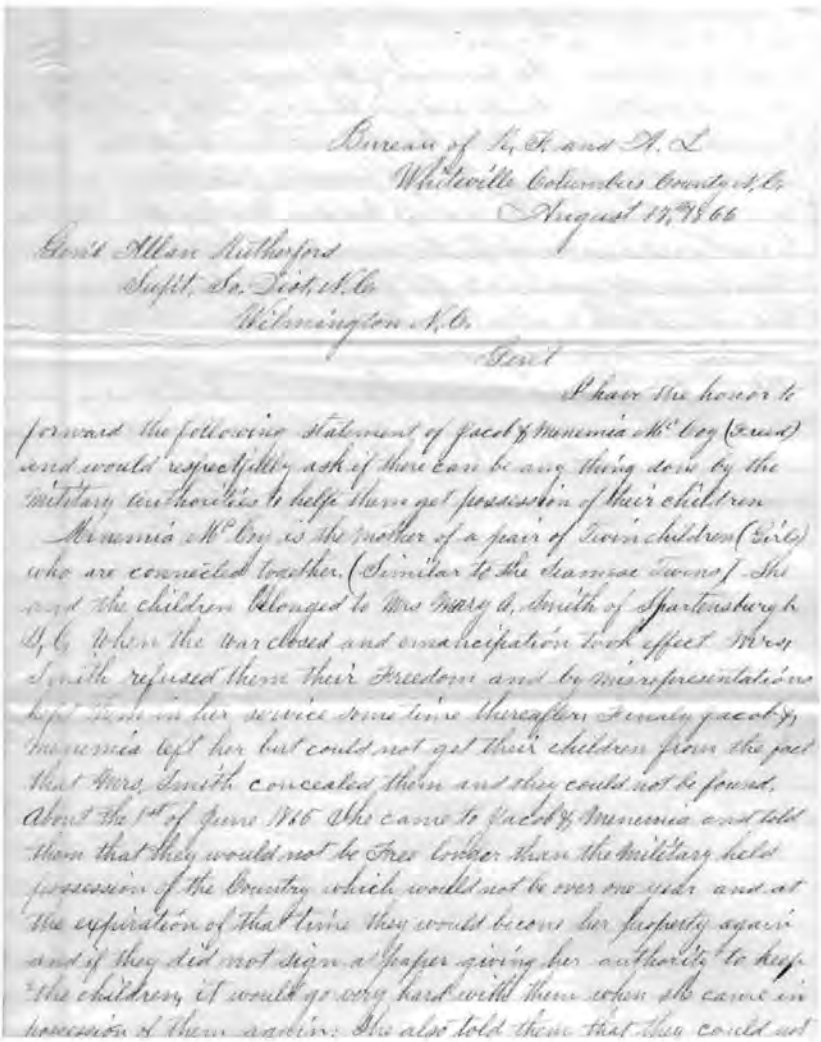
labor contracts. They handled apprenticeship disputes and complaints, assisted benevolent societies in the establishment of schools, helped freedmen legalize marriages entered into during slavery, and provided transportation for refugees and freedmen attempting to reunite with family or relocate to other parts of the country.[5] (Figure 1)They also helped black soldiers and sailors of the United States Colored Troops and their heirs collect bounty claims, pensions, and back pay. The great social experiment virtually ended in July 1868 when Congress ordered the suspension of most bureau operations.[6]

For the next year and a half, the bureau continued to pursue its education work and process claims. In the summer of 1870, it withdrew its superintendents of education from the states and greatly reduced its headquarters staff. From that time until its dissolution on June 30, 1872, the bureau focused almost exclusively on the disposition of claims.[7] Its records and remaining functions were transferred to the Freedmen's Branch in the office of the Adjutant General. The records of this branch are among the bureau's files.

## The Documents and Their Stories

The Freedmen's Bureau was an unusual social experiment for the Federal Government, and the stories preserved in the bureau's records are unique and personal. Jacob and Menemia McCoy, former slaves, approached the Wilmington, North Carolina, bureau office in 1866 for help regaining custody of their conjoined twin daughters.(Figure 2) Prior to emancipation, Menemia McCoy and the children were the property of Mary A. Smith of Spartansburg, South Carolina. The Bureau officer wrote—

*When the war closed and emancipation took effect Mrs. Smith refused them their Freedom and by misrepresentations kept them in her service sometime thereafter. Finally Jacob and Menemia left her but could not get their children from the fact that Mrs. Smith concealed them and they could not be found. About the 1st of June 1865 she came to Jacob and Menemia and told them that they would not be free longer than the military held possession of the country which would not be one year*



Bureau of R, F, and A. L
Whiteville Columbus County N.C.
August 17th 1866

Genl Allen Rutherford
Supt. So. Dist. N.C.
Wilmington N.C.

Genl

I have the honor to forward the following statement of facts of Menemia McCoy (Colored) and would respectfully ask if there can be any thing done by the military authorities to help them get possession of their children

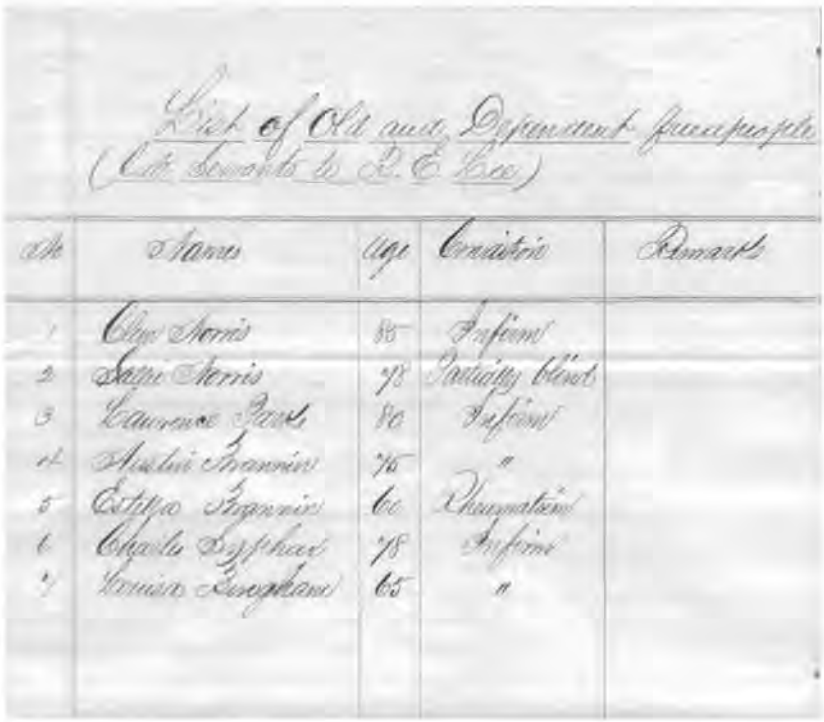
Menemia McCoy is the mother of a pair of Twin children (Girls) who are connected together. (Similar to the Siamese Twins) She and the children belonged to Mrs Mary A. Smith of Spartansburg S. C. When the war closed and emancipation took effect Mrs. Smith refused them their Freedom and by misrepresentations kept them in her service some time thereafter. Finally Jacob & Menemia left her but could not get their children from the fact that Mrs. Smith concealed them and they could not be found. About the 1st of June 1865 she came to Jacob & Menemia and told them that they would not be Free longer than the military held possession of the Country which would not be over one year and at the expiration of that time they would become her property again and if they did not sign a paper giving her authority to keep the children, it would go very hard with them when she came in possession of them again. She also told them that they could not

FIGURE 2
*This 1866 letter from the Wilmington, North Carolina, office of the Freedmen's Bureau about the McCoy conjoined twins survives in the bureau's records at the National Archives. (Courtesy of the National Archives)*

*and at the expiration of the that time they would become her property again and if they did not sign a paper giving her authority to keep the children it would go very hard with them when she came in possession of them again.*[8]

The Freedmen's Bureau records shed new light on the story told in the so-called official autobiography of the twins, known as Millie-Christine. Born into slavery in North Carolina in 1851, Millie and Christine had been exhibited by Mary Smith's husband, J.P. Smith, prior to the Civil War. Smith died in 1862 and, according to the story, the 14-year-old girls chose to stay with Smith's widow after the war. The twins enjoyed a long and successful career as "The Two-Headed Nightingale," touring with P.T. Barnum's show and ultimately saving enough money to buy the plantation where they had been born. Millie and Christine retired from show business and lived with their parents until 1912, when they died of tuberculosis, 17 hours apart.

Another story preserved in the Freedmen's Bureau records involves former servants of Robert E. Lee. In August 1868, seven freed people were found destitute and living on land allotted them from the Lee estate. Bureau agent J.C. Abeel provided the assistant commissioner in Washington with a list of their names, ages, and conditions.[9](Figure 3) Their connection to Robert E. Lee resulted in a high level discussion of their fate that included the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton. They were allowed to continue to live near Freedmen's Village in northern Virginia and given fuel and rations by order of Secretary Stanton.


List of Old and Dependent freedpeople
(Old Servants to R. E. Lee)

| No | Names | Age | Condition | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Clem Norris | 85 | Infirm | |
| 2 | Sallie Norris | 78 | Partially blind | |
| 3 | Laurence Parks | 80 | Infirm | |
| 4 | Austin Brannin | 75 | " | |
| 5 | Estella Brannin | 60 | Rheumatism | |
| 6 | Charles Syphax | 78 | Infirm | |
| 7 | Louisa Brogham | 65 | " | |

FIGURE 3
*The case of the freed servants of Confederate General Robert E. Lee, whose names are preserved on this list, attracted the attention of U.S. Secretary of War Edwin Stanton. (Courtesy of the National Archives)*

FIGURE 4
*Charles Tarleton submitted this tintype in 1875 to prove that he was the father of a young soldier who had died at Benton Barracks, Missouri, on May 30, 1864. (Courtesy of the National Archives)*

An interesting claim for an enlistment bounty, or bonus, appears in the records of the Freedmen's Branch of the Adjutant General's Office, the last remnant of the Freedmen's Bureau. Shortly after Charles Tarleton, Jr. entered the 68th U.S. Colored Troops in 1864, he contracted measles and pneumonia and subsequently died. Nearly 12 years later his father, Charles, Sr., a former slave, came forward to claim the enlistment bounty owed to his son.[10] The elder Charles showed up at the office of a lawyer near Hannibal, Missouri, with the son of his former owner, Edward Leister, who verified Charles, Sr.'s identity. Tarlton presented a tintype photograph of himself as proof.[11] After paying the lawyer's fee, the father collected his son's enlistment bounty. That tintype photo survives, along with the written documentation, in the Freedmen's Bureau records.(Figure 4)

## Next Steps

The task of indexing the documents is now underway. The National Archives has received a grant from the Peck Stacpoole Foundation in New York City to support Howard University's pilot project publishing the Freedmen's Bureau records online. The website has been launched and continues to grow as more images are added. A new partnership between Howard University and the Genealogical Society of Utah will create digital images from the microfilm and begin creating a name index to the records. The National Archives supports this goal and will continue to assist when possible in the creation of a digital publication.

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**Cynthia Fox** is the chief of the Old Military and Civil Records unit at the National Archives in Washington, DC. **Budge Weidman** is the manager of the Civil War Conservation Corps and a volunteer at the National Archives. The website for the Howard University digital access pilot project is http://hufast.howard.edu/FreedmenKnowledgeClient/index.aspx.

### Notes

1. *Freedmen's Bureau Records Preservation Act of 2000*, *U.S. Code*, vol. 44, sec. 2910 (2000).

2. The CWCC volunteers helped accomplish the massive tasks of arranging and copying nearly 1,000 cubic feet of records onto 1,131 reels of microfilm. Over the past 14 years, the CWCC has donated thousands of hours towards helping the National Archives preserve Civil War records.

3. The records of the Florida field offices were processed first under an existing partnership with Jim Cusick of the Department of Special Collections at the Smathers Library of the University of Florida.

4. *Freedmen's Bureau Act of 1865*, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 13 (1866): 507-9. Congress established the Freedmen's Bank at the same time, although the bureau and the bank existed and operated separately. See *Freedman's Savings and Trust Company Act of 1865*, *U.S. Statutes at Large* 13 (1866): 510.

5. Education was at the center of the bureau's efforts to integrate freed people into the economy. A circular issued by Commissioner Howard in July 1865 instructed the assistant commissioners to designate one officer in each state to serve as "general Superintendents of Schools." Whereas the Freedmen's Bureau helped build the schools, it fell to the parents and benevolent societies to pay the teachers.

6. Congress ordered that the commissioner of the bureau "shall, on the first day of January next, cause the said bureau to be withdrawn from the several States within which said bureau has acted and its operation shall be discontinued." *U.S. Statutes at Large* 15 (1868): 193.

7. *U.S. Statutes at Large* 17 (1872): 366.

8. Field Records for the State of North Carolina, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (BRFAL), Entry 2879, Record Group (RG) 105, National Archives and Records Administration (National Archives), Washington, DC.

9. These same names appear on a document filed in Fairfax County, Virginia, court records. On December 29, 1862, Robert E. Lee, as the executor of his father-in-law George Custis's will, freed all the family slaves. Field Records for the State of Virginia, BRFAL Entry 3967, RG 105, National Archives.

10. The circumstances surrounding this delay are not fully explained in the records, but it may be that he had attempted to make a claim earlier but was not able to prove his relationship to the young soldier.

11. The notary public attached a note to the photograph that said, "On this 25th day of May 1875, personally came before me a notary public for Marin County, Missouri, Edward Leister who being sworn says that the above and within tintype is the precise likeness of Charles Tarleton, the father of Charles Tarlton, who was a slave and belonged to his father." Field Records for the State of Missouri, BRFAL Entry 4404, RG 105, National Archives.

# Connecting the Past, Present, and Future at Sitka National Historical Park[1]

*by Kristen Griffin*

Located in coastal southeast Alaska, Sitka National Historical Park preserves a variety of cultural resources, including the site of the landmark 1804 Battle of Sitka between the *Kiks.ádi* Tlingit and Russian fur traders intent on expanding their colonization of the North Pacific. The outcome of the battle influenced Tlingit, Russian, and Alaska history, and the battle site remains ethnographically significant for the Tlingit people today. In 2005, the park established a partnership with the National Park Service's Midwest Archeological Center (MWAC) to conduct a four-year archeological inventory project.[2] The primary goal of the project is to provide information about the full range of sites and periods in the park's history, including locations associated with the 1804 Battle of Sitka.

