CRM

CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

VOLUME 24 NO. 5 2001

People and Places

The Ethnographic Connection

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
National Park Service
Cultural Resources

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Information for parks, federal agencies, Indian tribes, states, local governments, and the private sector that promotes and maintains high standards for preserving and managing cultural resources

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
CULTURAL RESOURCE STEWARDSHIP AND PARTNERSHIPS
Katherine H. Stevenson

EDITOR
Ronald M. Greenberg

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
Janice C. McCoy

GUEST EDITOR
Muriel (Miki) Crespi

ADVISORS
David Andrews
Editor, NPS
Joan Bacharach
Curator, NPS
Randall J. Biallas
Historical Architect, NPS
John A. Burns
Architect, NPS
Harry A. Butowsky
Historian, NPS
Pratt Cassity
Executive Director,
National Alliance of Preservation Commissions
Muriel Crespi
Cultural Anthropologist, NPS
Mary Cullen
Director, Historical Services Branch
Parks Canada
Roger E. Kelly
Archeologist, NPS
Antoinette J. Lee
Historian, NPS

ASSISTANT
Denise M. Mayo

An electronic version of this issue of *CRM* can be accessed through the *CRM* homepage at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/crm>.

Design and Imaging
McCoy Publishing Services
jan@mccoypublish.com

Contents

VOLUME 24 NO. 5 2001
ISSN 1068-4999

People and Places
The Ethnographic Connection

Heritage Under the Ethnographic Lens 3
Katherine H. Stevenson

Raising Muted Voices and Identifying Invisible Resources 4
Muriel (Miki) Crespi

Oral History and Technology Workshop 6

Ethnographic Resources Inventory and the National Park Service 7
Mark Schoepfle

Public History and Globalization—Ethnography at the USS Arizona Memorial 9
Geoffrey White

Displaying Discrediting History in Public Sites 13
Gretchen Schafft

American Indian Links to Manzanar . .16
Larry Van Horn

Close to Eden in Idaho—The Minidoka Internment National Monument 19
Neil H. King and Frederick F. York

Latinos—¡Viva La Diferencia! 22
Miguel Vasquez

Fazendeville—Highlighting Invisible Pasts and Dignifying Present Identities 24
Allison H. Peña

African-American Churches as Ethnographic Resources 27
Audrey L. Brown

Methods used in Ethnographic Inquiry in Alaska 30
Donald G. Callaway

The Subsistence-Flavored Ethnography of the Alaska Region 33
Rachel Mason and Janet Cohen

Ethnography and Historic Preservation —Palauan Challenges . . .36
Lorne Todd Holyoak

Tourism and Native Cultures 38
Ana Dittmar

Changing Views, Cultural Survival — Knowledge and Power in the Marshall Islands 39
Donna K. Stone

Canyon de Chelly National Monument — Ethnographic Resources 41
Klara Kelley and Harris Francis

Tribes Write Book About the Indigenous Peoples of the Olympic Peninsula 44
Jacilee Wray

New Tribe/Park Partnerships—The Use of Ethnobotany in the Restoration of Indigenous Landscapes 45
David E. Ruppert

Southeast Region's Prized Students . . .49
J. Anthony Paredes

The Ethnography of Urban Benches . .50
Molly G. Schuchat

Ethnographic Landscapes 53
Michael J. Evans, Alexa Roberts, and Peggy Nelson

Cover: Returning to visit her birthplace after many years, Mrs. Bertha J. Simmons reminisces among the workers' quarters at Magnolia Plantation, Cane River Creole National Historical Park, Louisiana. Photo by Muriel (Miki) Crespi.

Statements of fact and views are the responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect an opinion or endorsement on the part of the editors, the *CRM* advisors and consultants, or the National Park Service. Send articles and correspondence to the Editor, *CRM*, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1849 C Street, NW, Suite 350NC, Washington, DC 20240 (U.S. Postal Service) or 800 North Capitol St, NW, Suite 350, Washington, DC 20002 (Federal Express); ph. 202-343-3411, fax 202-343-5260; email: <crmmag@nps.gov>, to subscribe and to make inquiries; <rongnps@starpower.net> to submit articles.

Katherine H. Stevenson

Heritage Under the Ethnographic Lens

Our national record of accomplishments is impressive in highlighting our tangible cultural heritage—historic and prehistoric sites, structures, objects and landscapes. Thanks to concerned stakeholders and legislation, including the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, federal agencies along with states, local communities, and, increasingly, American Indian tribes, have been formally recognizing the culturally meaningful places that configure their landscapes. The complex process of identifying, documenting, and protecting heritage resources requires varied specialists; and cultural anthropologists, or ethnographers, are increasingly among them, joining their colleagues in archeology, architecture, history, landscape architecture, and community and tribal members as well.

Cultural anthropologists are relative newcomers to "historic preservation," but not to "culture," "resources," and "community," which are among anthropology's defining concepts. Uniquely qualified by education, experience, and interest, anthropologists focus a fine lens on diverse peoples and concerns. As this issue of *CRM* demonstrates, anthropologists working collaboratively with local peoples identify culturally meaningful places from the traditional users' perspectives. Places vary from once-viable but now nearly "invisible" communities and landscapes such as the African-American Fazendeville, to ceremonially important natural features at Canyon de Chelly, or culturally defined resources with traditional subsistence use in the subarctic or arctic. Even minor structures become replete with meaning once ethnography reveals their traditional value. The intimate links between cultural and natural heritages are made evident in the analysis of heirloom plants and the indigenous ethnobotanical knowledge that lends support to their propagation. Without appropriate documentation, a panoply of cultural knowledge that undergirds communities, like that of Micronesian craftspeople, is at risk. It is heartening to learn of community-based preservation efforts, for example, by Olympic Peninsula tribes and Palauan elders and traditional historians who are documenting their own heritage. Further benefits of ethnographic scrutiny are insights into the effects of tourism on indigenous cultures, and the multiple meanings assigned to World War II memorials by visitors of different ages, nationalities, and ethnicities. Ethnography also helps us avoid being simplistic about cultural diversity by showing that people who share a common language are not culturally interchangeable. Multiplicity also becomes apparent in landscapes that ethnographically resonate with the complex values imposed by culturally different peoples.

Preservation groups and institutions, including the National Park Service, have already taken important steps in protecting vernacular rural and urban resources and actively involving people of color in heritage programs. More is needed. Greater inclusiveness would draw attention to the fuller spectrum of heritage resources that includes natural features as well as the constructed, and places of work as well as birthplaces of the famous. Inclusiveness would illuminate the sometimes hidden contributions to nation-building made by a great array of peoples. The ethnographic task in preservation is to reveal the cultural context of tangible heritage and the evidence of culture's many intangible forms. This is likely to have a positive feedback, especially if we recall that the skills, products, and exchanges of culturally different people are themselves the raw material of a future heritage. We know that biological diversity and a healthy biosphere depend on interacting healthy and genetically different living materials. The same principle works with cultural heritage; diversity promotes more diversity. The survival of a richly textured national heritage requires the constant production and celebration of cultural differences because they create the complex fabric of ideas, skills, and traditions that help fashion future cultures as well as contribute to our common nationhood.

Katherine H. Stevenson is the Associate Director, Cultural Resources Stewardship and Partnerships, National Park Service, Washington, DC.

Muriel (Miki) Crespi

Raising Muted Voices and Identifying Invisible Resources

Heritage resource programs are being challenged worldwide to acknowledge the rich contributions of diverse peoples and cultures. At home, the National Park Service (NPS) is addressing inclusiveness in several ways. Two decades ago, the NPS established the applied ethnography program. Since then, the concepts, data, and strategies of cultural anthropology, or ethnography, as the NPS calls it, have helped the agency hear and see what had been typically unheard and unseen. By giving voices to communities and indigenous peoples, and visibility to the resources they value, the discipline has enriched our understanding of heritage by illuminating the places and concerns that have been unknown, but knowable.

What is Ethnography?

Ethnography actually has several meanings. It is part of cultural anthropology, a social science addressing people in social contexts including communities or tribes, the ways they structure their lives and use their resources, and their responses as often-unwitting players in processes such as tourism, development, nationalization, and globalization. Applied ethnography studies add problem-solving suggestions such as consultation strategies, policy formulation, interpreting potentially discrediting and divisive pasts, and bringing traditional knowledge and stakeholders into heritage programs.

Perhaps more often, ethnography is considered a bundle of methods and concepts.[1] Quantitative methods are important, but "ethnography" implies qualitative methods, including interviewing, observation and community participation.[2] One uniquely defining feature is the researchers' continuing engagement with community members. This facilitates the collection of otherwise unavailable data, a result that Fiske[3] calls ethnography's "ground-truthing" effect. For example, ethnically-mixed public meetings often discourage frank discussions, but participants will raise sensitive issues in small homogeneous groups or person-to-person meetings. Separately interviewing African Americans and Creoles of color, for example, about interethnic relations and resource uses at the plantation park, Cane River Creole National Historical Park, Louisiana, encouraged openness about themselves and each other.[4]

"Ethnographies" are also research products, and the NPS has numerous analyses of American Indian, African American, and other peoples and heritage resources. These works have multiple beneficiaries, including park planners, managers and interpreters. Communities themselves gain by making their preferences known about information to share or withhold from the public. At Cane River Creole, for example, both African Americans and French Creoles resist seeing slavery become an exclusive interpretive theme.

Ethnographic data also supports compliance with local and congressional mandates, including the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act, National Environmental Policy Act, National Historic Preservation Act, and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. Indeed, an essential driver for, and outcome of, ethnographic work is culturally informed compliance and decision-making that meets not only the letter of the law, but the spirit too.

The "Big House" at Oakland Plantation, Cane River Creole National Historical Park. Occupied until recently by French Creole descendants of the 18th-century owners, and served by African-Americans and Creoles of color.

In the background, site of the now-leveled but legendary AME Church near Cane River Creole National Historical Park. It still serves local residents as a place marker; an ethnographic resource, in NPS parlance.

Sites, structures, objects, and landscapes can be called "ethnographic" if people consider them traditionally and uniquely associated with their heritage. Some ethnographic resources are eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, others are not. "Ethnographic resources" were conceived because certain park resources lacked the integrity or other criteria needed for Register listing, but deserved attention because they were vital to tribal or community cultures.[5] Presently, the NPS is computerizing an inventory of these resources.

Even no longer extant physical structures or town landscapes can remain pivotal to the identity of entire communities, whether Japanese-American former internees, relocated American Indians and African Americans, or American Indians linked to the lands of internment camps. Universally, invisible or barely recognizable vestiges of human communities on sunken U.S. warships or at Nazi concentration camps and elsewhere, can elicit powerful responses.

Formerly standing churches, for example, pepper Louisiana's Cane River National Heritage Area. Although outsiders might see only "rubble heaps," or no surface clues at all, these seemingly invisible structures still configure the local geography perceived by traditional residents. Outsiders seeking directions to some rural locale might be told to drive toward "the church," meaning the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME). It was demolished three decades ago, but remains a place marker, an intrinsic part of the conceptual map and storied landscape. Similarly, riverside baptismal sites without physical markings are known to local residents as places of spiritual cleansing and community renewal, but, despite their heritage importance, remain invisible to cultural outsiders.

Stakeholders, Including Traditionally-Associated Peoples

Many people have stakes in the outcomes of decisions about heritage resources. Stakeholders include site neighbors, and community gardeners in certain national parks. Others are government agencies, history re-enactors, or bikers on annual pilgrimages to the Vietnam Memorial. Some represent preservation or tourism interests, or belong to churches listed on the National Register. Many are indigenous peoples, or others whose former homelands or subsistence resources now are protected areas. Together, the stakeholder category includes various peoples with at least one common element, interest in resource-related decisions.

One major kind of stakeholder is "traditionally-associated peoples." Unlike casual visitors, they have long-term interests in particular resources, reflecting actual, historic, and legendary ties. For at least two generations, and even before a heritage site might have been established, they perceived the resources as crucial to their cultural genesis and identity.[6] They are indigenous people who once used, or might still use, the subsistence and ceremonial areas incorporated into parks. Others are descendants of enslaved people who once served in elegant plantation "big houses," or are French Creole descendants who have owned and maintained the mansions. They know the meanings of resources.

Consulting traditionally-associated peoples is essential, especially when individuals or institutions plan to protect resources expressing other peoples' heritages. Contacting peoples might entail interviewing neighbors, or senior citizens and church members, involving tribal officials in government-to-government discussions, and reviewing research and maps, including Indian Land Area maps.

Brick cabin(s) at Magnolia Plantation, Cane River Creole National Historical Park, constructed in the 1800s to house enslaved black people and later occupied by free African-American workers until the 1960s.

The more inclusive the search, the likelier the success in identifying associated peoples and other stakeholders. Establishing productive working relationships with them is imperative, I would argue, if we expect to enhance our knowledge of diverse heritages, incorporate traditional knowledge into management, and raise the visibility of the resources, people, and processes that have contributed to nation-building. Hopefully, this *CRM* issue will illustrate the contribution Ethnography makes to the American people.

Notes

1 R.F. Ellen, ed. *Ethnographic Research: A Guide to General Conduct* (London, Orlando, San Diego: Academic Press, 1984).

2 Jean J. Schensul and Margaret D. LeCompte, eds. *Ethnographer's Toolkit* (Walnut Creek, London, New Delhi: Altamira Press 1999).

3 Shirley J. Fiske. "The Value of Ground Truth: Sustaining America's Fishing Communities," *Common Ground* (Winter 1998/Spring 1999) 29.

4 Muriel (Miki)Crespi, "Draft Brief Ethnography of Magnolia Plantation: Planning for Cane River Creole National Historical Park ," January 1999.

5 cf. Muriel Crespi, "Inventorying Ethnographic Resources Servicewide," *CRM Bulletin* 10:4 (1987) 3-5.

6 See National Park Service *Management Policies 2001*, Chapter 5:48 for complete definition of "traditionally-associated" entities.

Muriel (Miki) Crespi, Ph.D., Anthropology, is the National Coordinator for the NPS Applied Ethnography Program, National Park Service, Washington, DC. She is guest editor of this issue of CRM *and can be reached at <miki_crespi@nps.gov>.*

Photos by the author.

The title of this article comes from the symposium I organized in December 2000 for the National Park Service Conference in Santa Fe, Cultural Resources 2000: Managing for The Future. The full title of the symposium was Seeking a More Inclusive System: Raising Muted Voices and Identifying Invisible Resources. The problem of formal preservation programs that, however inadvertently, made certain people and resources invisible players has concerned me for decades.

Oral History and Technology Workshop

Oral history is a mainstay of ethnographic research. A strategy for understanding the dynamics of communities, events, and resource uses, it helps satisfy compliance, planning, and interpretive needs. History and other programs find it essential, too. Inexpensive and widely available electronic recording technology is increasingly encouraging federal, community, state, and tribal program managers to collect, store, and make public vast amounts of cultural data. Yet, they have had no formal ethnographic, administrative history, or archival experience, or training in confidentiality and copyright issues.

Effective oral history work requires certain basic training. This includes knowing when and how to conduct culturally-appropriate ethnographic and administrative history interviews in different situations and with different peoples. In an era of advanced electronic recording, it is important to know current techniques to capture, transcribe, index, store, and preserve new types of media, and salvage old recordings for use with current digital technology. Knowing the best practices for alerting scholars to available oral and video histories and sound recordings; for identifying and transferring materials to repositories; and for managing outdated formats and deteriorating media is essential. Finally, given the often culturally-sensitive information in oral histories, and its potentially wide public distribution through electronic media, it is imperative to address legal protections for sensitive data, and issues of confidentiality, informed consent, intellectual property rights, copyright, and privacy.

These pressing needs have led the National Park Service and Canyonlands Natural History Association to sponsor a three-day oral history workshop, September 18-20, 2001, in Moab, Utah, for community organizations, tribes, and local, state, and federal agencies with cultural and natural resource responsibilities.

For more information, a workshop schedule, list of speakers, or to register for the course, contact Eric Brunnemann at Canyonlands National Park, 435-719-2134, <eric_brunnemann@nps.gov>. Tuition for the course is funded by NPS and Canyonlands Natural History Association. Park Service participants will use the benefiting account to pay their travel and per diem.

Mark Schoepfle

Ethnographic Resources Inventory and the National Park Service

National Park Service ethnographic resources are landscapes, sites, structures, objects, and natural resources important to peoples or park neighbors who have had a long-term, or traditional, association with them. To the public, these resources may symbolize the shared history of our nation. To park neighbors and peoples traditionally associated with them, these resources link people closely to their shared subsistence, religion, identity, or sense of purpose.

The Ethnography program within the National Park Service (NPS) developed the concept of the ethnographic resource to integrate the perspective of traditionally-associated peoples into NPS resource management. The concept means that these resources are a window into the cultural knowledge, beliefs, lives, and history of traditionally-associated peoples.

The most recent addition to the NPS ethnographer's tool kit is the Ethnographic Resources Inventory, or ERI. The ERI stores ethnographic resource information electronically for parks. As a data management system, it helps reflect in schematic form how the information about ethnographic resources is important to traditionally-associated peoples and to the NPS.

Ethnographic Resource Information

NPS ethnographers designed the ERI to contain two kinds of information about ethnographic resources. The first reflects the viewpoint of the traditionally-associated peoples, the second the needs of NPS scientists and planners.

The Associated Peoples' View

To reflect the knowledge of traditional peoples, ethnographers must integrate information for each resource. They must then relate it to information about other resources. Traditionally-associated peoples interweave the meanings of landscapes, places, objects, and natural resources.

Among the Navajos, for example, features of a landscape can place a family within the shared history of a whole people. A particular family may have a place, marked by a cairn or a butte, where certain ceremonies take place. During a ceremony the singer, or medicine man, will bless a family's sacred prayer bundle, or *dahnidiilyeh.* In addition to earth collected from the four major sacred mountains, this bundle may also contain *nit'liz,* or sacred prayer stones. The bundle also contains *chiin,* or talismans. These talismans stand for the livestock, the children, and other important elements that give meaning to the major events and achievements of the family.

The ceremony associated with the place will make many references to particular legends. The narratives of these legends contain lessons about how people should act toward the land and each other. Navajos associate these legends to places on the landscape because these places are exactly where these events occurred.

The ceremonies thus recapitulate these legends. They not only cure people of illnesses or made things happen, they reveal to individuals the paths through which they should lead their lives. Thus, the land literally becomes a cognitive map.

To the Navajo and other Indian people, the landscapes, places, objects, and natural resources are not simply sentimental reminders about life. They are integral to life, and to transmitting cultural knowledge. Without the protection of ethnographic resources, it becomes difficult for people to recall and teach the cultural knowledge with which these resources are associated.

Family members would sometimes show these sites, bundles, and talismans to outsiders enthusiastically. At other times, they are very reticent, talking only in general ways about their importance. They are worried not only about visitors damaging a site, but about witchcraft and other mischief. Thus, confidentiality remains an important issue.

It is difficult enough for conventional ethnographic studies to describe this complex cultural interrelationship. It is impossible with a database. A database must be able, however, to point out the interconnectedness, and direct the user to the literature and consultation opportunities that make better understanding possible.

The ERI lists the name of a resource as it is commonly known. It also lists the different names by which a people may know that resource. The ERI collects and provides a directory for all the peoples and neighbors associated with that resource.

For each associated group, the ERI provides a quick reference to legendary or sacred associations with that resource. There are quick references for a resource's use. An ethnographic resource may have many uses, even for a single group of people. The ERI details how a resource's uses may have changed through time. For example, a resource originally used for food or food production may presently be used for educating young people about their past, or for recreation.

The ERI records the associated peoples' view of an ethnographic resource's condition, and preferences for how to maintain it. Not only may the resource's condition change through time. The views of a resource's condition may change as well. Peoples' preferences for maintenance may differ sharply from plans the Park Service may have for maintaining or upgrading it.

The ERI records the consultations between a park and each traditionally-associated group. An NPS official thus can quickly review the institutional memory of the relationship between the park and the people traditionally associated with a resource.

Finally, the ERI program requires the user to cite documentation showing that there is a traditional association with a resource. It is true that its association with the cultural knowledge of a traditionally-associated people defines the ethnographic resource. However, those using the ERI must be able to track how the ethnographers conclude that the group is traditionally associated, to make informed decisions. By meeting this need for tracking, the ERI also becomes a master bibliography for documentary sources, ranging from books and journal articles to field notes and tape recordings.

The NPS Resource Management View

As an ethnographic tool, the ERI will help mediate between the view of the traditionally-associated peoples and the needs for NPS planning. The ERI includes information that links a traditionally-associated peoples' cultural knowledge to the NPS planning process. The ERI thus includes information on the location of the resource, and other databases where information on this resource may be found. It includes information on the physical location of the resource, and records the condition of the resource from the standpoint of NPS management. ERI users can then compare the condition defined by the NPS to that of the traditionally-associated groups.

Conclusions

Ethnographic resources are a window into the cultural knowledge of traditionally-associated peoples and park neighbors. The concept helps NPS ethnographers mediate between the potentially conflicting values of traditionally-associated peoples and the Park Service resource management process. Through such mediation, ethnographers can involve traditional people better in the way NPS manages, plans, and operates parks.

First, it can help serve as the institutional memory for a park by tracking the changing conditions of ethnographic resources, the history of consultation with park associated groups, and the location of resources.

Second, the ERI can link ethnographic resources to other cultural and natural resource data records, and help NPS management and planners come up to speed quickly on this information.

At present, the ERI's first customers are the parks. However, NPS plans to integrate it with other databases through Park Service geographic information systems (GIS). This integration will enhance both NPS and traditional user understanding of ethnographic resources by revealing patterns of resource distribution. These patterns can then reveal interwoven components of landscapes, patterns of natural resource consumption, and other elements of a people's cognitive map not otherwise obvious either to NPS management or to the traditionally-associated group.

