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National Register of
Historic Places
Interagency Resources Division

Cultural Diversity and Historic Preservation

Antoinette J. Lee

Cultural diversity is a term of recent vintage, but its roots in the historic preservation field lie in the origins of the movement. Interest in archeological remains of American Indians developed in the 18th century and protection of antiquities of the American Southwest developed in the following century. Today, the term "cultural diversity" is used to denote the changing ethnic composition of the United States through immigration. It also is used to describe the enduring cultural groups that live in definable ethnic communities.

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Cultural Resources Management
Information for
Parks, Federal Agencies,
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U.S. Department of the Interior
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1. Second graders from P.S. 272, Canarsie in Brooklyn visit the African-American settlement at Weeksville in central Brooklyn in November 1991. Photo by Jack Jupp. 2. Archeologists and students associated with the Archaeology in Annapolis project record archeological remains within the inner backyard of the Maynard-Burgess House. The John T. Maynard family was free and owned this Annapolis property by the late 1840s. Photo courtesy Archaeology in Annapolis. 3. These shotgun houses, symbols of African-American vernacular architecture, are important components of the Laney-Walker North Historic District in Augusta, GA. Photo by James R. Lockhart. 4. This measured drawing of the Paschoal Community Hall, the social center of Kalaupapa, Moloka'i, Hawai'i, was produced by the Historic American Buildings Survey. Katherine Slocumb, delineator, HABS, NPS. 5. The document packet, "South Carolina's African Americans in the Civil War," portrays a group of African-American Union troops with their white officers and teachers. Library of Congress.

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Cultural Diversity and Historic Preservation

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The protection of cultural properties of groups other than American Indians began in the 1940s when the George Washington Carver Monument in Diamond, Missouri was added to the national park system. However, the pace of activity increased dramatically in the 1960s in response to the civil rights movement, new trends in historical research and interpretation, and the coalescing of cultural groups interested in their heritage.

The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 itself served to support increased involvement of the historic preservation field in cultural diversity projects because of the expansion of the scope of the Nation's patrimony to include properties of national, state, and local significance. Over the past quarter century, cultural diversity has been addressed in numerous survey and inventory projects, nominations to the National Register of Historic Places, rehabilitation and restoration projects, and interpretation and educational efforts.

In the past, the historic preservation community counted its progress in the area of cultural diversity according to the quantity of projects undertaken and the numbers of cultural groups that associated themselves with the preservation movement. Today, preservationists are more concerned with ensuring that cultural groups enunciate what resources are important to them, how the resources should be protected, and who should be empowered with the management of the resources. Increasingly, cultural groups are working with existing preservation organizations to establish their own heritage organizations and programs.

This collection of essays covers the evolution of cultural diversity in historic preservation, particularly since the late 1960s when American history was transformed by the "new social history" and the civil rights movement. Joan Maynard describes the development of the Weeksville project in Brooklyn, New York, an effort in the vanguard of minority preservation projects of the late 1960s and early 1970s. In her essay, she provides her personal observations on the project's origins and its continuing relevance in the urban scene of the 1990s.

Reinterpreting established historic sites and historic districts is an important part of the expanded role of cultural diversity in the preservation movement. Edward A. Chappell of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation outlines the guiding philosophies of the early years of the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, which provided for the interpretation of everyday life in the colonial city. He describes the process by which America's preeminent outdoor museum was renewed through research into and reinterpretation of the life of African Americans in the Chesapeake region. Using archeology as a research method and a vehicle for public education, the Archaeology in Annapolis project, as described by George C. Logan, challenged the public's understanding of and appreciation for the African-American past in Maryland's capital city.

The National Park Service's own historic preservation programs represent new ventures in cultural diversity based on the solid foundation of its existing programs. Paul D. Dolinsky, chief of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), described the recent HABS documentation project in the Kalaupapa community of Molokai, Hawai'i. While the documentation methods are essentially the same as they were when HABS was established in the 1930s, today the efforts in culturally diverse environments take on additional meaning to the resident cultural groups. National Park Service historian, James H. Charleton, describes the documentation of the Ybor City National Historic Landmark Historic District, one product of the ongoing ethnic sites survey. Ybor City's far-ranging ethnic mosaic coalesced in its famous cigar factories, ethnic clubs, and its enclaves of workers' houses, and, in recent years, its enthusiastic support of National Historic Landmark designation. In Dayton, Ohio, Claudia Watson of the Montgomery County Historical Society prepared a multiple property nomination to the National Register of Historic Places based on the history of the Eastern European ethnic community in the city. The development of the historic context for this aspect of Dayton's history led to a clearer understanding of cultural retention even in the midst of a highly mobile and homogeneous society. As a National Park Service regional ethnographer located in Santa Fe, New Mexico, George S. Esber, Jr. portrays how the bureau is working to involve the interests of cultural communities in the management of cultural resources in national park units.

Preparing school children for living in a multicultural society is an objective of many heritage education projects. Roberta VH. Copp of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History outlines the development and impact of educational packets that introduce students to the state's Spanish and African-American roots. Involving culturally diverse groups in the work of established historic preservation agencies is the subject of the paper by Karen Easter of the Georgia State historic preservation office. The establishment of a Minority Historic Preservation Committee constitutes one approach to making permanent the participation of cultural groups in the continuing work of the state agency.

The current wave of interest in cultural diversity breaks on the shore in two ways. Some observers fear that a preoccupation with ethnic pride is not a healthy trend because it could be quickly transformed into ethnic differences and conflict. Others welcome this movement because it represents a healthy redressing of past inequities in the documentation and interpretation of American history. Historic preservation helps to bridge these two views because historic places recount our national heritage and serve to bind together the diverse elements of American society. The preservation and interpretation of the Nation's ethnic roots reminds us that cultural diversity was and remains a significant factor in our national experience.

Antoinette J. Lee is a historian with the National Register of Historic Places, Interagency Resources Division, National Park Service. She coordinated this issue of CRM and served as guest editor.

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The Weeksville Project

Joan Maynard

The Society for the Preservation of Weeksville & Bedford-Stuyvesant History (the Weeksville Society) formed in 1968 when new information was uncovered regarding the 19th century African-American settlement of Weeksville in central Brooklyn. James Hurley, a historian and photographer from Boston, and Joseph Haynes, an engineer, aviator, and Weeksville native, located part of a long-forgotten 17th century path, Hunterfly Road, from a two-seater airplane. Along this path they spotted four tiny, peaked-roofed, wood frame cottages, miraculously nestled in a thicket of unremarkable, early 20th century row houses.

Weeksville was named for James Weeks, an early African-American settler from Virginia, who acquired part of the vast Lefferts family estate in 1838. The four historic houses are about one-quarter mile from the James Weeks home site. By 1849, the tiny village had been dubbed Weeksville, as indicated on a local map.[1] In the following year, the Brooklyn directory listed people as living near the Hunterfly Road at Weeksville.

A 1900 view of the Hunterfly Road Houses. Photo courtesy of the Brooklyn Public Library.

The Weeksville historic preservation project was initiated when children from a local public school, who were learning about the history of their neighborhood, said "Let's fix up the old houses and make a black history museum." This simple mandate continues to fuel the Weeksville Society's preservation/restoration effort. Subsequent research found the school, P.S. 243, was the successor of the ca. 1847 Colored School No. 2 of Weeksville. Nearly $1,000, the first money put toward this preservation project, was raised by children of P.S. 243, the Weeksville School.

In June 1970, children, teachers, parents, and members of the fledgling Weeksville Society attended a New York City Landmarks Commission hearing, requesting that the four old homes at 1698-1708 Bergen Street be designated landmarks. The petition was successful. The Hunterfly Road Houses District was designated in August 1970. The structures subsequently were listed in the National Register of Historic Places. I believe that these events were nurtured by the preceding decade of civil rights awareness and a "need to know" that acted as the catalyst to action in our community.

By 1977, the Weeksville Society had purchased the four historic houses with the assistance of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation, the Vincent Astor Foundation, a gala "Salute to 'Roots' Dinner," and the matching grant-in-aid program of New York State. In 1981, the Society began the restoration of the historic site using Federal Community Development Block Grant funds. The Pratt Center for Community & Environmental Development, an early and steadfast supporter of the Society and a source of valuable technical assistance, introduced the Society to William H. Cary, a highly qualified and sensitive restoration architect. Trained at Columbia University and having served in the Peace Corps, Cary was well prepared to meet the preservation challenges at Weeksville. He assembled a restoration team consisting of two master craftsmen and two neighborhood apprentices. After several years of daunting preservation experiences, the team completed the restoration of the first building.[2] It opened to an appreciative audience in May 1985.

Thereafter, diminished funding in the recessionary climate severely slowed restoration progress. However, following an episode of vandalism and theft at the end of 1991, the Society recovered with the generous assistance of the New York State Council on the Arts, the New York Landmarks Conservancy, Brooklyn Borough President Howard Golden, the Brooklyn Downtown Development Corporation, other foundations, and private and community contributions.

Archeology has been a unique feature of the project. The earliest dig, 1969-1971, was in the center of Weeksville. Many different people worked on that dig, including James Hurley, William 'Dewey' Harley—an aged resident with roots in the community, Youth-In-Action, Boy Scout Troop 342, the New York University Field School in Archeology, and even children from the Weeksville School who participated during their recess period. In the 1980s, a five-year summer field school dig was conducted on Hunterfly Road by City College (CUNY). A doctoral dissertation on that investigation is currently in progress. Its completion will provide an

The Weeksville Lady, n.d. Photo courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of Weeksville & Bedford-Stuyvesant History.

important component to the site's historic structure report.

A 1990 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities supported an Institutional Self Study Report for the Weeksville Society. This study was directed by Claudine Brown, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Museums at the Smithsonian Institution, and drew upon the talents of other outstanding professionals in architecture, education, and museum programming. The study provided a valuable three-year development plan; recommendations included essential staff expansion, public programming, and possibly building a supportive educational facility for the historic houses on vacant adjacent city-owned land.

Presently, a grant from the New York City Department of Cultural Affairs and funds from the New York State Natural Heritage Trust will allow us to adaptively reuse one of the four structures to significantly increase the public space needed to accommodate visiting school classes. An average of 3,000 children visit each year to observe the restoration in progress and learn about historic Weeksville.