Of particular interest is the site of the *Kiks.ádi* clan's unique palisaded fort known as *Shish'k'i Noow* (Sappling Fort). Unlike typical Tlingit forts built on hilltops, *Shish'k'i Noow* was built on the flat peninsula at the mouth of the Indian River, where shallow tidelands kept Russian ships offshore. The use of flexible saplings in the fort's palisade resulted in walls capable of deflecting cannon fire.[3] It was from this fort that the Tlingit, led by warrior K'alyaan, prepared for an attack by Russian ships under the command of Alexander Baranov, chief manager of the Russian American Company.(Figure 1)

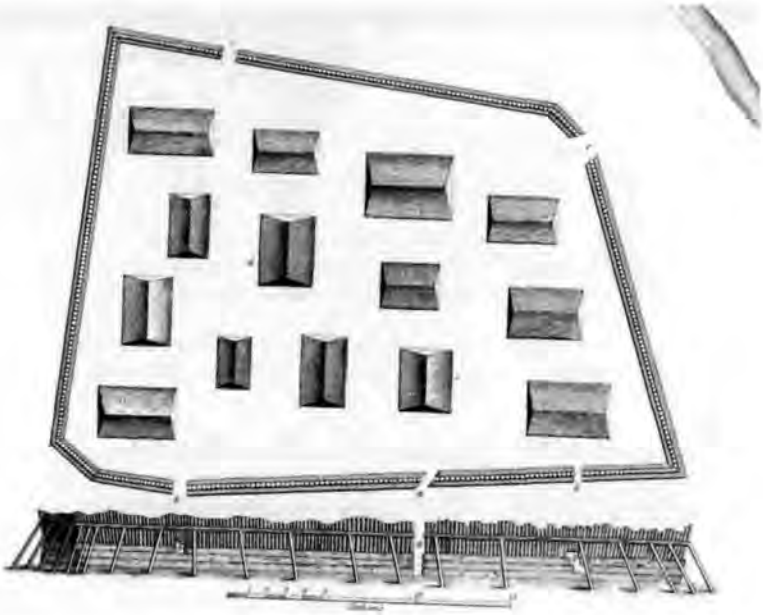

FIGURE 1
*This 1804 drawing of the* Shish'k'i Noow *(Sappling Fort) is by Urey Lisiansky, a Russian participant in the Battle of Sitka. (Reprinted from* A Voyage Around the World, in 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806 *[1968])*

FIGURE 2
*Metal detecting crew members Chris Adams and Charles Haecker survey the cleaning known as the* Shish'k'i Noow *(Sappling Fort) site. (Courtesy of Bill Hunt)*

So far, an experienced team of MWAC archeologists skilled in remote sensing and battlefield archeology has successfully completed two field seasons at the site, including the recovery of cannon balls, a musket ball, and grape shot that appear to confirm the location of *Shish'k'i Noow*.(Figure 2) With the project at the halfway point, it seems appropriate to look at some of the ways the contemporary Tlingit community has influenced Sitka's archeological project, and what this involvement has meant for a park attempting to conduct a high profile archeological inventory of a complex, highly sensitive cultural landscape.

## Understanding Tlingit History and Culture

Located at the northern end of the Northwest Coast culture area, the Tlingit are known for their way of life closely attuned to the land and resources of the North Pacific. Their cultural foundation is a complex social system based on two parallel lineages, Raven and Eagle-Wolf. When the Russians established their first settlement near Sitka in the late 18th century, they encountered Tlingit people with a strong connection to the land. This connection is still apparent throughout the contemporary community in lively efforts to perpetuate Tlingit language, ceremonies, traditional knowledge, art, dancing, and reliance on htraditional foods.

Although all Native Alaskan cultural groups fought Russian colonization, the Tlingit are most often recognized as the people the Russians never subdued. The 1804 Battle of Sitka was a watershed event in Tlingit history. The loss of life makes the fort and battle site an extremely sensitive cultural landscape. For years, the story of the battle had been told within the narrow historical context of colonial settlement, in which the Russians defeated the Tlingit and went on to establish their colony at Sitka. Recently, that story has been expanded to include Tlingit oral history of the battle's aftermath and the withdrawal of the surviving Tlingit from the fort to a distant village, known today as the Survival March.

## Shaping the Archeological Survey

Like all archeological projects, Sitka's archeological inventory draws on existing work, including an important excavation by Frederick Hadleigh West in 1958, a number of historical and collections research projects, a remote sensing survey, a geomorphological survey, an ethnographic study of Tlingit traditional use of the park, and the gathering of Tlingit traditional knowledge shared by elders.[4] An analysis of these sources helped determine the survey objectives and guided the MWAC archeologists in formulating the project research design.

In the same way, the project also draws on the insights gained from a series of community events in the recent past that enhanced public understanding of Tlingit history and important Tlingit cultural values. Three examples are the raising of a traditional totem pole, the repatriation of two highly significant cultural objects, and a ceremonial feast, or potlatch.

FIGURE 3
*The Sitka community gathered to help the* Kiks.ádi *clan raise the K'alyaan pole at Sitka National Historical Park in 1999. (Courtesy of Sitka National Historical Park)*

The totem pole raising took place in 1999 when, after years of planning, the *Kiks.ádi* clan commissioned a traditional totem pole for the approximate site of the former Tlingit fort.(Figure 3) The pole's design honors K'alyaan, the legendary warrior who led Tlingit forces in the 1804 battle. Prominent at the bottom of the pole is the distinctive Raven war helmet worn by K'alyaan. Although modern research and interpretation broadened the story of the Battle of Sitka, there was still very little to mark the Tlingit history physically in the park. As the pole was pulled into place, its presence restored balance by acknowledging the story of K'alyaan and all those impacted by the battle.

The second example involves two cultural objects tied to Russian-Tlingit conflict and repatriated to Sitka clans through the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA): an iron Russian blacksmith's hammerhead and a distinctive brass ceremonial hat. Historical accounts indicate that the hammer, known to the Tlingit as *K'alyaan aayi tâkl'*, was captured by the *Kiks.ádi* in 1802 during their attack on the first Russian fort at Old Sitka and later used by *K'alyaan* at the 1804 battle. The hammer was repatriated to the clan in 2003 from the Sitka National Historical Park collection.

The brass hat, known as the Peace Hat, was forged by the Russians in the shape of a traditional woven crest hat. Museum records leave room for different interpretations of the hat's age, but indicated that the hat was commissioned by

FIGURE 4
*In one of a series of events commemorating the bicentennial of the 1804 Battle of Sitka,* Kiks.ádi *and other clan members carry K'alyann's Raven helmet to the park for an anniversary exhibit. (Courtesy of Gene Griffin)*

Baranov and presented to a *Kiks.ádi* leader sometime after the battle to foster peace between the Tlingit and Russians. The hat was repatriated to the clan from the American Museum of Natural History in 2004.

Both the Peace Hat and K'alyaan's hammer are clan *at.óow*, meaning they are important clan property that embody clan history and identity. Since their repatriation, the clan has entrusted them to the care of the park. Today, the Peace Hat and hammer occasionally join other *at.óow* in important ceremonies. Their presence serves as an unwritten but powerful reminder of the Tlingit history of the battle and subsequent peacemaking.(Figure 4)

The third example of an event that influenced the archeological inventory took place in October 2004 as the *Kiks.ádi* clan invited other Tlingit clans to gather at Sitka for a two-day ceremony to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Battle of 1804. The first day of the ceremony acknowledged those who had suffered loss as a result of the battle and provided the means to release their grief. The grief ceremony was followed by a *koo.éex*, or potlatch, devoted to the spirit of peace and reconciliation.[5]

In the interest of balance and respect, the clan felt it was necessary to invite someone to represent the Russian side of the conflict. With the assistance of historians from the Library of Congress, the clan was able to invite a direct descendant of Alexander Baranov, a central figure in the battle and Russian colonization of Alaska. Irina Afrosina, who traces her family through Baranov's second wife, a Native woman from Kodiak, accepted the clan's invitation. One of the most powerful moments in the program came as the modern day descendants of both K'alyaan and Baranov respectfully greeted each other and

acknowledged their shared history in the company of K'alyaan's famous Raven helmet and hammer and the brass ceremonial hat that Baranov once offered to the *Kiks.ádi* in peace.

For park managers, these very different events in the years leading up to the archeological inventory shaped decision making about the project in a number of ways. Perhaps most importantly, they successfully conveyed the strong cultural connections that the *Kiks.ádi* and other Tlingit clans have to the park, and the depth of emotion that still surrounds the battle. They also offered a way to deepen the understanding of a complex history, including the human costs of the battle, and the changes that colonization brought to the Tlingit people.

In another sense, they offered subtle opportunities to learn about Tlingit cultural values by observing the care people took to be respectful, honor tradition, and maintain balance. These related perfectly to the Tlingit concept of *Haa Shagoon*, which acknowledges the ways that cultural traditions, passed down from ancestor to descendant, connect the past, present, and future.

**Fostering Communication and Partnerships**

On a practical level, these observations translated into a strong commitment by the park and project managers to maintain good communication with the public, the Tlingit community, and especially the *Kiks.ádi* clan. In the project's early phases, formal meetings with both the tribal government and the *Kiks.ádi* clan focused on basic information about the project, its objectives, and the practice of archeology. Recognizing that there was more than one tribal perspective on the project, the project managers invited the Sitka Tribe of Alaska (the local federally recognized tribal entity) and the *Kiks.ádi* clan (the clan with the strongest tie to the land within the park and the battle story) to appoint a liaison to the project. These individuals helped ensure that there was always a direct and open line of communication for voicing concerns, offering perspectives, or correcting misinformation. The liaisons were especially helpful since the practical season for fieldwork overlaps the time of year when many people in Sitka are fishing or involved in other subsistence activities away from home.

The archeologists from MWAC have been key participants in this communication partnership, welcoming public contact and working with the park to support public interest. So far, these efforts have included on-site visits, public meetings, and radio and newspaper interviews. MWAC also has up-to-date information about the project on its website, which has proven to be an excellent way for the public to keep up with the project. The MWAC staff also worked to learn about the Sitka community and maintained contact with tribal and clan representatives. MWAC also made a commitment to invite participation by Tlingit clan members in the fieldwork. So far five Tlingit individuals, all young people, have worked on the project.

The park designated a staff person to handle project communications, respond to media and information requests, and share information with other park staff. Park interpretive rangers have been able to carry the project's messages of cultural sensitivity and resource protection directly to visitors. Regular press releases, public meetings, and newsletters have helped keep the public informed. The park has developed a popular archeology education program for students and teachers that showcases some archeological techniques in the classroom, followed by field trips to the park to view archeological collections, tour the survey area, and meet the archeologists.

Cultural events hosted by Sitka's active Tlingit community conveyed important cultural values and concerns to park and project managers. Park staff learned the importance of "hearing," or perhaps more accurately "feeling," community views that could impact a cultural resource project. With two field seasons remaining, the Midwest Archeological Center's archeological inventory of Sitka National Historical Park has already generated important new information about the park and its history. Also important are the ways the project is helping build a partnership grounded in communication and a mutual respect for Tlingit cultural values.

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## Notes

1. The author wishes to say *gunalcheesh* (thank you) to Gene Griffin, Lisa Matlock, and Greg Dudgeon at Sitka National Historical Park; Steve Johnson, Jr., archeology project cultural liaison for the Sitka Tribe of Alaska; and Wayne Howell at Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve for offering comments on this report.

2. The project was funded by the National Park Service's Systemwide Archeological Inventory Program (SAIP) and the Cultural Resources Preservation Program (CRPP).

3. For more information on the battle, see Richard Dauenhauer and Lydia Black, eds., *Anooshi Lingit Aani Kaa/Russians in Tlingit America: The Battles of Sitka, 1802 and 1804* (Seattle: University of Washington Press and Sealaska Heritage Institute, 2007). This forthcoming book will include an essay describing the research history of the fort site.

4. The MWAC webpage features information and photographs about the project at http://www.cr.nps.gov/mwac/.

5. This ceremony was unique in that a traditional *koo.éex* would not be divided into two separate ceremonies.

# The "Visions of Pele" Competition and Exhibit at Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park

*by Jeremy Spoon*

In 2003, a member of the Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park's Kupuna Consultation Group of local Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) elders suggested that it was time to replace the 1927 painting of Pele, the goddess of the volcano, in the main visitor center with a more appropriate portrayal. The 1927 painting, by D. Howard Hitchcock, one of Hawai'i's most prolific artists, showed a westernized, European-featured Pele emerging from a volcanic eruption.(Figure 1) In the fall of that year, the park launched a blind competition for a new Pele portrait with the Sacred Mountains Program of The Mountain Institute (TMI) as a key partner for planning and fundraising. Juried by the Kupuna, the competition and accompanying exhibit, "Visions of Pele" made history as the first park interpretive project to be directed by Kanaka Maoli elders.[1]

Established by President Woodrow Wilson in 1916, Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park preserves and protects a complex ecosystem on the Big Island of Hawai'i representing 70 million years of volcanism, migration, and evolution. The park includes the sacred home of Pele at the summit of the Kilauea Caldera, the island's youngest volcano. According to Kanaka Maoli folklore, Pele came to the Hawaiian Islands from Tahiti in search of a home for her fire and her siblings. She stopped on every island, eventually settling in Halema'uma'u crater atop Kilauea.[2] Pele is recognized worldwide as a spiritual being, and she figures prominently in the place imagery of Hawai'i and the Kanaka Maoli.[3]

## "Visions of Pele" Competition and Exhibition

The "Visions of Pele" art competition was open to all Hawaiians, both Native and non-Native. The winner received a cash prize and the distinction of having his or her work displayed in the park visitor center. The results far exceeded expectations, with more than 140 entries. The Kupuna selected 67 that best approximated their vision of what a portrayal of the goddess Pele should look like. The winning artist, European American Arthur Johnsen, had modeled his depiction of Pele after a Kanaka Maoli woman from the nearby town of Kalapana.(Figure 2)

The park exhibited the top 67 paintings at three separate venues: the Volcano Art Center, an independent, nonprofit organization showcasing art of the Big Island of Hawai'i; the Jagger Museum, a natural science museum dedicated to

FIGURE 1
*D. Howard Hitchcock's 1927 painting of Pele shows the volcano goddess with European facial features. (Courtesy of Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park)*

FIGURE 2
*The Kapuna selected this painting of Pele by Arthur Johnsen for the Kilauea Visitors Center. (Courtesy of the Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park)*

the study of volcanism; and the Volcano House Hotel, a historic guesthouse built in 1941.[4](Figure 3) With the blind competition complete, the park displayed the names of the artists along with the titles of the paintings. The top 67 included interpretations of Hawaiian folktales, non-anthropomorphic views, and depictions of Pele in various settings on the island of Hawai'i and elsewhere.