The ERI is not a substitute for consultation with traditionally-associated groups. Nevertheless, the ERI can be integrated with other NPS data systems to make more logical and reasonable NPS planning for the stewardship of our nation's living heritage.

References

Management Policies 2001, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, December 2000.

Cultural Resource Management Guideline, Release No. 5, Director's Order No. 28, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, June 11, 1998.

Mark Schoepfle, Ph.D., Anthropology, is the Coordinator, Ethnographic Resources Inventory, Archeology and Ethnography Program, National Park Service, Washington, DC. He can be reached at <mark_schoepfle@nps.gov>.

Geoffrey White

Public History and Globalization

Ethnography at the USS Arizona Memorial

Worldwide, historical sites important for local and national communities are increasingly visited by people crossing national and regional boundaries. The World Tourism Organization (WTO) forecasts that the tourism sector will surpass a total of one billion international travelers by the year 2010, reaching 1.6 billion by the year 2020 (WTO, May 11, 2000). Globalization, the watchword of the present, carries important implications for history as well as for the economic and trade issues so frequently noted in today's media. Just as increasing movements of people and images across national boundaries impact the world economic order, they also affect the ways we produce and interpret history.

This essay discusses the utility of ethnographic research for understanding historical interpretation in contexts that are at once local, national, and international. One such site is the USS Arizona Memorial in Honolulu, Hawai'i, owned by the U.S. Navy and administered by the National Park Service. It memorializes those who died in the bombing attack that initiated America's entry into World War II.[1] It is both a sacred site of national memory and a destination for international tourism visited annually by tens of thousands of foreign travelers. In such places travelers make sense of local histories in terms of their own routes of travel, their own stories and histories. How may we understand the "polyphony" of perspectives that converge in such complex spaces?

USS Arizona Memorial.

Since the 50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor in 1991, researchers based at the University of Hawai'i have been studying the production of historical meaning at the memorial, addressing how the stories of Pearl Harbor are told, interpreted, and understood there.[2] Significantly, these projects have open-ended and collaborative styles. It has long been a hallmark of ethnographic research that it is, at base, about the discovery of questions and themes that may not be well understood at the outset of the project (even if taken for granted by the "natives"—people who live, work, and transit in the settings under consideration). Such research requires close listening and the ability to "hang out." Given the high degree of sensitivity associated with war memorials and their themes of death, suffering, and heroism, the participatory style of ethnography affords an opportunity for reading the personal and human dimensions of such sites that cannot be represented easily with survey techniques.

Ethnographic research with tourist travelers is made difficult by the fact that they are on the move; they are not accessible in the same way that members of a residential community might be accessible. The mobility of travelers has made it even more important that researchers interested in tourist experience work closely with staff and volunteers who *do* spend time at these sites. Thus, the involvement of NPS personnel in all phases of research, from conception to publication, has been an important element of all the University of Hawai'i projects.

Sacred Sites/National Histories

What is at stake at Pearl Harbor? The USS Arizona Memorial condenses highly charged stories about events that changed America and the world—a bombing attack that killed over 2,000

military personnel and civilians, sunk or damaged an entire battleship fleet, and catapulted the United States into world war. Thus, telling the stories of Pearl Harbor also becomes a way of telling stories about what it means to be American, with all the attendant emotions and politics.

Given the diversity of Americans visiting Pearl Harbor, there are innumerable ways for people to engage with the place and its stories *as* Americans. Issues of diversity and multiculturalism have been a central feature of Pearl Harbor histories from the very beginning when the unifying effects of the bombing were first recognized and incorporated in documentary accounts of the event.[3]

Beyond the multiplicity of national stories, international travelers at the memorial are reminders that Pearl Harbor is also a Japanese story, an Asian story, and a story relevant to anyone for whom the advent of world war in 1941 is significant. By 1990, about one-third of the nearly 1.5 million visitors to the memorial were international travelers, mostly from Asia and, specifically, Japan. In the mid-1990s, the park produced a Japanese soundtrack for the film, available through rental of headphones. (Museum signs remain in English only.)

The complexity of the site, and the potential for identities and histories to collide there, is indicated by the numerous conflicts that have arisen at the site over the years—conflicts about the ways history is represented and about the ways people interact with those histories. Consider a few examples:

- As gauged by letters to Congress, the USS Arizona Memorial is the most controversial site in the national park system.
- During the 50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor in 1991, complaints expressed concern about the Japanese presence, including the Japanese books and videos for sale.
- Some visitors have protested references to Hiroshima in occasional talks at the memorial while others have lamented the *absence* of references to Hiroshima.[4]
- During the anniversary period, criticism of the documentary film shown at the USS Arizona Memorial reached a peak, with a letter writing campaign of veterans groups upset that the film rationalized Japan's "sneak" attack.[5]
- In 2000, a group of local Japanese Americans protested images in the documentary film that, in their view, implied local Japanese spying for the Japanese, despite the lack of evidence.
- Native Hawaiians, many of whom are active in movements to reclaim land and political status lost during colonial history, seek to recognize the significance of the Pearl Harbor area as native land once replete with burial sites, walled fish ponds, and ancestral shrines.
- The arrival of USS *Missouri* in 1998, moored within eyesight of the USS Arizona Memorial, raised concerns among some Pearl Harbor survivors and Park Service personnel that it would overshadow and distort the atmosphere of the memorial and its shrine room.
- Disney's production of the new Hollywood film, *Pearl Harbor*, raises the specter of the "Disneyfication" of Pearl Harbor history.[6]

These conflicts over the nature of Pearl Harbor memory marks identities that intersect at the memorial. Reviewing the list, it is possible to see that arguments over historical representation are nested in broader social relations of various kinds, especially national, racial, and generational identities.

If it was not already obvious, these vignettes show that the meaning and value of Pearl Harbor stories vary across audiences. In other words, national, ethnic, and generational identities are associated with distinctive ways of understanding and feeling Pearl Harbor history. These "communities of understanding" are rooted in specific cultural and historical experiences.

Nationality

Many American visitors to the USS Arizona Memorial express surprise and curiosity about Japanese visitors there. Studies have documented a diverse array of backgrounds and motives among Japanese who come to the memorial. Younger Japanese often have little prior knowledge of Pearl Harbor and come out of curiosity or as part of pre-programmed holiday packages. In contrast, older Japanese visitors generally already know of Pearl Harbor and come deliberately to see a place that has personal meaning, sometimes with a sense of "healing" past wrongs. In the latter case, it is possible to see some commonality between older Americans and Japanese, who may have been on different sides of the war, but who share the experience as a formative event in their lives.

Indeed, this shared experience has provided the basis for a limited number of contacts

Hiroya Sugano pays his respects as part of the "sister rose" ceremony at the USS Arizona Memorial, June 1995.

between American and Japanese veterans of the Pacific War. One of the most remarkable recent developments has been a series of exchanges between Japanese and American war veterans. The memorial has been a catalyst for these exchanges, first bringing Japanese veterans to participate in a symposium marking the 50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor, and then facilitating ceremonial events aimed at expressing reconciliation among former enemies.

Twice, in 1995 and 2000, an organization of Japanese navy veterans has visited Honolulu to participate unofficially in December 7th anniversary events.[7] Usually ignored or scorned in their own country, Japanese veterans seem to find a degree of dignity and personal significance in a place dedicated to remembering the sacrifices of those who fought for their country. They also find recognition of the value of military service and a sense of identification with the United States as a strong military power and ally of Japan. In doing so, they find satisfaction in the ability to be involved, however marginally, in U.S. celebrations of war history.

Ethnicity

Throughout its 40-year history, the USS Arizona Memorial has evolved in ways that take account of a widening circle of human stories entangled with the bombing of December 7, 1941. Constructing a history of memory of Pearl Harbor—of the ways Pearl Harbor has been memorialized through time—also provides a history of race relations in America, up to the present. Initially only a memorial to military personnel, the memorial brought civilian casualties into the orbit of official commemoration in the 1990s. And, even though the heroic acts of a black sailor, Doris (Dorie) Miller, were widely publicized during the war, minority sailors have only recently received attention in memorial activities. For example, as part of last year's December 7th anniversary events, a special commemorative ceremony read out the names of all minority service personnel on duty during the Pearl Harbor attack and reflected on their experiences with both war and racism.

For Americans of Japanese ancestry, Pearl Harbor not only marked the beginning of the Pacific War, it marked the advent of intensified public suspicions, discrimination, and appropriation of property. While elements of this story do emerge in the course of interpretation (as in presentations by a Japanese-American veteran volunteer, who was himself interned in California), in general the memorial does not address this aspect of war history. The absence contributed to the recent controversy in which local Japanese Americans objected to the depiction of Japanese Americans in the documentary film, leading to modification of offending parts of the film. The newer film, like the one it replaced, only referred to Japanese Americans in the context of the U.S. commanders' mistaken assumption that large numbers of local Japanese were potential spies and saboteurs. It disregards the experiences of local Japanese Americans, many of whom worked on the bases and rallied to the defense of the island during the panicky days after the attack. The relative absence of local stories may be one

Museum exhibit of recruiting poster of African-American war hero Doris Miller, USS Arizona Memorial museum.

reason that few residents of Honolulu, Japanese American or otherwise, visit the memorial (only about 5% of visitors are "local").

Generation

The phrase "remember Pearl Harbor" takes on new meanings as World War II veterans decline in number, 60 years after the conflict began. For war-era Americans, the words "Pearl Harbor" will always have special meaning—a kind of "flash-bulb memory." Indeed, Park Service personnel have noted that war-generation audiences exhibit a higher degree of awareness, attentiveness, and emotional response. We have found support for this impression in research on emotional responses to the documentary film shown there which revealed that war-generation Americans report more intense emotional responses to the film than do younger viewers.[8] This survey also documented a longer historical trend in Americans' memories of Pearl Harbor, with emotions of sadness (and pride) replacing emotions of anger.

If Pearl Harbor memory is becoming less emotional with the passing of generations, it is also being transformed by ongoing representations of Pearl Harbor history in contexts of tourism and popular culture. When USS *Missouri* was towed into Pearl Harbor in June 1998, it added a spectacular tourist attraction that visually dwarfs the sleek, low-profile memorial nearby. USS *Missouri* is both a technological wonder and a historic artifact (where MacArthur signed the surrender documents ending the war with Japan). USS *Arizona* is also a historic artifact. But it is underwater, almost invisible. Although the two ships were conceived of by some as "bookends" for the Pacific War, the visually-dominant USS *Missouri* has the potential to redefine the cultural space of the memorial with its triumphal narrative of victory in the Pacific, especially as plans take shape for the development of the surrounding area with further amenities and even a Pacific War museum.

Conclusion

Cultural and historic sites are all about the production of meaning. But whose meaning? Toward what end? As audiences become more diverse and varied (and especially as marginalized or silenced groups find a hearing in today's public spaces), meaning also becomes more complicated and contested.

Diverse histories are likely to be particularly acute at sites of war memory that, by definition, memorialize lethal conflicts. Conceptually, war museums and memorials are located along the fault zones of national and international conflicts. How is it possible to produce national stories of war without reproducing the same sentiments that engendered the conflicts in the first place? What kind of national histories will "make sense" when they quickly circulate to multicultural and multinational audiences? And, more fundamentally, what histories are *not* told when dominant stories of such spectacular events rivet our attention? At Pearl Harbor, for example, the events of December 7th that provide the USS Arizona Memorial with its *raison d'etre* also further obscure the longer history of Native Hawaiians—in many instances literally buried in the ground, covered over by the development of the largest naval base in the Pacific.

Such questions point to the need for more nuanced readings of the rhetorics and politics of history, especially public histories in today's "contact zones" of international travel. In his book on Holocaust memorials, *Texture of Memory,* James Young writes of the potential for public sites of memory to enable awareness of multiple forms of experience:

> Public Holocaust memorials in America will increasingly be asked to invite many different occasionally competing groups of Americans into their spaces. African Americans and Korean Americans, Native Americans and Jews will necessarily come to share common spaces of memory, if not common memory itself. In this, the most ideal of American visions, every group in America may eventually come to recall its past in light of another group's historical memory, each coming to know more about their compatriot's experiences in light of their own remembered past.[9]

Some of the lessons from the USS Arizona Memorial suggest that the "coalition of consciousness" Young foresees may also be extended across national boundaries. It is a hopeful vision.

Notes

1 Jim Adams, "World War II Battlefields and National Parks in the Pacific," *CRM* 19:3 (1996): 57-61; Michael Slackman, *Remembering Pearl Harbor: The Story of the USS Arizona Memorial* (Honolulu: Arizona Memorial Museum Association, 1986); Edward T. Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlegrounds.* Rev. ed (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993);

2 Phyllis Turnbull, "Remembering Pearl Harbor: The Semiotics of the Arizona Memorial," in *Challenging Boundaries: Global Flows, Territorial Identities,* ed. Hayward Alker Jr. and Michael Shapiro

(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 407-433; Marjorie Kelly, "Enshrining History: The Visitor Experience at Pearl Harbor's USS Arizona Memorial," *Museum Anthropology* 20:3 (1996): 45-57.

Patricia Masters has carried out research with Japanese visitors to Pearl Harbor (Another Way of Seeing: Pearl Harbor as Memory. Paper read at East-West Center conference on Publich Histories and National Identities, 1992); and Marie Thorsten is researching Japanese veterans ceremonies (see Treading the Tiger's Tail: Reflections on a Decade of Reunions between American and Japanese Pearl Harbor Veterans. Paper delivered at annual meetings of the Asian Studies Association. Chicago, IL. March 25, 2001).

3 Geoffrey White and Jane Yi, "December 7th: Race and Nation in Wartime Documentary," in *Classic Whiteness: Race and the Hollywood Studio System*, ed. Daniel Bernardi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

4 Geoffrey White, "Moving History: The Pearl Harbor Film(s)," *Positions: East-Asia Cultural Critique* 5, no. 3 (1997): 709-744.

5 James Rusbridger and Eric Nave, *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor: How Churchill Lured Roosevelt into WWII* (New York: Summit Books, 1991). Cited in Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 235-236.

6 Mike Wallace, "Disney's America," in *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 159-174.

7 Marie Thorsten's research on this topic has benefited from advice and cooperation from John DeVirgilio, historian of the Pearl Harbor attack who has done extensive research with Japanese veterans.

8 Geoffrey M. White, "Mythic History and National Memory: The Pearl Harbor Anniversary," *Culture and Psychology*, Special Issue edited by James Wertsch 3, no. 1 (1997): 63-88, p. 70.

9 Cited in Lucy Lippard, *On the Beaten Track* (New York: The New Press, 1999), p. 129.

Geoffrey White, Ph.D., is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Hawai'i and Senior Fellow at the East-West Center.

Acknowledgments

The work discussed in this paper has benefited from support and advice provided by the National Park Service staff who operate the USS Arizona Memorial, as well as from acquaintance with the amazing group of Pearl Harbor veterans who volunteer their time there. I am particularly indebted to Daniel Martinez, park historian, and to Kathy Billings, superintendent, and her predecessor, Donald Magee.

Gretchen Schafft

Displaying Discrediting History in Public Sites

Perpetrators and their descendants often do not want public commemorations to be built that remind people of the horrors that relate to their personal or family histories. Even victims may be ambivalent about the value of displaying their pasts, believing that they are either too painful or impossible to adequately envision in a less terror-filled time. However, such displays often are built because enough people, or strong enough lobbies, encourage citizens to face the past and learn from it. In general, however, displays reflecting discrediting histories are scarce and often inaccurate in their representations of the past. There is a kind of civic denial that assists people in avoiding discomforting and disturbing histories by avoiding straightforward, public displays of times in which terrible events occurred.

My experience as a cultural anthropologist has been primarily with concentration camp memorials in Germany and central Europe. These memorials have been erected on the historical sites where during World War II, hundreds of thousands of prisoners were incarcerated, used as a source of slave labor or for medical experimentation, or merely held until they were exterminated. It is estimated that Germany alone had more than 1,300 concentration camps during the period 1933-1945.

At the end of the war, Germany was divided into the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR). The FRG was restructured based on a western democratic model and the GDR was restructured upon a communist model, developed and closely sanctioned by the U.S.S.R. Memorials built to com-

memorate concentration camps followed two very different patterns. In the FRG, most concentration camps were emptied, cleaned, sometimes burned to the ground, and abandoned. A few were used to house war criminals awaiting trial, but then were emptied. Only after some time elapsed did surviving inmates of a few of the camps urge that their sites be commemorated. These select localities, with the help of survivor groups, raised money to develop museums and commemorative markers, rebuild some representative buildings, and develop programs that would teach the population about the history of these disreputable places.

In the GDR, the Soviet influence played a major role. Many in the government were German political survivors of the camps and also wanted a commemoration to their own history. A specific law regulated the displays at the commemorative sites. The primary focus of the commemorative sites was to be the Soviet losses and the role of the Red Army in liberating the camps. German heroism in bringing the downfall of fascism was another theme. The displays implicated "militaristic capitalism" as the perpetrator, not the German people or even the Nazi Party. The large number of commemorative sites were heavily supported by the government whose functionaries considered them to be key to citizen political education.

Following re-unification of Germany in 1989, these two approaches to the concentration camp memorials had to be meshed. The country as a whole took over some responsibility for the maintenance of the grounds, and the displays were left to commissions appointed in each state. The memorials are located on valuable land and are often the focus of controversy as vested interests fight to gain control of all or some of the grounds for commercial purposes. As survivors' numbers decrease, resistance to this encroachment will significantly lessen.

Sachsenhausen monument designed in the Communist era and still standing. A symbolic chimney meant to show the thousands of deaths that occurred in this camp.

An additional problem existed in several of the memorial sites in the former GDR. From 1945-1950, several Nazi concentration camps were converted into prisoner of war camps to house suspected Nazi perpetrators and others who posed a threat to the newly formed Communist state. These converted facilities were referred to as "Special Camps." Prisoners in the Special Camps were held under very inhumane conditions, and thousands died in unmarked graves. Because no trials were held by the Soviet captors, it was unclear in the early 1990s, and remains unclear today, how many prisoners in the Special Camps had been Nazi guards or functionaries and how many had simply been, or were suspected of being, anti-Communists. In the beginning years of German re-unification, these two survivor groups fought for recognition in the same geographic space. At two memorials, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen, the problem was eventually solved by erecting separate buildings with separate entrances for memorial for the Special Camps.

It is not only Germany, however, that has had to deal with discrediting history. One can make the case that the United States has its own share of controversial history that has been a challenge to display. This history centers on the treatment of those who do not trace their ancestry to a European background, beginning with Native Americans, continuing through the enslavement of African Americans, as well as the incarceration of Asian Americans during World War II. Civic denial of discrediting history is as strong in our country as elsewhere.

If we believe that we should not shy away from difficult historical periods, but display them with as much accuracy as possible, we must address a series of difficult questions. What lobby will exist to urge the creation of public history to commemorate victims of grave injustice or worse? In some cases the descendants of victims no longer make up a significant population group. Who will want to view history on display that implicates themselves as part of the population identified as perpetrators? How can those interested in the history gain the acceptance of others who may feel this guilt by association? These are questions that are relevant to the United States and many other countries, not only Germany.

Anthropological training and perspectives are useful in resolving some of these issues. We understand that historical presentations must

Survivors at Buchenwald in front of statuary representing the victims of the camp. This monument was built in the Communist era, but remains to this day.

mesh with the perceived realities of living communities. Anthropology has been called "the uncomfortable science" because we look beneath the surface of public presentations of self and community to understand such cultural dynamics. Thus, using my observations from several different countries and traditions in public history, I have come to the conclusion that there are some guidelines to follow in making discrediting history a part of public displays.

Those interested in the history must make the case that there is value in remembering. This can be done through the following means:

- Emphasize the **process** by which terror was established, not only the persons who perpetrated the deeds.
- Emphasize how times have changed and new institutions have been established that would not allow the past to be repeated.
- Emphasize the heroism of individuals within many groups, including the groups representing perpetrators, who took personal risks to "do the right thing."

Encourage large numbers of citizens to find meaning in the memorials themselves.

- Programs sponsored by the memorials should include a variety of themes that resonate with many in the community.
- Large numbers of school children and others should be asked to perform in musical events, readings, study groups, and other activities at the memorial sites, so that they become accustomed to the locale. Their parents and grandparents, who may be closer to the discrediting historical time, thus experience being "guests" at the site.
- Advisory committees should include a wide diversity of citizens in various roles, so that more people in the community assume a stake in the memorial.

The memorials must allow both victims and perpetrators to grieve for their losses.

- Victims often need a place to mark as a burial spot for lost colleagues, and families need a place to lay wreathes and say prayers.
- Perpetrators need a place to reconsider their pasts, their shame and their guilt, and to feel that they, or at least their families, have a possibility for rehabilitation and re-integration into a better and more just society.

It is important for all of us to find the courage to face the past. Public commemorative sites help us to do that when they are thoughtfully constructed. I believe that community mental health can actually be enhanced when people who represent all sides of highly charged historical controversies are given something to enlighten, enrich, and support their common struggle for meaning and valid memory.

Note

E. Schafft, "Civic Denial and the Memory of War," *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis* 26:2 (1998): 255-272.
I first used the term "civic denial" in 1996 in a paper presented to the Society for Applied Anthropology. I have found it to be useful in describing the inability or unwillingness to publicly acknowledge discrediting history in a wide range of localities in various countries. It is, perhaps, not unlike an individual's inability to face disquieting and disturbing truths. In both cases, carried to extreme, denial can be a detriment to mental health.

References

Gretchen E. Schafft, *Die KZ- Mahn- und Gedenkstätten in Deutschland* (Berlin:Dietz Verlag, 1996.)