Today, Weeksville is situated in Brooklyn, NY, a city of 2.4 million residents, 93 different ethnic groups, and home to the largest population of people of African descent in the Nation.[3] This latter group, which speaks several different languages in addition to English, exemplifies the extraordinary complexity of the African diaspora and its experiences of the last 500 years. The Weeksville African American Museum will serve as a resource for all present-day New Yorkers by sharing the special story of the early Weeksville pioneers who survived and succeeded against great odds. To interpret the site, the Society tells its story of preservation and museum development through two media: a constantly upgraded slide presentation and a 50-page illustrated booklet entitled *Weeksville, Then & Now.* A cut-out book, *Let's Make a Landmark,* was designed for a younger audience. Both publications have been reprinted and widely distributed.

A host of contributors, including governments, private foundations, businesses, educational institutions, churches, museums, historical societies, and neighbors—like the residents of the Kingsboro Housing project who maintained the Society Green Thumb Garden next to the historic houses for six years—continue to help make the children's dream a reality.

The restoration process itself, with its peaks of progress and valleys of setbacks, represents the general situation of our home community here in the inner city. The successful completion of this preservation project and its continuance as a museum symbolizes for many the use of historic preservation as a powerful tool. People are beginning to see that preservation benefits both affluent and modest communities in America.

I believe that chronic, ongoing problems, and recent disturbing events in our Nation's cities have helped more people to see the Society's vision of the relationship between preservation, education, history, pride, hope, and positive motivation for all members of our society, especially our children.

My personal goal is to continue to work for adequate funding and to ensure complete restoration of the historic houses. We must establish a vital and stable institution through which to illuminate a portion of the African-American experience in the United States. I believe it is essential that places like Weeksville, where the human spirit survived and succeeded, be preserved for present and future generations to see, touch, and celebrate.

Joan Maynard is president of the Weeksville Society and Trustee Emeritus of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

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1. Twelve Miles Around New York, Brooklyn Historical Society, n.d.

2. The society possesses almost 10,000 photographic images and video and film footage that document the preservation process from its inception. These materials will become part of the permanent exhibition at the site.

3. 1990 United States census.

New History at the Old Museum

Edward A. Chappell

Fundamental changes in perspective are essential in museums if they are to remain a vital means of education. Without new data or—more important—new ideas, history museums, like history classes, soon drift to the margins of our intellectual life.

Yet the visual media that make good museums compelling can also make it difficult to initiate meaningful change. Many national history museums across the globe still treat native peoples as static natural species devoid of personality and unaffected by the world beyond their forest clearing. Presumably this 19th century perspective lingers not because the curators have read only books written before Franz Boas, but because their institutions lack the funds and initiative to change vast installations of outdated anthropology all created at terrific cost.

Likewise, the scale and permanence of outdoor history museums can make it difficult to initiate worthwhile change. The great investment in existing buildings and programs often means that scholars and administrators focus their energies on tightening the nuts of an old engine that instead needs overhauling. Larger issues are the means by which our attention can be redirected toward more basic problems. For example, social dynamics and their expression in the varied living conditions of pre-industrial Americans can call into question more fundamental aspects of how a museum looks.

Colonial Williamsburg provides an instructive example. Founded in the late 1920s with the inspiration of Episcopal minister W. A. R. Goodwin and funding from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., it now occupies most of the site of the 18th century Virginia capital and includes more than 500 buildings restored or reconstructed on their original sites. The initial focus of the museum project was architectural, and there was always considerable attention given to the events and celebrities of the American Revolution. These were never the sole issues, though. The visionary Goodwin saw the everyday life of the 18th century community as being essential to the museum's public appeal. "If the Duke of Gloucester Street could be closed to vehicular traffic might we not reproduce certain ancient scenes which were then familiar upon the street?" he asked in 1930, "—A cart driven by an old negro; an ox cart standing by a water trough; a stage coach with coachmen, footmen, and a driver, standing in front of the Tavern and used when desired to drive tourists around; a group of men clad in the semblance of Colonial costume under the trees, with a hunting dog and with their guns, as though discussing the chase." Averting any doubt about his purpose, Goodwin explained, "Such scenes would show ancient modes of life and costume and would appeal to many who will not understand the fine points of architecture." Harold Shurtleff, Williamsburg's first director of research, spoke in more analytical terms but with similar sentiments about the importance of recovering "the pattern of everyday life—economic, religious, social, domestic, mechanical, educational, cultural, etc."

This progressive ideal was transformed into a powerful three-dimensional portrait, first by the Boston architectural firm of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn and later by a resident staff of architects and curators. Already well-versed in the use of historical styles for modern purposes, the architects attacked their staggering task with certain arts and crafts sensibilities. The **regional** character of early Virginia design could be learned by observation, they believed, and could be artistically employed in the re-creation of the town's missing elements. A Beaux-Arts sense of order suffused the buildings and landscape of the restored town. Every molding, every keyhole, and clump of tulips was carefully planned with an eye toward its role in creating a pleasing historical environment.

The project was never treated as fantasy. An initial plan to move in old buildings that seemed to fit archeo-

This view of the Governor's Palace kitchen, 1931-35, reflects how the African-American presence at Colonial Williamsburg was presented—as largely a supporting role well into the 1970s. Photo by F. S. Lincoln.

The Palace Green property owned by York County clerk Thomas Everard is now interpreted from the perspective of slaves who shared it with Everard's family. Photo by Patrick Saylor.

logical remains in Williamsburg was soon rejected in favor of a sharper focus on precisely what had existed in the town. Researchers were scrupulous in discovering and employing evidence for buildings, even if—as Carl Lounsbury has shown in a recent *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* essay—there were lapses when Beaux-Arts training overcame explicit historical evidence.[1] In terms of analysis and craftsmanship, it was state-of-the-art restoration. Yet in aggregate, the countless design decisions (recorded in some 45,000 surviving drawings) resulted in a town that is more like a beautifully conceived and maintained garden suburb than it is like any community that existed in 18th century America.

The museum has grown and changed much in its 65-year history, but essentially the same design outlook prevailed into the 1970s. Sites recreated when the eastern end of the historic area was developed in the 1950s looked much like those of 25 years earlier. Handsome shops with beautifully detailed signboards shared street frontage with prim middling houses framed by well-crafted kitchens, privies, and smokehouses. Almost everyone in the town seemed to have had beautiful little gardens with easy access from the public ways. Everything suggested the presence of a large labor force, but these people and their houses remained invisible. The initial design for a reconstruction of blacksmith James Anderson's late 18th century shop, prepared in 1978, reflected the assumption that even war-time industrial structures occupied by tradesmen and boy nail makers would be carefully detailed with beaded siding, rounded shingles, and batten shutters.

Yet change was underway. The first Anderson design was eventually succeeded by a radically different alternative. As built, the blacksmith shop suggests minimal aesthetic intention and financial investment. It portrays a manner of building that no visitor to Williamsburg had seen since the early 19th century. An obvious implication is that an associated way of life, long ignored, had also reappeared.

Comment on Edward Chappell's "New History at the Old Museum"

Rex Ellis

The opening of the slave quarter at Carter's Grove in 1990 serves as a symbol of the "coming of age" of the research that supports the presentation of African-American history at Colonial Williamsburg. In the previous decade, the Foundation developed a comprehensive black presence in its overall interpretive programs. But the Carter's Grove project represents a new level of commitment that Colonial Williamsburg historically avoided.

With the slave quarter at Carter's Grove, Colonial Williamsburg and its researchers focused on illustrating that the enslaved African Americans had a full and diverse life. They did more than simply labor in the fields. Blacks had families, reared children, engaged in spiritual life, and created their own values and beliefs under the strictures of chattel slavery. This interpretive core drew the involvement of all of the Foundation's researchers, historians, curators, interpreters, and educators. The slave quarter project serves as an example of the cooperation, innovation, and quality that can evolve when museums move beyond rhetoric and begin to initiate programs of "excellence and equity."

Special mention is due to the African-American interpreters at the slave quarter. They are on the front line and have committed themselves to educating a diverse public about a history that is very difficult to discuss. Each day, they put on their costumes, arrive at the slave quarter, and begin their efforts to educate a public that is sometimes volatile and, at other times, extremely grateful. These talented teacher/interpreters are most deserving of our praise.

My experience with Colonial Williamsburg began in 1979 and ended in 1991. In my years there, I learned many things, particularly the fact that the public must not expect history to be neatly packaged and palatable. In actuality, today's public is ready to experience history in all of its dimensions. Some need to be reminded, but most understand that credible history covers the range of human emotions: the good, the bad, and the ugly.

Rex Ellis is director, Office of Museum Programs at the Smithsonian Institution.

Change came about at the Anderson site because of new scholarship concerning the diverse nature of 18th century Chesapeake buildings and the social meaning of those differences. Beginning in the late 1970s, museum planners increasingly recognized the need to show the full breadth of past experience in the town, and particularly the changing nature of race relations. Everyday life had

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always been an essential part of the story. Since the 1940s, there had been more tradesmen exhibits than political shrines open to the public. While earlier educators had presented ordinary people as players in a central drama, though, new museum presentations focused on the *differences* in the lives of people in certain groups, groups defined by wealth, age, gender, and race. Following quickly on the heels of revisions to the Governor's Palace, the Anderson site was the first opportunity to present a non-genteel architectural presence in Williamsburg.

Race was a more potent agent of change. Acknowledging that half the 18th century population of Williamsburg was black now seems a modest step, but it was not taken until the 1970s. African-American life had been relegated to a supporting role ("A cart driven by an old negro...") before being brought to the fore by the civil rights movement and new social history. With the publication of a comprehensive planning document called *Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg* and the development of a department of African-American interpretation, black people began to take prominent positions on the stage, and teachers began to talk about conflicts like those within slave communities and among religions, as well as between slaves and owners.

Some of the most compelling presentations that visitors to Williamsburg now see are dramatic vignettes about a black household divided over harboring a runaway and a slave punished by her female owner for employing voodoo to aid an ill member of her family. Other presentations use more conventional means such as tours concentrating on the lives of slaves and free blacks.

The original Brush-Everard house on Palace Green, long used to tell a familiar story about successful white people and their refined taste, is now employed to tell a different story from the perspective of some of the 16 slaves who also lived there. Substantial buildings and their contents at the Brush property remain a powerful medium with which to teach, but they can conjure different meanings for a footman named Bristol and a cook named Beck than they did for York County clerk Thomas Everard. The point is not simply to create a more representative balance of African-American and European-American presence; it is to deal with more interesting and consequential issues about relations between and among both groups.

Again, one of the strengths of museum education is the opportunity it offers to experience foreign environments. Unfamiliar settings, when well handled, are more than quaint amusements: they help make alien ideas comprehensible and often force both teacher and student to consider what is otherwise inconceivable. While the Brush-Everard complex encourages visitors to see a familiar environment from a new perspective, the recently re-created slave quarter at Carters' Grove outside Williamsburg leads visitors to consider the lives of any one of some 23 black agricultural laborers and children. People living at the Carter's Grove quarter struggled with different pressures and responded differently than the domestic slaves owned by Everard. At least one member of the community was born in Africa, and in the absence of constant surveillance or significant interaction with whites, most of the group were less creolized in outlook.