## Public Response and Impact

Visitors to the "Visions of Pele" exhibit had the option of completing survey forms and providing demographic information. When the exhibit closed, the author analyzed a sample of 185 surveys completed by visitors over the age of 18 as part of a graduate research project. He also used deductive coding to track themes and analyze newspaper articles related to the competition and exhibit published between May and September 2003.[5]

The survey results and media analysis suggest that many visitors, ranging from Hawai'i residents to international visitors, had a deeper respect for Native Hawaiian culture after seeing the exhibit. Because the exhibit presented a variety of contemporary visions of Pele, visitors were able to appreciate the Kanaka Maoli as a living culture connected to the lands within the park. This idea contrasts with the perception, gleaned from interpretive programs and exhibits using the past tense or emphasizing archeological excavations,

of indigenous cultures as static. The survey results also revealed that Native Hawaiians who had visited the exhibit were satisfied overall with the outcome and encouraged by the park's efforts to work with Kanaka Maoli elders in representing Kanaka Maoli culture and heritage in an appropriate light.

The "Visions of Pele" project shows how parks and other protected areas can involve and empower local indigenous communities in decisions affecting how they and their culture are portrayed. In Hawai'i, the Kanaka Maoli are among the state's poorest and most disenfranchised populations. By involving and consulting community leaders, the park not only positively impacted the community but also strengthened the community's connection to the park. In the end, the "Visions of Pele" project demonstrated that among the best advisors on matters relating to the portrayal and the interpretation of cultural heritage are the heirs of that heritage themselves.

FIGURE 3
*A selection of 67 paintings from the "Visions of Pele" competition were exhibited at the Volcano House Hotel and two other venues. (Courtesy of Edwin Bernbaum)*

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## Notes

1. The "Visions of Pele" project was made possible through the collaborative effort of multiple parties including the park, The Mountain Institute's (TMI) Sacred Mountains Program (http://www.mountain.org/sacredmountains/), the Hawai'i Tourism Authority, the County of Hawai'i Department of Research and Development, and the Volcano Art Center. The second phase of the project is to select a sculpture reflecting the sacredness of Mauna Loa and Kilauea Caldera. The author served the dual role of independent graduate student researcher and program officer for TMI's Sacred Mountains Program. The research project was funded by a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship with the help of the University of Hawai'i Department of Anthropology. For the full study see Jeremy Spoon, "Gazing at Pele: Native Hawaiian Cultural Representation at Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park" (2005), on file at the Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park Library and Archives.

2. The Kanaka Maoli still hold ceremonies and present offerings to Pele at Kilauea Caldera and Haleuma'uma'u crater. See Mary Kawena Puku'i, Caroline Curtis, and Don Robinson, *Hawai'i Island Legends* (Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1996); and Samuel Kamakau, *Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old* (Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press, 1968).

3. Haunani-Kay Trask, "Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 24, no.1 (2000): 21-23.

4. The exhibit ran from August 24 to October 1, 2003. A guesthouse has occupied the site of the Volcano House Hotel since 1846.

5. The results of the survey represent the views of those who completed the survey forms. They do not represent the views of all visitors or any specific group of visitors. On deductive coding see Russell Bernard and Gery W. Ryan, "Text Analysis: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods," in *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, ed. Russell Bernard (New York, NY: Altamira Press, 1998), 595-646.

# Reviews

BOOKS

*Engendering African American Archaeology: A Southern Perspective*

Edited by Jillian E. Galle and Amy L. Young. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004; 336 pp., illustrations, index; cloth $35.00.

The archeology of African American life has grown in scope and influence over the past few decades. It has contributed essential data for understanding the regional and local complexities of lives under enslavement and varying degrees of freedom. This volume, which grew out of a 1998 Society for Historical Archaeology symposium, offers important case studies about race and gender in the southern United States. The authors present a mix of viewpoints from cultural and academic institutions.

The book takes a regional approach and ranges in time from the early 18th century to the 1920s. Nine chapters offer case studies in urban areas, plantations, and cemeteries. It is rarely the case in historical archeology, but two authors in particular are able to shed considerable light on the lives of individuals, namely Grace Bradley, a seamstress at the Hermitage in Tennessee, and Lucrecia Perryman, an Alabama midwife. The introductory chapter by Elizabeth Scott and the epilogue by Larry McKee provide vital bookends to contextualize the case studies within the historical archeology of race and gender.

Because "engendering" requires an understanding of gender role relationships, Elizabeth Scott points to the need for a more explicit examination of men's roles as well as the examination of women's roles that the authors largely explore here. She also emphasizes the importance of recognizing both the reality of oppression and the fact that people had some control over their lives and identities, even in the worst of circumstances. Finally, she suggests that continuing work on engendering African American archeology consider the effects of sexual violence. The authors in this volume begin to touch upon these areas of research, but their forays are only the beginning of some very important groundbreaking work within historical archeology.

Two chapters examine cemetery data. Marie Danforth uses records of the city cemetery in Natchez, Mississippi, to analyze the demographics of nearly 2,500 African Americans buried between 1865 and 1890. She argues for more use of such documentary data that provide larger samples than skeletal data and are more widely available. Kristin Wilson and Melanie Cabak collected data on excavated burials from six cemeteries in four southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, and Texas). In their sample of 336 burials dating from 1850 to 1920, they seek to link grave goods with women's roles in maintaining folk beliefs.

Two chapters concern Andrew Jackson's Hermitage in Tennessee. Jillian Galle tests the idea that seamstress Grace Bradley had unusual access to material goods due to her skills, which were highly valued by both the Jacksons and the African American community. Using an "abundance index," she analyzes material at four slave dwellings and finds evidence that Bradley may have had a central role in distributing or redistributing material goods among the enslaved population. Brian Thomas and Larissa

Thomas also use data from the Hermitage along with sociological theory to explore personal identity through the layering of personal appearance, including the body, items worn against the body, clothing, and accessories.

Another chapter that examines personal identity is by Patricia Samford, who explores the complexity of identity with her work on plantations in Virginia and North Carolina. She is interested in certain continuities (as well as changes) between Igbo gender roles in West Africa and those of enslaved Virginian women. One shell-covered shrine beneath the floor of Utopia Quarter near Williamsburg, Virginia, for example, parallels Igbo shrines to the female deity Idemili. Garrett Fesler, who has also worked at Utopia Quarter and focuses specifically on the early 18th century, discusses the spatial analysis of interiors and exteriors, artifact distributions, and architecture. He is interested in identifying who was responsible for gender roles, the enslaved or the owner.

Two more chapters expand on the historical archeology of plantations. Barbara Heath describes, analyzes, and discusses the archeological implications of records from rural stores and account books of Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest in Virginia. Based on the visits to stores and individuals' purchases, she suggests that there was a complex and flexible system of gender roles within the African American community.

Amy Young uses documentary data from Oxmoor Plantation and archeological data from Locust Grove plantation to contrast the public and private worlds of enslaved women in Kentucky. She analyzes letters from 1840 to 1851 and archeological remains at three households dating from the 1780s to 1865 for the purpose of identifying women's strategies for dealing with the many risks they faced. Her work suggests the importance of kinship as "Mammy" and "Aunt" within the owner-centered world of the plantation house and the importance of gift giving and sharing within the enslaved community.

In a much later urban context, Laurie Wilkie discusses the roles of African American midwives and their loss of status as midwifery fell victim to medical professionalization. She looks at the life of midwife Lucrecia Perryman in early 20th-century Mobile, Alabama, and explores her role in balancing traditional and modern medicine, the use of magic, ritual, and contemporary science, and in teaching within the community.

In his epilogue, McKee remarks on the complexity of the effort represented by these chapters: "The goal has become to use what we know about gender and race in furthering our interpretations, to see these as defining elements of the social environment in which people lived, and to keep the influence of each in mind as we try to make sense of particular times and places in the past."

Such work would not be possible were it not for the preservation of historic places and their accessibility for research. As questions about race and gender become increasingly sophisticated, and as archeological methods and theory develop in response to those questions, it is crucial to have these places and their curated collections available for continuing research. The case studies in this volume demonstrate not only the value of rethinking what we want to know about the past, but also the value of preserving the places and collections that hold the key to addressing new questions.

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*Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*

Edited by James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton. New York, NY: The New Press, 2006; 272 pp., illustrations, notes, contributors, index; cloth $25.95.

On the dust jacket of *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, a beautifully framed photograph of slaves hangs above what appears to be a psychiatrist's couch. Certainly, the presence of slavery in a nation dedicated to freedom and the continued angst of that historical contradiction may require a great deal of therapy for historians, public historians, and the American public. The essays collected and edited by James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton reveal, however, that some healing is underway, and public history plays a central role in that process.

The quality of the essays in *Slavery and Public History* is uniformly impressive, although the first two by Ira Berlin and David W. Blight are elaborations on their earlier works. The third chapter, by James O. Horton, establishes the contextual foundation for the next seven chapters, moving the reader from themes of history and memory addressed in the early chapters to the struggles faced by historians and public historians as they attempted to enlarge the American story to include slavery.

From the Library of Congress and Monticello, to My Old Kentucky Home and Brown University, to the Liberty Bell pavilion, Civil War battlefield parks, Confederate memorials, and cemeteries, the stories in these chapters relate efforts to incorporate the history of slaves and slavery into public presentations of American history. None of the attempts were easy, and all faced some form of resistance, although some of the sources of resistance might surprise.

Essay contributor John Michael Vlach's proposed Library of Congress exhibition on plantation slavery, for example, lasted less than a day when African American employees protested. The exhibit eventually found a home in the District of Columbia Public Library, and a subsidiary exhibit emerged at the Historical Society of Washington. Both institutions celebrated the exhibit, and Vlach received positive responses from whites and blacks alike. It is curious, however, that in concluding his essay, Vlach dismisses black employees' rejection of the exhibit at the Library of Congress as "aberrant," when their reaction illustrates the difficulty many people have in dealing with the topic.

In her essay, Joanne Melish describes the efforts of Eric Browning to develop an alternative historical tour script at My Old Kentucky Home, only to be rejected repeatedly. She compares this episode with efforts to revise interpretation at the John Brown House in Providence, Rhode Island, and continued debates at Brown University over issues of reparations. Like Vlach, she finds misunderstanding and deep-rooted suspicions thwarting efforts to expand the dialogue about slavery. These issues and their consequences, however, are unresolved.

Mary Tyler McGraw relates the role of monuments in "healing" as a heritage tourism theme in Richmond, Virginia, and how the furor over a proposed Abraham Lincoln monument threatened that healing. Richmond's struggle relates not only the multiple audiences that must be addressed, but the various actors involved in making decisions about the representation of slavery in public spaces. From residents to Southern heritage groups to business progressives and city government officials, balancing constituencies became an important factor in offering *any* memorials. As McGraw appropriately concludes, "heritage tourism cannot be a pilgrimage to an unchanging shrine, and sites are going to be forums, not temples."

Gary B. Nash scrutinizes the contradiction and resulting conflict that emerged when the

National Park Service selected the historic site of the Masters-Penn House, in which George Washington, his family, and his slaves lived during his presidency, as the location for a new Liberty Bell pavilion symbolizing American freedom. Nash does not find the struggle over interpretation disconcerting, however. He writes that "it is not unhealthy in a democracy that a tension between the commemorative voice and the historical voice should manifest itself in public history sites..."

While all of these essays touch upon historic site interpretation, several of them move beyond interpretation and explore public memory. Lois Horton explains how Monticello has addressed the Thomas Jefferson-Sally Hemings story, but also the many ways in which older understandings of Jefferson have been reconciled with new DNA evidence. Dwight Pitcaithley takes on the attempts by neo-Confederates to define the causes of the Civil War narrowly as a dispute over states' rights, and he outlines how national battlefields have responded. Bruce Levine expands upon that theme by analyzing the myths of black Confederates, how neo-Confederates employ those myths to perpetuate their traditional interpretation of slavery and the Civil War, and why it is crucial to correct such myths.

The case studies collectively demonstrate what Horton has concluded elsewhere, that reactions to public discussion of slavery are intense because "the history of slavery confronts traditionally positive self-perceptions, forcing a concentration on issues that contradict the sense of national heritage in fundamental ways."[1] Yet, none of these stories ends with failure. Some successes are small, merely opening the door for future interpretative changes. Others are dramatic turns of events, making evident the public's willingness to consider slavery within the larger American narrative.

In some regards, however, the case studies argue against the larger theme of the book—that the history of slavery is a "fishbone in the nation's throat," as Ed Linenthal phrases it in a thoughtful epilogue. In every case, there are audiences that reject interpretations of, and even the topic of, slavery, but they are only successful for a short time before exhibitors, site interpreters, federal historians, and scholars move the topic forward. The essays collectively show an expansion of interpretation and audiences. While our empathies may be with historians who are working towards incorporating new research and more complex interpretations into the narrative, the true heroes in this collection are the public audiences that made these efforts worthwhile.

If there is a conceptual weakness in this collection, it is exposed by Nash's comment about commemorative and historical voices. Most of the authors assume that the tension between the two perspectives *must* be resolved in favor of the historical. Even Nash succumbs to this in his final line that "the old cracked bell will toll symbolically for all the people, and the scholars' history will become the public's history." While the public's opposition or reluctance to engage the history of slavery may be frustrating, the desire to impose the scholars' narrative can be just as single-minded as that of Southern heritage groups or neo-Confederates or informal groups of African Americans. Whether erected by heritage groups or historians, monumentality strives to erase ambivalence. But the institution of slavery has always created ambivalence, both in the past and in modern debates. As McGraw demonstrates, a compromise between heritage and history is possible, even with its coexistence of opposing attitudes and feelings. While it may not meet the standards of scholarly historians, it may be sufficient in bringing the history of slavery into the public dialogue.

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1. James Oliver Horton and Johanna C. Kardux, "Slavery and the Context for National Heritage in the United States and the Netherlands," *American Studies International* 42 (June 2004): 52.