Wolfgang Sofsky, *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997.)

Raymond Firth in his address to the 41st annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology in Edinburgh, Scotland, called anthropology "the uncomfortable science" because it presented out-of-awareness information on cultures and peoples that they did not know or articulate about themselves.

Gretchen Schafft, Ph.D., is an Applied Anthropologist in Residence at American University, Washington, DC, and a leader in the development of practicing anthropology. She is a founding member and second president of the Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists. Aside from teaching perhaps the first Holocaust course in an anthropology department, Schafft conducts contract research for government agencies in health, education, and evaluation. She can be reached at gschafft@erols.com.

Photos by the author.

Larry Van Horn

American Indian Links to Manzanar

This article discusses American Indian links to what is now Manzanar National Historic Site in the Owens Valley of eastern California. Over time, four landscapes were relevant to Manzanar—the Paiute landscape before European contact, the Paiute and European-American landscape that began with the Shepherd Ranch and culminated in the orchard town of Manzanar, the Manzanar War Relocation Center of World War II for Japanese Americans, and the landscape as it is today in the dusty, dry Owens Valley. Indians have been involved in all of these, as my ethnographic report and this article show.[1]

Yale historian Robin Winks uses the term *site of shame*[2,3] as a place, society recognizes, where human abuses occurred and from which people hope to learn never to repeat them. On March 3, 1992, Congress established Manzanar National Historic Site to recognize the internment of Japanese Americans in war relocation camps during World War II. Manzanar was the first of 10 camps where the signing of Executive Order 9066 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, led to the removal of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast. They were rounded up by the United States Army; over 70% were United States citizens. There was no evidence of disloyalty, only unfounded fear. Manzanar covered some 6,000 acres, which included 500 acres for the living area, or camp, enclosed by barbed wire. Adjoining this area was an agricultural-use section and several facilities, including two stone guard houses, that survive today. Japanese Americans lived at the camp from the spring of 1942 until late 1945, when it was closed. In full swing, the camp housed about 10,000 people.[4]

Robin Winks says Manzanar is both a site of shame and of pride:

> Manzanar National Historic Site is as much a site of pride as it is a site of shame: all Americans should take pride in what those who lived there endured, for their courage is our courage. Further, it ought to be a distinct source of pride that we have, as a people, reached sufficient maturity to recognize our mistakes, to create a visible symbol of the invisible past to teach future generations of the great fear and irrationality that at times descend upon a people in time of war.[5]

To the Indians, Manzanar is more a site of pride. That is, the American Indian links to the site refer to Indian stories about past ways of life and the pride of involvement that they were once there and still have localized cultural interests. Richard Stewart is featured here as an example of a continuing Indian presence as well as a bridge to the past. He is a Paiute from Big Pine in the Owens Valley who conducts walking tours of the Manzanar site, co-sponsored by the National Park Service (NPS) and the Eastern California Museum (ECM) of Independence.

American Indians now live on four Paiute-Shoshone reservations in the Owens Valley. From south to north along U.S. Route 395, each town has a reservation associated with it: Lone Pine, Independence, Big Pine, and Bishop. The Fort Independence Indian Reservation was established in 1915 and enlarged in 1916; the other three were established in 1937. It is interesting to note that from about 1913 to 1935 the City of Los Angles through its Department of Water and Power (DWP) purchased huge tracts of land in the valley for water rights, to carry the water eventually to the city through the Los Angeles Aqueduct.

An everyday irritant to Japanese Americans interned at Manzanar was the constant wind that seemed to deposit dust and sand on everything. This was so despite the DWP making water available for crop irrigation. That water apparently was not enough to counteract even temporarily the valley-wide desiccation, hence the Manzanar dust. Ample water used to flow into the Owens River and Owens Lake, at the southern end of the valley, from streams and runoff from the Sierra Nevada to the west and the Inyo Mountains to the east. Owens Lake dried up; its

dust pollutes the air and is targeted to be cleaned up in a few years by the City of Los Angeles.

How green was my valley! is a sentiment expressed by several American Indian informants from their memories and from tribal oral tradition. It applied to Indian villages along streams in or near what is now the Manzanar site. Such villages were a source of field hands as Anglo ranches and farms came to the Owens Valley.

Manzanar is the name of an Anglo-Indian orchard community that flourished on the site from May 6, 1910, (when platting started) to the mid-1930s when the DWP made it impossible to continue. The town was known for its commercial fruit. By way of irrigation, it grew apples, apricots, peaches, and pears for railroad distribution to the Los Angeles market. I refer to the town as Anglo-Indian because of intermarriage. Paiutes and Shoshones married into the community. Several of my informants who are elders today were born and grew up there. Facilities included a school, a small Manzanar railroad depot, and a community hall. Through the encouragement of the music teacher, one Paiute elder regularly played there as a young man on Saturday nights with his all-Indian band from Independence. The Indians I talked to, with family and other ties to Manzanar, are proud of their association with the orchard town and of Indian contributions to the irrigation on which the orchards depended.

The Owens Valley has a long tradition of irrigation. A form of irrigation before European contact existed among the Paiutes, which anthropologist Julian Steward[6, 7] calls *irrigation without agriculture.* Water would be diverted from streams flowing down out of the mountains to foster the growth of certain wild plants whose seeds would be placed in plots during the spring of the year, watered through the fall, and harvested. The stream diversions would then be returned to their original Owens River channels.

Rancher-farmer John Shepherd (1833-1908) used irrigation at Manzanar. As early as 1862, he pioneered a cattle ranch on Chief George's Creek south of Manzanar. In 1864, he moved to what became known as Shepherd's Creek on the current Manzanar site. With Indian help, he irrigated his land.

The orchard town—known as Manzanar Irrigated Farms—bought out Shepherd in 1905. Irrigation became more sophisticated for the fruit growing. A source of Indian pride, Indian input and labor contributed in both the Shepherd and Manzanar instances.

Indian people were involved in the initial construction in 1942 and the dismantling in 1945 of the Manzanar War Relocation Center. Owens Valley Indians were and are generally sympathetic to the suffering and denial of citizens' rights involving the Japanese Americans. This is so because of their own experience being pursued and rounded up by the United States Army in the 1860s; escaping, only to return to a steadily eroding subsistence base from European-American settlement. Ranching and farming, however, provided employment, as mentioned, as did the DWP. Indians served as maintenance managers of local equipment

More traditional Indian cultural content is found in legends and creation stories set in the mountains and plains around Manzanar. Richard Stewart as a latter-day Paiute storyteller shares some information with non-Indians. He is known as an accomplished artist, potter, and storyteller who conducts weekend field retreats in association with the Winnedumah Hotel in Independence and the ECM. The brochure reads:

> Follow Paiute Richard Stewart into the world of the Paiutes. Gather clay from [Owens] Valley deposits. Grind and mix it, then fash-

One of two remaining stone guard houses at what was once the main entrance to the Manzanar War Relocation Center, 1942 to 1945. Courtesy National Park Service, Manzanar National Historic Site.

ion your own pieces using ancient Paiute techniques. Enjoy Richard's tales and musings on Paiute culture as you work under a giant mulberry tree and prepare for the traditional ritual of outdoor firing.[8]

Mr. Stewart is a member of the Manzanar Advisory Commission appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. He lives in Big Pine where he and his mother, Dorothy Stewart, operate a pottery shop. His family heritage is impressive. Jack Stewart[9] was his great grandfather, an important informant of Julian Steward.[10]

Richard Stewart shares Coyote stories, known in some North American Indian cultures as Trickster tales. These are like morality plays where Trickster or Coyote, although blessed with supernatural powers, often gets into predicaments from greed. Trickster stories teach with humor by reverse example. Children especially learn not to follow Trickster's ways. They learn to do the right thing and avoid embarrassment. Locations around Manzanar abound with Paiute Coyote stories associated with them.

Two of Richard Stewart's commemorative mugs. The left one recognizes Indian versus U.S. Army fighting and the establishment of Camp Independence on July 4, 1862. The other honors the folkloric figure, Coyote. Photo by the author.

Stewart goes to some length to relate a Paiute creation story about how the earth came to be and how the Paiutes came to be part of it. This story focuses upon a cave and rock setting in the Sierra Nevada foothills west of Big Pine, north of Manzanar. Manzanar is thus close to the origin center of the Owens Valley Paiute world. On field trips, Stewart stresses how local variations exist in Paiute cosmology and how the stories often precisely relate to specific locales as part of their cultural geography and ecology. Since 1997, through the NPS and the ECM, free walking tours of Manzanar have been available to visitors five days a week from Wednesday through Sunday.

The Manzanar tours cover Paiute and Shoshone occupation, the orchard town of Manzanar, and of course the Japanese-American war relocation center. Visitors who tour with Richard Stewart are especially fortunate because of the additional Indian dimension that can be gleaned if they are interested.

Notes

1 Lawrence F. Van Horn, "Native American Consultations and Ethnographic Assessment: The Paiutes and Shoshones of Owens Valley, California." Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1995.

2 Robin Winks, "Sites of Shame: Disgraceful Episodes from Our Past Should Be Included in the [National] Park System To Present a Complete Picture of Our History." *National Parks Magazine* 68 (3-4, March-April 1994): 22-23.

3 Robin Winks, "America's National Parks." Lecture, September 8, 2000, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. Recorded on videotape from the American Perspectives Series as shown on C-SPAN, The Cable Network, January 27, 2001.

4 National Park Service, "Study of Alternatives, Manzanar War Relocation Center, California." San Francisco: Western Regional Office, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1989.

5 Robin Winks, "Sites of Shame: Disgraceful Episodes from Our Past Should Be Included in the [National] Park System To Present a Complete Picture of Our History." Page 23. *National Parks Magazine* 68 (3-4, March-April 1994): 22-23.

6 Julian H. Steward, "Irrigation without Agriculture." *Michigan Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters Papers* 12 (1930): 149-156.

7 Julian H. Steward, "Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute." University of California Publications in *American Archaeology and Ethnology* 33 (3, 1933): 233-350.

8 Thomas Bergman and Marvey Chapman, "Paiute Pottery with Richard Stewart: The Historic Winnedumah Hotel, Special Dates [and Events] for Summer 1994." Brochure *Independence, California: The Winnedumah Hotel*, 1994.

9 Jack Stewart, "Tuhuki'ni and the Gambler." *News from Native California* 8 (1, Spring-Summer 1994): 24-27. Story told to Julian H. Steward in 1927 and published by him in 1936, referenced below.

10 Julian H. Steward, "Myths of the Owens Valley Paiute." University of California Publications in *American Archaeology and Ethnology* 34 (5, 1936): 355-440.

Larry Van Horn, Ph.D., is a cultural anthropologist and cultural resources specialist in Planning and Design Services at the Denver Service Center of the National Park Service.

Neil H. King and Frederick F. York

Close to Eden in Idaho

The Minidoka Internment National Monument

Geographically distant from the biblical Garden of Eden, federal land in the Magic Valley near Eden, in south-central Idaho, was selected in early 1942 by the U.S. War Relocation Authority (WRA) as one of several sites for the wartime relocation of Japanese residents of the United States and their American-born offspring. The creation of the WRA followed the bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese military in December 1941, and the U.S. Declaration of War against Japan. The Idaho site was far from military exclusion areas of the West Coast and next to a major man-made irrigation canal that gave the Magic Valley its name and reputation. Home communities for Japanese and Japanese-American residents of Washington included the city of Seattle and nearby rural areas on Bainbridge Island in Puget Sound. Ultimately, the WRA administered Minidoka and nine other "relocation centers," some 15 "assembly centers," and three former Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps that were primarily in the western U.S. In total, some 120,000 Japanese residents of the U.S. and their American-born family members were confined in centers and other facilities run by the WRA, Department of Justice, U.S. Army, or Federal Bureau of Prisons.

The site of the Minidoka Internment National Monument is in Jerome County. It is known as Hunt (based on the name of the local post office and community) and Minidoka (based on the Shoshone language derived name used for both a small community 50 miles east of Hunt and a county of the same name). The monument was designated by presidential proclamation on January 17, 2001, under the auspices of the Antiquities Act of 1906. This was about 60 years after selection of the area; the construction of over 600 buildings in the summer of 1942 by a private enterprise; and the three-year-long forced occupation of the "camp" by resident Japanese nationals and their Japanese-American offspring between 1942 and 1945. The National Park Service (NPS) has recently initiated the public involvement, research, and planning to preserve and interpret the site. Anthropologically informed social science and broadly based planning skills are being utilized by the NPS to engage Japanese-American and Asian-American institutions, communities, and individuals to identify and address issues during the next three years.

Community Involvement

The NPS has managed the Manzanar National Historic Site at the location of the Manzanar War Relocation Center in the Owens Valley of south-central California since 1992.

Japanese ceramics at the Minidoka Relocation Center landfill. Photo by Jeff Burton.

And, the newly designated Minidoka Internment National Monument will both complement and contrast with Manzanar. The management and operation of both sites will enhance the interpretation of a unique period of U.S. history during World War II. In this article the focus is on our initial efforts to collaborate with geographically widespread Japanese-American institutions, Asian- American and Japanese- American communities, scholars, people who were interned at Minidoka, and members of the nearby Idaho communities who interacted with internees. Such collaboration will facilitate planning, resource management and interpretation.

The People

The exclusion of Japanese-born immigrants (*Issei*) and their descendants (including second generation, American-born *Nisei* and subsequent generations) from "designated military areas" was authorized by President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 of February 19, 1942. The WRA then prepared "assembly centers" near cities such as Seattle and San Francisco as way stations for temporary use while contracts were made to construct the more distant "relocation centers." By early August 1942, the first group of "evacuees" arrived at Hunt or Minidoka. From mid-August through mid-September, some 500 additional persons arrived per day. At its height, the maximum population grew to approximately 9,500.

The people interned at Minidoka primarily came from Washington, Oregon, and Alaska. Initially sent to Manzanar in California, some former Bainbridge Island residents requested relocation to Minidoka and were moved in early 1943. Minidoka was on the north bank of the North Side Canal, but the site had not previously been irrigated and could not draw on water from the canal without the installation and operation of what would have been a very costly pumping facility. Instead, the WRA and the internees turned to the Milner-Gooding Canal, some five miles to the northeast, to get water for irrigation. An initial task undertaken by internees was the construction of an irrigation canal that ran from the Milner-Gooding Canal to new fields they had cleared. Initially 350 acres were cleared and farmed, but by 1944 the irrigated acreage grew to 740.

Information on the life of internees exists in various texts and documents, but much more will undoubtedly be acquired as collaboration with Japanese Americans develops and deepens through the conduct of oral history research during the planning process. It is well documented that large numbers of camp residents of various ages provided agricultural labor throughout the region between 1942 and 1945. The beginning of school for children was delayed until November in 1942, for example, because so many students were on "agricultural leave." At the same time, a total of some 2,000 evacuees from Minidoka were working in Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming. Regional labor camps were set up for Minidoka residents at both Rupert and Twin Falls, Idaho.

Although the internees were confined to the Minidoka Relocation Center, children and adults were authorized to leave the center for agricultural work and a variety of cultural and recreational activities. Internees supplied labor that helped to compensate for a domestic labor shortage caused by the large numbers of Americans who were in military service. By 1943, however, the U.S. War Department recruited internees from the various relocation centers for the 100th Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team for service in Europe and thereby contributed personnel for the war. The number of volunteers from Minidoka for the 442nd was the largest of all. Ultimately, some 1,000 internees from Minidoka served in the military, and 73 servicemen from Minidoka were killed in action.

In January 1945, the ban that excluded the internees from their homes along the Pacific Coast was lifted. They were allowed to leave, and the last family left Minidoka by October. About 150 other internees remained at a labor camp in nearby Twin Falls for a short time. Most internees from Minidoka returned to their previous communities of residence in Seattle, the Puget Sound area, and elsewhere.

The Resources

Prior to the establishment of the Minidoka Relocation Center, the North Side Canal was a prominent local feature that provided a source of water for elsewhere in the Magic Valley. Ironically, the 33,000 acres of land set aside for the center was a high desert environment dominated by sagebrush. Instead of a river running through it, the North Side Canal did so. As noted above, internees brought water in from the Milner-Gooding Canal. According to maps in the National Archives, roads, buildings, ditches, agricultural fields, and other facilities were cre-

Chimney in waiting room of entry building. Photo by Dick Lord.

ated in the 950-acre heart of the 33,000-acre reserve.

Following the end of the war, much of the acreage of the reserve was divided up into homesteads for veterans. Along with available acreage, the vets could get two buildings. The vets then needed to remove them from the heart of the former relocation center that remained in federal ownership. Dismantling of the community through removal and relocation of the majority of the 600 or so buildings took place, and only two buildings remained when the NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center did a survey of Minidoka in the 1990s. A remnant stone feature at the guard house and a standing chimney in its waiting room area remain, as do building foundations, other features, road alignments, and portions of the irrigation system that are still in use.

Oral history interviews and site visits with surviving internees will undoubtedly provide excellent information on the structural organization of the community that will increase the knowledge that is currently based on archival documentation, initial archeological survey, and the more detailed mapping and site documentation that is currently underway. To set the stage for retrieving ethnographic data about life at Minidoka between 1942 and 1945, we will continue to involve a variety of organizations, institutions, communities, and individuals throughout the West.

Collaboration and Planning

Collaboration with Japanese Americans and other citizens of Idaho took place when the designation of Minidoka was first considered for the remaining federal acreage at the site. In the period since that designation was made in January 2001, organizations, institutions, communities, and individuals throughout the West have been contacted. Organizations include the Japanese American Historical Society in San Francisco and the national Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) and its local offices in Idaho and elsewhere. Institutions include the Wing Luke Asian Museum in Seattle, the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles, the University of Washington, and Boise State University, as well as local individuals and the Jerome County Historical Society. In all cases, certain staff or faculty members have indicated an interest in the projected three-year planning process.

In the context of making the organizational and institutional contacts, many individuals, including many who were interned at Minidoka have been met or have contacted NPS personnel to find out more about what is going on and to offer assistance. The reception has been enthusiastic and there is a keen interest in becoming involved in and being supportive of ethnohistorical research efforts that will seek to document life at the relocation center and to present this chapter about ethnic relations in American history.

References

Burton, Jeffrey F., Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord and Richard W. Lord. *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites.* Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior (1999).

Okamura, Raymond Y. "The American Concentration Camps: A Cover-up through Euphemistic Terminology." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 10:3 (Fall 1982):95-109.

Sims, Robert C. "Japanese Americans in Idaho." *Japanese Americans - From Relocation to Redress,* edited by Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H.L. Kitano. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press (1986):103-111.

Neil H. King is Superintendent of Hagerman Fossil Beds National Monument in Hagerman, Idaho. He has an undergraduate degree in anthropology. He is taking the lead on community involvement and for the production of a planning document for the Minidoka Internment National Monument on behalf of the NPS.

Frederick F. York, Ph.D., Anthropology, is the Regional Anthropologist in the Seattle Office of the NPS Pacific West Region in San Francisco, California. He is assisting Neil King and others with the community involvement efforts for planning at Minidoka and will develop and supervise social science research.

Miguel Vasquez

Latinos
¡Viva La Diferencia!

Unique and rich heritages mark Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as the United States. And each of the many peoples and their cultures has, and will, contribute to the evolving U.S. in ways that richly deserve celebration and commemoration by Latino groups themselves and by the nation's heritage institutions. Indeed, attention to the distinctive peoples is imperative if the planning of heritage programs, identification of heritage resources, and development of heritage tourism are to reflect the diversity within this demographically and culturally diverse and significant U.S. population.

My basic point is that there is no real "Latino community." Instead, there are many. At a time when new census figures show burgeoning "Latino" or "Hispanic" populations in places like Iowa, Arkansas, and Georgia, and local, formally homogeneous, or unambiguously black or white populations in these places are struggling to come to terms with their newfound diversity, this is worth remembering.

Diversity is something I am somewhat familiar with. I was born and grew up in San Francisco—where one becomes accustomed to diversity quickly... or you leave; because that is what it is all about. My family background is Mexican, Spanish, Puerto Rican, and Italian. I have been married to a Mayan woman from Guatemala for 25 years. So I am sort of familiar with "life in the hyphen," as Ilan Stavans calls it.[1] I have sort of assumed, naively, that diversity was normal and, for many years, took it for granted.

Hispanics are not a unified ethnic population. Within this "community" is a tremendous diversity: ethnically, racially, socially, economically, politically, culturally, and even, linguistically. The commonality here is obviously the Spanish language and some elements of common history, culture, and religion. But even here there are major differences, since for many newcomers, indigenous people from Mexico, Guatemala, and the Andean countries, Spanish is not even their first language. It is a *lingua franca* at best. Many, like Mixtec farmworkers around Fresno, forced north by NAFTA, or Kanjobal refugees from the Guatemalan war, now in Phoenix, speak it hesitantly, or not at all. They also are labelled "Hispanics."

Where Do They Come From, Where Do They Go, Why Do They Come?

Since Mexican Americans (65%), Puerto Ricans (9%), and Cubans (4%) together comprise nearly 80% of the Hispanic/Latino population in the U.S., I will focus on them.[2] Depending on the place, Central and South American or Caribbean groups also comprise significant portions of local populations. Where once most U.S. Hispanics were rural, today overwhelmingly these folks live and work in urban areas. Los Angeles, now the second largest Spanish-speaking city in the world, is home to a population that is mostly Mexican and Central American in origin, others are from all over Latin America. New York is principally Puerto Rican and Central and South American. Miami is Cuban and Central and South American. Chicago is Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Central American. San Antonio has a population that is two-thirds Mexican. With San Francisco, San Jose, Albuquerque, and Tucson, this accounts for 50% of all Hispanics in the U.S.[3] Some have been here since the *conquistadores* first came to the Southwest in the 16th century, and some are arriving at this moment. **Why**? It is not too difficult to figure out. Social scientists talk in terms of "push" and "pull" factors.