The recreation of a late colonial agricultural quarter at Carter's Grove deals with life in a community of 23 slaves outside Williamsburg. Built specifically for this purpose in 1987-88, it has become a focus for considering the lives of people who were relatively segregated from white owners. Photo by David Doody.

Re-creating the lost landscape of an all-black community also provides the opportunity to present a material world significantly different from that at the edge of Palace Green. This is a world of very cheaply-built houses, small and mostly unfinished, with log walls and dirt floors and wooden chimneys. Chicken yards are enclosed with riven fences attached to the houses, and the yards are worn bare by heavy use. Belongings are often stored in small pits dug under the houses, and some of these objects, like cowrie shells and gaming pieces, reflect emotional associations that were unfamiliar to European Americans.

One of the reasons the Carter's Grove re-creation has been important to Colonial Williamsburg is that it has provided a point of entry into a material world that, in many ways, is the opposite of what visitors see on the streets of Williamsburg and in most American open-air museums. The quarter illustrates more than a culture of poverty, but it does portray a scene without much curatorial charm. Clearly the people rather than their possessions is what this exhibition is about.

As the current generation of social historians and material culture scholars has increasingly shown, the early Chesapeake was the scene of extremely inequitable material conditions. A minority of rich planters and merchants resided in mansions that fulfill romantic stereotypes of a genteel past, but the majority of blacks and ordinary whites occupied small, impermanent dwellings considerably meaner than even many manual workers' houses of the following century.

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African-American Archeology, Public Education, and Community Outreach

George C. Logan

The Historic Annapolis Foundation and the Department of Anthropology at the University of Maryland, College Park, established "Archaeology in Annapolis" in 1981 as an ongoing archeological research program for the Historic District of Maryland's capital city. Directed by Mark Leone of the University of Maryland, the program established a broad research design that focused on the city as a single, urban archeological site made up of many interrelated components. Long-range objectives included interpreting the commercial base of the port city, its property and wealth structure, and relationships among individuals and groups who lived in the city.[1]

On-site educational programs have been a regular feature of many Archaeology in Annapolis excavations. The unifying goal has been to make archeological research and interpretation accessible to the public, so site tours have focused on archeological methods, as well as on the step-by-step processes that archeologists use in creating historical interpretations. By concentrating on method, the archeologist/guides have been able to show visitors how archeology contributes to an understanding of the past. In all its public programs, Archaeology in Annapolis presents both the archeological evidence and the process of interpreting that evidence. Site tours use case studies to show how history is revealed. Once people see how historical interpretations are formed, they will then be more likely to challenge versions of the past with which they do not agree.[2] Archeologists created these programs as a way to encourage people not only to actively interpret the past, but also to discover how views of the past influence society's perceptions of modern life.

Despite success as judged by visitor response and return visitation, the project was not achieving one of its primary goals: to create a research program that would serve the entire community. Between 1981 and 1988, Archaeology in Annapolis has excavated sites occupied by the planter-elite, tavern owners, merchants, blacksmiths, and others, but the contributions of African Americans to these domestic sites and commercial businesses had not been explicitly addressed. The implied result was that excavation and site programs had remained largely Anglocentric. The research had not been relevant to the African-American experience, either past or present.

In 1989, the Archaeology in Annapolis program initiated research focused on the city's African-American past by conducting limited excavations on a site known locally as Gott's Court. Since relatively little was recorded or known about the daily lives of the working-class African Americans living there during the court's earliest years, project members were able to convince property owners

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As a colonial capital and consumer center, Williamsburg existed as something of an exception in the region. There was indeed a concentration of middling tradespeople and retailers, the successful of whom built many of the original houses that survive there. It is equally clear, though, that the modern elaboration of Williamsburg in the 20th century needs rethinking.

This is not a wholesale call for felling of 19th century street trees and suburban shrubbery or demolition of charming gazebos and houses of necessity. An essential step, in fact, is to recognize much of this poetically-ordered world as an American work of art, one that embodies aspirations of many people since the 1920s.

Important works of art deserve our care, but some adjustment is also in order, since any history museum has a fundamental responsibility to tell the truth about the lives of the people that are its subjects. Deconstructionists argue that museum displays are all a series of subjective sketches revealing more about their creators than their subjects. Nonetheless there are bits and pieces of a historical reality against which to measure our efforts.

Indeed, there is healthy rigor involved in deciding what elements are most important as Colonial Revival (history of history) and which should reflect the best current thinking about 18th century people. The conundrum admits no easy solution in an open-air museum where each site bears a distinct relationship to all others around it and competing visions of the past may confound many visitors. In a museum town resembling a well-cultivated estate, the new realism often seems uncomfortably out of place. How well we resolve the conflict is one reasonable criterion by which our generation of museum historians and planners should be judged.

Because race relations were as much a defining characteristic of early American society as they are today, we can also be judged on how well we help the public understand the background of racial inequity and its consequences in the material world. This is not affirmative action; it's a necessary means of recharging the history we teach.

Edward A. Chappell is the director of the Architectural Research Department at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

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1. Carl R. Lounsbury, "Beaux-Arts Ideals and Colonial Reality: The Reconstruction of Williamsburg's Capitol, 1928-1934," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 49 (December 1990): 373-389.

African-American Archeology, Public Education, and Community Outreach
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that the site was archeologically and historically significant. This African-American archeology initiative has now lasted more than three years, and four historically-significant sites have been excavated in the city's historic district, representing 200 years of African-American material culture.

The research is long overdue, and it is essential for the creation of a more inclusive account of the city's past. A few demographic observations will serve to show that knowledge of the African-American past is important to understanding Annapolis and Maryland history. African Americans have made up one-third of the city's population since the 1700s. By 1850 one-quarter of Annapolis' entire free population was African American. Even though more free blacks lived in Maryland than in any other state prior to the Civil War, their presence has remained largely absent from many accounts of the state's history. Clearly such versions of our past should be changed. Local African-American voices needed to be added to historical interpretations, and since much of Annapolis' present is associated with interpreting its past, a more inclusive history is both socially and economically advantageous.

Beginning the initiative was the most difficult step. The archeologists could not work alone and succeed because most were not local. Very few African Americans were involved in the project when the initiative began; and the project had not identified issues of particular interest to the local African- American community. As a first step, project members approached the professional staff at the Banneker-Douglass Museum in Annapolis for advice. Some potential sites in the historic district had already been identified, but the archeologists needed a research design.

Some general questions included: "What should be the focus of this archeological initiative?"; "Are there community groups, or individuals in the community that would be interested in participating in such a project?" Instead of supplying answers about the information that could result from researching African-American sites in Annapolis, archeologists asked community leaders to help develop research questions and public outreach. This initial phase lasted more than a year and involved many planning meetings and discussions. It is evident now that listening to criticisms and concerns was as important as listening to research ideas, because in dealing with both, the participants established the basis for a productive working relationship.

During the summer of 1990, the project began a full season of excavations on the Franklin Street site. It had been part of a predominantly African-American neighborhood for 100 years-occupied since at least the 1870s by both property owners and renters. Mount Moriah AME Church was built along Franklin Street in 1874 (the structure has been restored and houses the Banneker-Douglass Museum and the Maryland Commission for Afro-American History and Culture). The last remaining houses next to the church, purchased by the county some years earlier, were torn down in the 1970s to complete a surface parking lot for the Anne Arundel County Courthouse. More recently, now covered by a thin layer of asphalt, the area became the focus of another development project. Again, arguing for the site's historical significance with community support, Archaeology in Annapolis seized the opportunity to determine whether or not the site still held intact archeological remains. It found that yard areas behind the demolished foundations were still relatively undisturbed and concluded that the site is an important resource for learning more about this economic cross-section of the city's turn-of-

Archaeology in Annapolis staff and field school students conduct excavations behind the Maynard-Burgess House, a historic African-American site on which the 1840s building still stands. Photo courtesy Archaeology in Annapolis.

Standing on the Franklin Street Site in Annapolis, archeologist/guide Christine Vom Saal explains the excavation process to a visiting family during the 1991 Kunta Kinte Commemoration and Heritage Festival in Annapolis, MD. Photo courtesy Archaeology in Annapolis.

the-century black population. The construction project proposal has since been withdrawn, leaving the site preserved for the timebeing.

During the two-month dig, archeologists gave site tours to almost 900 visitors, which is an impressive number considering that the site was in the middle of an asphalt parking lot during one of the hottest Chesapeake summers in recent memory. The project's ultimate educational goal that season was to work with the community to examine and begin breaking down divisions that have existed between European-American history and African-American history [3]. For this reason, several direct questions were presented to diverse audiences, so they would know why archeologists were interested in the site. The archeologists also wanted feedback as to whether visitors considered the proposed research worthwhile. Some of these questions included: "How were people living in this neighborhood part of the broader community during the late 1800s and the early 1900s?"; "To what degree did they participate in the local market economy?"; "Were free African Americans somehow limited in the ways they could participate and, if so, to what degree were they able to free themselves from those social and economic processes?" On-site discussions then focused on the ways in which archeologists compare artifact assemblages of food remains, domestic tablewares, and specialty items from different sites in attempting to answer such questions.

At the end of the season, the Franklin Street site was reopened and tours were given during the "Kunta Kinte Commemoration and Heritage Festival." (The annual festivals commemorate the arrival of Kunta Kinte in Annapolis and celebrate the perseverance of African-American culture.) Interpretive brochures were available at the conclusion of the site tours, and visitors were offered the chance to complete questionnaires before leaving [4]. Both the high rate of returned questionnaires (approximately 25%) and the number of written compliments and suggestions for future research provided positive evidence that the research initiative was addressing some socially relevant topics.

When asked what they would like to see in future programs, many visitors suggested that archeologists display more of the excavated artifacts, so Banneker-Douglass Museum and Archaeology in Annapolis mounted a museum exhibit entitled, "The Maryland Black Experience as Understood Through Archaeology." The exhibit's guiding theme, "plural voices compose the past," not only expressed the idea of partnership, but it also referred to oral histories that appeared throughout the exhibit, given by Franklin Street residents still living in Annapolis and Maryland. The oral history project began as a method through which the archeologists hoped to learn more about arrangements of houses, outbuildings, and yard areas on the Franklin Street site, because their excavation time on the site was limited. The unexpected wealth of information provided by these oral historians was so powerful, the exhibit designers decided that excerpts from the interviews should form the substantive core of the museum exhibit. In the exhibit, quotes about daily life were linked spatially with excavated artifacts. The intention was to present something close to the original significance of the objects as they functioned in the Franklin Street households. Archeologists supplied narrative texts that discussed other aspects of the city's history, the importance of comparative analysis for developing a better understanding of that history, and some results of preliminary comparisons. The exhibit has traveled to three different museums in Maryland: Banneker-Douglass Museum (Annapolis); Shiplap House (Annapolis); and Jefferson Patterson Park (Calvert County).