*No Space Hidden: The Spirit of African American Yard Work*

By Grey Gundaker and Judith McWillie. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 2005; vii + 237 pp., illustrations, photographs, notes, index; paper $26.95.

In *No Space Hidden: The Spirit of African American Yard Work*, Judith McWillie and Grey Gundaker have done an excellent job of researching and writing about yard workers and the language they use in their visual presentations of the past. Through this ritual of object arrangement they honor ancestors, care for and respect the land, and use transformative materials to state religious beliefs.

Gundaker and McWillie approach the subject of African American yard work and its symbolism from a cross-disciplinary perspective. The authors combine history, religion, public history, philosophy, art history, and oral history to tell the story of African Americans and the tradition of yard ornamentation.

An art student, McWillie grew up in Memphis, Tennessee, surrounded by yards that displayed everyday objects to express spiritual beliefs and philosophical ideas. The quest to understand the origins, meaning, and significance of yard work inspired her scholarly research. That research consisted of documenting imagery recurring in the assemblage of objects in African American cemeteries, yards, and visual art. This collaboration with Gundaker provides the expertise and methodology that connects McWillie's research to the transatlantic crossing of the Africanism of yard work.

Gundaker's work on landscape studies and the African tradition of yard decoration is influenced by interviews with former enslaved persons conducted as part of the Federal Writers' Project in the 1930s. It was in these interviews, filled with discussions of practices of African relatives, that she found details of yard decoration. Fortunately, many of the locations described in the interviews were intact at least in part when she undertook the research, which enabled her not only to obtain information on the sites but also to see them.

*No Space Hidden* is divided into six portfolios and six chapters. The portfolios contain photographs and detailed descriptions of selected yards, the objects in them, and their owners. McWillie and Gundaker use the portfolios to present the different themes of yard work photographically. The majority of the photographs would suffer without the authors' scholarly explanations of the significance of object arrangement.

Africanisms, such as the colored bottles placed on trees and the recurring theme of circles and water, have survived hundreds of years of slavery in America. They have been transformed even while being maintained by the current generation of caretakers of the tradition. The owners of the yards are allowed to define their work and explain the how's and why's of yard work. Sometimes those explanations are straightforward, and sometimes they are wrapped in an ancestral code of spirituality mixed with an unknown pull of the distant past.

The work of McWillie and Gundaker is distinctive in that it allows the yard workers to tell their own stories. The chapters are devoted to the yard workers' oral histories and provide ample space for the workers to reflect on what their work means and how it affects their lives. Whereas the portfolios provide the visual imagery and descriptions, the chapters put the yard work in context. Ancestors are honored and paid homage, and memories and beliefs, both earthly and otherworldly, are displayed. It is in the chapters that the authors' argument—that yard workers have found in materials and objects a meta-language that reflects on the human condition—is sustained. The placements of wheels, pots, and metallic objects have meaning beyond the obvious spoken

phrase. Religious beliefs are a mainstay in all of the oral histories. Many of the owners quote Bible verses and incorporate written scripture in their assemblages.

The response to the yard work from some of the neighbors and neighborhoods has not always been positive. Several owners reported that they had been fined for having what others described as junkyards. A few yard workers were brought before the local courts and ordered to "clean up" their yards. The wives of some were agreeable only if the yard work was done in the back yard and not the front.

Land ownership was important to African Americans. Owning property meant independence and some security. There was a sense of freedom that came with having property that could be maintained in the manner that the owner chose. It meant that there was hope for the future because there was something tangible to walk on and to feel. More importantly, there was something to pass down to the next generation. Yard work was a reflection of all of that, and it provided yard workers with a sense of direction and purpose. Even when enslaved people did not own the land they worked, they devoted time and energy to it.

McWillie and Gundaker present a scholarly work that understands and acknowledges the importance oral history plays in the telling of this story of African American yard workers. Public historians and other cultural resources specialists who value oral history will be especially pleased to discover that oral history truly is the heart and soul of the book.

Sandra Jowers
*Washington, DC*

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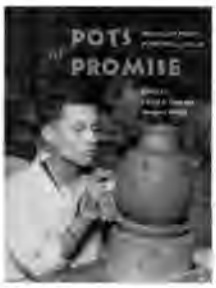
*Pots of Promise: Mexicans and Potter at Hull-House, 1920-40*

Edited by Cheryl R. Ganz and Margaret Strobel. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004; xviii + 117 pp., photographs, notes, bibliography, index; cloth $60.00; paper $30.00.




Appearing at a time when Latinos are the fastest growing population in the United States, *Pots of Promise* sheds some welcome light on the early history of Mexican immigrants who, from 1920 to 1940, settled in Chicago's Near West Side. This story of Mexican immigration to the Windy City is told against the backdrop of Hull-House, a settlement house founded in 1889 by Jane Addams and committed to social justice. Hull-House offered civic, social, and cultural programs to surrounding working-class immigrant communities. Prefaced by an insightful essay by Latino historian Vicki Ruiz, *Pots of Promise* redresses misconceptions about Hull-House and brings attention to a neglected geographic region in Latino studies.

Public historian and Jane Addams Hull-House Museum assistant director Peggy Glowacki, Latino historians David A. Badillo and Rick A. López, and Progressive Era historian and curator Cheryl R. Ganz have written overlapping narratives that reinforce each other and expand upon the stories of Hull-House leaders, residents, and clients. Inspired by the exhibition "Pots of Promise: Mexicans, Reformers, and the Hull-House Kilns 1920-1940," which opened in October 2000 at the University of Illinois-Chicago, the book is a collaboration between Hull-House Museum and the university.

Like the exhibition, the focus is the ceramic pottery produced in the Hull-House arts programs for the commercial Hull-House Kilns. The editors suggest that "these artifacts not only preserve memories and experiences but also give meaning and continu-

ity to our experiences." Through pots we can learn, in other words, about the makers and their lives. Pots also provide a window into the larger intellectual, social, and cultural *milieux* of the period prior to World War II. To different degrees, the essayists combine historical narratives and material culture. The more than 100 historic photographs of Hull-House and its neighborhood, the Mexican community, and the pots themselves provide a complementary visual narrative.

The role of the arts in the lives of the Mexican immigrant community in Chicago is the major theme. The essayists examine the relationship of the arts to democracy and probe the extent to which the arts help combat alienation and improve the quality of life. They explore the relationship between art and the immigrant urban experience, labor, and the commercial market, as well as the role of the arts in forging a local and national identity. In particular, they explore the construction of a national *mexicanidad* (modern sense of "Mexican-ness," or national identity) in Mexico and a Mexican cultural identity in Chicago.

In the first essay, "Bringing Art to Life: The Practice of Art and Hull-House," Glowacki presents the intellectual and social context of Hull-House, establishing a common setting for the stories and perspectives that follow. She offers a dynamic portrait of Hull-House and its leaders in relation to national and transnational cultural movements, other institutions, and changing populations in Chicago's Near West Side. Hull-House comes alive as a center for creativity and experimentation, attracting national and international reformers and artists with diverse interests, skills, and connections to other cultural institutions. Glowacki singles out the stories of Hull-House co-founders Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr to describe how, in this atmosphere of intellectual ferment and social engagement, their thinking on the arts and democracy evolved. She also discusses the influence of the English artists and critics John Ruskin and William Morris, and the Arts and Crafts Movement that helped expand the domain of art into the decorative arts. Rounding out the discussion is the story of Morris Topchevsky, an artist drawn to Hull-House who had links to the Art Institute of Chicago and the muralist movement in Mexico. Glowacki concludes the essay with the story of Myrtle Merrit French, founder of Hull-House Kilns.

In his essay, "Incorporating Reform and Religion: Mexican Immigrants, Hull-House, and the Church," Badillo chronicles the history of the early Mexican migrant population in Chicago and the role of Hull-House and the Catholic Church, specifically the Saint Francis of Assisi parish, in forging a community identity. He examines the different and sometimes opposing philosophies and approaches to social service and community of these two institutions. Badillo argues that the Mexicans who lived under conditions that did not encourage community networks or leadership were more pragmatically than ideologically driven and took advantage of both institutions. Although he provides a brief introduction to the history of Mexican immigrants, he does not personalize the immigrant experience with individual stories. The side bar on Mexican immigrant artist Adrian Lozano was a missed opportunity to present Lozano's perspective on the times.

In "Shaping Clay, Shaping Lives: The Hull-House Kilns," Ganz offers the most thematically coherent discussion on the arts and modernism, the Arts and Crafts Movement, fads, labor, and transnationalism. This fine essay brings to life the metaphor "pots of promise," exploring the interaction between Mexican migrant potters and resident artists at the Hull-House Kilns. She examines how they combined tradition and new skills to create new forms, and she draws a parallel between influences brought by the migrants moving north to find work and the reformers traveling south to explore the Mexican revolutionary art movement.

Ganz sets an intimate tone with the story of Jesús Torres, a Mexican immigrant and potter at Hull-

House. She describes the typical immigrant journey but avoids using Torres's story to represent all Mexican potters by adding the different experiences of Miguel Juárez and José Ruiz. She parallels the Torres vignette with the story of ceramicist Myrtle Merrit French, tracing her professional development from Alfred University through the Art Institute of Chicago, to Hull-House and the establishment of the Hull-House Kilns. Countering the integrationist traditions of Hull-House, French established special classes for Mexicans, teaching a design technique based on Mexican artist and educator, Alfonso Best Maugard's study of pre-Columbian decorative motifs in Mexico.

López's closing essay, "Forging a Mexican National Identity in Chicago: Mexican Migrants and Hull-House," is perhaps the book's most rigorous at addressing the central question: "To what degree did the 'imagined Mexican community' and the kind of collective identity promoted within Mexico and embodied in Hull-House's Mexican pottery reflect or help shape the lives of migrants themselves. To what degree did the *mexicanidad* invoked by these arts resonate with the cultural identity of Mexican immigrants in Chicago?" López opens with a description of a 1924 patriotic celebration in the Pilsen neighborhood (to this day, one of Chicago's most important Mexican neighborhoods), setting up issues of acculturation, Americanization, nationalistic sentiments, cultural prescriptions, and experiences. He situates the lives of Mexican immigrants within the larger transnational context of *mexicanidad*, "an identity forged in the intellectual kilns of the Mexican Revolution," and persuasively argues that the national integration project in Mexico and the community formation project in Chicago are inseparable. Like Ganz, he believes that the process of migration shaped the lives of Mexicans more than the cultural experiences emanating from the homeland: They discovered the cultural dimension of their Mexicanness in Chicago.

Hull-House is one of the sites for the construction and enactment of this unifying *mexicanidad*, where teachers promoted this newly invented Mexican national culture rather than Mexican regional folk traditions. López discusses the role of the University of Chicago in the construction of this cultural identity, particularly the role of Mexican scholar Manuel Gambio, who put out a national call for celebrating the disparaged Mexican folk arts of dance, music, and crafts. The sidebars on Hull-House artist and teacher Emily Edwards and photographer Wallace Kirkland nicely illustrate Hull-House artists' travels to Mexico and their relationships with Mexican artists.

The essays and extraordinary photographs in *Pots of Promise* are a superb complement to the exhibition. This beautifully designed book will please collectors, museum curators, artists, art historians, public historians, scholars of Latino studies, and the Chicago Mexican community. Although some of the essays incorporate the Mexican experience in more substantive ways than others, the book is a milestone in the effort to engage new voices and perspectives and to provide new insights into Latino communities today.

Olivia Cadaval
*Smithsonian Institution*

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*The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*

By Michael W. Fazio and Patrick A. Snadon. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006; 816 pp., drawings, photographs, catalog, index; cloth $75.00.

The moment Benjamin Henry Latrobe set foot in the United States he became the country's first professional architect in the modern sense and its most skilled engineer. His European education and practical experience, coupled with great energy and drive, vaulted him quickly into the consciousness of the wealthy and powerful.

During the American portion of his career, lasting from his arrival in 1796 through his death in 1820, Latrobe created innovative and sophisticated designs for projects that included canals, land surveys, municipal water systems, houses, prisons, banks, and America's first Roman Catholic cathedral. In 1803, he received the title of Surveyor of the Public Buildings of the United States in Washington, DC, and his subsequent work on the Capitol and the White House is well recorded.

Talbot Hamlin was the first to chronicle these accomplishments thoroughly in his milestone study, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (1955). Since that time, further interpretation of Latrobe's career has been encouraged through multiple projects editing and publishing his surviving correspondence, papers, journals, and architectural and engineering drawings. Building on this scholarship, authors Michael W. Fazio and Patrick A. Snadon bring a fresh perspective to the ongoing dialogue about Latrobe, with a focus on his domestic commissions (English and American) and design theory.

In the preface, Fazio and Snadon announce their ambitious goal with a deceptively simple statement: "to reinterpret Latrobe's career by means of his domestic work." They aim to establish an alternative to Hamlin's epic presentation of Latrobe as architect, which they see as a reflection of the architect-as-hero ethos of the post-World War II era, and to a narrative predominantly defined by his public and institutional buildings. To this end, the authors position Latrobe's domestic commissions as rich but underutilized case studies for showing how Latrobe approached the problems and processes of architecture and design. As most of his English commissions were residential, this body of work more logically links back to his European education, training, and early career, which they see as an essential yet previously washed-over aspect of his life and experience. Other themes noted in the book concern Latrobe's professional practice and business management and, of particular relevance for cultural resources management, the manner in which contemporary preservation philosophies and methods have been applied to his few extant houses.

Fazio and Snadon set forth on this journey with a series of essays followed by a catalog of his domestic work. Some of the essays specifically target aspects of Latrobe's education, training, philosophy, and stages of his professional life while others touch upon these issues through both the houses he designed on "paper" and those that were constructed. The general flow is chronological. The introduction and first two chapters focus on his European foundations. Chapters 3 through 7 lay out and interpret his American activities and are followed by an analytical essay about his career and an epilogue addressing the preservation of Latrobe's physical legacy. In a number of essays, the authors attempt to use Latrobe's specific commissions and groups of commissions as case studies within their larger thematic framework and as individual guides for interpreting his surviving houses. The book's complex interplay of different types of essays followed by a catalog with entries of varying depth makes it simultaneously approachable and potentially confusing. Their objective for stand-alone essays is successful on the whole, and the volume can, to a certain degree, be digested in segments. The essays are also mutually reinforcing.