"Push" factors include political and economic crises and limited opportunities for education, jobs, or social mobility in home countries. In the last century, events like the Mexican and Cuban revolutions, or wars in Central America, have pushed hundreds of thousands of people north seeking respite and refuge. Economically, while North Americans ponder a possible recession, the vast majority of Latin Americans have confronted a very real recession for most of their lives—regardless of stock prices and growth trends—and life is often one long struggle. NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) has provoked an urban and northern exodus in many areas, since family farming is no longer economically viable and the cost of staple foods (and everything else) has risen much faster than wages.

"Pull" factors induce migration here to the north instead of to the south, including family ties, labor demand, wage differentials, better opportunities for work and education. If none of these work out (and for many they don't —we just never hear of them), there remains the continuing myth of success—the "American Dream." Immigration is simply a function of the larger picture of what is happening in home countries and what is happening here. It is macro-economics lived on a personal level: survival, and each immigrant group brings its contributions.

Poor Mexico—So Far From God, So Close to the United States

Living in the only place in the world where a "third world" country shares a border with a "first world" nation, Mexican-Americans, unlike most other U.S. immigrant groups, can constantly renew family, cultural, and linguistic ties. Their contributions, however, aside from cheap farm labor, are seldom recognized by the mainstream. Several years ago, an Anglo student in one of my classes asked "what have Mexicans ever contributed to this country anyway?" (Political correctness is not big in Arizona.) As if chocolate, guacamole, tequila, and my grandmother's enchiladas, were not enough of a contribution from Mexicans, how about California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and parts of Nevada, Utah, and Colorado? What my student and many others don't realize is that mining, ranching, and farming—the three economic activities that built the West, came here with Mexicans. Not just the labor, but also the technology. Mining techniques and know-how came into California and the rest of the region from Mexico, where gold and silver had been mined since the 16th century. Ranching and "cowboy" culture did not come west with the pioneers, it came north from Mexico, and Spain before that. (Most of the vocabulary: rodeo, lasso, corral, etc., comes from Spanish.) So even the seemingly most "American" of cultures is really Mexican. Likewise, easterners had no need or knowledge of irrigation for agriculture when they came west. Mexican, Spanish, and Moorish cultures provided that know-how. Today though, the Mexican population in the Southwest is overwhelmingly urban. With the demise of manufacturing in places like Los Angeles and San Antonio, it provides much of the workforce in service industries, as well as most of the jobs and new businesses.[4]

Living "La Vida Loca"

There can be no question of the major influence of Puerto Rican music on U.S. culture, and not just Ricky Martin or Jennifer Lopez. But, starting with sugar, and later through industrialization, the island has long produced inexpensive consumer goods (without balance of trade deficits). Whether we recognize it or not, the Puerto Rican experience, under Spanish or U.S. rule, has for 500 years been a quintessentially colonial experience. The island has always belonged to someone else and its value has always been strategic—a gateway to the rest of Latin America. With few resources and little arable land, even with industrialization, the island's economy could not absorb a growing population. This provoked enormous migration to New York City and other urban areas. Once here, factory closings effectively eliminated many of the "middle rungs" of the economic ladder that earlier immigrants had used to build their lives here. While some Puerto Ricans have become visible, "acceptable," and prospered, and as many as 15% have more than a high school education, for most, "la vida loca" has never transcended their dreams, or the stereotypes still in place. Easy access from the island, generally substandard education, and poverty, and the maintenance of the very survival mechanisms (community and cultural ties, and language) that have made this unfulfillment bearable at all, have led to lingering over representation in lower socio-economic strata and a high degree of identifiability and continuing discrimination. As with other easily-identifiable groups, this discrimination can be overt and direct, as with "profiling," anti-immigrant and English-Only initiatives, or attacks on bilingualism; or it can be more subtle —by banks and realtors in housing, by low educational expectations on the part of teachers, and biased hiring on the part of employers.

Viva Cuba Libre

Cubans are a much different group. In fact they are two groups essentially: one group quite successful and one not. While both are exiles, the earlier group arrived on these shores with economic resources, education, entrepreneurial skills, political clout, and white skin. They have come to own and run much of Miami, and other communities, as well as much of the Spanish-language media in the U.S. and have achieved relative prosperity compared to other Latino groups.

They have maintained enduring family, cultural, and language ties. Their fair complexion and education have somewhat lessened their distinct identifiability and the level of discrimination they experience. The other, more recent group, the *Marielitos*, came here as ex-convicts from Cuba, with no family ties or resources and a darker skin, to a very different experience. They have tended to stay poor, uneducated, and powerless.[5]

Miami, the city where both make their home, with its beaches, music, and food is the vibrant crossroads of the United States and Latin America. Its entrepreneurial, shopping, and entertainment scenes help us recapture some of our balance of trade with countries to the south, since thanks to Cubans, many Latin Americans feel they are still in Latin America.

¡Viva La Diferencia!

Perhaps what we most need to remember is that neither the U.S. nor Latin America and the Caribbean is monolithic or static. Each is diverse and changing and vary greatly in response to circumstances. Each culture in the hemisphere is a product of social relations between different groups, and they are constantly changing in response to the requirements of demographics, changing technologies, and economic arrangements. Appreciating this complexity, and associated diversity, can only benefit our cultural resource programs.

Notes

1 Ilan Stavans, *The Hispanic Condition: Reflections on Culture and Identity in America.* (New York: Harper Collins, 1995).

2 *Newsweek,* "Latino Americans: The Face of the Future," http://newsweek.com/nwsrv/issue/02_99b/printed/int/us/latino_1.htm

3 Ibid.

4 Poor Mexico... So Far ....A quote attributed, ironically enough, to Mexican dictator Porfirio Diaz, a staunch ally of the U.S. from James Diego Vigil, *From Indians to Chicanos: The Dynamics of Mexican American Culture* (Prospect Hts., Illinois: Waveland Press) 1998.

5 Earl Shorris, *Latinos: a Biography of the People* (New York: Avon) 1992.

This paper derives from my presentation on diversity among Latinos in the U.S., given at the NPS ethnography training course in Miami, in May 2000.

Miguel Vasquez, Ph.D., Anthropology, is Associate Professor and Coordinator of Southwest Studies, Department of Anthropology, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona.

Allison H. Peña

Fazendeville

Highlighting Invisible Pasts and Dignifying Present Identities

Twenty years after the razing of the community of Fazendeville, the headline of an October 1, 1989, article in *The Times-Picayune* said: "Community Lost Its Life on Chalmette Battlefield." One of Fazendeville's former residents, Val Lindsey, Sr., remembered that when he closes eyes and thinks about what happened on that grassy field, he doesn't see what most people see—he doesn't see Andrew Jackson holding off the British in the Battle of New Orleans. Instead he sees his yesterdays—families, friends, and the remnants of his own personal battle. He sees the clean, quiet village of Fazendeville sacrificed on the altar of historic preservation 25 years ago.

Another resident, Evelyn Minor, noted that "it really was a unique place…Everyone knew each other. They were there to help each other…."

Henry Cager said, "it was the most beautiful place to live…it was a family affair." But perhaps Mr. Lindsey summed up the feeling of most of the residents, "I didn't have the money to fight it. There wasn't no yelling with the federal government. They didn't care. I had no choice. If I did, I'd be down there now."[1]

This historic African-American community known to many as Fazendeville or simply "the village"[2] existed from 1867-1964 on the site of the Chalmette National Battlefield in St. Bernard

Fazendeville, showing Battleground Baptist Church and homes, 1960. Courtesy U.S. Marine Corps by George E. Statham, Jr. GY/SGT, USMC, 8th Marine Corps Reserve and Recruitment District, New Orleans 13, Louisiana.

Parish, Louisiana, where the Battle of New Orleans had been fought in 1815. Fazendeville exemplified the early reconstruction period African-American communities that sprang up after the Civil War. The land was listed in 1854 as part of the succession of Jean Pierre Fazende, a free man of color,[3] who passed it on to his son. After the Civil War, c.1867, the younger Jean Pierre Fazende began to sell lots to former slaves. The residential community of African Americans known as Fazendeville started to grow. [4]

In addition to the Battleground Baptist Church, founded in 1868, the community grew to include a one-room school,[5] three general stores, and two mutual aid societies. The Silver Star Benevolent Association and the Progressive Mutual Aid Benevolent Association served the community by offering insurance and aid, as well as providing opportunities for social intercourse. These structures helped form a cultural landscape that survived well into the 20th century. The community was a viable, close-knit community of "honest reliable people," and was also described as "country but near the city" because of its close proximity to New Orleans.

When Chalmette National Historical Park was established in 1939, on former War Department lands, to commemorate the 1815 battle, this African-American community remained in the midst of the preserved "hallowed ground." In addition, the Chalmette National Cemetery, established by the War Department in 1864, was located down river or southeast of Fazendeville. National Park Service properties surrounded the private residential area.

The most significant change in the community would occur in the early 1960s. The planning, development, and reconstruction of the Chalmette National Historical Park had been ongoing since its establishment in 1939. Both National Park Service officials and local preservationists spearheaded efforts for land acquisition to reconstruct the established boundaries of the battlefield. The Battle of New Orleans Sesquicentennial Celebration Commission, created in 1962 by President Kennedy, was preparing for the celebration. The National Park Service was responding to the many public demands on its cultural, historical, and natural resources by planning Mission 66. These projects would upgrade the facilities, staffing, and resource management throughout the system by the 50th anniversary of the Service in 1966.

However, two major obstacles hindered the plans of park officials and preservationists: the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Plant and Fazendeville. The land between the park and the Chalmette National Cemetery totaled 64-1/2 acres. It was owned by the Henry J. Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation. After much negotiation with the U.S. Department of the Interior, Kaiser agreed to donate the land between the cemetery and the Fazendeville community to the park—the first donation was 13-3/4 acres—the remainder to be given in yearly increments. Fred A. Seaton, Secretary of the Interior at the time, called Kaiser's donation a "generous act," and noted that "When this tract comes under government control, we will be able to preserve a most important part of the field where the historic and significant Battle of New Orleans was fought on January 8, 1815."[6] Only the Fazendeville properties remained.

Local preservationists pressed forward and wrote their congressmen that they were "overjoyed at the news of the donation of this land and we do not think that we should stop until the Fazendeville tract is acquired....[It is] vitally needed to join the separated areas of Chalmette National Historical Park."[7] Steps to acquire the Fazendeville properties began. But by the 1960s, Fazendeville was home to over 50 families, some 200 persons. It was a "proud, tight-knit" settled community that did not want to be "bought out" and have to relocate to other surrounding areas. Nevertheless, by 1964, after extended legal negotiations, the National Park Service acquired the numerous properties that belonged to long-time Fazendeville residents. By 1966, the homes were razed. Virtually all evidence of this historic community was erased—the Fazendeville village and its people became "an invisible resource."

There was little knowledge of this community among the park staff when I entered the Service in 1989, even though NPS historian Jerry

Greene had suggested a study of Fazendeville in his 1985 Historic Resource Study. I was so "green" (and not "green blood" either) and new to the Park Service and caught up with the planning of the newly legislated Acadian cultural centers—that this important part of the park's cultural history and significant part of the African-American story in Louisiana by-passed me. Several years later a park ranger asked if I would be interested in talking with one of the former Fazendeville residents who visits the park periodically. This was the spark which ignited my fire — to plan an ethnographic project which would include oral histories of the surviving Fazendeville residents, together with an ethnohistory of the Fazendeville community. It was obvious that the former Fazendeville residents maintained a connection with the landscape even though "they may not step onto that landscape for a long time...."

The 1998 *Cultural Landscape Study of Chalmette* noted that the park contains some significant features not connected with the battle, such as a trace of Fazendeville Road. Author Kevin Risk adds that "the interpretation of these non-battle-related features has proven problematic to the park's primary mission of interpreting the battlefield landscape...yet, these features hold historical, cultural, and ethnographical significance in their own rights."[8]

In the NPS *Management Policies 2001*, Park Ethnographic Resources (5.3.5.3) are defined as "cultural and natural features of a park that are of traditional significance to traditionally-associated peoples. These people are the contemporary park neighbors and ethnic or occupational communities that have been associated with a park for two or more generations (40 years), and whose interests in the park's resources began prior to the park's establishment."[9] The former residents of Fazendeville are traditionally-associated peoples. They consider the park resources an integral part of their cultural identity, and are a part of the park's history. They are also a necessary National Park Service concern.

In 1999, a park intern gathered initial information on the remaining Fazendeville families and began archival research. Last November, the NPS Southeast Regional Office awarded the park a small sum to initiate the ethnographic oral history project. With these initial "starter funds" we hope to collect oral histories from surviving residents of the Fazendeville community, especially those elders who are in poor health; contextualize the oral history data within the regional culture of the Lower Mississippi Delta region; and identify potential African-American ethnographic resources within the park and community consultants interested in working collaboratively with the park.

And finally, a personal goal is to have a "homecoming" at the park for the former Fazendeville residents. It will undoubtedly be bittersweet, as former residents walk along the newly mowed trace that highlights Fazendeville to park visitors—and to see the surviving lillies that once bloomed in their backyards, and blooming still on the battlefield; and a walk down the Fazendeville Road from St. Bernard Highway to the Mississippi River closed by the federal government on November 25, 1964, almost 40 years ago, will most assuredly bring back memories. [10]

The history of African Americans has often not been emphasized at Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve. Through this project we will have developed a more complete ethnographic and historical account and have a more inclusive history. We will begin to tell the whole story of Chalmette Battlefield, from the 1815 Battle of New Orleans to contemporary times. For to many of those "muted voices," Chalmette represents a place closely linked with their sense of purpose and existence as a people and as a community.

Aerial photograph, c. 1960, showing Chalmette Monument in foreground, Fazendeville community in center, Chalmette National Cemetery among the allée of oaks in rear and Kaiser Aluminum Plant, far rear. Photo courtesy Louisiana Air National Guard.

Notes

1 *The Times-Picayune*, New Orleans, LA., (October 1, 1989): 1. Newspapers kept on microfilm in the New Orleans Public Library, New Orleans, LA.

2 Eric Cager, son of long time Fazendeville resident, Henry Cager, told me that residents referred to

Fazendeville as "the village" and that it was like a township. (Personal Communication)

3 The *gens de couleur libre* or "free people of color" had a unique social and legal status recognized in antebellum Louisiana. See Jerah Johnson, "Colonial New Orleans: A Fragment of the Eighteenth-Century French Ethos," in Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, editors, *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana Sate University Press, 1992) and Kimberly S. Hanger, *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans, 1769-1803.* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1997).

4 Jerome A. Greene, Historic Resource Study, Chalmette Unit, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985), 205-208.

5 In 1926 there were a total of 69 students that attended the one room school house which ran from the first through the eighth grade.

6 Letter from Secretary of the Interior, Fred A. Seaton, to Mr. Chad F. Calhoun, Vice President, Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation, dated April 9, 1959.

7 *St. Bernard Voice*, Friday, April 24, 1959: 1. Excerpts of a letter from Mrs. Edwin X. deVerges, President of the Chalmette National Historical Park Association to Congressman F. Edward Hebert, dated April 17, in article entitled, "Wants Fazendeville."

8 Kevin Risk, *Chalmette Battlefield and Chalmette National Cemetery: Cultural Landscape Report.* (Cultural Resources Stewardship Division, National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, 1999), 1.

9 *Management Policies 2001*, in Ethnographic Resources, 5.3.5.3,. (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, NPA S1416/December 2000): 57.

10 *The St. Bernard Voice*, Arabi, La. Friday, November 27, 1964, Vol. 75, No. 46:1.

Allison H. Peña, ABD in Anthropology, is the park anthropologist at Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve, New Orleans, Louisiana.

This paper was first presented December 7, 2000, at the National Park Service conference in Santa Fe, New Mexico, Cultural Resources 2000: Managing for the Future. It was read in the symposium organized by Miki Crespi: "Seeking a More Inclusive System: Raising Muted Voices and Identifying Invisible Resources." Only preliminary research was conducted. Intensive research from The Freedmen's Bureau, U.S. Census, and the National Park Service archives, as well as local sources needs to be carried out. This, of course, is in addition to oral interviews with former Fazendeville residents.

My thanks to Chief Ethnographer Miki Crespi for her continued support and suggestions, including the title of this paper, to Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve superintendent Geri Smith for her support and firm belief in "telling the whole story," to David Muth, Chief of Resource Management, for his insightful critique of the paper, and to Lynette Harrison, personnel specialist, whose family lived at Fazendeville, and has encouraged me to pursue the research.

Audrey L. Brown

African-American Churches as Ethnographic Resources

Churches are perhaps the most common ethnographic resources of African Americans — significant places and spaces in their lives. Even those who no longer attend, often return to church in nostalgic memories or in person for homecoming or home-going celebrations.

While schools, mutual aid societies, and other social institutions evolved from churches, there is little research about day-to-day details of that process. Ethnography can be the link that documents and preserves such knowledge and thus illuminate the cultural meaning of the "church" in African Americana. This article offers a glimpse of that process through ethnographic description of a "Singing" and "Giving" ceremony commonly held in rural Florida Afro-Baptist churches since the 1930s or earlier. I compare it to a 1998 "giving" ceremony at a national Baptist conference and use anthropological theory to explain its' cultural significance.[1]

From 1981-1985, I lived in Jerusalem, Florida, a church community established in the post-bellum period. Other church members and I became involved in documenting and preserving community cultural traditions like the Men's Federation of Brothers in Christ "Singings." [2]

Excitement was running high in Shady Grove church when I got there for a Federation "Singing" held Christmas Sunday, 1983, instead

of its usual fourth Saturday night. Federation choruses, called by their church names — Jerusalem, Shady Grove, Welcome Stranger, Progressive Union, New Zion, and Greater Hopewell, performed a "Singing" and "Giving" monthly. Accompanied by piano, guitar, and sometimes drums, the Federation sang for churchwomen and children, teenage girls, and a few men and boys. If former chorus members "turned out" to listen, they were cajoled to sing with their group.

Each chorus numbered from five to 10 members, the older the men the fewer their numbers. Jerusalem's five members were 45 to 70 years old. Welcome Stranger, the youngest Federation church, had two adult members, the rest were boys.

Uncle Armstead, reciting Federation history, said "This Federation is not the first Federation in Jerusalem. This Federation is only seven years old. They had a Federation when I was a young man...(1930-1940)...."

The Federation president's wife struck up piano chords and the men began to march in from the back of the church down the center aisle, in a swaying, side-to-side motion, singing as they came.

We...Come this far...by Faith...Leaning on the Lord and I'm trusting...his holy word...Ohhhh...I can't...turn around...He never failed me ...No!...[Everybody sings]...He never failed me...Yet!

The president spoke first, "warmin' up the peoples" and "gettin' the Spirit to movin'." Throughout, piano chords punctuated the delivery, men exclaimed "Well!" and women shook tambourines. In call and response, people answered "Amen" with "Amen" and echoed cries for "Mercy."

Brother Chaplain, followed, after "linin'" a hymn,[3] he began singing "I Love Jesus" in a strong voice. Onlookers and the choruses sang back, "Nothing...but...the Righteous," call and refrain, ending in unison, "Shall...see...God...."

"Let the Church say Amen!" he called the church to prayer:

Let us say Amen again!...You know we here tonight to lift the name of Jesus...Amen? You know we gotta' lots to be thankful for tonight!...AMEN?...The Lord done spared us to see the last third Sunday in nineteen hundred and eighty-three...We don't know if we'll meet on another third Sunday or no...We had one member to decease an' that was Brother Joe ....

This evening our Heavenly Father...The Father of Abraham,...Isaac and Jacob...We trying to give kind and sincere thanks for you keeping...Us in the world until this present time....

Holy Father I know you heard me pray a long time ago...We believe if we pray and pray right you'll hear me pray again...And for that cause we gonna ask you to have mercy....

Holy Father we wantah pray tonight that you would go with the sick and 'flicted ones...The lame,...the blind,...the orphans... and widders...Over the land, country and everywhere...We know that you has all power in your Hands...And for that cause we gonna ask you to have mercy.

So it went until the piano chords softly ended and people fell silent.

Then the men sang mightily. Songs included *I'm Climbing Up the Rough Side of the Mountain* and *There is Power in the Blood.* They followed with *I'm Pressin' On, Holding On to My Faith* and *Leaning on the Everlasting Arms*, and other songs. They closed with "the Holy Spirit ran from heart to heart and from breast to breast."

Each pastor spoke briefly after the "Singing," then came the "Giving." The audience marched counter clockwise around the church to give their "offering." Federation men gave out boxes [of food] and "checks" to elders with few or no relatives, the disabled, hospitalized or "burned out" [of their home], to families without breadwinners. They gave to the "widders and orphans," the "downcast and oppressed," and to "sick and 'flicted ones," the "poor and the needy," we had prayed for earlier, begging for the Holy Father's mercy, now delivering it through the Federation's grace.

The Federation is no more, but a call to cousin Georgie informed me that about four years ago a group of six choirs formed the Heavenly Visions Federated Choirs of Marion and Citrus Counties. The new group includes choirs from Jerusalem, Welcome Stranger, Progressive Union, White Star from Orange Lake and the Dunellon Male Choir of New Second Bethel Church members. They perform each

Men's Federation of Brothers In Christ Banner Thanksgiving Singing, 1983, New Jerusalem Baptist Church, Jerusalem, Florida. Photo by the author.

fourth Saturday night. Georgie says "they leave the offering with the host church and the Brothers help out choir members who are in need."[4] So the cultural form continues in the present.