In conclusion, this ongoing research has been a community-based project in which the archeology program and the black community have built partnerships. Enthusiastic support for the work has led to additional excavations of historic African-American sites and to other related projects. In a real sense, therefore, the initiative is more than community-based; it is community-driven.

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2. Mark P. Leone, "The Role of Archaeology in Verifying American Identity: Giving a Tour Based on Archaeological Method." *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 2 (1983): 1.
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Documenting Diversity:
Cultural Resource Management in Hawai'i

Paul D. Dolinsky

In the early spring of 1934 a car filled with architects and draftsmen—who not long before had been out of work—drove south from Grants, NM, on the winding dirt road that led to the fabled old Indian pueblo of Acoma. For about sixteen miles they bumped through scrub-pine and sagebrush until their road tilted uphill. They rounded a curve and the world seemed to drop before them. From the rim of the Cebolleta plateau they could see across miles of grassy, sunken valley floor. In the midst loomed a sandstone mesa surrounded by craggy rock pillars. For nearly four centuries this vista had caught the breath and purpled the prose of outsiders like themselves.[1]

In the spring of 1991 a plane full of architects, draftsmen and historians—who not long before had been in the classroom—flew east from Honolulu, over a sparkling, emerald-green Pacific Ocean to the settlement of Kalaupapa on the island of Moloka'i. For about 30 miles they cruised and occasionally bumped along an updraft until landing on a verdant plateau-topside Moloka'i. As they ascended, the world seemed to drop off before them. From the rim of the sea cliff they could see a peninsula 2,000' below. In the midst of the lush, green landscape was a small village that for more than a century had been both a sanctuary and a prison.

In 1865, King Kamehameha V had authorized the Hawai'ian Board of Health to set aside a portion of lands owned by the government "to secure the isolation and seclusion of such leprous persons [who]... may, by being at large, cause the spread of leprosy."

Kalaupapa is situated on the Makanalu'a peninsula on Moloka'i, Hawai'i. Surrounded on three sides by the ocean and on the fourth by a nearly vertical "pali," or cliff, this site was chosen partly for its isolation, and the extreme difficulty of land or ocean access.

The Hansen's Disease (leprosy) patients sent to Kalaupapa went with the knowledge that this was their last home, often leaving their families and society forever. They took up a new and often happy life in the settlement, where they were free from the fears and misunderstandings of the unafflicted.[2]

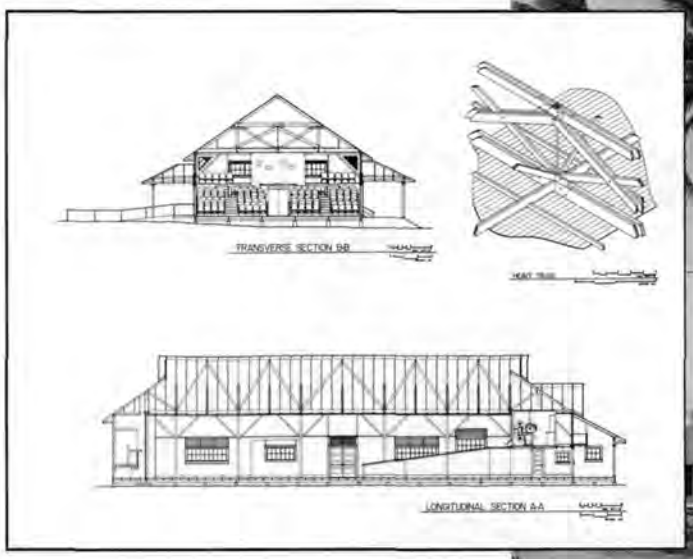
The discovery of sulfone drugs in the 1940s led to the successful treatment and control of the disease. In 1969, Hawai'i's isolation laws ended, admissions to Kalaupapa ceased, and patients could return to the outside world. Those who remain on the peninsula today do so by choice; to them it is home.

The architects, draftsmen and historians of the Kalaupapa recording team were employees of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), the oldest preservation program in the Federal Government. HABS was established in 1933 as a program within the National Park Service (NPS) to document the architectural heritage of the United States. It was an economic relief program to mitigate the effects of the Great Depression. As such, projects like the Acoma Pueblo were undertaken by unemployed young professionals working together in teams across the country in culturally-diverse situations. Their energies resulted in three products: measured drawings, written history, and large-format photography. This original concept of interdisciplinary comprehensive documentation remains today as well as the challenge of working in a culturally-diverse situation.

St. Philomena's Roman Catholic Church has recently been completely restored by the National Park Service. This is the church of Father Damien, one of the leaders of the reform movement for the treatment of patients with leprosy. Photo by Jack E. Boucher, HABS, NPS.

View from St. Philomena's Roman Catholic Church across marked and unmarked graveyards to the spectacular seacliffs beyond. This slightly protected bay is the location of the original 19th century landing for the early village of Kalawao. Photo by Jack E. Boucher, HABS, NPS.

Some things, though, have changed. Since the 1950s, HABS teams have consisted of university students pursuing degrees in architecture, landscape architecture, architectural history, and related disciplines and are often directed by professionals in these fields or by university-related personnel.



Sections and Truss Axonometric of Paschoal Hall. Angela Hasenyager and Katharine Slocumb, delineators, HABS, NPS.

The Paschoal Community Hall, the social center of Kalaupapa, is currently not being used. The measured drawings, written history, and large-format photography produced by HABS in the summer of 1991 will be used by the National Park Service for the rehabilitation of the structure. Photo by Jack E. Boucher, HABS, NPS.

Also, the measured drawings, large-format photographs, and written history of Kalaupapa not only contribute to the HABS archive of American architecture but also serve the purpose of baseline data for the restoration and management of the Kalaupapa National Historic Park. Kalaupapa is a relatively new national park, having been established in 1980. As such, getting accurate baseline documentation is essential. With this goal in mind, the basis for the project was the List of Classified Structures (LCS), the structure-by-structure database listing of NPS responsibility and ownership. Three hundred and fifty five large-format (5" x 7") photographs were taken of the ninety five LCS-listed structures within the NPS purview of the settlement. An annotated bibliography of information sources relevant to the structures was included. This valuable document will serve as the springboard for all future research with regard to any one of the structures.

Comprehensive documentation included: 7 measured drawings (33" x 44") including plans, sections, elevations, and details; 20 pages of historical research including architectural descriptions and physical history; and 35 large-format (5" X 7") photographs. The focus was the 1916 Paschoal Community Hall, social center of the settlement. The hall is a two-story, wooden, post-and-beam structure of single-wall plank construction upon 124 concrete piers.

The team members selected to work at Kalaupapa had previously worked on a student project for HABS. Based upon this experience and their desire to work at a unique site, they were hired for the three-months documentation at Kalaupapa. They arrived at the small, windswept air field on the peninsula and were greeted by the chief of maintenance for the NPS and sheriff of the Village of Kalaupapa. This official welcome was necessary, since all visitors to the village must be authorized by a receiving party. The enormity of the seriousness of Kalaupapa's existence and the reality of living there weighed heavily upon the team. After piling their belongings, food, and supplies into a park vehicle, they were off to the park headquarters—about a two-mile drive to the center of the village, behind which rises the magnificent, 2,000' vegetation-covered sea cliff. The short ride was very quiet as everyone surveyed the lava rock coastline, somber graveyard, and eventually the beautifully landscaped cottages of the residents.

Formalities of introduction followed with the NPS and Kalaupapa officials. A mutually beneficial arrangement exists between the NPS and Kalaupapa. This is a living, "private" national park where 82 patients, hospital staff, State of Hawai'i Department of Health staff and NPS staff coexist, each with distinct responsibilities and obligations. The HABS team was one of the first bridges among these diverse groups. They were NPS employees that had to interact with NPS as well as residents of the village. Friendship and cooperation were very important since they were the newcomers, and being received was vital to the success of the project.

Long-time residents looked on with great curiosity as the new, college-age group set up housekeeping in a three-room cottage across from the village cafeteria. Fortunately, the team had been granted dining privileges by the State Department of Health. Otherwise, provisions would have had to be regularly flown in from another island. At the same time this encouraged interaction between food-service personnel, patients, and HABS. A positive relationship was critical to the success of the project, since a great deal of Kalaupapa's rich history is passed by word of mouth. As the role of HABS and historic preservation was made clearer to the resi-

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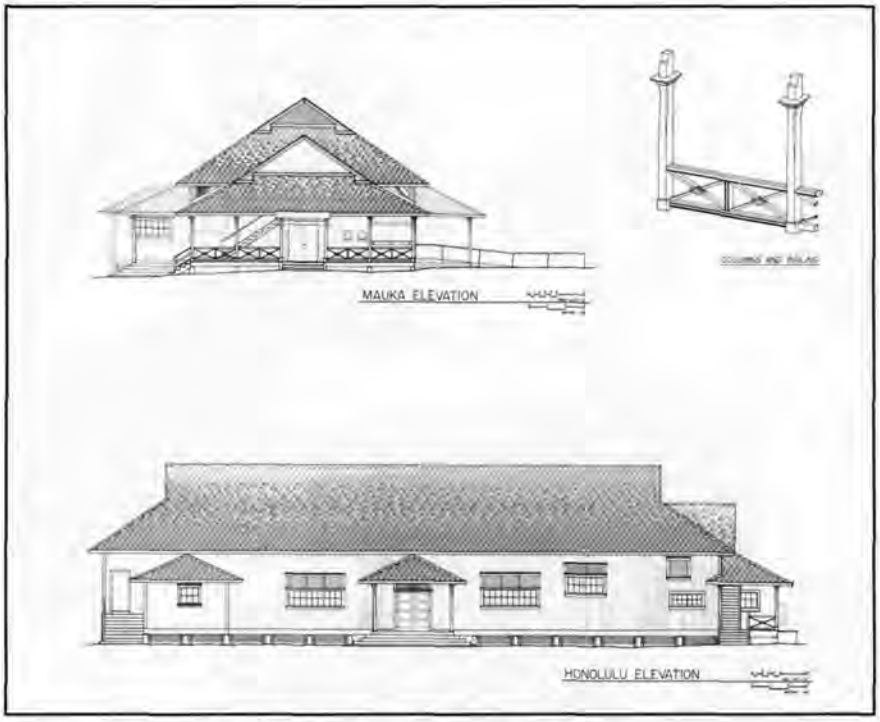

Elevations of Paschoal Hall. Katharine Slocumb, delineator, HABS, NPS.