Overall, Fazio and Snadon display an enviable grasp of the influences and products of Latrobe's career, and they carry a number of the principal themes through to the end of the book. Latrobe's preoccupation with creating a "rational" house is their most interesting and effective theme. They explain that the term reflects Latrobe's desire to channel an intellect shaped by his European education and early professional experiences into dwellings that were functionally and artistically relevant to American clients. This use should be considered distinct from William Pierson's relation of "Latrobe" and "rational" in

the *Colonial and Neoclassical Styles* (1970), which mainly concentrated on the formal characteristics of Latrobe's buildings. In each of the individual house essays, Fazio and Snadon demonstrate how Latrobe adapted the elements of his generic rational house concept to the specific requirements of his clients and the sites. Using this interplay, they also assemble the framework for introducing other features of Latrobe's American practice and evolution within his design philosophy. Their observations are not only of value in an academic sense, but they will also help resource managers interpret Latrobe's extant buildings and comparable buildings more accurately.

Throughout the book, the authors employ a broad spectrum of graphical material in their narrative and analysis. In addition to the expected reproductions of Latrobe's drawings and a range of historic images, photographs, and maps, they include an extensive series of new and redrawn plans, elevations, sections, and details, axonometric projections, spatial diagrams, and computer-generated interior perspective views. Some of the newly created graphics convey technical flash, but many—in particular the hypothetical reconstructions of plans and versions of plans—reinforce their points about Latrobe's process of design mediation, reconciling his mental prototype with the concrete needs of his American clients.

People interested in the architecture of the early Federal period in the United States, including its physical preservation and interpretation, should find the *Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* of great value and interest. Readers will gain a better appreciation of Latrobe and his individual domestic commissions and insight into the importation and alteration of avant-garde Neoclassicism for an American audience at the dawn of the architecture profession in this country. Fazio and Snadon remind readers of an exciting period in the nation's history during which seemingly boundless enthusiasm and optimism about the future was finding expression, and limits, in the realities of available resources.

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*Heritage Documentation Programs*
*National Park Service*

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*Tweed Courthouse: A Model Restoration*

By John G. Waite with Nancy Rankin and Diana S. Waite. New York, NY, and London, United Kingdom: W.W. Norton, 2006; 176 pp., photographs, drawings, notes, bibliography, index; cloth $59.95.

My first impression, upon seeing that an architect-author had titled a book on his own project as a "model" of its type, was the entirely cynical expectation that the book would be a thinly disguised marketing tool. I am happy to report that I was wrong, and I applaud John Waite and his co-authors for a remarkably humble and helpful case study of the restoration of the Tweed Courthouse (officially called the Old New York County Courthouse)—a case study that should benefit anyone involved in the restoration or adaptive reuse of an historic structure, especially one in the public sector. The numerous illustrations are attractive enough to qualify the book as coffee table worthy, while the text's case study approach gives the authoritative weight of specificity and experience to the authors' judicious definition of key principles and practices of a successful restoration project.

The book begins with an extensive history of the building's construction, culminating in the public scandal over the endemic graft that brought about the downfall of New York County Board of Supervisors member William M. "Boss" Tweed and

came to symbolize governmental corruption in New York's Gilded Age. While this story might seem like mere fodder for the history buff, it serves here as an important basis for understanding the recent restoration as not only a renewal of the architectural fabric but a kind of exorcism of the building's negative associations with bad government. These associations persisted through the 20th century and contributed to the building's alteration and disintegration.

In retrospect, the moral of the story of the design and construction of the Tweed Courthouse in the 1860s and 1870s is not merely an archetypal tragedy starring Tweed as a man tempted by power into corruption, hounded by the furies of the press into disgrace, and repenting of his sins too late (Tweed died in jail in 1878). It is also a cautionary tale of endless bureaucratic wrangling and posturing amongst government entities, squandering so many years and resources under the aegis of fiduciary trust that they unwittingly created the stalemate that allowed a character like Tweed to step in to take charge in the first place. Tweed's corruption, as it turns out, was a momentary crime of limited impact. His enduring legacy was the terror it engendered in governmental authorities of the taint of corruption, especially in construction contracting.

The building's deterioration can be attributed, at least in part, to reluctance by public officials to appear to endorse the values of Tweed by allocating taxpayers' dollars to care for "his" building. As the authors note, "Even in the 1970s, a century after Tweed's trial, the building was still such a powerful symbol of municipal corruption that its designation as a city landmark was considered too controversial." As if shifting architectural fashion and urban wear-and-tear were not enough to contend with over its first century, the building's remaining strength was as a rhetorical negative, the political equivalent of the plague.

This history underscores the significance of the choice of an appropriately civic-minded use for the restored building. As with so many restorations, the reflexive choice was to cede the structure to museum use, in this case to the Museum of the City of New York. The plan to display artifacts of the city's past in a building that played a significant role in its history also seemed to make sense from an interpretive standpoint. Redefining the building as a museum would have effectively cast any lingering negative associations with government corruption into the past, re-contextualizing the building as a denatured artifact.

Studies revealed, however, that museum standards for collections stewardship and display (developed by and for purpose-built museum buildings) would have required such extensive intervention that it would have severely compromised the historic integrity of the structure. Fortunately, the building turned out to be suitable for use as the headquarters of the New York City Department of Education, an indisputably wholesome civic function. And so, the restoration began by determining a use that not only worked functionally but also served as an antidote to any lingering taint of Tweediness. [As for the museum, it stayed put and commissioned a purpose-built modern addition.] It's a tale of adaptive reuse with a happy ending, and a lesson to ponder for any community thinking that the optimal way to preserve its historic buildings is through conversion to museum use.

Subtly, Waite, Rankin, and Waite take note of another inadvertent Tweed legacy, namely the morass of federal, state, and local government procurement and contracting measures enacted in the effort to prevent graft in public building projects. For example, New York's Wicks Law (enacted 1912) essentially requires separate bids and contracts for each trade in a governmental construction project, theoretically ensuring the broadest access to public contracts and dollars. In practice, however, this system has long been deemed unwieldy, as it means that no single

contractor maintains authority over the others to coordinate work or maintain uniform standards of execution.

The authors deftly note that the success of the Tweed Courthouse restoration depended greatly on then-Mayor Guliani's willingness to cede control of the project to the New York City Economic Development Corporation, an independent public-benefit entity which, through its exemption from the Wicks Law, could manage the project efficiently and economically. It would have been interesting to learn in more detail about the process and debate through which this arrangement came to fruition, since it clearly stands as the precondition for all the successful work that followed. It was a bonus to learn that the Tweed Courthouse restoration process now stands as a model of the crucial role of public-benefit private management entities in allowing effective implementation of government building projects.

The bulk of the text outlines the actual process of restoration, from planning through assessment, problem solving, technical experimentation, and implementation. Each chapter provides the benefit of experience and offers great suggestions, often in numbered statements at the beginning. Chapter 2, "Developing a Restoration Plan," not only notes the application of sound preservation principles to the material aspects of the project, but also the decision "to minimize permanent new construction so that the building would have maximum flexibility to accommodate changing uses in the future." Later chapters bear out the commitment to making provisions, particularly in systems design and installation, for the building to grow and change with future occupants. It is welcome to see the thoughtful and practical application of the usual preservation rhetoric about future generations defined as a guiding principle.

Another principle that emerges clearly is the importance of assessment, study, and testing before new materials or techniques are implemented. While this preparatory work may be apparent to cultural resource management professionals, too often clients and owners perceive such measures as unnecessary academic exercises that drive up project costs. Just one example, the description of the water testing of a new window and the corrective measures taken as a result should assure any building owner that the long-term benefits of a scientific methodology in preservation technology is worth the short-term costs.

Historical research as an applied principle features particularly prominently in the account of the design of reproduction lighting for the interiors, but the importance of historical as well as material evidence is a thread that runs consistently through the account of the restoration process. It was particularly heartening for this architectural historian to read such a convincing account of the importance and value of the historian's craft in a successful restoration.

The book's attractive design and narrative structure make it accessible to a general reader while the information is detailed and practical enough to benefit preservation students and professionals. The book would serve as an excellent introduction to sound principles, strategies, and processes for trustees, board members, executives, and public officials about to embark on an architectural restoration project. While every project has its own set of administrative and technical challenges, *Tweed Courthouse: A Model Restoration* not only defines good practices, but it also illustrates their effective implementation in a way that should benefit anyone involved in the restoration or adaptive reuse of historic buildings.

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*A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston*

By Stephanie E. Yuhl. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005; xii + 193 pp., illustrations; cloth $55.95; paper $19.95.

*The Politics of Taste in Antebellum Charleston*

By Maurie D. McInnis. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005; ix + 332 pp., illustrations, tables, maps; cloth $34.95.

Cultural resource managers and interpreters make the past come alive through stories. The tools they use—the buildings and artifacts—often survive because wealthy individuals with selective memories kept relics from earlier times. In this way, in Charleston, began the preservation movement early in the 20th century. Self-appointed custodians of Charleston's cultural heritage concentrated on the city's role in the founding of the nation. They skipped over the divisiveness and devastation of the Civil War, preferring to recall the by-gone days when Charleston was British America's wealthiest city.

Cultural resource managers are not only aware of preservation's debt to these ladies and gentlemen, but they also must admit the short-comings of a version of the past that, in Charleston, emphasized the continuity of tradition, social hierarchy, and racial deference. New books by Stephanie Yuhl and Maurie McInnis put the creators of Charleston's preservation movement and the creators of the objects those women and men saved in the 1920s and 1930s in context.[1] The studies are meticulously researched. The authors' thorough examinations of their subjects offer thought-provoking accounts of historic Charleston and the ambitions and motivations of those who shaped it, defined its boundaries, and preserved it.

In a *Golden Haze of Memory*, Stephanie Yuhl chronicles how a group of elite whites organized a network of cultural entities dedicated to celebrating specific aspects of the city's heritage. A mixture of organizations and clubs, this network included the Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings (SPOD) that Susan Pringle Frost called to arms, as well as the Poetry Society and the Society for the Preservation of Negro Spirituals. The first dwellings rescued by SPOD—the Joseph Manigault House and the Heyward-Washington House–marked the beginning of the historic house museum movement in Charleston, which was followed by the establishment of a municipal board of architectural review in the 1930s and a survey of the city's historic urban fabric published in 1944 as *This Is Charleston*. The opening of the restored Dock Street Theatre in 1937, a project that had local and federal support signified, in Yuhl's words, "the maturation of elite white historical re-membering and their cultural refashioning of civic identity between the wars."

The "historic Charleston" promoted by these early preservationists glossed over racial and ethnic differences, commercial history, and the institution of slavery. The appropriation of African American culture by whites, specifically the spirituals that whites sang to white audiences, and the perpetuation of racial stereotypes in novels, motion pictures, and in the Low Country paintings of farm hands and flower women by Elizabeth O'Neill Verner distracted many people from the violence of the Jim Crow era in which the initial Charleston preservationists lived.[2]

The mobilization of Charleston's elites in the cause of remembrance was a statement of power and resistance. The golden haze of memory buffered white elites from societal changes that challenged their understanding of traditional agrarian social and economic hierarchies and their place in the world. The monuments, art, and music through which they expressed their nostalgia relied, ironically, on a mass-consumer market. SPOD, for instance, charged admission to its house museums to offset the costs of preservation. Artists Alice Ravenel Huger Smith and Verner needed customers

to buy their paintings. These often saccharine representations of Charleston mirrored the elites' view of the past and helped forge a collective identity for the city that, as Yuhl argues, was sanitized and highly profitable.

The self-conscious turn to the past in Charleston for help in coping with the present was not just a modern phenomenon. Antebellum Charlestonians had longed for a return to another golden age—that of the 18th century. They had witnessed the shift in trade away from the coast, felt the demoralizing effects of a port in decline, and reacted, ironically, by barring the railroad from town. They were especially alarmed by an alleged slave rebellion plotted by Denmark Vesey in 1822 and its implications.

In the *Politics of Taste*, Maurie McInnis introduces these 18th-century Charlestonians but does not apologize for the master class. Instead, McInnis elucidates the connections between the rhetoric of their pro-slavery belief system and the material world in which they lived. Through an examination of their possessions, fine and decorative arts, and architecture, McInnis demonstrates how material goods represented their creators and owners and communicated and mediated relationships. The visual culture of the master class, so proudly displayed, was a physical expression of aristocratic dominance. It also affirmed one's success and rightful place at the apex of Charleston's hierarchical society. The refinement they showed through fashion, furnishings, and buildings, and achieved through travel and education was a counter to the charge of societal degeneration.

Slavery supplied the means by which the aristocracy was able to pursue refinement and display their good taste. Slavery also helped shape the city's architectural character. After the Vesey plot was uncovered, the city authorized the construction of an arsenal, which was supported by other public structures, including a jail, city guard house, and work house. Efforts of the elite whites to control their slaves' movement and to restrict their activities also dictated the layout of Charleston's "single house." Within the confines of the house, garden, and back lot, architecture literally walled in one group.

McInnis interprets the racial typography of Charleston by looking beneath the facade of control exemplified by the calm, mostly classically inspired, British-filtered architecture of the mansion houses. McInnis addresses the cultural accommodations between white and black as well as the uneasy dependence of white women on enslaved persons to manage their households. She notes, too, the existence of opportunities for small, daily acts of resistance and independence on the part of the enslaved.

The material legacy and visual culture that McInnis studies are what Yuhl's preservation, artistic, literary, and civic groups fastened onto and fashioned into Charleston's tourism industry. Both authors encourage their readers to pursue more of the stories that Charleston and its artifacts have to tell. By highlighting the mutual exclusivity of slavery and the cosmopolitan culture of the city's elite in the 18th and 19th centuries, and investigating the impetus for and motivations of the city's much admired preservation ethos in the 20th, the authors have helped tremendously in pointing us in that direction.

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1. Carter L. Hudgins reviewed these two books in tandem in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 65 no. 2 (June 2006): 310-12.

2. For more on this theme, see Melvin Patrick Ely, *The Adventures of Amos N' Andy: A Social History of an American Phenomenon* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1991).

*The Bronx*

By Evelyn Gonzalez. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2004; 304 pp., illustrations; cloth $31.00; paper $19.95.

Part of the Columbia History of Urban Life series, Evelyn Gonzalez's book, *The Bronx*, is an important contribution to the study of New York City's northernmost borough. The book traces the growth of the Bronx from its earliest, bucolic beginnings, through its devolution into a national symbol of urban decay and dysfunction, and to its phoenix-like resurgence in the late 20th century.