In 1998, at the Progressive National Baptist Convention (PNBC)I heard "warm up" speeches and prayers in the Federation genre. A "Giving" ceremony by the Revelation Corporation followed in the mutual-aid tradition of the African-American church.

The Revelation is a 20 million member "buying pool" of the PNBC, Christian Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal church conferences and the National Baptist Convention, USA Inc. Revelation offers members a consumer credit network for $4.95/month, funneling the proceeds back into the community, 30% each to participating churches, church-supported schools and the balance into a first-time home buyer's mortgage assistance fund. That day, four historically black colleges, selected by the denominations, each received $100,000.

The post-bellum records of Freedman's Savings and Trust Company document that church-based mutual aid societies met the social welfare needs of newly freed African Americans. Well into the 1940s, such groups fulfilled these functions, a tradition that continues. In 1983, 42% of Florida church people interviewees reported belonging to mutual aid societies. Contemporary Washington, DC, church programs care for "downcast," homeless, "sick," AIDS victims, substance abusers, and other "'flicted ones."

This ethnography shows that church-based cultural performances and "Giving" ceremonies do more than reinforce passive acceptance of an uncertain existence, as anthropologist Clifford Geertz might suggest.[5] Like Abner Cohen, I hold that through such everyday acts, subordinated people express resistance and create informal institutions mitigating the effects of socio-economic inequities.[6]

For many younger African Americans and people of other cultural heritages, our churches are simply buildings, often without the structural integrity for a National Register nomination. For them, appreciation of such structures as ethnographic resources may be of little significance without this kind of insight into their cultural meaning.

Notes

1 This article is based on research funded by NIH, NRSA, Post-Doctoral Advanced Dissertation Research Support Grant NSF, 1998-1999, Research Training Grant 1984-1987; Smithsonian Graduate Research Fellowship, 1995; Smithsonian Pre-Doctoral Fellowship,1998.

2 Church community oral traditions tapes are available from the author.

3 "Lining" a hymn is an old church custom once done to help people who couldn't read.

4 Personal communication, Georgie Lewis Jackson, Jerusalem, Florida 3/08/2001.

5 Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973 [1966]):6-9.

6 Abner Cohen, *Two-Dimensional Man: An Essay on the Anthropology of Power and Symbolism in Complex Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976 [1974] 18-34, 65-88).

Audrey L. Brown, Ph.D., Anthropology, is an ethnographer with the Archeology and Ethnography Program, National Park Service, Washington, DC. She is responsible for developing and implementing Service-wide training about African-American and other cultural groups with traditional ethnographic resources in parks and heritage areas.

Donald G. Callaway

Methods used in Ethnographic Inquiry in Alaska

The state of Alaska comprises about 364 million acres (or about 21% of the total acreage of the lower 48 states) of which an amazing two thirds are in federal conservation units (e.g., parks and wildlife refuges).

In 1994. the Alaska Department of Fish and Game estimated that humans harvested and consumed about 53-1/2 million pounds of wildlife resources within the state of Alaska.[1] This poundage does not include the enormous commercial harvest of resources such as fish.

Alaska's population is extremely skewed with respect to residence. About 80% of Alaska's 550,000 residents live in the major metropolitan areas of Anchorage, Fairbanks, and Juneau. The remaining 20%, or about 120,000 individuals, live in about 200 small rural communities. The vast majority of these communities have less than 300 people.

The 20% of the state's population that is "rural" harvests about 44 million pounds (or about 80%) of the total wildlife consumed each year. Although large amounts of resources, especially fish, are taken from state lands, it is reasonable to estimate that about 30 million pounds of wildlife resources are extracted from lands managed by federal resource managers.

Ownership of Lands in Alaska	Acreage (millions of acres)
U.S. Bureau of Land Management	92.4
U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service	75.4
State	84.7
National Park Service	50.6
Forest Service	23.2
Native	35.1
Private	2.6
Total	364
Total Federal Conservation Units	**241.6**

The vast scale of the Alaska landscape when combined with the small number of enforcement personnel have significant implications for agency control and authority. In the huge areas of the sub-arctic and arctic regions, regulating the harvest of wildlife resources on a day-to-day basis often devolves to the local communities and their customary and traditional practices. Communities and regional entities often request that their local knowledge of a resource be included in resource management decisions. For their part, most land managers realize that to achieve their conservation objectives and to be effective managers require the incorporation of local perceptions and values in their management decisions. It is at this interface that cultural anthropologists can make substantial contributions.

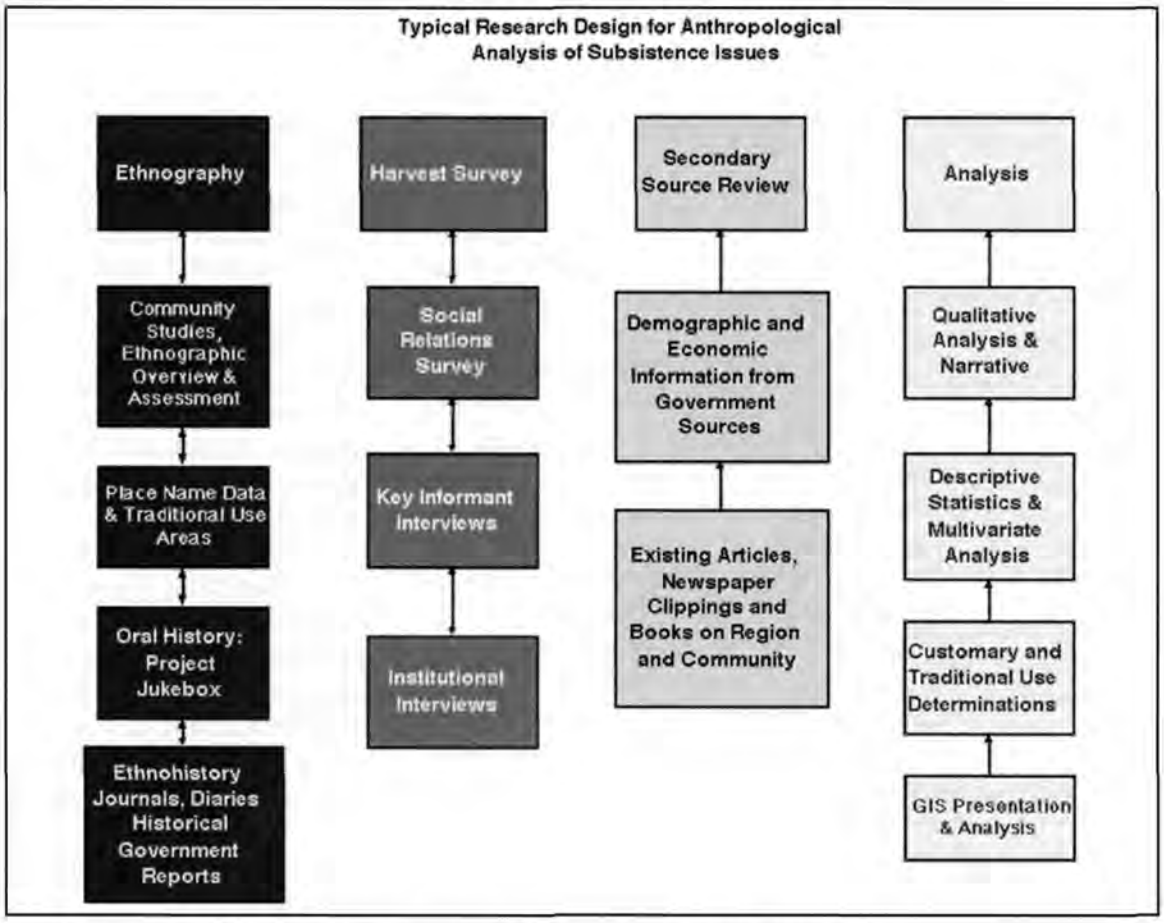
Integral to all this discussion is the awareness that management of natural resources is a process framed by social attitudes, cultural beliefs, multiple jurisdictions, and a variety of vested economic and political interests. Ethnography and other social science methodologies can help us to understand and communicate the importance of these vested interests to resource managers.

> Intimate knowledge of traditional resource use will allow National Park Service managers to respond to stakeholders in culturally appropriate ways.[2]

Ethnographic Community Studies

The 1994 draft report, "Ecosystem Management in the National Park Service," recommends that the National Park Service:

> Initiate broader data collection to assess better the needs, attitudes, and values of local communities. This should include census data, Department of Commerce data, state and private economic data, intensive stakeholder surveys, and ethnographic assessments. Data should be coordinated between agencies and other partners to improve quality and access.[3]



In Alaska, the National Park Service (NPS) has employed a variety of anthropological methodologies to obtain local and regional information critical to resource management decisions. Standard ethnographies have been commissioned by the NPS and other agencies to provide a detailed contextual understanding of individual communities. For example, *Nuvendaltin Quht'ana, The People of Nondalton,*[4] co-authored by an anthropologist and a former Dena'ina park ranger, provides an in-depth description of numerous topics including Dena'ina environment, population shifts to sedentism, kinship and band organization, and a detailed consideration of "Living with the Land: The Inland Dena'ina Year."

There have also been a number of ethnographic overviews and assessments, described by Mason and Cohen in another paper in this anthology that have topical specialists provide a comprehensive overview of the existing anthropological literature on a particular group or community affiliated with an Alaskan park or preserve.

Survey Research

These ethnographic details—when coupled with information collected from anthropological survey research of the harvest, processing, and distribution of wildlife resources—provide invaluable validation of Dena'ina rights to harvest resources on conservation units. They also provide resource managers with the details of traditional practices that can be linked to western management practices of setting of seasons (when to harvest resources) and bag limits (amount that can be harvested).

The table below, from an Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Subsistence Division, harvest survey for the Nondalton com-

Resource Category	Estimated Number	Per Capita Pounds
All Resources		1174.78
Fish	98,015	943.30
Salmon	53,756	768.67
Non-Salmon Fish	44,259	174.63
Land Mammals	856	199.15
Large Land Mammals	255	179.54
Small Land Mammals	602	19.62
Birds and Eggs		8.71
Vegetation		23.62

munity in 1983, is another example of the methodologies employed by cultural anthropologists working in Alaska. In this case, it illustrates the more formal social science methods of survey research.

Oral Histories

Other anthropological methodologies include the collection of oral histories. In some cases traditional life histories are recorded and transcribed. Normally in this process an elder or other informant selects incidents, topics, and themes from their life to recount with very little prompting from the anthropologist. Often life histories are followed by more systematic consideration of specific topics, e.g., the location of traditional use areas.

The Oral History Program at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, in collaboration with the NPS, has in a number of instances turned these oral histories into "project jukeboxes." A group of oral histories from a specific community (or on a specific topic) are integrated into a multimedia package that is returned to the community. The oral history tapes are digitized, indexed, and are linked (using HTML) with photos, maps, or video clips. Anyone in the community, but especially students, can access these files using a computer. The student may listen to the elder's life history from beginning to end, view the transcript in English, view photos of the elder or the elder's extended family, search topically through all the oral histories for specific issues or view maps with place names that include hypertext links to a pronunciation of that name or may contain a narrative about that place.

Place Name Data

The NPS has also supported the collection and digitizing of extensive place name data. James Kari's work among Athabascan groups in Alaska is a premier example of this kind of work. For example, his "Native Place Names Mapping in Denali National Park and Preserve"[5] inventories and identifies 1,650 features for five Alaska Native groups associated with Denali National Park and Preserve. Index maps show how the Athabaskan language boundaries transect the park area and describe numerous rule-driven features of Athabaskan place names, e.g., Athabascans virtually never name places after people. In addition, Kari demonstrates that place names occur in place name networks, where names with similar structural and semantic properties are inter-linked across huge bio-regions and shows how Athabaskan place names function as signs on a mental map and are vital for orientation in the band's large land use area.

Kari notes:

> There are numerous rule-driven features of the names that facilitate memorization. There is an economy of naming that emphasizes the master stream drainage system and the cluster of a couple of names around prominent features.[6]

Some of the place name data has been digitized, is available through GIS, and allows resource managers, for example, to apprehend traditional use areas. Similar place name investigations are being carried out by Tom Thorton with Tlingit informants in southeast Alaska.

Special Topics, Traditional Knowledge

Several ethnographic inquires have been directed toward specific topics. For example, the documentation of plant use by communities in the Lake Clark area used a variety of methods including surveys, key informant interviews, and mapping.[7] The impact of NPS regulations on traditional cabin use in Denali[8] and traditional knowledge of brown bears on the Seward Peninsula[9] utilized key informants and participant observation.

Other projects, not yet finalized, include:

- a network analysis of the production and distribution networks for subsistence resources within communities in northwest Alaska. This project employed harvest surveys, genealogies, historical census data and sophisticated multivariate cluster analysis to demonstrate the fundamental importance of kin networks in the harvest and sharing of wildlife resources.
- a comprehensive study of the use of gull eggs by the Tlingit in southeast Alaska is providing wonderful insights into the traditional use, preservation and conservation of glucous winged gull populations by the community of Hoonah.

Summary

Anthropologists in Alaska employ a multimethod approach to research. This approach combines ethnographic narrative, a solid descriptive cornerstone which often presents the community point of view with formal survey research designs that provide representative quantitative data.

Notes

1 Wolfe, R.J., and R. G. Bosworth. "Subsistence in Alaska: 1994 Update," Juneau: Division of

Subsistence, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, 1994.
2 Dennis, John et al, "Draft Report: Ecosystem Management in the National Park Service," Washington, DC.: National Park Service, (1994):14
3 Ibid. p.15
4 Ellanna, Linda J. and Andrew Balluta, *NUVEN-DALTIN QUHT'ANA, The people of Nondalton,* Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington D.C., 1992.
5 Kari, James, "DENA'INAQ' TITAZTUN, Draft Final Report: Native Place Names Mapping in Denali National Park and Preserve," NPS, Denali National Park and Preserve, through contract with Alaska and Polar Regions Department, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Fund #337662, 1999.
6 Ibid. p.11
7 Johnson, Darryll R., Eugene Hunn, Priscilla Russell, Mark Vande Kamp, Edmund Searles, "Subsistence Uses of Vegetal Resource In and Around Lake Clark National Park and Preserve," Technical Report NPS/CCWSOUW/NRTR-98-16, NPS D-19, University of Washington Field Station, USGS-BRD-FRESC, College of Forest Resources, Box 353100, Seattle, Washington 98195-2100, 1998.
8 Johnson, Darryll R. and Dianne Gudgel-Holmes, "Traditional Use of Cabins and Other Shelters in the North Additions to Denali National Park and Preserve, Technical Report NPS/CCSOUW/NRTR-99-02, NPS D-290, University of Washington Field Station USGS/BRD/FRESC, College of Forest Resources, Box 352100, Seattle, Washington 98195-2100, 1999.
9 Georgette, Susan, "Brown Bears on the Northern Seward Peninsula, Alaska: Traditional Kowledge and Subsistence Uses in Deering and Shismaref," Technical Paper No. 248, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence, Juneau, Alaska, 2001.

Donald G. Callaway, Ph.D., Anthropology, is the Senior Cultural Anthropologist at the NPS Alaska Support Office in Anchorage. A graduate of the University of Michigan he has found a post-doctoral fellowship in statistics (at the University of California, Berkeley) to be invaluable in his applied work for the NPS.

Rachel Mason and Janet Cohen

The Subsistence-Flavored Ethnography of the Alaska Region

In Alaska, state and federal laws regulate the harvest of wild food for personal or family consumption. Controversy has flared for decades over the proper management of these subsistence harvests. The 1980 Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) gave a priority for subsistence harvests to rural residents. In 1989, a Ninth Circuit Court decision declared that under the Alaska constitution, all state residents should have equal access to harvests for personal use. Because of the state's failure to comply with federal law, the Federal Subsistence Management Program was established in 1990 to manage wildlife hunting on federal public lands under the terms of ANILCA. The program expanded in 1999 to include fisheries in navigable waters. As a federal landholder, the National Park Service is, with the Bureau of Land Management, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Fish and Wildlife Service, and Forest Service, one of the five lead agencies in the interagency Federal Subsistence Management Program.

Since its inception, the federal subsistence program has recognized the need for cultural anthropologists and their ethnographic expertise in documenting traditional uses of wild foods. In addition to ethnographic projects for specific park units, Park Service ethnographers are regularly asked to provide technical assistance to the federal program. Frequently this is rapid, policy-directed research that tends to synthesize and review other anthropologists' work. This article describes some of these research projects.

Customary and Traditional Uses

One such type of research is to collect and analyze data for Customary and Traditional (C&T) Use Determinations. Proposals for these determinations request that a particular community or group of communities within a

Fishwheel on the Yukon Charley River, Interior Alaska.

geographic area be identified as having C&T subsistence use of an individual resource; for example, brown bear, or resource category, such as all fresh water fish. A positive finding gives residents of the community a status as federally-qualified rural subsistence users. Typically, the analysis emphasizes past and present harvest levels and use areas, but also includes a range of ethnographic data as part of the factors used to evaluate eligibility as a Customary and Traditional resource user. These factors include, for example, information on traditional means of harvesting and processing food, handing down knowledge from generation to generation, sharing of subsistence foods, and reliance on a variety of fish and wildlife resources which provide substantial nutritional, economic, and cultural elements to the community. Research for C&T determinations depends heavily on the community profiles database and technical report series maintained by the Alaska Department of Fish and Game, Division of Subsistence. The ethnographer completing the analysis does not work in isolation, but must coordinate with state and federal biologists as well as work closely with the proposal's proponents. C&T proposals, along with other regulatory proposals, are submitted by individual subsistence users, local advisory groups, tribal entities, government agencies, and special interest groups.

13.44 Permitting under ANILCA

Another type of ethnographic work assisting both park managers and the federal subsistence program identifies park resident zone communities and individuals eligible for 13.44 permits. The intent of Congress in ANILCA was to limit eligibility for subsistence activities in national parks to local rural residents with a personal or family history of using park resources. Resident zones authorize all permanent residents within these zones to participate in subsistence activities on NPS lands without a subsistence use permit. Section 13.44 of Title VIII, the portion of ANILCA dealing with subsistence, states that individuals who reside outside of the resident zone communities, who can demonstrate a customary and traditional use of park subsistence resources, may apply to the superintendent for a "13.44" permit allowing subsistence use activities within a park. Ethnographers also document traditional means of access to parks in order to help inform managers regarding issues of access and associated user conflicts. For example, airplanes are not typically considered a traditional means of access to subsistence resources, but in certain cases, such as the community of Yakutat's use of Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve, communities have been able to show that airplanes are the only practical and safe means of access to their traditional harvest areas.

Traditional Ecological Knowledge

The Federal Subsistence Management Program oversees a Fisheries Research and Monitoring Program. One category of research that the program supports is the collection of Traditional Ecological Knowledge. Anthropologists work closely with subsistence users (elders and other knowledgeable harvesters) to document their lifelong observations about particular resources. This information, combined with western biological data, can help address subsistence management and resource conservation issues.

Ethnographic Overview and Assessment

As in other park service regions, Ethnographic Overview and Assessments (EOA) are carried out in Alaska parks. The objective here is to synthesize and summarize existing data and identify gaps in the available ethnographic information about groups affiliated with the parks. This study aims to enlighten park staff and others about affiliated groups and ethnographic needs. In recent years, Alaska Native tribes have played a larger role in designing and implementing these studies. For example, in the EOA currently being completed for Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve, two of the communities associated with the park elected to produce their own community histories as part of the larger report. The remainder was conducted under a three-way contract with the Copper River Native Association, the regional tribal organization serving Ahtna villages in the Copper

River Basin. EOAs and other larger ethnographic studies, although not specifically designed to address subsistence management issues, can be and often are utilized to inform the regulatory process.

Consultation and Collaboration

Similar to anthropologists in other park service regions, much of our work does involve consultation and collaboration with the groups that policy decisions affect. Since most of the burning issues in Alaska have to do with subsistence, we are regularly brought into contact with tribes and Native corporations, formally established subsistence advisory groups, and a variety of organizations representing other groups whose use of wild foods for commercial or recreational purposes directly competes with subsistence uses. Many of our collaborations and consultations have short-term objectives related to management decisions. Of course, longer term relationships, or the potential for them, are also established. Because of contacts formed in the subsistence context, ethnographers are in a particularly good position to develop community partnerships and serve as a liaison between the public and the National Park Service.

Because of the need to focus on specific subsistence issues, we tend to concentrate research efforts on levels of harvest and resource use areas, rather than on other aspects of social life. This is not to say that we, or Alaska Natives, think of subsistence as primarily an economic activity. On the contrary, the harvest of wild foods is significant far beyond its nutritional or economic value; it is inseparable from other aspects of culture. The language of Title VIII (e.g., Sections 801 and 802) clearly shows ANILCA's intent to protect the subsistence way of life as a whole.

Woman processing bearded sealhide in northern Alaska.

Photos courtesy NPS Alaska Support Office.

Ethnographic Landscapes

The ethnography program has many links to the cultural landscapes program. Currently we are coordinating ethnographic projects with cultural landscape reports at Klondike-Gold Rush National Historical Park and at Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve. Additionally, the ethnographers and cultural landscapes staff are presently collaborating on an international study of ethnographic landscapes in the circumpolar north.

Conclusion

Many still consider Alaska the "Last Frontier" because of its vast stretches of remote and seemingly untouched wilderness. Alaska's size and the amount of park land make it a symbolic battleground for issues of preservation versus resource development. Ethnographers can make valuable contributions to wilderness planning efforts by, for example, reminding others that wilderness is itself a cultural construct. The federal subsistence program is mandated to give rural residents priority in harvesting subsistence foods. This priority can be a bone of contention both to wilderness defenders and to commercial developers.