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dents, fears were overcome, and a genuine comradeship developed. Residents realized that their story needed to be told, not only their suffering and hardship, but also their joys and pleasures. Drawings and research of Paschoal Community Hall turned out to be a perfect vehicle. It was the common thread of positive memories. In spite of the hardship of their affliction, residents always recalled joyful experiences and events occurring at the hall, events such as viewing movies, attending socials or dances, or meeting famous Hollywood personalities such as Shirley Temple, Will Rogers, and John Wayne.

The NPS has plans to rehabilitate the social hall, so the fundamental mandate of the HABS architects was to produce a baseline set of documents for that purpose. As with any new, socially-awkward situation, there was a reticence to interact... both the HABS team and the patients were reluctant to interact with each other. Who were these young people and what are they doing crawling all over our Paschoal Community Hall. What are they going to do with the hall? What are they researching and why are they asking so many questions? These initial questions began to change as residents started to look more closely at Paschoal Hall and what it meant to them. Great pride started to surface when they realized the significance of the structure beyond the realm of their village.

The genuine interest in the story of Kalaupapa and the sincerity of the dedicated team members prevailed. Soon patients' curiosity as well as team-member curiosity removed all inhibitions. Insecurity and fear changed to trust and sharing—thereby enriching both team and patients. Soon, stories of old-time Kalaupapa were being shared. Curiosity surged as the drawings took shape. The historic significance of the hall became clearer to patients as it was further justified in the minds of the students. The historian's research became richer with the countless tales shared with residents and friendships developed further.

In its nearly 60 years of existence HABS has trained more than 3,000 young professionals in the field of architectural documentation and historic preservation. From the recording of the Pueblo of Acoma in 1934 to the documentation of the Paschoal Social Hall at Kalaupapa in 1991, measured drawings, large-format photography and written history have been developed for more than 25,000 structures. These projects have produced rich memories for young professionals as they were being challenged in culturally-diverse situations.

The Kalaupapa Social Hall recording project was undertaken during summer 1991 by the HABS, a division of the NPS and co-sponsored by the Western Regional Office of the NPS and the Kalaupapa National Historic Park. Principals involved were Robert J. Kapsch, chief of HABS/HAER; Paul D. Dolinsky, chief of HABS; Kim Hoagland, senior HABS historian; Thomas Mulhern, chief, Division of Park Historic Preservation, Western Regional Office, NPS; and Peter Thompson, superintendent, Kalaupapa National Historic Park. The documentation was produced at Kalaupapa by project supervisors A. J. Garza, AIA, and S. M. Soucie, APA; architecture technicians Angela Hasenyager, Puanani Maunu, and Katherine Slocumb, University of Hawai'i; and historian Barbara Francis, University of Hawai'i.

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[1] Peter Naboko. *Architecture of Acoma Pueblo, The 1934 Historic American Buildings Survey Project.* Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1986.

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Ybor City Historic District

James H. Charleton

When Secretary of the Interior Manuel Luján—himself a Hispanic from New Mexico—designated Ybor City a National Historic Landmark, the Tampa, FL, community received formal national recognition for its multi-ethnic, basically Hispanic, and industrial heritage. The significance of Ybor City was widely known before the National Park Service's ethnic sites survey. Anybody who ever had a cigar box or saved cigar bands for premiums from Hav-a-Tampa and dozens of other brands will surely agree.

Indeed, because of the area's national renown in Spanish and Cuban immigration history and in American industrial history, a portion of it was listed in the National Register in 1973 and it henceforth figured in candidate lists for National Historic Landmark designation.

Located just northeast of Tampa's downtown, Ybor City's nearly 1,000 historic buildings include an impressive collection of commercial, industrial, and residential buildings. Its cigar factories, dating from the 1890s through World War II, made Tampa the leading cigar manufacturing city of the world. It also includes impressive ethnic clubs and hundreds of historic worker houses.

Most buildings in Ybor City have architectural features or other characteristics that display their association with the distinctive ethnic traditions of the city. Constituting the most outstanding collection of structures associated with late 19th and early 20th century Cuban and Spanish settlement in the United States, strong Italian, and other ethnic associations, these buildings illustrate the key aspects of those immigrant groups' experience and the cigar industry that gave their community its life.

Ybor City was founded in 1886 by Vicente Martínez Ybor as a "company town." The main elements in its ethnic mosaic were Cubans, including black Cubans, and immigrants from Spain. Aside from New York City, Spanish immigration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was localized in the southeastern United States, especially in Florida, the mainland closest to Cuba.

During its heydey this Ybor Cigar Factory building was part of the largest cigar manufacturing complex in the world. Today Ybor Square houses a publishing firm, which restored the buildings using the preservation incentives tax act, and an indoor shopping center. Photograph by Robin Bodo, 1989.

While the largest single group in Ybor City were the Cubans, who generally dominated the cigar trade, the area also attracted Italians, mostly Sicilians. In many ways culturally similar to the Cubans and Spaniards, partially because Sicily had long been ruled by Spain, they blended into the community. Some Sicilians became cigar makers but most engaged in small business and farming. Ybor City also had pockets of German, Rumanian Jewish, and Chinese immigrants as well.

The lifeblood of this multi-ethnic island that grew and prospered in the segregated Deep South was the cigar industry. Tampa cigars became famous all over the world because of the skilled Latin craftsworkers who made them by hand. At its peak, the industry in Ybor City employed 20,000 persons who handcrafted cigars in 36 sizes and shapes. The industry was so significant in the city's history that it strongly influenced housing patterns. The factory proprietors sometimes provided housing adjacent to their facilities or workers chose to build their own homes nearby.

The cigar factories of Ybor City were also a hotbed of insurgent activity. Prior to Cuba's revolt from Spain in the late 19th century, the city's Cuban population helped promote the ideas of Cuban nationalists. Many cigar workers contributed a day's pay to the cause each week, and, in most of the factories, "lectores" or readers, hired to entertain workers, used patriotic texts. José Martí, the Cuban poet-patriot, known to non-Hispanic Americans mostly for his poem-song *Guantanamera*, was commonly referred to as the "George Washington of Cuba." He delivered some of his most significant speeches to Cubans here, including one from the steps of the Ybor Factory illustrated with this article, and hid out from assassins in an Afro-Cuban home, an event memorialized today in an Ybor City park on the house site.

Tampa was the main port through which arms and ammunition were sent to Cuban insurgents in the 1890s. Fittingly perhaps also, the U.S. invasion of Cuba in 1898 was launched from Tampa.

Ybor City, as a multi-ethnic and multi-racial community in the American Deep South, particularly illustrates the diverse history of ethnic and race relations from shortly after Reconstruction until the 1960s. The association of late 19th and early 20th century immigration with industrial communities is not unusual in other sections of the United States, but it is exceptional in the South, which historically has had relatively little industry and few immigrants. Tampa's ethnic groups formed a distinct enclave socially and politically. The city's Afro-Cubans, in addition, formed a substantial community within this enclave. Unlike in Cuba, they were segregated here by law and long excluded from both the Latin and black communities in Tampa.

From its founding in 1886, Ybor City grew rapidly until the late 1920s, by which time it encompassed a 2-square mile area with a population approaching 20,000. Early in the 20th century, many frame commercial and commer-

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cial/residential buildings were replaced with brick ones, particularly after a disastrous fire in 1908. Also, during this period, and into the 1930s, many property owners added wrought-iron balconies, stucco, and Spanish tile—features much like those in Spain and Cuba—to new and existing buildings.

Ybor City's history in the 1930s and after paralleled the decline of the cigar industry. The combined effects of a "spit" campaign in which evil rumors about the manner in which cigars were hand rolled were spread, the increased popularity of cigarettes, and the Great Depression struck Ybor City deeply. Between 1930 and 1940, one-quarter of the foreign-born whites, and more than one-half of the Afro-Cubans, left. Although the Tampa cigar industry recovered during World War II and prospered in the immediate postwar era, Ybor City declined. Prosperity enabled many inhabitants to move to other sections of Tampa. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, Ybor City had begun to take on many aspects of urban decay. Little construction occurred in the community, and much of the existing housing and building stock deteriorated.

The Marti-Maceo Club in the Ybor City Historic District was organized by Ybor City's Afro-Cubans and moved to this building after its original building was demolished during urban renewal in the 1960s. Photo by Robin Bodo, 1989.

The Centro Español, Tampa's trend-setting ethnic club, is individually designated as a National Historic Landmark for its importance to the Spanish heritage of the United States. Photo by Robin Bodo, 1989.

In 1965 Ybor City became the target of a major urban renewal project. During the next few years, 70 acres, including 660 frame houses, 2 ethnic club buildings, a fire station, and a cigarmakers' school were leveled. Although plans for redevelopment were announced, they largely came to naught because expected Federal urban renewal money did not materialize. The construction of Interstate 4 also split the community.

During this same period, however, the Latin community and other citizens became interested in preserving Ybor City's historic buildings and ethnic culture. Presently the community is being redeveloped through the joint efforts of the Historic Tampa/Hillsborough County Preservation Board; the Barrio Latino Commission, the area's architectural watchdog; the Ybor City Chamber of Commerce; and a number of civic organizations and individuals.

The preparation of the study of the greater Ybor City National Historic Landmark Historic District would have been impossible without the extensive and painstaking local survey work performed by Robin Bodo and Lori Smith Miranda in 1988 under a grant from the Elizabeth Ordway Dunn Foundation. The courtesies, insights, and advice of Stephanie Ferrell, Donna Hole, David P. Rigney, Joan Jennewein, Tony Pizzo, Gary Mormino, Susan Greenbaum, Harris and Kay Mullen, L. Glenn Westfall, and Lori L. Thompson, all of whom shared their knowledge of and affection for Ybor City, must also be acknowledged.

But support of Ybor City's Landmark designation came not just from the organizations and professional historians and preservationists who assisted in the study. Elderly members and young leaders of the ethnic clubs of Ybor City, proprietors of its restaurants and businesses, and local residents shared their hospitality and their pride in their community over and over again. Not a single letter of objection came in nor even a word of opposition during the visit. Nor was there evidence of ethnic rivalry and resentment, which can be found in many multi-ethnic communities—not even from the Afro-Cubans, who have reason to resent the segregated past and urban renewal.