In *The Bronx*, Gonzalez argues that, contrary to popular belief, the plight of the Bronx was not the result of crime, racism, segregation, or big government. Rather, it was the outcome of "economic transactions, political decisions, and human choices that created the city and its ethnic and racial neighborhoods in the first place and then continuously re-created them." As the Bronx evolved from a group of suburban villages into a collection of urban neighborhoods, internal and external population shifts fostered a process of growth and change. As established residents became better off, they left their neighborhoods for neighborhoods further away from the city that were indicative of their improved status. The residences they vacated were inhabited by émigrés from the lower boroughs in search of more affordable and less crowded accommodations. The process repeated itself generation after generation, ultimately producing the ethnic enclaves for which the Bronx is so famous.

While the economic, political, and demographic determinism of Gonzalez's central argument is plausible and well supported by her research, it will certainly raise some eyebrows. It begs the critical question of whether the borough would have been allowed to descend into chaos had it, particularly the South Bronx, not gone from being majority white to majority black and Hispanic and, as she puts it, an extension of Harlem.

Gonzalez answers this question by pointing out that New York City turned its back on the Bronx at the height of the crisis. It cut back on police and fire protection, scaled back public transit and sanitation services, and ignored slumlords who allowed their properties to deteriorate, or worse, burned them down because the buildings were worth more "dead than alive." The banks also "redlined" whole areas of the South Bronx because they were presumed to be too risky for economic development or revitalization. One of the most telling incidents occurred in 1974, when local activist Genevieve Brooks escorted local dignitaries through the Bronx to show them how the borough was burning. Stunned by the group's indifference, Brooks said that "everyone thought that because this was a predominantly minority area it was just junkies and welfare folks. No one in authority was trying to combat arson." Gonzalez notes that everyone, from borough presidents to community leaders and elected representatives, "thought nothing could be done and thus did nothing. Accordingly, the South Bronx burned and the devastation spread."

This deterioration, in turn, hastened the process of white and middle class flight. Already fearful of crime and neighborhood decline, white ethnic and minority middle class residents moved out as poorer residents moved into the Bronx. Gonzalez cites a 1967 Fordham University study to show the effect of the demographic shift. The Bronx became poorer as its businesses and its white and minority middle-class moved to the suburbs. In their place came "thousands of Negro and Puerto Rican families" living in "abject poverty with little hope for the future." In short, people did not move to the South Bronx by choice.

By 1978, it seemed as though the devastation would engulf the entire borough, and a coalition of

borough residents, neighborhood organizations, and clergymen came together to address the crisis. They received help from New York City officials and downtown interests that had begun to worry that the problem might spread. The road back was slow and arduous, but by 1997, the Bronx had won the National Civic League's All-America City Award for its grassroots approach to solving its problems. The Bronx had become, Gonzalez concludes, "a place to live and to do business, not a place to escape from or move to on the way to somewhere else. There was life in the Bronx once again."

Well written and researched, *The Bronx* will appeal equally to cultural resource specialists and a general audience interested in the history of New York City and its environs. The story of the Bronx is a vivid example of what can go wrong when profit maximization and financial bottom lines alone drive urban planning decisions. Students of landscape architecture will be especially surprised and chagrined to learn that Frederick Law Olmsted was discharged from his position as the landscape architect for the New York City Parks Department because political hacks, property owners, and developers felt that his neighborhood designs for parks in the Bronx "wasted" too much valuable land.

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1. Janet McDonald presents an excellent and enlightening account of this phenomenon on a microcosmic level in *Project Girl* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999). McDonald chronicles her early life in a Brooklyn housing project, the Farragut Houses, as its aspiring middle class residents were slowly replaced by permanently impoverished residents.

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*Preserving the Living Past: John C. Merriam's Legacy in the State and National Parks*

By Stephen R. Mark. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005; xv + 204 pp., photographs, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index; cloth $39.95.

John C. Merriam (1869-1945) is a character with whom many students of the history of conservation in the United States may have a nodding acquaintance. Those who have written about the early years of the National Park Service, about the preservation of California's coastal redwoods, or about the origins of the wilderness movement may have acquired some knowledge of his exploits. For those who have thirsted for more about Merriam, and the historical context in which he lived and worked, Stephen Mark's biography will prove a welcome, satisfying tonic. In succinct yet entertaining prose, Mark succeeds at shining much needed light on this remarkable man.

Merriam was born and raised in rural Iowa, and during his youth his insatiable curiosity about the fossils located near his boyhood home guided the direction of his early professional life. After college, he taught in his hometown, but his love of vertebrate paleontology—then an embryonic science—led him to the University of California, where he worked with the popular, well-regarded geologist Joseph Le Conte. Merriam earned his doctorate there in 1893 and joined the school's faculty the following year. To all accounts, he appeared headed toward the life of an academic. He gained early notoriety for his fossil discoveries in the John Day country of central Oregon, at the La Brea Tar Pits in Los Angeles, and elsewhere.

Merriam came of age, however, in the midst of a revolution in attitudes toward land conservation in the United States. As Mark notes so adroitly, Merriam's professional expertise, combined with his passion for land preservation, brought him into contact with leaders in the private and public sectors and

opened the door to a host of emerging opportunities. Through his academic work, he met Stephen Mather during the critical years preceding the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916 (Mather would become the first director of the Service). Beginning in 1917, he and two colleagues began to work toward the preservation of California's majestic coast redwood groves. They helped establish the Save-the-Redwoods League the following year. Merriam's colleagues soon moved on to other areas of interest; Merriam, however, stuck to it and became the League's first executive director. He played a key role in the group for more than 20 years, working equally well with lumber companies, state officials, conservationists, and philanthropists. Merriam was a "doer," and a chronicle of his life is a testament to his manifold accomplishments.

As Mark's narrative makes clear, Merriam was a multifaceted personality, and each of the chapters highlight his major contributing roles. Separate treatments are devoted to his work in paleontology, his redwoods work, his views on interpretation (an early precursor to the presently popular "parks as classrooms" concept), his views on wilderness, his role in the growing state parks movement, and his philosophical views on nature. Mark is correct in separating these roles in this fashion, though the numerous times in which those roles inevitably overlapped result in some repetition and confusion.

Mark has done a masterful job of detailing the biographical highlights of this remarkable scientist and park advocate and of squarely placing his achievements in context. Through Mark's research, we learn much about the growth of vertebrate paleontology as a specialization. We are apprised of the precarious financial status of the University of California during the 1890s. We gain keen insights into the role of philanthropy in early 20th-century land preservation, and we learn that the public purchase of California's redwood groves during the 1920s and 1930s engendered little of the acrimony and confrontation that characterized similar efforts during the 1960s and 1970s.

Park managers and cultural resource specialists will appreciate that Merriam held many views—about wilderness, park interpretation, and so forth—considered progressive and current even by today's standards. Those views, however, were too far-reaching and impractical to gain much political traction during the 1920s and 1930s. Although at times rather brusque and aloof, he had a personality, emotional drive, and intellect that earned him justifiable renown in American conservation circles. Merriam certainly deserves an esteemed place in the pantheon of early 20th-century conservation leaders, and Mark's biography affords readers a new, clearer sense of his accomplishments.

Frank Norris
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*The Antiquities Act: A Century of American Archeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation*

Edited by David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2006; 320 pp., photographs, table, bibliography; cloth $45.00; paper $19.95.

What is it that triggers the urge to mark centennials of beginnings—Alpha events as many call them—differently from other anniversaries, with books, ceremonies, exhibits, commemorative plates, and all sorts of other memorabilia? The late Jesuit priest and Arizona State Museum curator of ethnohistory Charles Polzer said that it has to do with Western culture's linear, as opposed to circular, sense of time. Even though 100th anniversaries are not beyond our experience (as are quincentenaries, for example), they are generally

beyond our expectations (consider, for instance, our individual life expectancies), making it both easier and more important supposedly for us in Western societies to commemorate them.[1]

*The Antiquities Act: A Century of American Archeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation* looks at one of those Alpha events: the passage in June 1906 of the first law in the United States to preserve and protect sites of scientific and historic interest on lands either owned or controlled by the Federal Government.[2] The Act established penalties for the unauthorized appropriation, excavation, injury, or destruction of "any historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any object of antiquity" on federal land and authorized the Secretary of the Interior and others to issue permits to qualified applicants for the excavation and study of ruins and archeological sites in the public interest. The Act is better known for the authority it granted the President of the United States to set aside, by proclamation, "historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest" on federal land as national monuments. As the book's many contributing authors demonstrate, the Antiquities Act deserves our special attention because of its impact on cultural resource stewardship in the United States.

Rarely has a single cultural resource law generated so much history and controversy and left such a robust legal legacy and system of protected natural and cultural sites as to warrant an entire book. Rarer still is a book about any single law that is informative, reflective, illustrated, and an immense pleasure to read. *The Antiquities Act* is divided into logical parts of three to four essays apiece. An introductory essay and a final section, consisting of a conclusion by the editors, a useful appendix of facts and figures on the nation's national monuments, and a bibliography round out the 320-page volume.

The essays in Part 1, including a portion of the late National Park Service chief historian Ronald Lee's 1970 administrative history of the Antiquities Act, trace the Antiquities Act idea from its origins in the third quarter of the 19th century, through passage of the Act in 1906, and beyond. Raymond Harris Thompson's and Rebecca Conard's biographical pieces on archeologist Edgar Lee Hewitt and Iowa Congressman John Lacey—the two kindred spirits credited with drafting, introducing, and revising the Antiquities Act legislation—effectively illustrate the personal drive, interpersonal communication, and political maneuvering involved in seeing even the tersest piece of legislation to passage in the United States Congress. A number of thoughtful insights into the Act's origins are embedded in Char Miller's provocative Part 1 closer, "Landmark Decision: The Antiquities Act, Big-Stick Conservation, and the Modern State," in which Miller anchors the Act in the paternalistic social idealism of the Progressive Era and the imperialistic temperament of Theodore Roosevelt's early-20th-century presidency.

The title of Part 2, "Presidential Audacity and Its Discontents: The Act's Legacy of Controversy," speaks for itself, and the essays remind us of the formidable political dimensions of most, if not all, major land conservation decisions. Hal Rothman, Cecil Andrus and John Freemuth, and Mark Squillace recount the controversial monument proclamations of Presidents Frankin D. Roosevelt, Jimmy Carter, and Bill Clinton and the lessons learned during their administrations. James Rasband offers a different view of the Act and the role of public participation in land conservation efforts.

National monument proclamations notwithstanding, the Antiquities Act was responsible for setting the ground rules for public archeology, historic preservation, and nature conservation in the United States, the focus of Part 3. Francis McManamon and Jerry Rogers ably tackle the first two topics, and David Harmon takes on the Act's overlooked legacy of ecological

connoisseurship in reference to the third. The Act paved the way for resource stewardship laws of increasing scope and sophistication, including the National Park Service Act (the Organic Act) of 1916, the Historic Sites Act of 1935, the Wilderness Act of 1964, and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. It also resulted in high standards of ecological (and cultural) significance that Harmon notes are to account for the large number of U.S. national monuments inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List.

In his essay, "The Antiquities Act at One Hundred Years: A Native American Perspective," Joe Watkins suggests that the Act was equally responsible for seriously eroding, if not obliterating, American Indian control over their cultural patrimony. The Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (ARPA), the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA), and amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act authorizing the establishment of tribal historic preservation offices have helped restore some of that control over material remnants. However, other issues involving sacred sites and traditional cultural expressions and practices on public lands remain unresolved.

The essays in Part 4, "New Horizons," touch upon some of the challenges resource stewards face in adapting the Antiquities Act to new circumstances. Case studies by Elena Daly and Geoffrey Middaugh, Darla Sidles and Dennis Curtis, and Brad Barr and Katrina Van Dine relate how the Bureau of Land Management and other agencies that are new to the national monuments game have approached their stewardship responsibilities. The studies also illustrate how the National Park Service has worked in partnership with other bureaus to co-manage new national monuments, and how the Federal Government is addressing the issue of marine monuments.

Regarding the latter, Barr and Van Dine's essay was prescient: In June 2006, President George W. Bush issued a proclamation establishing the Northwestern Hawaiian Island Marine National Monument, the largest marine conservation area in the world. President Bush's February 2006 proclamation of the African Burial Ground National Monument in Lower Manhattan, an urban archeological site of immense cultural implications, attests to the enduring value of the Antiquities Act in the expanding universe of heritage stewardship today.

"In many ways," write the editors at the start of Part 5, "the central story of the Antiquities Act revolves around intentions. What did the architects of the Act intend?" An alternative central story of equal interest to this reviewer has to do with the pivotal role of interpersonal and other relationships in giving birth to an act for the preservation of American antiquities and keeping it alive for 100 years. Key relationships—among Hewlett and Lacey, the Executive and Legislative branches of the Federal Government, the Eastern establishment and the "uncharted" West, Native and non-Native Americans, federal and local authorities, different federal bureaus and agencies, and, most importantly, people and the land—cycle in and out of all the essays, making for an exhilarating, memorable read.

Now that the American Antiquities Act has made it into the century club, and the story of its origins and first 100 years has received formal recognition in an exemplary centennial publication, historians can work with renewed vigor towards placing the Act in an international historical context. Great Britain and France, for instance, arrived at definitive forms of their ancient monuments and antiquities legislation within 10 years of the American Antiquities Act (1912 and 1913), but the earlier iterations of those modern laws date from 1882 and 1887 respectively. Lee and other authors indicated that Congress had been briefed on European antiquities protections as early as 1900 but left this reader wondering what Congress had been told.