Alaskan ethnographers have an important role in the federal subsistence program. In collaboration with scientists, managers, and local communities, we contribute information for short-term management decisions and conduct more conventional ethnographic research projects. Ultimately, all the types of research contribute to the broader and longer term goal of documenting, revealing, and preserving Native Alaskan and other subsistence lifeways.

Rachel Mason, Ph.D., is a cultural anthropologist at the NPS Alaska Support Office in Anchorage. Before her work at NPS, she was employed at the Office of Subsistence Management, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

Janet Cohen, Master of Applied Anthropology, also works at the NPS Alaska Support Office. Prior work includes Navajo Nation cultural resource management and the Alaska Department of Fish and Game Division of Subsistence.

Lorne Todd Holyoak

Ethnography and Historic Preservation

Palauan Challenges

The ethnography/oral history program of the Historic Preservation Office (HPO) of the Republic of Palau is concerned primarily with the documentation and preservation of traditional knowledge about both cultural practices and significant archeological, traditional, and historic sites within Palau. Because the people of Palau recognize that they are subject to the pressures of globalization and culture change, it has become increasingly important to them that they find ways to actively preserve their tangible and intangible cultural properties. The HPO's Historic Preservation Program enjoys a measure of support within the community, and is actively working to expand its community base. The HPO is also concerned with making traditional knowledge available to a larger audience through publications and community programming to stimulate discussion and motivate action. The next decade will witness massive change in Palau, and the problem of how Palauans respond to acculturative pressures within the global environment is paramount.

Prior to the establishment of the Division of Cultural Affairs (which incorporates the HPO), McKnight[1] conducted some anthropological research in Palau for the Trust Territory government. Even earlier, Endo,[2] followed by Kramer,[3] conducted research in Palau under the auspices of the Japanese and German administrations. While these efforts help to provide a valuable background for today's work, they were not carried out guided by local needs. Present work in historic preservation is conceived and directed by Palauans. Local people set priorities based on an indigenous understanding of what is valued and what has the potential to make the greatest contribution to preserving Palau's traditional culture. The objectives of the oral history/ethnography program are in keeping with the broader objectives of the preservation ethic. However, they are first of all objectives developed to benefit the Palauan people.

The ethnography/oral history section of the HPO arranges regular sessions of the Society of Historians. The Historians are officially recognized as living national treasures by the Republic of Palau because they are repositories of knowledge about Palau's history and traditions. The Historians are appointed by the HPO, in consultation with the president of the Republic and the state government. A Historian, either male or female, is appointed from each state. The objective is to select someone who is knowledgeable and respected throughout the community. They are drawn from the ranks of the elders of the community and are appointed for life. They are not actually a part of the Division of Cultural Affairs, but they work closely with the ethnography section.

Every year, the Historians gather under the auspices of the section to discuss an aspect of traditional knowledge. This year, for example, they completed a booklet on the topic of medicine and therapy. To date, the subjects chosen have been drawn from the publication, *Rechuodel* Volume 1.[4] This work was produced by the Society of Historians and the meetings are intended to provide an opportunity for the Historians to expand and improve the chapters. The results of the meetings are published by topic in booklet form, in both Palauan and English. It is problematic to attempt to record an oral tradition in written form, since the informa-

Historians prepare to embark for field trip to Angaur. Photo courtesy Palau Division of Cultural Affairs.

tion is disputed, and because the very act of writing changes the nature of the information. This is a challenging problem and indicative of the changing nature of Palauan society. It is important to produce these works for a number of reasons. They stimulate discussion about these traditions within the community. This helps to ensure that younger people are exposed to these ideas. The documents themselves help to teach younger people about their traditions, and encourage them to ask the elders of the community to explain and clarify. The meetings of the Historians and the publication of the booklets mean that these traditional methods and ideas are preserved, so that even if they are not passed down orally, they are still available to be studied and perhaps revived by present and future generations of Palauans.

The ethnography/oral history section works closely with the survey and inventory section for the preservation of important cultural sites. When a development project submits an application for historic clearance it is often the case that the survey section must inspect the site. Sometimes, they request the ethnography section to assist the survey section in determining land ownership and use. This entails tracking down knowledgeable individuals and learning from them the traditions of mythology, use, and history for a site or property. Sometimes, slightly different or even competing versions of oral history will emerge. It is the job of the ethnography section to assess and present this information in such a way that the most complete oral history emerges. This work is particularly challenging and important when undocumented burial sites are discovered. Determining the lineage affiliation of the deceased is sensitive and controversial, due to disputes over land tenure. When the oral history has been collected, it is included in the report on site significance issued by the survey section and thus plays a role in the negotiations with the developer to issue a memorandum of agreement (MOA) regarding the site. The MOA usually provides for mitigation measures that allow for archeological investigation of the site, although at times the final outcome is full or partial preservation of the site.

The other joint undertaking between the ethnography section and the survey section is the annual state historic and cultural resource survey. The objective of the survey is to document traditional and historic sites so that they are identified and protected from accidental harm by development projects. The ethnography section's responsibility is to collate and expand documented traditional knowledge and oral history that relates to historical and cultural resources in the targeted state. This will help to identify sites for nomination to the Palau Register of Historic Sites, and allow the Division of Cultural Affairs to identify which sites are endangered by proposed development. Beyond that, these oral histories are inherently valuable and in danger of being lost. By collecting them, the Division of Cultural Affairs is taking steps to ensure that the traditional knowledge of Palau is preserved and available for future generations.

An important goal of the Division is to make the information we collect available to the public. The information collected during the state survey is published internally and is open to public inspection. The most prominent undertaking is the distribution of publications on topics of traditional lifeways, social organization, skills and practices. Initially, the Division published a number of volumes in English as part of the Micronesian Resources Study, along with Palauan language volumes devoted to culture and history. Subsequently, the Palauan language works have served as the basis for the production of a series of booklets addressing various aspects of Palauan traditions and social organization. All of these publications are made available to schools, non-governmental organizations, government offices, and other appropriate agencies. The purpose of disseminating these works is to stimulate discussion and debate about Palauan culture, especially among students. It is accepted that the various publications are not definitive, and it is hoped that the public will respond with constructive criticisms.

Clearly, the research undertaken by the Division is of a limited scope. However, it has revealed the degree to which traditional knowledge and values are still preserved in the rural communities of Palau. While Palau is subject to extensive acculturative forces, there is ample evidence that culture change in Palau is not monolithic. In contemporary Palau, the people are aware of the importance of their Palauan identity and of the role that their traditions play in creating and maintaining that identity. As development proceeds here, so does the consciousness of its potential effects on lifeways and values. The completion of the compact road will open up the rural areas of the nation to outlandish ideas, con-

sumer society, and economic transformation. The response of the people to these events, and the way in which they choose to adapt their society to cope with change, will want close watching.

Notes

1 McNight, Robert K. "Breadfruit Cultivation Practices and Beliefs in Palau." *Anthropological Working Papers #7.* Office of the Staff Anthropologist, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Guam, Marianas Islands. 1960; *Palauan Culture Heroes as Agents of Change.* Paper presented at the Southwestern Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, San Diego. 1969

2 Endo, Hisashi. *Collective Works of Hijikata Hisaktsu.* Tokyo: Sasakawa Peace Foundation. 1993-1995.

3 Kramer, Augustin. *Ergebnisse der Sudsee Expedition 1908-1910, Palau.* Edited by G. Thilenius. Hamburg: Friederichsen. 1917.

4 Palau Society of Historians *Rechuodel,* Volume 1. *Oral History Research Series One.* Koror: Division of Cultural Affairs. 1995.

Lorne Todd Holyoak, Ph.D., cultural anthropologist, is an ethnographer in the Division of Cultural Affairs in Koror, Republic of Palau.

Ana Dittmar

Tourism and Native Cultures

Guam and American Samoa, two Western Pacific islands with U.S. national parks, are influenced by tourism in vastly different ways. Both native cultures pride themselves in their beautiful natural environments and cultural identities. Both persistently value and desire to continue their native traditions in the face of change, yet Guam has the influences of a 500-year-long history of colonialism while the physical and cultural environment on American Samoa has been touched more lightly. Both islands and traditional cultures are attractive destinations for tourists because of their tropical marine ecology and Pacific Island lifestyles. Contrasting responses to the tourist industry are apparent between these two Pacific islands whose native cultures both neighbor and interact with the U.S. National Park Service.

War in the Pacific National Historical Park on Guam contributes to an American presence on this densely populated island. Modern, native Chamorros comprise about 40% of Guam's population, many of whom are employed by the island's most influential industry, tourism. The U.S. National Park Service on Guam also employs Chamorros at all levels, approximately 50% of their small park staff. Japanese tourists make up about 75% of the park's visitors to whom War in the Pacific National Historical Park must interpret both the events of World War II as well as Guam's traditional native heritage and marine island ecology.

Tourism on Guam is far-reaching, long-term, and historically based in its colonial past. Efforts to preserve the natural environment and traditional Chamorro culture swim against the established tide, but has gained a foothold on Guam.

On American Samoa, eco-tourism with its mainstay concepts of sustainability and sensitivity to the cultural and natural environment has been adopted by the U.S. National Park Service there. Used to adapt visitors to the native Samoan lifestyle, park literature instructs visitors in how to not offend native residents and to have minimal impact on their traditional culture and natural environment. With their innovative Home Stay Program, the National Park of American Samoa invites tourists to participate in village life while Samoans associated with the park set their own fees for accommodations and accompanying traditional activities. This is only the beginning of eco-tourism in the Western Pacific but represents native cultures seeking tourism on their own terms. Perhaps the results will be a better response to the challenge of preserving native integrity and the natural world.

Staff (including native Chamorro personnel) at War in the Pacific National Historical Park Headquarters on Guam. Photo by Steve Keane.

Ana Dittmar, Ph.D., Anthropology, is the Museum Curator/Cultural Resources for War in the Pacific National Historical Park on Guam and American Memorial Park on Saipan.

Donna K. Stone

Changing Views, Cultural Survival
Knowledge and Power in the Marshall Islands

Francis Bacon's insight that "knowledge is power" is as meaningful today in the Marshall Islands, and elsewhere, as it was in 16th-century England. For over 2,500 years the Marshallese people accrued an immense body of knowledge that allowed them to survive in an environment containing few natural resources. In the past, when Marshallese people and culture were more isolated, those who controlled this information kept it concealed because knowledge represented power.

The position of the traditional chief, known as *irooj*, was sanctioned and empowered through his knowledge. This belief and practice were reflected linguistically in the Marshallese expression, *irooj im jela* (the *irooj* and knowing); "the *irooj* knows everything." He may not have known "everything" but he did control the knowledge available and regarded as worthwhile in his community. Chiefs achieved control by surrounding themselves with those who had specialized knowledge. By controlling them, he displayed his power. Historically, the *irooj* assembled accomplished individuals into a *nitijela* (pit of knowledge). This group was composed of a diviner, medicine person, navigator, fishing master, genealogist, storyteller, sorcerer, magician, and warrior.[1] It was the chief's ability to gather these experts around him, and control their use of knowledge that added to his power.[2] Individual participants in the *nitijela*, enhanced their own power and their families' status.

In 1914, August Erdland wrote that knowledge concerning Marshallese astronomy, for example, was a valuable inheritance which no one outside the particular family group could possess.[3] Knowledge and the associated navigational skills were considered familial treasures that raised the owners' social and political status. The *irooj* and citizenry alike entrusted themselves to the leadership of the experienced navigators whose knowledge of the stars, clouds, and waves enabled only them to determine the position of the atolls and predict the weather. The navigator enjoyed privileges that were otherwise reserved only for the *irooj* and ruler class. Therefore, to ensure a higher social station and a better inheritance for their progeny, the navigators, as well as other members of the *nitijela*, concealed the substance of their science.

Today, with increased external influences, the shift from traditional rural to urban living, and the availability of new technologies, traditional knowledge and its control no longer offer the same prestige. As "western" values replace or diminish Marshallese traditions and are transmitted to younger generations, both the practice and knowledge of the traditional Marshallese way of life disappear. The available knowledge pool has been fragmented into individual private arenas of practice, with variations among atoll and island groups. Many Marshallese are not aware that traditions and stories differ among atolls, and that those who "know" have little agreement.

The Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI) has much in its favor. It is an independent

Traditional outrigger canoe, c.1900.

nation where the majority of its citizens are Marshallese in heritage. Land tenure is such that it is difficult, if not impossible, for outsiders to own land. Several organizations are collecting and preserving historical information.[4] However, while people elsewhere, say, Hawaii, perceive the adverse effects of external cultural influences, and are joining together to preserve traditional art and customs, the movement is less evident in the RMI. The cultural identity movement on the Hawaiian Islands is currently prompting a revival of traditions. The contemporary philosophy of Hawaiian identity does not base "Hawaiianness" on blood quotients, but on the presence of and participation in certain cultural practices. Politically, the revival movement focuses on the repatriation of seized land and reparations for losses, but culturally, beliefs about identity focus on the language, crafts, and performance arts represented by rural Hawaiians.[5] Native Hawaiians lost much of their land during the last century, and almost lost their language. Nevertheless, the Hawaiian cultural identity remains strong. The Hawaiian Renaissance might hold lessons for the Marshallese.

Traditional clothing vs. "western" clothing, c. 1900.

What is evident in the RMI is the gradual "westernization" of youth. Children watch "western" television and movies, and play video and computer games. Those living in the urban centers might be taught more about western ways and ideas than traditional Marshallese culture. Many young people have never been to one of the rural, more traditional, outer islands and have little knowledge of Marshallese history. But, they are exposed to readily available "western" ideas and knowledge. On the other hand, much of the traditional Marshallese knowledge is typically held "secret." Ironically, the secrecy that once increased the power and prestige of an *irooj* and his family is, in many ways, now obsolete. Correspondingly, the transmission of traditional knowledge, the knowledge-based positions of certain families, and the relationships that once tied youth to knowledgeable elders have weakened. Younger generations are unaware of protected information and its ramifications.

Photos courtesy Alele Museum, Majuro, Republic of the Marshall Islands.

Conceivably, under today's conditions, everyone could obtain respect and a sense of control over cultural information if the learned people shared their traditional knowledge and modern technology made it readily available. Although sharing unique knowledge might not have been characteristically Marshallese, the future might bring schools—modern equivalents of knowledge pits or *nitijela*—where Marshallese elders can teach younger generations the traditional methods of navigation, astronomy, fishing, medicine, crafts, dancing, and *maanpa*, the traditional Marshallese art of self-defense. At least traditional arts could be preserved and possibly revived, and knowledgeable elders could be accorded special recognition, if value can be placed on public knowledge and not private knowledge. In this case, "external" educational ideals could prove valuable.

Notes

1. Augustin Kramer and Hans Nevermann, Ralik-Ratak (Marshall-Inseln), G. Thilenius (ed.), *Ergebnisse der Sudsee-Expedition 1908-1910. II. Ethnographie, B: Mikronesien*, Vol. 11. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter and Co, 1938.
2. Phillip Henry McArthur, The Social Life of Narrative: Marshall Islands. Unpublished Dissertation, Department of Folklore, Indiana University, 1995.
3. August Erdland, *Die Marshall-Insulaner. Leben und Sitte, Sinn und Religion eines Sudsee-Volkes*, Anthropos-Bibliothek, Internationale Sammlung Ethnologischer Monographien, Vol. 2:1, Munster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1914.
4. The Republic of the Marshall Islands Historic Preservation Office and Alele Museum both have ongoing projects. The Waan Aelon in Majel (formerly Waan Aelon Kein) has documented traditional canoe making. Youth to Youth in Health teach dancing and songs to the Marshallese youth.
5. Alan Handler, and Jocelyn Linnekin, "Tradition, Genuine or Spurious," *Journal of American Folklore*, 97 (1984): 273-290.

Donna K. Stone, M.A., Anthropology, is the ethnographer for Alele Museum, National Library, and National Archives, Majuro Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands.

Klara Kelley and Harris Francis

Canyon de Chelly National Monument
Ethnographic Resources

Canyon de Chelly National Monument, in Arizona, is on land that belongs to the Navajo Nation, which manages the monument jointly with the Park Service. The monument is the only one on Indian-owned land and was one of the first to have an Indian superintendent, Herbert Yazhe, a member of the Navajo Tribe. The monument was created in 1931, but Navajos have occupied it for centuries. Today, more than 60 families still occupy and use their family lands in the canyon and around its rim. They try to live their lives amid the stares of thousands of tourists who crowd the luxury motels and campgrounds of neighboring Chinle by night and tour the canyon by day. The monument has one concessioner, Thunderbird Lodge, whose huge trucks bring most tourists into the canyon. Other tourists pay Navajo guides to escort them into the canyon on foot, on horseback, or in the tourists' own vehicle. Tourists aren't allowed into the canyon without a Navajo guide, and guiding provides a living for members of several canyon families that partly compensates for the disruption of daily activities by the tourists, who collectively may spend almost as many person-days in the canyons during the year as all the residents combined.

In the spring of 1990, as employees of the Navajo Nation's Historic Preservation Department, we interviewed several Navajos for a small ethnographic research project on the monument partly funded by the National Park Service (NPS). The purpose was to identify places of particular cultural significance and concern to Navajos who live in and use the monument. Later, we received more NPS funding for more interviewing, which we did in the early summer of 1992.

Limits on time and money in both phases of this project allowed us to interview a total of 16 people, a group too small to represent a cross section of resident families and others who use the canyon and its rims for Navajo cultural purposes. To get as wide a range of information as possible, we tried to talk to people with as many different interests in the canyon as possible. The group includes residents of different parts of the monument, non-resident users, medicine people, guides, women and men, old and relatively young, people interested mainly in the Navajo occupation in the last few centuries, and others interested mainly in the canyon's role in Navajo ceremonialism.

Spider Rock at Canyon de Chelly National Monument, Arizona. NPS photo.

We learned about people to interview from Mr. Yazhe and his staff, many of whom belong to canyon families. We also knew of people from our previous work around Navajoland and from one of the authors' having grown up in the neighboring community of Chinle.

Our interviews were unstructured, the only comfortable way for the people whose help we sought. The Navajo regard for esoteric knowledge as personal power not to be given away for free resembles, but is much older than, the modern legal notion of "intellectual property." So in requesting help from such people, you must not only offer a fee, but also let the person control the conversation. That way, everyone is more likely to enjoy it.

Most of the interviews occurred at people's homes, where we used maps and recorded place names to identify the locations of significant places and events. Some interviews occurred on tours of parts of the two branches of the canyon, Canyon de Chelly and Canyon del Muerto, and around the rims. Two people were interviewed both at homes and later on a tour. Most of the interviewees, both at homes and on tours, were recorded on audio tape, usually in Navajo. We have produced English transcripts of these tapes.

These transcripts gave us one of the most important insights to result from this study: that the interview setting affects what people tell, especially how they convey cultural geography. On a tour, the route itself dictates the sequence in which the person identifies particular places. At home, the person is more likely to mention places by telling a story or ceremonial sequence that interconnects a group of places. Actually travelling on the land, then, ironically minimizes the conceptual connections among places that bind them into culturally-constructed landscapes. Tours are essential, though, to pin down exact locations of many places, to help people recall more places than they would at home, and to prompt visualized, and the more detailed, accounts of what happened at certain places.

Talking about places in these two types of settings, it turns out, approximates how the people themselves learned about many places: an older person (grandparent, medicine person) at home would tell the learner about the place, often in the context of a story, and would identify it by name, describe its appearance and situation. The learner would actually visit the place some other time, alone or with the older person or someone else who had already been there and perhaps had more to tell about it.

We noticed another interesting pattern. The canyon residents we interviewed, not surprisingly, emphasized places within their own customary use areas. More surprisingly, they told different stories about widely-known sacred places in those areas than non-residents told about those same places. The non-residents referred to stories known all over Navajoland about the origin of particular Navajo ceremonies, beliefs, and customs. They referred specifically to the episodes of these stories that occurred at particular places in the canyon. The residents told about encounters between family members and immortal personages ("Holy People") or unusual manifestations of power that go with these places according to the widely known origin stories. The residents' stories linked the family through personal experi-

Navajo sheep grazing near Junction ruins, the cliff masonry construction by earlier American Indian people at Canyon de Chelly, Arizona. NPS photo.

Canyon de Chelly White House Ruins, Navajo jewelry seller, and tourist. Photo by Klara Kelley.

ences with the forces of Navajo creation. The customary use areas are geographical zones embodying a family's history, and at these places they articulate with larger, more extensive landscapes relating to Navajo origins. The different emphases of residents and nonresidents are necessary to see the various culturally-constructed landscapes and how they overlap and intersect. There seems to be a comparable difference in perspectives of residents and nonresidents on the relation of the canyon to more recent Navajo history, especially that of the 18th and 19th centuries when the canyon was a major Navajo refuge from Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. armies and slave raiders, both non-Indian and Indian.

We have also compared the list of the places identified by the eight people we interviewed in 1990 with those in a manuscript inventory of places in Canyon de Chelly (not del Muerto) sent to us by Professor Stephen Jett (University of California, Davis). The manuscript is based on the literature of two decades of intensive work of Professor Jett and Mr. Chauncey Neboyia, a lifelong canyon resident and guide, and William Morgan, a Navajo specialist in linguistics.* Our little Phase I study identified 41 places, 32 (80%) of which correspond to 35 (25%) of the 139 places that Jett and Neboyia identify. In view of the great differences in time and effort between the two studies, the overlap is surprisingly high. It is probably best explained by the extensive web of kinship among canyon residents and by everyone's use of the same routes into and out of the canyon.