Instead, for this historian, who has encountered these disheartening phenomena, as well as hostile, often fierce, opposition to the concept of historic preservation, it was a rare and unique holiday from controversy, made all the sweeter by being an overnight celebrity at the Café Tropicana—with its fierce Cuban coffee and the Colombian restaurant with its extraordinary bean soup. And, yes, there are still cigars hand-rolled in the historic manner to savor. All in all, Ybor City is a striking demonstration of the strength that can be found in ethnic diversity. Its residents are comfortable with one another and they know how to make a stranger feel at home.

James H. Charleton, a historian with the History Division, National Park Service, Washington, DC, authored the Ybor City National Historic Landmark nomination.

The Eastern European Community in Dayton, Ohio

Claudia Watson

The Eastern European immigration into Dayton in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was one of the city's most important cultural phenomena. It included many different ethnic groups, but those which had the heaviest impact upon Dayton's cultural landscape were the predominantly Catholic Hungarians, Lithuanians, and Poles. A National Register of Historic Places multiple property nomination documenting Dayton's Eastern European community was done as part of the city's Programmatic Memorandum of Agreement with the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and the Ohio Historic Preservation Office to identify and nominate buildings and districts eligible for the National Register.

Interest in this project began when the Amber Rose Delicatessen, a historic tax rehabilitation located in Old North Dayton, was badly damaged by fire just three weeks before it was scheduled to open. Constructed in 1912, Sig's General Store, as it was then called, was a major social center for Dayton's Polish community. The multiple property nomination was undertaken to assist the owners of the Amber Rose in retaining their historic tax credits. It resulted in a new understanding of and deeper appreciation for Dayton's Eastern European community.

Further expression of the continued vitality of the ethnic parish is found in the Shrine of the Three Crosses constructed on the grounds of Holy Cross Lithuanian Catholic Church in 1965. The crosses "honor all the martyrs for the faith in the countries occupied by the Soviet Communists." The three crosses "symbolize the three crosses that were erected on a hill in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, in honor of the Franciscan fathers who were martyred for the faith in the fourteenth century" and which were destroyed by the Soviets in 1950. (Quotation from Holy Cross Parish, "Shrine of the Three Crosses," Chicago, 1966.) Photo courtesy Montgomery County Historical Society.

The Eastern Europeans came to fill the labor needs created by Dayton's rapidly expanding industries. Their primary area of settlement was in a neighborhood known as North Dayton, located in the northeast section of the city adjacent to Dayton's main industrial area. They also resided in two small, densely settled colonies—the West Side Colony and the Kossuth Colony, the latter being located on the northern edge of the North Dayton neighborhood. These colonies were established by labor contractor Jacob Moskowitz to ensure a steady labor supply for the Barney and Smith Car Company (Kossuth Colony) and the Dayton Malleable Iron Company (West Side Colony).

The Eastern Europeans who came to the United States after 1880 were searching for ways to cope with the economic stress caused from the integration of the Eastern European agrarian economy into the larger Atlantic economy. The consolidation of estates, loss of land, and decline of cottage industries forced peasants to leave their land and villages in search of new sources of income. As the old communal patterns were broken by migration to European cities, these peasants developed new ways of networking to ensure the survival of the family in times of crisis. Voluntary associations for health, life, and burial insurance and the strengthened position of the church parish became sources of stability in an increasingly unstable world. As the immigrants began their new lives in the American urban village, they continued these Old World networking patterns to adjust to life in the sometimes bewildering city environment.

For the cultural resource surveyor working in Dayton today, the presence of these Eastern European ethnic groups is not easily identified by a walk through their urban neighborhoods. Most immigrants coming into Dayton at the turn of the century were not interested in making ethnic statements through their homes or commercial buildings. Hard-working practical people, they wanted the same kinds of homes sought after by most Americans. Modern building technology and the availability of house plans assured that they would build or purchase homes commonly found in the urban setting. Therefore, one- and two-story Folk Victorian houses and cottages, American Foursquares, and Bungalows composed much of the streetscape of these Dayton neighborhoods. The commercial districts also differed little from the typical linear shopping areas that grew up along streetcar lines.

It was perhaps not the buildings themselves, but the cultural ephemera, which set these neighborhoods apart—the landscaping, the odor of ethnic cooking, and the sound of many different languages. In an oral history of North Dayton, longtime neighborhood residents described the summer flowers that filled the front yards, vegetable gardens and fruit trees that landscaped the back yards, and the meat that hung in the smoke houses. Most of these elements, of course, disappeared many years ago.

While immigrants tended to draw together into compact geographical areas, the ethnic neigh-

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The Eastern European Community in Dayton, Ohio
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borhoods did not have the homogeneous population that might have been expected. Although individual households in the neighborhoods were ethnicly mixed, each ethnic group had its own churches and social institutions that acted as community focal points. Alice Doren, a YMCA worker writing about 1917, stated that North Dayton, "the largest foreign community in the city," was "perhaps half American." It included not only large numbers of Hungarians, Poles, and Lithuanians, but many other ethnic groups as well. The West Side Colony, too, exhibited great ethnic diversity.

In Dayton, the best documentary artifact of the Eastern European community is the ethnic parish. The "ethnic" or "nationality" parish is one defined on the basis of the common ethnic background of its congregation rather than on geographical boundaries. An American Catholic institution, it was created in the late 18th century to address the problems of multi-ethnicity in the American environment.

At first, the Eastern Europeans tried to become a part of the existing Irish and German parishes, but they soon found the arrangement highly unsatisfactory. The church was not just a place of worship, it was also the center of ethnic culture and identity. Here, the immigrants could preserve their language and traditions and maintain close ties with the country of their birth.

Not surprisingly, this dual purpose as a center of religion and ethnic culture combined to produce strong feelings of patriotism and nationalism often not present until these immigrants became a part of the American urban scene. Coming from the communal life of the peasant village, many had known a strong sense of allegiance to only their village or region and had little knowledge of national history or culture. In America, however, the churches, both Catholic and Protestant, did much to heighten a sense of national belonging, blending religion and culture in a type of ethnoreligion. At the same time, the intricate network of organizations that developed within the church not only worked to preserve culture, but also eased the immigrants' adjustment into American urban society.

Between 1903-1936, the Hungarians, Lithuanians, and Poles established five ethnic parishes in North Dayton and on the city's west side. In the West Side Colony, which has been the victim of massive demolition in the last three decades, the two ethnic parishes, Holy Name Hungarian Catholic Church and the First Magyar Reformed Church, are no longer functioning in the neighborhood (although their buildings remain).

But in North Dayton, St. Adalbert's Polish Catholic Church, Holy Cross Lithuanian Roman Catholic Church, and St. Stephen Hungarian Catholic Church are still a vital part of the neighborhood and continue to act as the major agents for the preservation of ethnicity. Although the nature of being Polish American, Hungarian American, or Lithuanian American has changed, their ethnicity endures. In North Dayton, many of the younger generation return from other areas to attend the ethnic churches and to participate in the Polish Club, the Lithuanian Club, and other ethnic organizations. Largely through the ethnic parish, they have continued to give assistance to European homelands that many may never see. Loyal American citizens, they are important examples of the reality and workability of cultural dualism in the United States. The pride which these immigrants and their descendants feel for the urban village of Old North Dayton is best reflected in the words of Mrs. Aldona Ryan (Latovaite), who concluded her description of life there in the 1920s and 1930s by saying:

I'm very proud. I know that it was not one of the richest sections of the city and a lot of people thought that the foreign people were maybe peasants and ignorant. That's not true. My father was a musician. Every Saturday my brother and I had to sit through the Metropolitan Opera on radio. It wasn't even in Lithuanian or English. The three of us, my mother would have her house-work, but we set through the whole opera, Saturday after Saturday.[1]

St. Adalbert Polish Catholic Church is still a vital part of the North Dayton neighborhood and continues to act as a major agent for the preservation of ethnicity. Photo courtesy Montgomery County Historical Society.

In spite of its apparent durability, this ethnic heritage cannot be taken for granted. It is a fragile resource. As the American Catholic Church closes more and more parishes, as the availability of nationality priests declines, and as the numbers in their congregations decrease, the future of the ethnic parishes becomes increasingly uncertain.

As generation takes the place of generation, it is impossible to predict the future of Dayton's Eastern European ethnic community. At present, its continued vitality acts as a very visible reminder of the importance of ethnicity in Dayton's urban culture. As an immigrant Nation, America's story of ethnicity occupies a central place in our national social history. As time moves on, however, the built environment the ethnic community leaves behind may ultimately be the only reminder of this basic building block of our American heritage.

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1. Janet Nottingham et al. *Portrait of a Neighborhood: Old North Dayton*. Dayton, OH: Dayton and Montgomery County Public Library, 1988, p. 12.

Applied Ethnography Addresses Cultural Diversity

George S. Esber, Jr.

The debunking of the melting pot myth in the 1960s gave a new breath of life to the understanding of cultural diversity in the United States. Rather than continuing to view traditional cultures as backward and slow to change, the Nation came to recognize both the value of diversity and the importance of each culture's heritage for contemporary peoples.

Since 1981, Dr. Muriel Crespi, senior applied anthropologist for the National Park Service (NPS), has been addressing this new paradigm with support from the Society for Applied Anthropology and the American Anthropological Association. As a result of these efforts, applied ethnographers have been added to the staffs of the Pacific Northwest, the Southwest, and Rocky Mountain regions of the NPS. Regional applied ethnographers will address the needs of culturally-diverse ethnic communities that have traditional associations with the cultural and natural resources of parks. It is hoped that close working relationships will be cultivated with traditional communities so that their needs might best be met while resources are protected.

While some of our parks were established to protect magnificent natural features, others were set aside for the purpose of protecting the ancestral heritages of cultural communities. In the Southwest Region, parks such as Chaco Culture National Historical Park and Bandelier National Monument preserve Indian histories, and Pecos National Historical Park and Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument protect both Indian and Hispanic legacies. Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve in New Orleans is involved with more than 20 different ethnic groups.

The Lomaki site at Wupatki National Monument. Abandoned? In whose eyes? Contemporary Indian Communities retain ties to sites as a part of their ancestral heritage. Photo by Fred Mang, Jr.

Although consultation with interested communities is required by legislation such as the National Environmental Policy Act of 1970, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990, the desire of the NPS to serve communities' needs reflects a great deal more than simple legislative compliance. In addition to establishing good neighborly relations, the results of the applied ethnography program will help democratize the representation and portrayal of communities' cultural heritages in the national park system. Multiculturalism includes the opportunities for peoples' representation and participation not as isolated individuals, but as members of cultural communities. To be responsive to cultural diversity, the applied ethnography program in the Southwest Region is working to develop the multiple perspectives necessary to assure multiculturalism in all phases of park operations.