The European connection is tantalizing for a number of other reasons that merit closer attention. The authors mention a growing concern in the United States in the late 19th century over the great demand in Europe for American antiquities. They also mention the European explorers and pothunters who occasioned the American West and the many Americans, including Hewitt, who had studied at European universities. A year before the passage of the American Antiquities Act, the British fine arts professor G. Baldwin Brown published *The Care of Ancient Monuments: An Account of the Legislative and Other Measures Adopted in European Countries for Protecting Ancient Monuments and Objects and Scenes of Natural Beauty*, which, significantly, included an appendix entitled, "A note on the care of mountains, aesthetic control in cities, protection of natural scenery, etc., in the United States."[3]

Miller points out that Theodore Roosevelt linked the rational restraint of the Progressivism ideology to the writings of the 18th-century British statesman and theorist Edmund Burke, even quoting a passage from Burke's 1791 open letter to the French National Assembly in his 1905 message to Congress. A harsh critic of the violence and political extremism of the French Revolution of 1789, Burke warned the Assembly that men were "qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains on their own appetites," which Roosevelt and other Progressives later referenced in support of government regulation and protection of public lands and other resources in the public interest.[4]

There is a tinge of irony in Miller's recounting of Roosevelt quoting Burke in the context of the American Antiquities Act. During the French Revolution, that same National Assembly had established a monuments commission to compile an inventory of all property that the new regime had seized from the old one (namely, from the Catholic Church, the French nobility, and the Crown). That inventory is said to have served the dual purpose of protecting the newly acquired national patrimony for French citizens while also protecting that same patrimony against acts of anticlerical and antimonarchical ideological vandalism committed by those same citizens.[5] According to Miller, Roosevelt and Hewitt were of the mind that the time had come in the early 20th century for the United States Congress to, in Miller's words, "stop vandals from pilfering the nation's archaeological heritage" and pass protective legislation, which is essentially what France's revolutionary National Assembly had done in Edmund Burke's time and, presumably, to Burke's dismay.

The French example goes to show that state regulation of antiquities *for* the public and *from* the public has some very deep roots. Additional research and reflection on this topic may reveal that the origins—and the Alpha event—of the American and other antiquities acts are older than most people think.

Martin Perschler
*National Park Service*

1. Charles W. Polzer, "The Quincentenary and the Superbowl Sunday Syndrome," *Five Hundred Magazine* 1 no. 1 (May/June 1989), http://muweb.millersville.edu/~columbus/data/art/POLZER01.ART, accessed October 29, 2006.

2. *American Antiquities Act, U.S. Code*, vol. 16, sec. 431-433 (1906). See also Richard Waldbauer and Sherry Hutt, "The Antiquities Act of 1906 at Its Centennial," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 3 no. 1 (winter 2006): 36-48.

3. G. [Gerard] Baldwin Brown, *The Care of Ancient Monuments: An Account of the Legislative and Other Measures Adopted in European Countries for Protecting Ancient Monuments and Objects and Scenes of Natural Beauty, and For Preserving the Aspect of Historical Cities* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: The University Press, 1905). This reviewer was unable to find any reference to Brown's book in any of the essays.

4. In "A Letter from Mr. Burke to a Member of the National Assembly in Answer to Some Objections to His Book on French Affairs" (January 19, 1791) Burke writes—

*Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites; in proportion as their love of justice is above their rapacity—in proportion as their soundness and sobriety of understanding is above their vanity and presumption; in proportion as they are more disposed to listen to the counsels of the wise and good, in preference to the flattery of knaves. Society cannot exist unless a controlling power*

*upon will and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things, that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters.*

5. The constitutional bishop of Blois, Henri Grégoire, first used the term, "vandalisme," during the French Revolution to describe the destruction of ancient royal and ecclesiastical monuments belonging to the state. See, for instance, Françoise Choay, *L'Allegorie du Patrimoine* (Paris, France: Editions du Seuil, 1992), Dominique Poulot, "Naissance du monument historique," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 32 (1985), and Louis Réau, *Histoire du vandalisme: Les monuments détruits de l'art français* (1959; Paris, France: R. Laffont, 1994).

*This recent photograph of the 1832 Bath Bridge, a wooden covered bridge in New Hampshire, is one of several photographs appearing in the exhibit. (Photograph by Jet Lowe, courtesy of the National Park Service)*

EXHIBITS

## *Covered Bridges: Spanning the American Landscape*

Historic American Engineering Record, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Federal Highway Administration; Exhibit design and fabrication: SITES; Curator: Lola Bennett

Traveling exhibit

As visitors pass through the replica covered bridge portal to the *Covered Bridges: Spanning the American Landscape* exhibit, they are quickly transported to another era when the covered bridge was just another feature of a developing landscape. Back then, covered bridges received no special attention: They blended into the countryside and were viewed as a necessity for commerce and travel. Today, the American covered bridge has become a cultural icon for many reasons, be it nostalgia or its formal and photogenic qualities. Covered bridges were not an American invention. They had European origins, with the first known wooden bridges built across the Rhine River during the time of the Roman emperor Julius Caesar in 55 B.C. However, American ingenuity, inventiveness, and craftsmanship carried the covered bridge to new engineering heights with the development of a number of innovative truss styles.

The *Covered Bridges* exhibit aptly tells the story of America's covered bridges through a series of

*The Knights Ferry Bridge in Stanislaus County, California, shown here in this 2004 photograph, dates from 1864. (Photograph by Jet Lowe, courtesy of the National Park Service)*

three-sided kiosks featuring historic photographs, diagrams, models, drawings, artifacts, and descriptive text. The exhibit traces the development of the covered bridge from the Schuylkill Permanent Bridge, built by Timothy Palmer in Philadelphia in 1805, to the many pioneer bridge builders who had gained national recognition for their patented truss styles. Interspersed with historic photographs and quotes attributed to these legendary bridge builders, the exhibit illustrates the various truss designs with photographs and diagrams and points out the distinct advantages of each style of truss. During the heyday of covered bridge building in the mid to late 19th century, it is estimated that over 10,000 covered bridges dotted the American landscape, of which only about 750 remain. Maps show the progression of covered bridge building as the nation expanded

westward, as well as the locations of those that survive today.

Another set of panels explains the undercover workings of the bridges and discusses in layman's terms how the wooden components are held together either by tension or compression. The exhibit also covers the tools used to make these functional wooden masterpieces. Few people today realize that wooden truss bridges were erected without electric tools or diesel powered machinery.

"Birth of a Cultural Icon" is the title of another series of panels illustrating how the covered bridge came to be recognized as a stalwart symbol of American society and was used extensively in art and advertising to portray sturdy, steadfast, and enduring qualities associated with consumer products. Advertising painted on the sides or entrances of covered bridges promoted a wide range of products and services, from a traveling salesman's homespun cures to the circus coming to town to a refreshing Coca Cola, "Sold Everywhere" for 5 cents!

Covered bridges were taken for granted and often neglected or left for ruin. In the 1920s, these bridges began to attract the attention of budding preservation groups that recognized their historical significance, tourism appeal, the beauty they imparted to their surroundings, as well as their continued functional importance as transportation components. "Saving America's Covered Bridges" acknowledges the individuals and groups who have led the effort to preserve our remaining covered bridges and outlines current programs to record, maintain, and restore covered bridges where possible.

The exhibit is very appealing both visually and in its content. The visitor, whether casually interested in covered bridges or a seasoned covered bridge enthusiast, will walk away with a greater appreciation of these venerable transportation landmarks from our past.

Although this traveling exhibit tells the broad story of America's covered bridges very well, no exhibit can completely capture the entire essence of the subject, especially the local or regional elements and the folklore that accompany specific local covered bridges. The organizations and institutions hosting the exhibit have the opportunity to supplement the national exhibit with material showcasing local covered bridges either through photographic displays of long-gone covered bridges or lectures or seminars by renowned covered bridge experts or researchers. Tours of local covered bridges might even be arranged for the more adventuresome who want to see first hand how these time-honored landmarks from our past have become icons.

*Covered Bridges: Spanning the American Landscape* was developed by the Historic American Engineering Record, a program of the National Park Service, and the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, and is funded in part by the Federal Highway Administration. Also contributing were the National Society for the Preservation of Covered Bridges, Inc., Arnold M. Graton and Associates, a number of covered bridge societies, and Joseph D. Conwill, Richard Sanders Allen, Sarah Laaff, and other individuals. The exhibit made its debut at the State Museum of Pennsylvania in Harrisburg in March 2006 and is continuing its national multi-city tour through 2009. A tour itinerary, promotional materials, sample images, and other information on covered bridges and the exhibit are available online at http://www.sites.si.edu/exhibitions/exhibits/bridges/main.htm.[1]

Thomas E. Walczak
*Theodore Burr Covered Bridge Society of Pennsylvania*

1 See also Joe Flanagan, "Spanning America: The Historic American Engineering Record Documents a Legacy of Covered Bridges," *Common Ground: Preserving Our Nation's Heritage* (winter 2004): 26-37.

*The Style of Power: Building a New Nation*

The University of Virginia, Small Special Collections Library, Mary and David Harrison Institute for American History, Literature, and Culture, Charlottesville, VA; Project Coordinators and curators: Mercy Quintos and Martha Hill

Temporary

*The Style of Power* frames the earliest cultural, social, and architectural achievements of the United States within a modestly sized but rich assemblage of cultural artifacts and documents from several institutions and collections. Cultural resource professionals will quickly notice that the exhibit curators have struck that rare balance between a vital cache of objects *and* a compelling narrative, each of which charts America's rapid development from a pre-Revolutionary backwater to an ambitious and industrious nation. The act of "building," as the title of the exhibit suggests, is presented as both an architectural enterprise and a kind of cultural praxis.

All architecture is willful, but there is a difference between willful expression and a sense of purpose to justify that expression. A majority of *The Style of Power* is dedicated to documenting how that sense of purpose was established, first through the scholarly pursuits of a new American elite that were heirs to the European aristocracy only in intellectual acumen, not in entitlement. The exhibit opens with the "Education of a Gentleman," "A Classical Education," and the "Age of Reason," that outline the Enlightenment's influence on a generation of talented minds and innovative aesthetes. Among the items in this section are early reprints of the 17th-century British philosopher John Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, his contemporary Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*, and a first edition of the 18th-century Scottish philosopher and economist Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*. Thus, the rhetoric of Reason became the rhetoric of the new Republic, but

*The illustration, "Charpente," (top left) appearing in the Frenchman Denis Diderot's 1763* Encyclopédie, *shows the many jobs involved in framing a building. (Courtesy of the University of Virginia). The façade of the Maison Carrée (bottom left), an ancient Roman temple in Nimes, France, shown here in this 1778 illustration by Charles-Louis Clérisseau, served as a model for the Virginia State Capitol in Richmond designed by Thomas Jefferson. (Courtesy of the University of Virginia). This design for a desk (right) by Thomas Sheraton accompanied a Sheraton-style desk in the exhibit. (Courtesy of the University of Virginia)*

not without considerable debt to 18th- and early 19th-century women writers Judith Sargent Murray, Mercy Otis Warren, and Phillis Wheatley, an enslaved African, whose poems and tomes are identified as a more literary, but no less empirical, contribution to the intellectual production of the new nation.

The second phase of building in the exhibit, which gives *The Style of Power* its name, outlines how the "evanescence of social status" and matters of "good taste" were achieved through specifically British appropriations and other antiquarian pursuits. The importation of luxury goods as a means of relocating "taste" into the homes of the American social elite is cleverly juxtaposed with a first edition of Alexander Pope's *Of False Taste*, in which context—not associationism—is identified as the road to "good taste." However, the jewels of the exhibit are several large folios that were influential in deploying Palladian ideals among the American *cognoscenti*. Included are a reprint of Daniele Barbaro's 1567 *M. Vitruvii Pollionis De Architectura*

*Libri decem*, the 1715 edition of Giacomo Leoni's *The Architecture of A. Palladio*, the 1759 edition of William Chambers's *A Treatise on Civil Architecture*, Johann Joachim Winckelmann's 1764 *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, and Antoine Babuty Desgodetz's 1779 *Les édifices antiques de Rome*. These texts, of course, have individual histories and a much broader reach than the United States, but to see them together under the aegis of a specifically American pursuit of classicism underscores just how high the new nation was willing to aim and how deeply in European history it was willing to dig to activate its lofty intentions. If Enlightenment values were the impetus for nation building as the cultural and social "style of power," then the inclusion of these folios in the exhibit speaks volumes about the means of nation-building and the power of architectural style.

The final third of the exhibition is about the translation of ideas on paper into physical edifices. The exigencies of building in the early years of the United States belied any notion of a universal method, as regional vernaculars continued to flourish and the acumen of local craftsmen and builders varied from one location to the next. However, the "Civic Order" and "Civil Architecture" of the period had to be unified. After 1783, Washington, DC, and newly minted states needed capitol buildings that could intelligently interpret contemporary European architecture and, more importantly, bespeak an American *integrità civica*. Of course, Thomas Jefferson, the architect Charles Bulfinch, and Frenchman Charles-Louis Clérisseau figure prominently in this proposition, but *The Style of Power* smartly relays how the contemporary economic conditions allowed these civic buildings to take shape. The "grain-fed prosperity of the 1790s" was a function of both the exportation of goods to Europe and a steady influx of economic refugees. The inexorable equation of the 1790s, then, became money plus talent equals an architectural production rivaled only by intellectual production. Underscoring this equation is the 1800 edition of Benjamin Franklin's *The Way to Wealth* that, in this particular context, is a pocket-sized treasure that speaks volumes about the industriousness and ingenuity that would come to define the next century.

Even if this "style of power" worked on the scale of civic architecture and national ideologies, this exhibit thoroughly documents how it worked on the domestic scale. In viewing the folios on display we cannot help but be drawn into the fluorescence of their renderings, but we understand them as objects that speak about quiet study, perhaps at a Sheraton-style secretary. In seeing an Adamesque dining chair, we understand the ubiquity and cross-Atlantic popularity of Robert and James Adams' 1773 *Works*, but know it to be something for daily use in the home. In seeing a page of Jefferson's 1786 notes from his tour of English county seats, we see how they translate into civic ideals for a new nation, but we also understand them to be intimate notations so well preserved that they could have been written yesterday. Nation-building must be imbued with a strong architectural program, the right economic conditions, and a talented workforce. But, as *The Style of Power* attests, nation-building begins with an individual commitment to the idea of a nation as much as the reality of one.

William Richards
*University of Virginia*

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*Key Ingredients: America By Food*

Sponsors: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service (SITES) and the Federation of State Humanities Councils; Exhibit design and fabrication: SurroundArt; Curator: Charles Camp

Traveling exhibit

If media portrayals are any indication, food weighs heavily on the minds of Americans. While much of that attention relates to the negative realities of health issues, dieting, and eating disorders, a

*Roadside fruit and vegetable stands, such as this one photographed in Wisconsin in 1895, have supplied generations of Americans with fresh local produce. (Photograph by W.A. Henry, courtesy of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin)*

*Holiday gatherings often bring out the "children's table," such as the one shown here in this 1940 view of a family Thanksgiving Day dinner. (Photograph by Jack Delano, courtesy of the Library of Congress)*

traveling exhibit now making its way across the country takes a look at the sunnier side of America's evolving relationship with food.