Most of the people who talked with us emphasized their struggle to keep Navajo customary uses of the canyon alive in the face of the escalating tourist onslaught; armed pothunters sneaking into the backcountry; escalating erosion from vehicle traffic in the canyons and timber cutting in the Navajo forest; and dwindling interest in Navajo ways of life among young Navajos. As a canyon resident and medicine man told us,

> It's good that people are teaching the children tradition again. We've learned what happens when we forget our culture. We have experienced lots of bad things, the rains have gone and stayed away, the plants don't grow as they used to. Our livestock are few and weak. That is our mainstay in life, our livestock and the land...Now there are those of you who have started talking about these things and are trying to do something about it to help us...You are just starting out, beginning the ceremony. After a while it will be good...With these programs, involve the people, us people also, we would like to have input into these things.

Note

* Jett, Stephen C., Chauncey M. Neboyia and William Morgan Sr. *Placenames and Trails of the Canyon de Chelly System, Arizona.* 1992. Manuscript in authors' possession.

The authors have worked together continuously since 1987 interviewing Navajos in various parts of Navajoland about protecting places of cultural significance and the cultural and religious rights of Navajo people. Before 1993 they worked for the Navajo Nation's Archaeology and Historic Preservation Departments. Since then they have continued as independent consultants. Harris Francis draws on his fluency in the Navajo language, his customary Navajo upbringing, and experience as a social worker and paralegal. He is Tachii'nii clan born for Tabaaha. Klara Kelley received her Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of New Mexico in 1977, has conducted fieldwork in Navajoland for 28 years, and has written two books, journal articles, and technical reports. Kelley and Francis are the authors of Navajo Sacred Places *(Indiana University Press, 1994).*

Jacilee Wray

Tribes Write Book About the Indigenous Peoples of the Olympic Peninsula

In June 1992, representatives from nine tribes of the Olympic Peninsula region formed the Olympic Peninsula Intertribal Cultural Advisory Committee. The tribes are the Elwha Klallam, Jamestown S'Klallam, Port Gamble S'Klallam, Skokomish, Squaxin Island, Quinault, Hoh, Quileute, and Makah. Committee members, delegated by each tribe, meet at different reservations on alternate months, to fulfill their mission and their commitment to enhance the understanding, preservation, and continuation of cultural knowledge.

A major need the committee intends to fill is the creation of a better understanding of their ways of life for those who do not have a clear perspective of the peninsula tribes. "A tribe consists not only of individuals in traditional roles; a storyteller, basketweaver, or fisherman may also be a mill worker, lawyer, teacher, or government representative. Tribes include people living on and off the reservation, who help their kids with homework and teach traditional knowledge, who pull canoes and handle motorized boats, and who speak English, yet strive to preserve their native language."*

In 1996, the Olympic Peninsula Intertribal Cultural Advisory Committee and the park cultural anthropologist at Olympic National Park, in Washington State, assumed the task of writing a book that would give readers a foundation for learning about the people who form an integral part of the history and community of the Olympic Peninsula today. Such a book would serve Olympic National Park visitors because no existing publication discusses the several tribes who have occupied this region for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. The great need for such a book is also evident in the local public and private education system and in the community as a whole.

Cultural Committee. From front left, Georgianne Charles, Elwah Klallam; Vi Riebie, Hoh; Marie Hebert, Port Gamble S'Klallam; back left, Kathy Duncan, Jamestown S'Klallam; Justine James, Quinault; Chris Morganroth 3rd, Quileute. Photo by the author.

The Intertribal Committee applied for, and received, a grant to support this project from the non-profit organization, the National Park Foundation. The committee also competed successfully for a National Park Service Challenge Cost Share grant, which they matched by contributing their services on the book as payment in kind. Testimony to their fund–raising skills, the committee had previously received a grant from the National Park Service Historic Preservation Fund to support travel to meetings and training in historic preservation. Together, these funding sources were paramount in facilitating the intertribal work group meetings, editing, obtaining photographs, and defraying travel costs.

Each of the committee representatives took the lead in writing particular chapters, which include an overview of tribal history, highlights of contemporary issues, and descriptions of current heritage preservation programs. The reader can anticipate gaining a better understanding of the reservation community and the, until now, little-known opportunities to visit each of them. In addition to the main authors, other tribal cultural specialists assisted with writing, locating photographs, and conducting research. The park anthropologist served as the volume editor. She worked closely with the committee members to make their chapters consistent, while maintaining their individual characters. Many people came together to bring this book to fruition because of their extraordinary commitment to enlighten generations to come, American Indian and others.

Notes

* Olympic Peninsula Intertribal Cultural Advisory Committee, Jacilee Wray, editor. Forthcoming Publication. University of Oklahoma Press. (Title to be determined.)

Jacilee Wray, M. A., Anthropology, is the park cultural anthropologist at Olympic National Park, Washington.

David E. Ruppert

New Tribe/Park Partnerships

The Use of Ethnobotany in the Restoration of Indigenous Landscapes

The cocoa-tree supplies the Indians with bread, water, wine, vinegar, brandy, milk, oil, honey, sugar, needles, thread, linen, clothes, caps, spoons, besoms [brooms], baskets, paper, and nails; timber, coverings for their houses; masts, sails, cordage for their vessels; and medicines for their diseases; and what can be desired more?

Cotton Mather, 1720[1]

Uses of plants, and lists of plants, are as old as human history itself. Descriptions of plants as sources of medicine are found on Egyptian scrolls, and in the works of Aristotle as reflected in translations of early Arab texts. The 15th-century herbals of Chinese and Europeans reflect a long history of human knowledge about, and reliance upon, plants for medicinal uses.[2]

To a large extent, the Reverend Cotton Mather's practical interests in natural history and medicine and respect for New World Indian use of plants indicated in the quotation above reflect a long history of plant use and knowledge by a long line of shamans, curers, and physicians, throughout time, and from all parts of the globe. And to a lesser extent, his list reflects a general knowledge of the many uses of plants that is all but lost to us today.

Upon second reading, Mather's impressive catalog of practical uses may be even more remarkable for what it only implies. The list does not speak to the volume, scope, and complexity of traditional technical knowledge that had to exist in order for Indian peoples to make use of the cocoa plant as extensively as they did. It does not provide information on the horticultural system that fostered or altered the growth of *Theobroma.* Nor does it define the important role that the plant undoubtedly played in the tribe's social, religious, and cosmological views of the world.

Below, a Navajo medicine man speaks to the medicinal use of plants—and also to the broader role and complex purpose of plants in human society. He speaks to human cosmology (origins)—to seeing plants from inside a culture that uses them—to typologies of plant uses—and to connections between plants and other plants, plants and animals, and between plants and people.

> All plants are medicine, put here by the Holy People. They explained the uses of the plants to the Navajo. Sheep, goats, horses, and cattle eat all of these plants. That is why they are so healthy. There are big medicines and little medicines. The little ones help the big ones like children helping parents. You use the little ones when you are not very sick. Anyone can use these. The big medicine's use is known only by the medicine people. You have to pay to use a big medicine because the medicine people have to pay the plants with turquoise.[3]

However suggestive, these words are only a brief introduction to the delicate weave of

*Balsamroot (*Balsomorhiza sagittata*) was used as a food and medicine and for spiritual purposes by the* K'tunaxa *(Kootenai) and the* Piikani *(Blackfeet).*

complex belief systems and practices that centers on the place of plants in the Navajo worldview. It becomes clear that such human-plant relationships are overlooked by simple lists of plant uses like Mather's.

Managing "Pristine" Landscapes

In part, one underlying motivation for establishing many national park areas has been the preservation of ecosystems that have not been affected by the kinds of human-plant or human-environment relationships described above. Noble though this motivation may seem, it may not be based on demonstrable fact. Population estimates for the North American continent before the arrival of European emigrants vary between a modest two million and a more expansive 18 million (lower estimates may be due to observations resulting from the effects of disease introduced by immigrants, while higher estimates may attempt to neutralize these effects by relying on assessments of available resources that could have supported a larger population). Regardless of the range of estimates, there is little doubt that the forests, plains, and mountain valleys of the continent were by no means "humanless" landscapes. Rather, prior to the 15th century, they were well-populated by a wide diversity of distinct linguistic and cultural indigenous groups that had been busy for millennia managing and shaping the floral landscape to ensure their own physical and cultural survival.[4] Much of the continent at the time of "discovery" was very far indeed from what early preservationists viewed as "wild landscape" or "pristine wilderness."

To what extent Indian peoples managed the land and its resources is open to debate, but there is growing evidence that they used a wide variety of tools and techniques to ensure that subsistence resources would be available for thousands of years. One tool—fire—appears to have been widely used to modify forests, brushlands, grasslands, and entire landscapes and ecosystems—to clear forest understory, create more productive wildlife habitat, recycle nutrients, reduce plant competition, and generally increase the size and number of plants for the manufacture of utilitarian items.[5]

Obviously, then, the National Park Service is not the first landlord of the "pristine" and "untouched" landscapes we now call national parks. In fact, in large part due to the profound influence American Indians have had on all levels of biological organization within ecosystems,[6] the very concepts of "pristine area" and "wilderness area" are now being dismantled. By setting aside protected areas, it is recognized that the Park Service has succeeded in halting disturbances by hordes of arriving immigrants—but it is also recognized that this very same setting aside has put an end to much of the traditional environmental management of lands and plant communities by indigenous populations.

Combining Traditional Plant Ecology with Modern Resource Preservation

It is perhaps a bit too simplistic to claim that the confluence of the 19th-century preservation ethic and the ever-increasing immigrant population of the West gave rise to the establishment of the national park system. Undoubtedly, many factors led to political decisions to set aside large tracts of land in the West. Nevertheless, the preservationist ethic was a motivating factor, and, to a large extent, the government was successful in halting all human use of those lands set aside for protection. But these early preservationist efforts had a tendency to generalize the uses of all human populations as negative. As areas were set aside for protection, the Service sought to remove the presence of all human use from parks. Unfortunately, this effort to halt the tide of development by removing all humans from the landscape became the means by which indigenous resource management techniques were also removed. In essence, this policy of removal threw the baby out with the bath water. At the time, calling a halt to impacts resulting from western expansion was undoubtedly considered an extraordinary and positive step from the view held by preservationists. But, in the long run, the removal of Indian peoples and indigenous resource management techniques may prove to be far less advantageous for the long-term preservation of the structure of ecosystems as they had been shaped by thousands of years of use.

The fact of environmental manipulation related to cultural practice is not the whole story. As the earlier quote from Cotton Mather illustrates, there is more to culture and heritage than the corporeal or material culture that results from specific behavior. The traditional technical knowledge necessary to produce these results is equally important to consider from the standpoint of cultural preservation. Also important to consider are the roles that these practices played in the worldview of Indian peoples on a tribe-by-tribe basis. The cross section of biology,

traditional behavior, and cultural value systems provides a more complete picture of the ethnographic reality—that is, how cultural practice and cultural heritage effects, and is affected by, environmental factors.

The Role of Ethnobotany in the Restoration of Indigenous Landscapes

If American Indian traditional cultural practices were in large part responsible for the very shape and character of the landscape before the arrival of emigrant groups, it would seem important to recognize that the heritage of these indigenous groups should be a major focus of any landscape preservation effort. From this standpoint, it may be worth comparing methods of restoring selected elements of landscapes (in parks and other federal lands) to those that existed when American Indian peoples were managing them. While early visitors to the American West marveled at its landscapes, and were motivated to preserve what they saw and experienced, we should be again reminded that these landscapes were essentially the product of millennia of ecological and environmental manipulation by American Indian peoples. If the very shape and character of "wild" lands that so impressed early preservationists were the products of Indian environmental manipulation, it may well be worth looking at indigenous management techniques that may help restore these landscapes to the condition they were in when they were set aside.

Camas (Camassia quamash) *was an important root food for the* K'tunaxa *and* Piikani. *The bulbs were collected in large quantities and cooked in large, stone-lined ovens.*

Ethnobotany and ethnobiology offer methods for not only understanding the condition of specific plant species in landscapes before non-Indian settlement, but also for providing experimental methods that point to the potential restoration of these species to indigenous managed conditions. It is apparent that many North American Indians remain a substantially untapped source of knowledge regarding present and former plant uses, management practices, and vegetation change. While using traditional knowledge systems is not without its problems, it may well be possible to work with Indian peoples to gain greater understanding. Additional studies in the aboriginal use of fire, and irrigating, harvesting, pruning, coppicing, and collecting plants, along with manipulating wildlife habitat techniques, would provide the information necessary for attempting such a restoration on a limited basis in carefully selected areas.[7] By combining natural and cultural research methods such as phytolith analysis, palynology, ethnographic interviews, early landscape descriptions, comparison photographs, and early herbarium specimen collections, it may be possible to provide an accurate reconstruction of plant species composition and community structure in selected areas.[8] Such restoration would mean working with contemporary American Indian communities and individuals to determine if traditional knowledge of plant horticulture, use, collection, and environmental manipulation has survived decades of acculturation pressure. It would also mean that park managers would have to be willing to enter into a new kind of partnership with American Indian peoples to allow them to apply traditional techniques to attain such a restoration—even on a limited, experimental basis.

The benefits of such efforts on an experimental basis would be many, while the risks would seem to be few. A major benefit for the national park system would be a return of some selected areas in a landscape to a condition approximating what they were in at the time some parks were established—at least from the standpoint of selective plant productivity and condition. This would amount to a historical reconstruction of landscape elements that more closely reflects the condition of the land and resources when non-Indian peoples first arrived. If such limited experiments were successful, the concept of "cultural landscape" would be expanded to recognize the resource-managing skills of Indian peoples. For the natural scientist, experiments that reveal the effect of plant horticultural and collection techniques on the range, morphology, and productivity of native plants should also be of great importance. If such experiments are conducted, they can be allowed under a scientific permitting system, thereby avoiding

Several of the Piikani elders who participated in the ethnobotanical study for Glacier National Park, from right George and Molly Kicking Woman, Doris Many Guns, Margaret Plain Eagle, and Elsie Crowshoe.

conflict with existing restrictions on the collection of plant materials in parks.

For American Indian peoples, attempts at limited restoration using traditional cultural knowledge could mean the preservation of important aspects of their own heritage. As Indian peoples with the traditional knowledge pass on, there is less likelihood that such knowledge will be transmitted to younger individuals. Partnerships between park managers and tribes focusing on the re-introduction of traditional plant management techniques could allow one means for tribal elders to pass cultural knowledge on to a new generation.

Conclusion

It is not suggested here that there should be—or could be—any wholesale restoration of national parks to the environmental conditions of centuries past. Ecology is a stern and mysterious master, and it would be arrogant for us to assume that we understand enough to control all possible outcomes. However, there is every indication that park lands are still used by some Indian peoples for plant-collecting. Parks are receiving requests from neighboring tribes to allow them to collect plant materials that have traditional cultural significance—and some parks have negotiated memorandums of agreement with neighboring tribes to allow such collection. In one such instance, involved tribes have actually agreed to help parks monitor resulting impacts. And, under the direction of Muriel Crespi, the Ethnography Program of the National Park Service has now designed a computer program for storing data that ethnobotanical research provides, for which Indian tribes have cautiously indicated support, and for which they recognize their own need.[9]

All of this points to a healthy climate of park/tribe cooperation, which could lead to additional research and experiments related to indigenous species and landscape restoration. Ethnobotanical and ethnobiological studies could do much to join natural and cultural resource specialists in projects with shared goals. Additional work would give a new and important dimension to the concept of heritage management and cultural landscapes. Best of all, the work would bring American Indian peoples and park managers together for a partnership in which both realize substantial benefits for natural resource and cultural heritage preservation.

Photos courtesy Brian Reeves and Sandy Peacock.

Notes

1 From Cotton Mather 1720. *The Christian Philosopher.* In Virgil J. Vogel 1963:44.

2 See Richard E. Schultes and Siri von Reis, 1995

3 See Maria Nieves Zedeno, et al 2001: 60. From Vestral, Paul A. 1952. *Ethnobotany of the Ramah Navajo. Reports of the Ramah Project*, no. 4 Cambridge: Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

4 Bonnicksen, et al. 1999: 439-470.

5 See H.T. Lewis 197 and 1978. Also see Anderson, Kat 1999: pp. 409-422.

6 Anderson, Kat 2001.

7 Kat Anderson, and David L. Rowney 1999. See also Kat Anderson 2001.

8 Ibid.

9 The database program referred to here is formally known in the National Park Service as the Ethnographic Resources Inventory (ERI). Design and implementation of the program has been directed by Mark Schoepfle, an ethnographer in the Washington, DC, office of the National Park Service. Dr. Schoepfle facilitated a multi-tribal consultation meeting on the ERI in Flagstaff, Arizona in late November and early December of 2000. Initial response was positive and the tribal representative asked for a copy of the program for their own resource management use. It must be noted that any work in American Indian ethnobotany must begin with the monumental work completed by Dr. Daniel E. Moerman 1998. His compendium of plants and their ethnohistory is the starting point for anyone interested in this important subject. The University of Michigan-Dearborn maintains a web-

site that is based on Dr. Moerman's work. For more information the reader is referred to his website <http://www.umd.umich.edu/cgi-bin/herb>.

References

Anderson, M.K., "The Ethnobotany of Deergrass, MUHLENBERIA RIGENS POACEAE): Its Uses and Fire Management by California Indian Tribes." *Economic Botany* 50(4), 1999.

Anderson, M.K., "Tending the Wilderness." In *Restoration and Management Notes.* 14:2 (pp. 154-166), 1996.

Anderson, M.K. "From Tillage to Table: The Indigenous Cultivation of Geophytes for Food in California." *Journal of Ethnobiology* 17(2): 149-169, 1997.

Anderson, M.K. "The Contribution of Ethnobiology to the Reconstruction and the Restoration of Historic Ecosystems. " In *The Historical Ecology Handbook: A Restorationist's Guide to Reference Ecosystems.* Dave Egan and Evelyn A. Howell, eds. Society for Ecological Restoration. Washington: Island Press, 2001.

Anderson, Kat and David L. Rowney. "The Edible Plant Dichelostemma capitatum: Its Vegetatiave Reproduction Response to Different Indigenous Harvesting Regimes in California." In *Restoration Ecology*, vol.7(3), pp.231-240, 1999.

Blackburn, Thomas and Kat Anderson. *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management by Native Californians.* Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1993.

Bonnicksen, Thomas M., M. Kat Anderson, Henry T. Lewis, Charles E. Kay, and Ruthann Knudson. "Native American Influences on Forest Ecosystems." In *Humans as Agents of Ecological Change.* Pp. 439-470, n.d.

Lewis, Henry T. *A Time for Burning: Traditional Indian Uses of Fire in the Western Canadian Boreal Forest.* Edmonton: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies. University of Alberta, 1982.

Lewis, Henry T. "Patterns of Indian Burning in California: Ecology and Ethnohistory." *Ballena Press Anthropological Papers* (#1). Ramona, California, 1973.

Lewis, Henry T. "Traditional uses of fire by Indians in Northern Alberta." In *Current Anthropology* 19:" 401- 401, 1978.

Moerman, Daniel E. *Native American Ethnobotany.* Portland: Timber Press, 1997.

Reeves, Brian and Sandy Peacock. "Our Mountains are Our Pillows: An Ethnographic Overview of Glacier National Park." Unpublished manuscript on file at Glacier National Park, Montana.

Vogel, Virgil J. *American Indian Medicine.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.

Zedeno, Maria Nieves, Jennifer Scharg-James, and Robert Christopher Basuldu. "Overview and Inventory of Ethnographic Resources for Petrified Forest National Park, El Malpais National Monument and National Conservation Area, and El Morro National Monument." Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology. Tucson: University of Arizona. Draft Report on file at the National Park Service, Denver, Colorado, 2001.

David E. Ruppert, Ph.D., Anthropology, is on the staff of the Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe, National Park Service. He is located in Denver, Colorado.

Southeast Region's Prized Students

Antoinette T. Jackson, a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology, the University of Florida, received the Southern Anthropological Society 2001 Student Paper Award (doctoral division) for her paper entitled "Heritage-Tourism and the Historical Present: Africans at Snee Farm Plantation." The paper was based on research conducted in an ethnography/ethnohistory project for Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, in South Carolina, under contract with the Applied Cultural Anthropology Research Center, University of North Texas, directed by Dr.Tyson Gibbs.

Ms. Jackson continues in the tradition of prize-winning NPS-related student work in the Southeast Region. In 1998, Carol Jo Evans, a doctoral student in anthropology at the University of Kentucky, received honorable mention from the Society for Applied Anthropology in the Student Poster Prize competition at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the Society in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Her entry was: "Local Participation and Collaborating Efforts Between the University of Kentucky and the National Park Service in the New Management Plan for the Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area (BSFN-RRA)." The ethnography project was encouraged by the NPS Applied Ethnography Program, Washington, DC, to support planning for the Big South Fork unit.

J. Anthony Paredes, Ph.D
Chief of Ethnography and Indian Affairs
National Park Service, Southeast Region

Molly G. Schuchat

The Ethnography of Urban Benches

Three rustic wooden benches are chained in a line alongside Connecticut Avenue between the sidewalk and a wooded finger of Rock Creek Park in Washington DC, one of the national park systems' largest natural urban units.[1]

The benches are too far apart for comfortable conversation, too short to sleep upon, their backs are to nature, and they face continuous traffic day and night. They are a quarter mile from the nearest fast food center, neither by a bus stop nor in an area obscure enough for lovers. But they are well used.

Who uses them? This question about an everyday sight prompted an ethnographic investigation including observation of bench use at different times and seasons, participation as a bench-sitter alone or with others, interviews of various National Park Service staff such as rangers, administrators, historians, and maintenance workers, and a literature search of topics such as urban planning, urban anthropology, and sociology.