Under the directorship of John Cook, the Southwest Regional Office will use the applied ethnography program to meet two objectives. First, cultural anthropological data will be collected, including knowledge about contemporary peoples and their relationships to the cultural and natural resources of parks. These studies will afford fresh perspectives on the relationships of living peoples to park resources and will influence the interpretations that result from the new information. The second objective will be to incorporate the findings of ethnographic studies in a consultation process between parks and contemporary communities with traditional associations.

The addition of cultural anthropological data will provide a more complete picture of ethnic communities and their relationships to cultural and natural resources. Until recently, the NPS information base about cultural resources originated primarily from the work of historians, ethnohistorians, and archeologists. Their work produces stories about cultures as they were in the past. Continuity with contemporary communities is less likely a part of these studies because sites are framed in terms of beginning and ending dates.

When information revealing the continuity between the past and the present is missing, an incomplete account results because certain perspectives have not been represented. For example, parks with Anasazi village sites have been traditionally interpreted as "abandoned" by Anasazi peoples who vanished or disappeared. In Anglo historical terms, the focus on place yields the perspective of abandonment. However, when the focus is shifted to contemporary descendant communities, ancestral residences are not perceived as abandoned at all, but rather as places with which people retain a strong affiliation. One American Indian noted that such a site is not a "ruin" but an inspirational sacred place toward which he felt powerful emotional ties.

Most ethnic groups view their heritages as uninterrupted progressions that are told through oral traditions and is represented by petroglyphs, sacred sites, and significant features in a landscape. Rather than thinking in terms of abandonment, people identify their migration routes with references to the places where their ancestors once lived. The people of San Ildefonso Pueblo speak of having lived at Tsankawi, which is a part of Bandelier National Monument, and prior to that, at villages in what is now

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Mesa Verde National Park. Some of the Hopi clans identify places of origin in Wupatki and Walnut Canyon national monuments in Arizona. Still other peoples hold sacred the stories of their migrations and reveal them only to those who are properly initiated within their societies.

Contemporary communities have a clear sense of continuity between past and present, between the heritage protected by the NPS and their sense of identity and their place in time as told through the rich histories under their ownership. This perspective offers the story of a place with an unbroken chain of history from the distant past to the present.

At times, the sense of continuity is misconstrued by the language that is used to describe different heritages. As an example, much of the Indian heritage has been designated as "ancient," in part because, as Adolph Bandelier wrote, Indian technologies might, for western civilization, represent great antiquity. However, in another perspective, the use of stone tools can be part of an ongoing lifeway, or may be important for ceremonial reasons that are traditional. To the heirs of these practices, their reflections of history are not ancient at all, but rather are an integral part of their living traditions.

Archeological sites that are sometimes only a few hundred years old have been described as ancient, although events of the same age in Anglo history are not characterized in the same way. Reference to recent heritage that is very much a part of living peoples' histories as "ancient" is misleading. For this and other reasons, the Hopi Tribe has taken action to dissociate itself from the term "Anasazi," which means 'ancient ones' or perhaps 'ancient enemies.' They prefer a Hopi word, "Hitsatsinom," meaning 'people of long ago,' as a way of referring to their own ancestral cultures.

Multiple perspectives are well illustrated in the way that different cultures treat petroglyphs. Both in the United States and internationally, the term "rock art" conveys a meaning that focuses on the aesthetic and stylistic qualities of images inscribed on rock panels. For persons outside the originating cultures, meanings can be understood through speculation only to the extent that figures of particular animals such as lizards, horses, or snakes may be recognized or, at a higher level, that petroglyphs are symbols that relate to the culture as a whole and that may carry sacred meanings. Beyond that, cultural meanings can be ascertained only from the people whose heritage is expressed by the petroglyphs. In order to include a native perspective, it is necessary to conduct ethnographic research both for the collection of data and for consultation with collaborating communities regarding the appropriate use of that information.

Ethnographic research for Petroglyph National Monument in Albuquerque illustrates the second objective of the regional ethnography program. Information from ethnographic studies facilitates consultation with traditional communities for interpretation in the parks as well as for planning, management, and curation. Through their recent work for the NPS, Dr. Richard Stoffle and Dr. Michael Evans, for example, obtained information about Indian peoples' views relative to the treatment and interpretation of petroglyphs at Petroglyph National Monument.

The researchers found that traditionally-associated communities do not view petroglyphs as art objects, but as symbols that convey special meanings, many of which are sacred and understood only in the context of a larger panel or in an entire cultural landscape. Among the Eastern Pueblos, meanings of petroglyphs are not divulged because their sacredness is important for maintaining ongoing traditional religious practices.

When weighed from different cultural perspectives, the interpretation of petroglyphs takes on very different meanings. The stylistic and artistic interpretation of petroglyphs as "rock art" is a Western cultural perspective while sacred meanings, directional symbols, or stories of clan presence and migrations reflect cultural meanings within the ownership communities. Multiple perspectives in this instance illustrate the diversity of views between the outsider's treatment of petroglpyhs as "rock art" and the ownership communities' views on their own cultural resources.

Efforts are being made to involve ethnic groups on planning teams in order to bring the multiple voices of park-associated communities to developing planning strategies. At Bandelier National Monument, San Ildefonso Pueblo was represented at the beginning of team meetings to formulate a development concept plan. The professional planners all agreed afterward that the early involvement and participation by a person from an ethnically associated group provided a different slant to the planning discussions. The added perspective was perceived as positive assistance in shaping plans that can better withstand public scrutiny later in the process.

Research with contemporary communities is also designed to provide information about culturally appropriate curation as it affects management operations. Currently, traditionally- associated communities, may be consulted about the suitability of displaying particular articles of material culture in exhibits. Even though curation at Petroglyph National Monument presents some atypical issues because many of the resources are inscribed on boulders, ethnographic research revealed important concerns for the culturally appropriate treatment of petroglyphs. Puebloans are clear in their belief that native design elements, in this case the petroglyph images, should never be exploited for personal gain and that photographs and replications of the symbols should be made only when necessary for research documentation and preservation. Because preferences such as this diverge from NPS needs for interpretation and public education, discussions between Indian communities and the NPS are needed to chart the most agreeable course for all interests.

The challenges to respond to the preferences of traditionally- associated peoples with regard to interpretation, planning, management, and curation are substantial. They require a new look at many NPS operations in terms of how they may be affected by new information from applied ethnographic research and the kinds of responses that are both appropriate and possible. The Applied Ethnology Program will be worthwhile if it makes parks more responsive stewards of the cultural legacies they preserve and more aware that the resources are preserved not only for public enjoyment, but as the continuing heritage of contemporary communities vital to the backbone of our multicultural Nation.

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Heritage Education:
Emphasizing African-American and Spanish History in South Carolina

Roberta VH. Copp

South Carolina is a state with a long heritage of cultural diversity, but this rich history is only now being explored in depth. Resources for incorporating this wealth of materials into the classroom curriculum provide new insights into the state's heritage and, in many cases, motivate students to find out more about the roots of their local community. "I didn't know that!" reflects student reaction to the news that a Spanish community in South Carolina served as the capital of La Florida, a province of the vast Spanish Empire in the New World, for 20 years. Learning that not all African Americans were slaves produces similar results, as does the fact that South Carolina's "free persons of colour" played an important role in the ante-bellum period.

To give teachers immediately useable materials dealing with the Spanish occupation of South Carolina as well as promoting the Columbian Quincentennial, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History developed an educational document packet titled "The Spanish in South Carolina: Unsettled Frontier." This packet gives the background for Spanish exploration and settlement in the New World, including DeSoto's 1541 exploration of the state.

The educational packet also traces in detail the events that led to the establishment of Santa Elena, the Spanish settlement on present day Parris Island, near Beaufort. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, one of Phillip II's top naval officers, selected this site for its ideal defensive position to guard the treasure fleets from privateer and pirate attacks as the heavily-laden galleons from South America and Mexico turned east to cross the Atlantic. It also deterred French Huguenots from settling in this area that was claimed by Spain. Although the colony never flourished as Menéndez hoped, it existed from 1567 until 1587, when the Spanish consolidated their forces in St. Augustine to guard the periphery of the empire centered in the Caribbean.

When the English arrived on the Carolina coast in 1671, they were greeted by Indians speaking Spanish. The young Charles Town settlement immediately became rivals with the Spanish for Indian alliances, trade, runaway slaves, and land. This rivalry became especially keen over present-day Georgia, earning for that territory the title, "Debatable Land."

The documentary contents of the packet deal with these disputes, demonstrating verbally both Spanish and English viewpoints as well as how modern historians have described the same incidents. Included in the packet is the iconography and accounts of a fort the English built on Spanish territory, giving students visual and fiscal documents for analysis. As a bonus to the printed packet, each spring students have the opportunity to visit the site of Santa Elena while the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology conducts a dig of the site. In addition to helping students understand the rich heritage South Carolina received from Spain, the documentation of the relationships between the Spanish, the Indians, and the runaway slaves who were granted their freedom in St. Augustine, helps place the black legend into a broader perspective, uncovers misconceptions and diplomatic intrigues, and demonstrates the difficulties faced by the early colonists.

Three other student packets evolved from the South Carolina Education Improvement Act of 1984 that mandates the incorporation of AfricanAmerican history into the statewide curriculum and concentration on lesser-known aspects of the African-American heritage of the state. "The free persons of colour"—individuals who made up what historian U.B. Phillips designated as the third class in a two-class society—contributed unique and interesting aspects to antebellum history seldom mentioned in textbooks. These free blacks were some of the state's most prominent artisans and businessmen who formed their own charitable and social groups. Many of these men and women, often well educated, left a fascinating legacy and provided leadership in the city and state following the Civil War.

In "Jehu Jones: Free Black Entrepreneur," subject of the first packet, supporting documents relate the life of one of these men, a Charleston hotel keeper. Briefly mentioned in South Carolina history textbooks, Jones purchased his freedom in 1798, invested successfully in real estate, and according to contemporary diaries, ran Charleston's finest inn. The documents reflect events of wide import,

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The document packet, "Jones: Time of Crisis, Time of Change," describes Charleston as it looked when Ann Deas was operating Jones Hotel. Ballou's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion, ca. 1845. Picture file. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC.

The document packet, "South Carolina's African Americans in the Civil War," includes a rare photograph taken by a Charlestonian showing Confederates, African Americans, and whites, working on the fortifications around Charleston. Library of Congress.