*Key Ingredients: America By Food* is a product of the Museum on Main Street program, which is sponsored jointly by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service (SITES) and state humanities organizations. Spanning America's history from native hunting and gathering to modern fast food, the exhibit delves into the multifaceted connection between the country's foodways and its culturally diverse heritage. Complementing the exhibit is an interactive website, http://www.keyingredients.org, that invites people to share family recipes and food stories, learn about other food traditions, and post information on favorite restaurants off the beaten path.

The exhibit includes a series of panels containing five themed sections including "Land of Plenty," "Local Flavors," "Dynamic Delivery," "Festival of Feasts," and "Home Cooking." Together, these topics demonstrate how traditions originating from a survival mechanism can grow into traditions that reveal unique details about cultures throughout the world, especially when those cultures are concentrated into one land and one people.

The first section, "Land of Plenty," examines the ways Americans find their food. Beginning appropriately with the Native American experience, traditions of hunting, gathering, and early farming are detailed. This section also describes the societal structures that evolved to enhance food supply, including plantations and ranches. In its examination of regional immigration and influences, the "Local Flavors" narrative deftly sums up much of the exhibit's intent: "Food is the bounty of the earth and the work of human hands. It has unrivaled power to connect people with place, to create an identity for a community or region and to plant an enduring memory in people passing through."

"Dynamic Delivery" and "Festival of Feasts" address topics that range from cultural minutiae to mass marketing. A taut timeline of industrial progress takes shape while still weaving in emotional themes of family and community. Canning technology is credited as a major breakthrough because of its usefulness for families and the food industry alike. The exhibit links the experience of family and industrial canning through the examples of entrepreneurs like Joseph Campbell, whose cherub-cheeked "Campbell's Kids" signified health and comfort to many Americans.

Advances did not occur just in factories. New gadgets have been commonplace in kitchens throughout history. Even today, one may find hundreds of kitchen items at any discount store, not to mention the kitchen wonders advertised

"as seen on TV." Supporting the exhibit at its showing in Natchitoches, Louisiana, were some 30 real life gadgets.[1] Cane River Creole National Historical Park provided artifacts such as crockery, a bench-mounted coffee grinder, a swing churn, and ice tongs that all represented technological advances of their time. While the nature of a traveling exhibit limits opportunities for moving parts, the adaptation of some of the more modern gadgets would improve the interactive experience. The only real interactive element in the exhibit is a series of "lids" that can be lifted to reveal bits of interpretation on common American foods.

Although the progress of mechanization and agricultural improvements figures prominently, the overarching narrative returns time and again to foodways of the family. The exhibit's "Home Cooking" narrative establishes the link between food and memory. Replicas of handwritten recipes set the tone for stories about the making of traditional dishes, their conveyance to succeeding generations, and how the traditions served to define the family line. The New World's mythic meal, the first Thanksgiving, is described as the first merger of cultures that set the precedent for America's food traditions throughout its history. Likewise, Christmas is portrayed as a season of relative plenty and special foods, transcending socio-economic lines and equalizing all Americans.

The exhibit maintains its celebratory sentiment using heavily idealized imagery to make the visual connection between food and family. A 1950s illustration of a housewife advertising the convenience of her Hotpoint electric range is featured prominently in the exhibit and accompanying promotional materials. But until such modern conveniences became widespread, getting and preparing food was a difficult task for many Americans. Most people labored in dangerous circumstances for their food, either in growing, gathering, or preparation. *Key Ingredients* touches upon the challenges of the family farm and the role slaves played in farming, but with little detail. For example, planters are described as recognizing that certain peoples of other countries were skilled in the cultivation of specialized crops and "quickly appropriated" their expertise in America.

Receiving even less attention are many events that led to the advancements in food storage and preparation that feature prominently in the exhibit. The advents of a skyrocketing American population and ever-busier lifestyles are explained as the primary drivers of these advances. However, many of these improvements were heavily influenced by events related to food safety, including watershed scandals in the food industry and the establishment of the United States Food and Drug Administration. Events such as these played highly significant roles in shaping our own food traditions today. Prevalent regional folklore and traditions on the safety of food and "making do" in lean periods would provide additional depth to the exhibit's already strong emphasis on cultural diversity.

Like so many traditions, the food-family connection in America is rapidly changing. Cultural resource management professionals and other visitors to *Key Ingredients* will gain a new appreciation for the role food has played historically in America's development. In fact, the exhibit succeeds so well in its quest to document the ways food traditionally connects families and cultures that modern realities of fast food and single-parent households will leave some visitors with an aftertaste of bittersweet nostalgia.

Jeff Guin
*National Center for Preservation Technology and Training*
*National Park Service*

1. The exhibit, co-sponsored by the Smithsonian and the Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, was on display at the Old Courthouse Museum in Natchitoches, Louisiana, from August 15 to October 19, 2006. A full list of exhibit venues and dates is available online at http://www.keyingredients.org/000_venues/000_venues_01.asp.

WEBSITES AND MULTIMEDIA

*Lighthouse Postcards*
http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/lighthouses/

Maintained by the Smithsonian, National Museum of American History, Behring Center; accessed August 30-31, 2006, and September 6, 2006.

Because museum curators cannot collect lighthouses and other buildings and structures in the same way they collect household furnishings, textiles, or pottery, they look for other means of documenting them. Models, drawings, photographs, and postcards are among the architectural and engineering records that are collectible and can be used to interpret these buildings and structures to the public. The *Lighthouse Postcards* online exhibit showcases some of the records in the engineering collections of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History. It includes digitized images of 272 postcards depicting lighthouses in 25 U.S. states and Canada, along with general information on the lighthouses and nautical charts provided by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA).

Visitors can navigate the postcard collection using regional maps that show the name and approximate location of each lighthouse, state lists arranged by region, or an alphabetical index of lighthouse names. The site also includes tips on browsing the site, detailed information about the collection, some lighthouse history, and a glossary of technical terms used in the exhibit. Each postcard page shows a reduced image of the front and back of the postcard, as well as basic data about the lighthouse, including the date it was established, its longitude and latitude, and the characteristic of the light. Links lead to external sources of bibliographical and other information about the lighthouse. By clicking on the postcard images, the visitor can open another window containing a scale image of both sides of the card. The postcard pages also feature links to pop-up windows showing the location of the lighthouse on a current nautical chart; some even show the lighthouse's position on historical nautical charts. Not all of the lighthouses featured in the postcard collection are in use today, and some are no longer extant, so the current charts are color-coded to show whether the light is active, inactive, or no longer standing.

The postcards, like photographs, capture a "moment in time" image. If the lighthouse still exists, it probably does not resemble the image on the postcard. It might be surrounded by modern development or missing its auxiliary buildings. In the case of Thimble Shoal (Virginia), the lighthouse shown on the postcard has been replaced by another structure, which can be seen by following one of the "more information" links.

With the exception of Boston Light (Massachusetts), none of the active U.S. lighthouses are maintained by resident lighthouse keepers. They are now automated, and they are often powered by solar energy. The postcard of Bear Island Lighthouse (Maine) shows the curtains drawn in the lantern room, something a visitor would not see today because no one is there to pull the curtains back at night when the light is lit.

The watercolor postcards of the early 20th century, which make up the majority of the collection, most often present a romanticized view of the lighthouses with calm waters and beautiful skies, but a few tell a different story. The postcard of the Erie Land Light (Pennsylvania) shows a boarded-up stone tower without its lantern (the light was deactivated in 1899). One might assume that it was demolished at some point in time. However, the restored lighthouse is a tourist attraction in a city park in Erie. Ironically, very few of the postcards depict nighttime views of the lighthouses or show storm scenes like the one on the postcard of Grand Haven South Pierhead Light (Michigan). After all, it was at night and during periods of inclement weather that lighthouses were most needed to warn and provide direction to ships at sea.

Most of the postcards in the online collection were never inscribed or posted, but the ones that were are quite intriguing. While many convey the basic vacation greeting, "Wish you were here," others admonish their recipients to "write soon" or "come for a visit." A few refer to the picture on the front of the card. On the back of the postcard of the Beavertail Light (Rhode Island), for instance, the sender writes to the addressee in Kentucky: "Another lighthouse for your collection." On the back of the Lubec Channel Light (Maine) postcard is written, "I found this light for you... I have not succeeded yet in getting any of the Oregon lights." Others tell brief stories of vacation adventures. A postcard of the Plymouth (Gurnet) Light and shoreline (Massachusetts) recounts: "Lay off here hour & a half with engine trouble. All sick & awful rough. Had to be towed up by the Life Savers. Very interesting."

Hidden at the bottom of the page under "A Brief History of Lighthouses" is a noteworthy discussion about dating postcards. Postcard publishers seldom cataloged the cards, so exact dates are difficult to ascertain. Some of the postcards in this collection have been assigned dates because they are either postmarked or inscribed by their senders. Most of the dated postcards in the online collection were postmarked during the first two decades of the 20th century, with a few from as early as 1904. The museum uses a system based on the one used by postcard collectors for assigning date ranges to the undated cards. This system uses periods of time, or "eras," that are defined by the laws enabling the private use and printing of postcards and by improvements in photography and photo processing, printing technologies, and paper stock.

One minor criticism: The site is not easily accessible from the National Museum of American History's home page. Visitors can get to the postcard collection by searching on the terms "lighthouse," "postcard," or "lighthouse postcards," but it was difficult for this reviewer to find a link on either the "Collections" or "Exhibits" pages (there is no link under "Exhibits;" the link off "Collections" is another click beyond the header, "Engineering, Building and Architecture"). Furthermore, the search function on these pages generates no hits for "lighthouses" and irrelevant ones for "postcards." Site creation and launch dates would also apprise the visitor of periodic updates and other changes to the site.

Jennifer M. Perunko
*National Cemetery Administration*

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*Carousel of Memories*

Producer, writer, and editor: Cintia Cabib
Cintia Cabib Video Productions, 2005; 27 minutes; VHS $20.00; DVD $20.00.

The shed doors are opened, the lights turned on, and the distinctive music of the Wurlitzer organ reverberates through the park. So begins each day at Glen Echo Park, and so begins Cintia Cabib's engaging documentary video about the carousel that has operated almost continuously for more than 80 years. The story is one of enduring traditions, of succeeding generations taking their children to experience the ride, and the determined efforts to keep it at Glen Echo, keep it in mechanically sound condition, and ensure that it will survive for future generations to enjoy.

The carousel at Glen Echo Park was built by the Dentzel Carousel Company in 1921 in what was then an expanding amusement park on the edge of Washington, DC. Known as a menagerie-type carousel, it features 40 horses, 4 rabbits, 4 ostriches, a giraffe, a deer, a lion, and a tiger, each carved to appear in vigorous motion. Their vivid paint schemes, along with the intricately detailed plaster reliefs on the rounding boards and ceiling panels, and the scenery paintings on the central barrel panels lend the entire ride a whirl of color and texture that is hard to take in at one time. At night, over 1,000 lights heighten the effect.

Cabib tells the carousel's story primarily through narration and interviews. Max Hurley and his mother Irene, who have operated and helped maintain the carousel for over 25 years, share their memories of the ride, explain its features, and show how Max composes music on paper rolls played by the 1926 Wurlitzer band organ. Cabib also interviews individuals and families from the area about the importance of the carousel to their lives. A former university student describes how she participated in the early 1960s demonstrations that forced Glen Echo's owners to integrate the park. A member of the group that worked to save the ride when the amusement park closed in 1968 is also interviewed, as is the restoration artist that spent 20 years returning the animals and other decorative features to their historic appearance. The interviews and narration are illustrated with a wide variety of archival photos, family snapshots, news clippings, and amateur home movies, all held together with contemporary footage of the carousel today.

The documentary suggests that Glen Echo's carousel and other rides like it owe much of their appeal to the way they resonate with all age groups. Children describe how while riding the carousel they imagine a world of animals in chase. Adults appreciate the carousel as a work of art. Even the youngest are able to ride on one of the chariot seats (as can elderly patrons). As children grow, they graduate to the stationary animals and then to those that "gallop" beneath gears and offset cranks.

*Carousel of Memories* presents a compelling account of this ride's place in local history. However, the viewer would have benefited from the occasional consideration of the ride within a larger context. There is little discussion, for example, of where the Glen Echo carousel fits into the broader history of carousel design and construction. Some background on the ride's manufacturer, Dentzel, a family that by the 1920s was in its third generation of carousel entrepreneurship, could help answer questions about whether Glen Echo's carousel was typical or distinctive.

The decline and eventual closing of Glen Echo as an amusement park was not unique or isolated. Family-operated amusement parks across the United States fared very poorly during the 1960s and 1970s. A brief review of the economic and cultural trends that buffeted amusement parks during this period would help viewers better understand the fate of Glen Echo and help explain why carousels are rare artifacts today. Lastly, mention of efforts to save other historic carousels and the national constituency of enthusiasts, historians, and other supporters and organizations that has grown over the past 30 years would show how the work to save the carousel in the late 1960s was an early example of a movement that has grown increasingly organized and influential.

Despite these minor limitations, *Carousel of Memories* is an enjoyable and informative program that explores the enduring hold these rides have on our imaginations. It explains why even today, as the National Park Service operates the site as an arts center, the carousel remains a favorite visitor destination. Glen Echo's historic carousel, saved and protected, provides a physical connection to the past at five revolutions per minute.

Chad Randl
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*National Park Service*

ON THE COVER

In 1959, National Park Service naturalist and interpreter Earl W. Estes, Jr., photographed farmer C. H. King cradling oats on land leased from Blue Ridge Parkway near milepost 141 in Virginia. Begun in 1935 and extending for 469 miles, this scenic motorway carried tourists between Shenandoah National Park in Virginia and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina and Tennessee, with stops at all the points of interest in between. Agricultural land leases, like the one between King and Blue Ridge Parkway, were mutually beneficial, preserving the parkway's rural character and providing a livelihood for the farmer. They also eased park maintenance costs. Today, agricultural land leasing is a key component of resource management strategies at many national parks. (Courtesy of Blue Ridge Parkway. Special thanks to Blue Ridge Parkway curator Jackie Holt and National Park Service historian Tim Davis for their assistance.)

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*Also from the National Park Service*

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