I concluded, following a year and a half of observation, that the avenue benches function as a community front porch, a bridge between the public and the private. A territorial but also deeply symbolic space, the benches provide an area for diverse urban elements to face each other in peace. At the same time they allow for the fleeting moment of time-out in the middle of errands and on the journey from work. They are also, as are other kinds of city benches, a destination for those who include involvement with birds and squirrels, the most common or public of city animals, as vital to their functioning.

History

Connecticut Avenue, considered Washington's most gracious boulevard, is also one of the most intensely used transportation routes through the city. The avenue is flanked by hotels and buildings containing shops, offices, and apartments. The land-use rhythm that helps define the avenue's character, alternating between apartment and commercial buildings, was decreed by zoning from the 1920s. Between the commercial segments in the area called Cleveland Park are dowager apartment buildings and smaller walk-ups, mostly dating from the 1920s. Two large "modern" apartments built in the 1950s flank the finger of Rock Creek Park where the benches are chained.[2] Behind them, a trail traverses the woods. Rock Creek Park, itself, meandering through the city, consists of 1,754 acres of wooded ravines, sheer creek banks, hiking, biking and equestrian trails, and even an old mill and attendant waterfall.

The superintendent of one of the apartment buildings, who has worked in the area since 1950, recalls that the benches were installed in the early 1960s at the same time that the trail was built and at the request of residents of two buildings. For many years the benches simply perched in their spots, but about 15 years ago they were chained down because they were subject to vandals who turned them over and rolled them down the embankment. The park maintenance chief recalls that they were difficult to roll back up, particularly when wet.

Use

The trail is used daily by dog walkers and on weekends and holidays by hikers in ones, twos, and families, some of whom park their cars or get off the bus and start from there and others of whom have hiked from further west and often pause to tie shoes and regroup on the benches.

Some folks walking from their apartments to the Metro (subway) nearby pass and sometimes rest on the benches, and others, often older, pause at the benches on their often more leisurely errands. Spanish-speaking families who have moved into the garden apartments that also dot the area frequent the seats too. The three benches, under their canopy of beach and oak and maple, welcome these disparate sets of residents. Local folk stop at the benches to commune with "nature" in the form of squirrels and pigeons and sparrows — mostly unaware of the extent of "nature" living just behind them.

For example, the Park Service has been tracking deer as they moved from the suburbanizing Montgomery County area of the Potomac River downstream toward downtown via the

park. They estimate there are about 25 resident deer in the Melvin Hazen area. Occasionally they are spotted in the woods behind apartment buildings.

Not far off the trail there is a fox den and there may be otter, too. And of course there are the raccoons which sometimes cross the avenue. All of the above are native species, protected in the park.

Closer to the conscious level of the neighborhood residents who use the benches are the homeless humans of whom there are varying numbers and perceptions. Very occasionally they sleep on the benches, including a young man who keeps his possessions in one of the nearby Metro lockers and, scion of a local gardening family, occasionally does yard jobs for residents of the area. Another local homeless person perches sometimes on a bench, like Peter Pan, but with a Walkman at her ear.

A police officer walking the trail found a cache of abandoned pocketbooks, presumably left by purse snatching juveniles from across the park who only kept the cash after ducking into the woods. The officer also noticed an area strewn with used syringes and some large wooden bats, probably a minor site of some of the runaway "punk rockers" who had for a while been slashing tires and bashing cars along the avenue.

Overnighting in Rock Creek Park is forbidden and, according to one official, "no one lives there." But park workers find and dismantle "housing" made of plastic, discarded wooden boxes, and even "cabins" made of fallen trees. A major campsite was dismantled in October 1989. Use of the park as home is not a new phenomenon. A building superintendent recalls that one of the construction laborers on the 1950s buildings was a Korean War veteran who came home to find his wife gone and their apartment rented out to strangers. So he just moved into the woods behind his work. Subsequently he was hired as a gardener at the completed building, while continuing to live in the woods. And sometime later, through the interest of a resident who worked at the Capitol, he got a job there and an opportunity to buy a little house on "the hill."

Feeding the Animals

The homeless are not the cause of the occasional calls demanding that the Park Service remove the benches as a public nuisance. It is the pigeons, continuously fed by other neighbors, that call out the wrath of some residents. One woman brings peanuts (a handful at a time casually pocketed on her trips to the supermarket) and places them in the crotch of the double beach tree behind a bench for Fritzie, her favorite black squirrel, an activity she began because she needed to force herself to get out in the fresh air at least once a day. She also likes to sit on the bench and watch nature and the people passing by, and occasionally talk to an acquaintance. One unusually warm winter morning a street person walking along with a disreputable looking bike, asked us for money and after we demurred, he wished us a very nice day. "Poor soul, he can't understand why we feed the animals and not him," the lady mused.

"Fritzie" is also fed many early mornings by a young lady who comes out in her bathrobe to exchange greetings with everyone's pet squirrel and offer him morning sustenance. Every morning on the way to the Metro another regular drops left-over bread at the benches. Others anoint the area with birdseed to nourish at least 13 pigeons that roost on a limb above. The newspaper recently ran a picture of an 88-year-old woman, arms filled with some of the pigeons she has fed and played with for much of the 30 years she has lived in the vicinity.[3]

From time to time the benches serve as a place to make other offerings. On several occasions fruit has been laid out as if at a shrine, whole and wholesome-looking fruits Occasionally clothing, a sweater or an old pair of pants, is left neatly folded on or stacked beneath the benches — safer from the rain—to be collected by one or another of the homeless mentioned above. Sometimes items are also accidently left—usually children's mittens and scarves.

Human Interactions

Generally, passersby and those seated are inclined to make some harmless comment, an acknowledgment of mutual humanity. A distinguished looking elderly gentleman wiped down an empty bench with his newspaper and sat down, stating to me on the next bench, and to the world at large, "intermission."

In the warmest weather, many people wait for the cooler evenings to sit on the benches and get a breath of fresh air. In the spring and fall they pour out during the days, feeling the sun and exulting in the wonderful Washington weather.

Winter and summer, in the current anti-smoking atmosphere, quite a few nearby residents

enjoy their cigarette or cigar at the benches. And sometimes roommates, family, or others, have to get away from each other, one imagines, when coming upon one of them reading late at night by the light of the street lamp.

The benches are not really designed for social interaction, because of the distance between them and their rigid formal line. Most often, strollers will stop and stand to chat with an acquaintance already seated. But sometimes pairs of passersby sit down together on one bench to continue their conversations. A wheelchair-bound neighbor usually sits at right angles to a bench where a friend is sitting, but occasionally faces the woods, with his back to the street. His use of the benches seems to be threefold: as much of nature as he can encompass easily; companionship; and always to feed the pigeons and squirrels.

A former sociology teacher at one of the universities was evicted from her apartment in one of the newer buildings by the trail. An eviction is a singular and shocking event in this neighborhood, where alternative arrangements are usually made privately and landlords never proclaim those who fall behind and cannot pay. So the newspapers reported the story with pictures of the woman, enthroned on one of the benches, clutching her electric typewriter in one hand, surrounded by boxes of her books, watched over herself by unknown neighbors, while the Park Police and District Social Services tried to make other arrangements with and for her. The kindness of strangers continued for almost three days. It was a moving story of an alcoholic fall and the rallying proclaimed as community. [4]

The following spring the rustic benches were replaced with new models of slatted, treated wood, armless on a metal frame, and bolted to the cement below rather than chained. Whereas the old benches had been purchased finished, and would be costly now, they also required skilled assembly and maintenance. But anyone can install the new ones, produced more economically at the park.

One user commented shortly after that he hates to sit on benches that don't have that multitude of carved initials to indicate loving, sitting use. But during the summer others said that "these new benches are so much more comfortable."

Well, there won't be any more initial carving. But the one or two neighbors who sit there to whittle (much less messy there than in the apartments) or the ones who while away a bit of time playing the banjo, or taking time for a cigarette, don't appear bothered by the difference.

Concluding Comments

Apartment dwellers want front porches. Or at a minimum, they want front steps to sit on or near the sidewalk. But architects and planners have responded more frequently with balconies or secret gardens away from the street, neither of which permit eye-level interaction in the course of which residents can come to recognize familiar faces, patterns of activity, and take account of the exceptions to both.

The history of the benches indicates that planning, or zoning, may set up initial situations and that the larger public works, like the Metro, have a major influence on their use. But mixed use in-town areas also develop their own priorities. It is not fortuitous that the benches were set on the rim of marvelous Rock Creek Park, rather it was taking neighborly advantage of the manner in which the park meets the city at this point when other improvements were being made.

Achieving such small goals is often aided and abetted not by organized groups, but by the very fact that people with particular wants can include in their neighborhood networks access to the goods or services they want from "City Hall" or the Park Service. Perhaps that is the sum of what we mean by community, a place to rally round in case of emergency and a shared space to provide something—even pigeons—upon which to bestow our concern for life.

Notes

1 Portions of this article previously appeared in *Park Bench on the Avenue. Places: A Quarterly Journal of Environmental Design,* vol. 8:4, 1993.

2 Articles in *The Washington Post.* Lewis, Roger K. "Connecticut Avenue is More Than a Street," 4/26/1986. *Forgey, Benjamin, Connecticut's New Jewel: The Saratoga, at Home on the Grand Avenue.* 11/11/1989.

3 Article in *The Washington Post,* Portrait, "Lunch Break,"E3, 10/13/1989.

4 Article in *The Washington Post,* Fisher, Marc, "Neighbors Keep Vigil Over Evicted NW Woman," 11/8/1988.

Molly G. Schuchat, Ph.D. is a cultural anthropologist and independent consultant and, from her Connecticut Avenue apartment overlooking Rock Creek Park, a parti cipant observer of the park as an urban front porch.

Michael J. Evans, Alexa Roberts, and Peggy Nelson

Ethnographic Landscapes

The term "landscape" has a wide range of meaning in natural, cultural, and social research, from "a picture of natural inland scenery" to "a composition of man-made or man-modified spaces to serve as infrastructure or background for our collective existence." If we want to discover the meaning of landscapes for people, it is best to think of them not as collections of material objects placed in geographical space, but as social and cultural constructions of the people who use them. In this sense, landscapes are "symbolic environments" that people create to give meaning and definition to their physical environment.[1] Cultural groups socially construct landscapes as reflections of themselves. In the process, the social, cultural, and natural environments are meshed and become part of the shared symbols and beliefs of members of the groups. Thus, natural environments and changes in them take on different meaning depending on the social and cultural symbols associated with them.

Geographically-defined space that has cultural or social meaning has been variously called "cultural landscapes," "sacred geography," "traditional cultural properties," "heritage areas," "places," and other terms. All of these terms encompass "ethnographic landscapes"—areas of geographic space that have been given special and specific cultural or social meaning by people associated with them.

Cultural Landscapes and Ethnographic Landscapes

Outside of the National Park Service (NPS), writers and researchers think of these different kinds of landscapes as being "cultural landscapes" of one kind or another. Within the NPS, however, we recognize two different categories of socially and culturally meaningful landscapes: for one we use the term "cultural landscape"; for the other we use the term "ethnographic landscape."

Cultural landscapes within the NPS are defined as a category of cultural resource that can be determined eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Ethnographic landscapes within the NPS context are broader, do not depend on NRHP eligibility criteria for their existence, and importantly, are identified and defined by the cultural groups associated with them rather than by historic preservation professionals.

We emphasize this distinction because the NPS, as the nation's lead agency for defining cultural resources preservation standards and policies, has a great deal of influence on the development of the cultural landscapes concept, and its application to land management practices. In this role, the NPS uses the nation's central piece of cultural resources legislation, the National Historic Preservation Act. A primary component of the act is that those cultural resources that are preservation worthy (at the national, state, or local levels) must meet certain criteria that make them eligible for inclusion on the NRHP. As a fairly new category of cultural resource recognized by the NPS for their significance and preservation worthiness, cultural landscapes are also defined on the basis of their ability to meet the criteria for National Register eligibility.

The NPS cultural landscape program recognizes four overlapping categories of cultural landscapes (historic site, historic designed, historic vernacular, and ethnographic) and more specifically defined the concept as "geographic area[s], including both natural and cultural resources, associated with a historic event, activity or person." Because their significance is based on eligibility for inclusion on the NRHP, cultural landscapes in the NPS are defined in terms of the broad patterns of the nation's history and its local manifestations. The cultural landscape research methodology used by the NPS then focuses primarily on historical documentation, including oral histories, but identification of a cultural landscape and determination of its significance at the national, state, or local level relies on the expertise of the cultural landscape professional.

While ethnographic landscapes are recognized as a category of cultural landscapes, for purposes of the servicewide Ethnographic Resources Inventory database, the Applied Ethnography Program has specifically defined "ethnographic landscape" to be:

> ...a relatively contiguous area of interrelated places that contemporary cultural groups define as meaningful because it is inextricably and traditionally linked to their own local or regional histories, cultural identities, beliefs and behaviors. Present-day social factors such as a people's class, ethnicity, and gender may result in the assignment of diverse meanings to a landscape and its component places.

The important distinction between these definitions lies in the emphasis on what makes the landscapes significant, and who determines the nature of that significance. Ethnographic landscapes are identified and delineated by members of the cultural groups who are traditionally associated with them, and whose histories and identities are tied to them. Further, ethnographic landscapes' significance derives from the roles they play in the associated communities' own traditional histories, not those criteria of national, state, or local significance that make them eligible for inclusion on the NRHP.

Thus, a fundamental difference between cultural and ethnographic landscapes as perceived in the NPS is whose history and cultural identity determines the significance of a given geographic space, and with whom the ability and authority to identify and describe it rests. These differences also suggest to us that ethnographic landscapes are not so much a category of cultural landscape as they are distinct types of landscapes that may overlap with or contain historic cultural landscapes.

In this regard, we also see ethnographic landscapes as fundamentally distinct from Traditional Cultural Properties (TCP) which are also places of cultural significance to American Indian and other ethnic groups but also rooted in the NRHP.

Traditional Cultural Properties and Ethnographic Landscapes

With the 1989 NPS publication of National Register Bulletin 38, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties,* federal land managers were provided with important guidance on the range of culturally significant resources and how such resources should be identified, documented, and evaluated in terms of their eligibility for inclusion on the NRHP. These procedures have been slowly but surely incorporated into federal cultural resources management activities for the last decade and have become the primary vehicle through which managers have approached the protection of culturally-significant places.

In 1992, amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) codified the guidance provided in National Register Bulletin 38 and established requirements for identification of places of religious and cultural significance to American Indians along with other kinds of historic properties. While these requirements fostered cultural resources management documentation of culturally-significant places and coincided with a growing body of academic literature on "sacred geography," "spiritual geography," "sacred landscapes," and "culturally-significant places," the management approach to such places is generally in terms of "things" rather than geographic space.

The orientation to culturally-significant land and resources as "things" is largely a result of the NHPA being the primary vehicle through which such resources are identified. The NHPA requires identification of culturally-significant places as a category of potentially NRHP-eligible properties, along with other conventional kinds of properties such as buildings, archeological sites, and historic districts. Additionally, because the potential NRHP eligibility of historic properties is generally evaluated by cultural resources or historic preservation professionals, TCPs are often documented in terms of easily identifiable, bounded places that land managers can recognize as a kind of historic property. Whole landscapes often do not easily fit these property-oriented concepts. Large geographic expanses that may include culturally-significant components such as horizons, unmarked spiritual corridors, places of connection between the earth surface and the upper and lower realms, and the interrelationships among all these kinds of places are simply not well understood or easily identifiable by cultural resources managers. They are even less amenable to documentation and management within the NRHP framework. Nonetheless, the TCP model is often still used to try to accommodate a wide range of culturally-significant resources, including whole landscapes, because evaluation for the NRHP is an official model for determining significance of resources and thus implementing protection strategies.

But difficulties arise as a result of trying to define culturally-important landscapes only in terms of TCPs, which generally focus on bounded places that can be relatively easily docu-

mented, not on regional landscapes that can encompass significant amounts of land. Ethnographic landscapes also incorporate multiple components that derive their significance from the interrelationships among other cultural and natural resources such as plants, animals, minerals, landforms, and bodies of water that give the landscape meaning through their associations with a people's history and cultural identity. Additionally, a landscape that is culturally significant to one group may contain elements that are significant to other groups in other ways and are, therefore, within the overlapping boundaries of multiple culturally-significant landscapes. Further, individual components within an ethnographic landscape that are considered culturally significant may vary with periods of time and with sacred and secular contexts. It is difficult for resources managers to grasp the potentially complex and layered nature of ethnographic landscapes and even harder to define and document them within the NRHP framework that is generally used for specific sites, buildings, objects, or districts.

Despite these difficulties, we believe that identification, documentation, and culturally-informed management of ethnographic landscapes are very possible, beneficial to land managers and the groups of people whose identities derive from the landscapes, and not dependent on NRHP eligibility for implementing.

Are Ethnographic Landscapes Realistic?

The only way to identify ethnographic landscapes is through the knowledge of the people who give them meaning in the first place. To meet this need, the NPS employs a variety of studies and community consultation efforts to incorporate the cultural knowledge of traditionally-associated peoples into its management activities. The Applied Ethnography program assists parks and NPS programs in conducting ethnographic assessments, cultural affiliation studies, traditional resource use studies, ethnographic resources inventories, and other research efforts designed to provide managers with a baseline of information about cultural values attached to park lands and resources. More than 160 such studies have been completed or are currently in progress Service wide. Once parks and other NPS programs have used these approaches to gain an understanding of which communities maintain traditional connections to park lands and resources, park managers are in a position to develop ongoing relationships with traditionally-associated groups and routinely consult with them in park management planning efforts.

Through these efforts, many parks have been able to gain a great deal of understanding about the associations between the lands and resources under their stewardship and the traditionally-associated people to whom the resources hold deep cultural significance. Park managers have learned about ethnographic landscapes contained within park boundaries, and sometimes that entire parks are only small elements of much larger culturally-significant landscapes. Many have incorporated this knowledge into their long-range park management and interpretive plans, providing park visitors a quality experience while managing lands and resources to avoid cultural impacts to the people traditionally associated with them.

In a perfect world, there would be time and funding to conduct ethnographic research projects and community consultations during which cultural and ethnic groups all over the nation could identify the boundaries and elements of the landscapes within which their cultural identities are defined. One goal of such research would be to protect the identified landscapes to the extent necessary for all the associated groups to use the landscapes in ways that are needed to retain the groups' cultural integrity. However, in the bureaucratic world of land management, landscapes—whether cultural, ethnographic, or both—are usually identified, documented, and managed in response to some kind of land management action or need. That is why the National Historic Preservation Act was enacted in the first place, to ensure that federal agencies recognize their stewardship responsibilities to the historic places that collectively represent the story of the American people.

Section 110 of the NHPA directs agencies to proactively and comprehensively identify and inventory the historic properties and places they manage and to nominate them to the National Register of Historic Places. While some of the baseline ethnographic studies help meet this need, full implementation of this requirement is not often undertaken. Most of the time, efforts to consider the effects of agency activities occur at the level of individual projects or undertakings. Section 106 of the NHPA and its implementing regulations outline the process for identifying his-

toric properties, including TCPs, as part of the planning for a specific project. The identification of TCPs may lead to the recognition of larger ethnographic landscapes of which individual TCPs are components, but the "Section 106 process" itself does not readily accommodate identification, documentation, and management planning for whole landscapes in the context of NRHP eligibility. However, recent changes to the regulations implementing Section 106 of the NHPA (36 CFR 800) do provide an avenue for documenting the larger landscapes of which TCPs may be a part.

While NHPA is specific to the consideration of effects to historic properties, the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 requires federal agencies to consider impacts to the human environment, including historic properties and all the other kinds of natural and cultural resources that make up the environment within which people exist. Portions of the recent revisions to the Section 106 regulations (36 CFR 800.8) outline the possibilities for agencies to combine their identification efforts under NHPA and NEPA into one process. By using NEPA to also comply with NHPA to identify historic properties, agency land managers have identified NRHP-eligible TCPs and at the same time identified and documented the larger landscapes of which the TCPs are a part, even though the larger landscapes do not fit the NRHP eligibility criteria. This landscape approach to management of culturally-sensitive lands and resources has allowed managers in many cases to approach resources management needs more comprehensively, placing individual sites and resources in culturally meaningful contexts, and giving managers more information about whole land areas rather than isolated places. Several parks have begun taking such approaches in the development of their General Management Plans/Environmental Impact Statements. Through the use of these flexible approaches, looking beyond NRHP boundaries, and communication, the identification, documentation, and management of ethnographic landscapes are becoming increasingly useful tools for the NPS, other land managers, and the cultural groups who give rich cultural meaning to the lands and resources under federal stewardship.

Printed on recycled paper

Note

* For landscapes as symbolic environments, see Thomas Greider and Lorraine Garkovich, "Landscapes: The Social Construction of Nature and the Environment," *Rural Sociology* 59:1(1994): 1-24.

Michael J. Evans, Ph.D., is senior cultural anthropologist in the NPS Midwest Support Office. He can be reached at National Park Service, 175 E. 5th St., Suite 418, Saint Paul, MN 55101, phone 651-290-4165, and at <michael_j_evans@nps.gov>.

Alexa Roberts, Ph.D., is an anthropologist in the Intermountain Region Support Office-Santa Fe. She can be reached at National Park Service, P.O. Box 728, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87504, phone 505-988-6764, and at <alexa_roberts@nps.gov>.

Peggy Nelson is the cultural resource specialist at Pu'uhonua O honaunau National Historical Park in Hawaii. She can be reached at <peggy_nelson@nps.gov>.

CRM

U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service
Cultural Resources (Suite 350NC)
1849 C Street, NW
Washington, DC 20240

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE $300

FIRST CLASS MAIL
Postage & Fees Paid
U. S. Department of the Interior
G-83

VOLUME 24 • NO. 5
Cultural Resources
Washington, DC