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such as the dollar becoming the national means of exchange and the Denmark Vesey revolt, which occurred during his lifetime. Court cases containing his account books in British pounds provide math lessons, while his petition to the General Assembly for permission to return to South Carolina after he visited his family in the north demonstrate the changes in the laws following the slave revolt. Students find even more intriguing the inventory of his estate, which lists in detail the contents of a 19th-century hotel. Following the publication of this packet, South Carolina Educational Television filmed a segment on Jehu Jones for their eight-grade instructional history series, "The Palmetto Special."

"Jones: Time of Crisis, Time of Change" continues the saga of the free blacks by centering on Jones's children. Jehu Jones, Jr. left Charleston for the north as a member of the American Colonization Society, intending to emigrate to Liberia. The first ordained African-American Lutheran minister in the United States, Jones, Jr. founded African-American churches in Philadelphia and New York and wrote home interesting letters about his life in the north. He never did go to Africa but eloquently petitioned the South Carolina General Assembly to be allowed to return to the state.

His stepsister, Ann Deas, on the other hand, broke the South Carolina law which forbade free blacks reentry into the state when she came back to Charleston to claim her inheritance, Jones Hotel. Her pardon from the governor, granted at the request of the ladies of Charleston, is one of the packet's documents. This document packet also describes the mounting tensions between the states, the effects of the abolition movement within the state, and events that eventually led to secession and war. The first-hand accounts of the difficulties free blacks faced as North and South drew apart, as well as the descriptions of situations encountered by Jones's children, shows students how people's actions and reactions affect the course of historic events.

The Civil War provided another topic for a curriculum packet highlighting South Carolina's African Americans. Some, mainly former slaves, chose to serve in the Union Army, forming three regiments which were later designated the 33rd and 34th United States Colored Troops. Others, both slaves and free blacks, served the Confederacy as musicians, teamsters, laborers, and servants. Students are introduced to both sides through the stories of the participants told with supporting documents and unique illustrations of the conflict on the homefront. A page from an 1864 local newspaper gives first-hand accounts of everyday life in South Carolina; other documents record the actions of the men and women, the problems that they faced, and the rewards that they received when peace returned. Students recognize the important role played daily by South Carolinians and gain an appreciation of movies like "Glory" and documentaries like the "The Civil War."

Other packets address the state's unique heritage in other ways. For instance, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in South Carolina 1933-1942," "Heritage Education," and "Classroom as Community: An Oral History Resource Publication," stress 20th-century history, architectural history, and local history in South Carolina. Each emphasizes the use of documents and photographs, and encourages interactive learning between the students and their communities.

The curriculum packets take students beyond the hard, cold facts found in textbooks and recall the actions of yesterday's heroes—all the ordinary people who helped shape the world that we know today. The documents and illustrations open new vistas for thought and discussion—vistas that improve the students' abilities to analyze and comprehend their diverse heritage. The challenging lessons give teachers a chance to develop students' skills while they begin to understand the diverse heritage from which they are descended. These are not "musty, dusty" records or dull textbooks, but documents that come alive as students decipher handwriting from times past and learn first hand about historical events that have altered their community, its economic and political life, and the cultural heritage of the state.

The National Commission for the Social Studies in the Schools encourages teachers to prepare their students for effective citizenship by offering lessons that reflect the realities of the world **and** give a balanced view of the cultural landscape of our country. To do this, schools should provide educational materials that define our cultural diversity by teaching about people from all social classes, all ethnic backgrounds, and both genders. The South Carolina Department of Archives and History's curriculum materials help the state's schools do just this.

Roberta VH. Copp is the educational outreach coordinator for the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

Cultural Diversity in Georgia: *For* the People or *By* the People?

Karen Easter

Interest in cultural diversity has mushroomed throughout the Nation during the past decade. The trend is evident in all aspects of society, from culturally-diverse interpretive programs at historic sites to ethnocentric fashions, movies about racial issues, and efforts to make schools' social studies curricula more inclusive.

The need to address ethnicity and cultural "roots" has come about, in part, because of population forecasts that predict a significant shift in America's demographic makeup. Also, faced with the growing problems of poverty, inadequate housing, drug abuse, poor education, and unemployment, some minority groups have begun to look for new solutions through enhanced self-esteem and cultural pride.

These trends, combined with the increasing loss of significant historic resources and neighborhoods associated with various cultural groups, have prompted historic preservationists to give more attention to cultural diversity within the preservation movement.

The Martin Luther King, Jr., Birth Home in Atlanta, GA, the centerpiece of an African-American historic district, is itself a National Historic Landmark. National Park Service photo.

In Georgia, the efforts of the State Historic Preservation Office to create a more culturally-diverse preservation program and network began in the late 1970s, with cosponsorship of a national conference on African American historic resources; and National Register of Historic Places, preservation tax incentives, and design assistance to significant resources such as the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site in Atlanta and the Victorian District in Savannah. In 1984, the office published *Historic Black Resources of Georgia*. Then, in the late 1980s, the office initiated a new statewide historic preservation planning process, culminating in a five-year comprehensive plan published in 1989. The planning process included the identification of 12 "distinctive aspects" of Georgia prehistory and history that give unique shape to our communities, including three related to African-American heritage:

1. A relatively large black population and a correspondingly strong African-American cultural presence;
2. Conflict and accommodation in race relations between blacks and whites, marked in particular by slavery, segregation and the civil rights movement; and
3. The civil rights movement, for which Georgia served as a major theater.

This process helped the staff focus on the breadth of the African-American experience in Georgia and the resulting historic resources that attest to that experience.

The office staff has also long been concerned about the effects that Federal projects have on African-American historic resources that are significant, but for which there are often no local advocates. Few of Georgia's local elected officials, community development specialists, local preservationists, or black residents had a full understanding of the historical or architectural significance of shotgun houses, black churches, schools, or commercial buildings, with the exception perhaps of those with national significance. Furthermore, when we looked around at statewide historic preservation conferences and meetings, there were no or few African Americans present.

All of these forces convinced the office staff that direct, proactive efforts were needed in Georgia to involve African Americans in the preservation network and to raise the public's awareness of the existence and significance of Georgia's historic black resources.

State Historic Preservation Officer Elizabeth Lyon and her staff held a meeting in the fall of 1990 to gauge the level of interest in African-American preservation issues in Georgia. Fifty people attended that one-day meeting, and many more expressed interest in future involvement. Members of the Alabama Black Heritage Council came and spoke about their organization and efforts. They pointed out how important it has been to have an organization to serve as a bridge between the state and local people, many of whom were uncertain how a state agency would receive them. The Alabama council's story, along with moving appeals from the audience to preserve Georgia's African-American heritage, were a call to action. As a result, the Georgia National Register

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***For* the People or *By* the People?**
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Review Board appointed the Minority Historic Preservation Committee to address the preservation needs of the black community in Georgia. Fourteen members were appointed from around the state. Each member represented a community active in preserving African-American heritage at the local level.

The Minority Historic Preservation Committee held its first meeting in January 1990. Early meetings of the committee involved discussions of the purpose of the committee, organizational structure, and training on office programs. The committee set four long-range goals which guide its activities:

1. Foster participation of minority groups and individuals in the statewide historic preservation movement.
2. Increase public awareness of Georgia's black history both statewide and in local communities, and promote the preservation of properties associated with this history.
3. Increase interaction at the local and statewide levels among organizations, institutions, and individuals interested in and working with minority preservation and local governments and local preservation organizations.
4. Assure the inclusion of black resources in the state's coordinated planning at all levels. Especially work to assure that these resources are taken into account in all phases of local planning.

The committee quickly moved from talk to action. Its first project was to produce, with the assistance of the office staff and the generous support of the Georgia Power Company, a series of four posters depicting black churches, houses, community landmarks, and schools listed on the National Register. The posters were unveiled to the Governor in a ceremony at the State Capitol during Black History Month 1991. Thousands of copies have been distributed.

The next project, also with assistance from Georgia Power Company, was a statewide tourism brochure highlighting the 56 National Register properties in Georgia associated with black history. Again, this was presented to the Governor in a special ceremony in February of this year. Copies are now available at the state welcome centers, from museums, and from convention and visitors bureaus around the state. The publications have been used extensively in the schools to teach heritage education and African-American history.

At the same time that this working committee was carrying out specific projects, word of the committee was spreading throughout the state. Because the interest in being involved was so great, the office staff formed another group called the Minority Preservation Network. The Network is primarily a list of all people who are interested in African-American preservation issues. They receive the office's monthly newsletter, special mailings, and an invitation to attend the Network's annual one-day meeting.

Over 200 people now belong to the Network. It is an effective way to expand the committee's efforts by raising public awareness, identifying future committee members, and identifying black heritage preservation projects that may need assistance from the office staff or committee members. The Network includes state and local elected officials, corporate executives, staff from the Governor's office, preservation professionals, NAACP leaders, judges, community activists, teachers, and citizens who want to see their heritage preserved.

During its second year, the committee felt the need to better organize in order to meet the increasing demand for help and information on African-American preservation projects. Each member now represents a multi-county region of the state and is responsible for keeping in touch with the Network members and ongoing projects in their region. Regional meetings will be held in the fall of 1992 to recruit more Network members and foster communication within each region.

One other vital part of the committee is an internship provided to a black college student each year. One college senior and two graduate students have served as Minority Historic Preservation Committee interns. By working for the office and assisting with projects statewide, the interns have become strong advocates for the preservation of their cultural heritage and are now committed to continuing as preservationists, either as professionals or volunteers.

The rapid growth of the Network and the success of the committee have proven the need for such concerted attention to cultural diversity in Georgia's preservation movement. The committee now divides its time between public awareness activities, expanding the membership of the Network, heritage education, and assisting local black heritage projects around the state.

Benefits so far include more National Register nominations of African-American historic resources; an ever-expanding heritage education effort; better understanding of the significance of black resources involved in Section 106 cases and other community development projects; the beginnings of a more integrated preservation network throughout the state; exciting preservation projects such as the rehabilitation of the house of famous blues singer Gertrude "Ma" Rainey in Columbus, a black theater in Athens, and an 1803 church in Augusta; and the growing tendency of people from the black community to call a committee member or the office staff for assistance with projects. The greatest benefit, however, is the growing cultural pride within the African-American population of Georgia because of their awareness of the accomplishments of their ancestors, and their commitment to preserve the physical resources that attest to those achievements, for generations to come.

Georgia's experience proves that it is not enough for preservation organizations to talk about cultural diversity. What is required is to give people of various backgrounds the opportunity to provide leadership in preserving and thereby embracing their own cultural heritage.

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