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Cultural Resources

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Introduction

by Barbara J. Little, Editor

When working daily in any of the myriad practices of cultural resource management and historic preservation, it is sometimes difficult to see the forest for the trees. It is far too easy to get distracted by details such as procedures, regulations, and deadlines. When we step back to gain some perspective, we can regain sight of the whole. In considering the value of taking a broad view, I am struck by the fact that heritage stewardship it an intensely people-focused practice.

Now, that might seem like an unlikely observation about practices that deal daily with structures, landscapes, archeological sites, and collections of artifacts and documents. However, aside from the obvious observation that individuals actually perform the day to day work, it is increasingly apparent that professionals recognize the need to work more effectively with communities.

Some members of the public will have specific and occasional interest, such as might be aroused when a beloved local landmark is threatened by development. Others have ongoing, intense interests which may be imperfectly appreciated by professionals who need to be educated about community interests. The emerging importance of values-based preservation has been eloquently discussed in previous issues of this journal.[1] Members of the public may have conflicting views about the value and meaning of heritage places, regardless of the input of preservationists, who should also recognize themselves as stakeholders and members of the public.

The push and pull of different values effect preservation in local communities worldwide. In the *New York Times* article, "In a New Age, Bahrain Struggles to Honor the Dead While Serving the Living," Michael Slackman[2] reports on the tension between development and preservation in this Persian Gulf kingdom. It's a story whose central theme is deeply familiar: traditional architecture and ancient sites are being destroyed: bulldozed for the sake of new building. Traditional crafts and economy disappear in favor of globalized industry. Also familiar is his observation that the poor and disenfranchised are disproportionately burdened by the current push for preservation, which responds to development and destruction on the lands of the wealthy and connected.

Slackman quotes Al-Sayed Abdullah Ala'ali, a member of Parliament, about people's desire for modern amenities: "People are demanding housing, they want development." However, this government official sees that preservation and modern life are not in conflict, but are mutually dependent. When Mr. Ala'ali says that "Anyone who has no past . . . has no future," he speaks in terms of the traditional wisdom that long has driven public commitment to caring for heritage.

People determine how places and histories are perceived, how they are judged important enough to preserve and to commemorate, and whether they are shared with the wider public, both present and future.

One of the commonalities among the contributions in this issue is public involvement and collaboration. Neil Silberman explores the implications of the new ICOMOS Ename Charter for involving multiple stakeholders. Among the many inspiring achievements of Hester Davis is the consistent, collegial engagement with amateur archeologists. In describing the changing commemoration of women's history in Canada, Dianne Dodd highlights the central role that local groups play in such work. Clay Mathers, Charles Haecker, and Dan Simplicio describe an ongoing collaboration among the Pueblo of Zuni, the Coronado Institute, and the National Park Service. The actions of the Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia have been vital to the documentation and preservation efforts described by Sabra Smith. Although the intensive collaborative efforts of individuals from many agencies are invisible to the end user of spatial data standards, there would be no effective standards without the efforts that Deidre McCarthy describes. Similarly, William Patrick O'Brien describes an administrative tool for facilitating cooperative research and highlights the resulting international Missions Initiative and the Warriors Project, among other efforts.

As Silberman so clearly argues in his viewpoint article, heritage continues to evolve. As we see daily in the practice of heritage stewardship, it is individuals and communities, both professional and public, who will determine just how that evolution proceeds.

Additional Note to Our Readers

I'd like to thank all of you who responded to the invitation to review materials for the journal. The invitation is open: If you are interested in contributing to *CRM* as a reviewer, please contact the editor at NPS_CRMJournal@nps.gov with your name, email address, mailing address, phone number, and areas of topical and/or geographic expertise.

I am also very pleased to announce that Dr. Pat O'Brien will be taking over as the Book Review Editor for Volume 7. We all owe Brian Joyner our gratitude for his able editorship over the past three years and I thank him profusely for it. Brian will be taking over as Exhibits and Multimedia Review Editor. Rebecca Shiffer will take on the challenge of Research Reports, joining current Research Report Editors Lisa Davidson and Virginia Price.

Notes

1 See, for example, Dirk H.R. Spennemann, "Gauging Community Values in Historic Preservation," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 3(2)(2006): 6-20; Randall Mason, "Theoretical and Practical Arguments for Values-Centered Preservation," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 3(2)(2006): 21-48.

2 Slackman, Michael 2009 "In a New Age, Bahrain Struggles to Honor the Dead While Serving the Living," *New York Times*, September 18, 2009, p. A5.

Process Not Product: The ICOMOS Ename Charter (2008) and the Practice of Heritage Stewardship

by Neil Silberman

The ratification of the ICOMOS Ename Charter on the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites[1] has potentially far-reaching implications for the development of international heritage policy. Through the adoption of this charter, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) —for the first time since its establishment as an international professional organization and UNESCO advisory body in 1965—specifically addressed the social, economic, and educational dimensions of heritage interpretation. It did so by defining public heritage interpretation not merely as the communication of factual scientific, artistic, or historical data about archeological sites, cultural landscapes, and historic buildings—but as a complex public exercise of historical reflection among *many* stakeholders, characterized by a concern for open access, sustainability, and inclusiveness. In a word, the new charter defined interpretation not as a particular performance, narrative, or script but as an ongoing process of relating to the past.

While earlier ICOMOS charters[2] had dealt with the subject of heritage interpretation, they had done so in very general terms, seeing it as the "public face" of specialized archeological research, highly technical conservation efforts, and academic historical analysis. Moreover, the earlier charters used inconsistent terminology, variously describing public heritage communication as "dissemination," "popularization," "presentation," and "interpretation," never explicitly defining what any of these terms meant.

A more systematic approach to this subject was clearly needed: in an age of evermore pervasive digital media with a growing tide of cultural tourism in every region of the world, the public communication of information about ancient sites and historical monuments was becoming evermore elaborate, vivid, and entertainment-oriented. Many important heritage sites in every region of the world were coming to embody the physical form of multimedia theme parks. At the same time, at the other end of the spectrum, the public interpretation of more traditional heritage sites, consisting only of bare facts, dates, and figures, was increasingly criticized as being "out of touch" with 21st-century educational and social realities. Recognizing this huge and growing gap between heritage-as-leisure and heritage-as-cultural-lesson, an initiative began within ICOMOS to formulate an international consensus about the direction towards which heritage interpretation should develop. Yet in light of the diversity of linguistic, religious, and cultural differences among the

ICOMOS National Committees, there was never any attempt to dictate interpretive content or to insist on any particular narrative, educational, or technological forms.

Through the next six and a half years, after three complete review cycles of ICOMOS national and international scientific committees, countless comments and suggestions submitted by individual ICOMOS members and outside experts, and seven successive drafts of the charter, its text gradually evolved from a primary concern with interpretation's relationship to research, management, tourism, and education to the central role of interpretation in the planning, management, and wider community activities surrounding a cultural heritage site.[3] Although the terms "presentation" and "interpretation" had often been taken as synonyms, the charter explicitly distinguishes between the two. It defines "presentation" as "the carefully planned arrangement of information and physical access to a cultural heritage site, usually by scholars, design firms, and heritage professionals." As such, it is largely a one-way mode of communication from experts or professionals to the public at large.

Although professionals and scholars would continue to play important roles in the process of interpretation, the input and involvement of visitors, local and associated community groups, and other stakeholders of various ages and educational backgrounds was, by the charter, seen as essential to transforming cultural heritage sites from static monuments into sources of learning and reflection about the past, as well as valuable resources for sustainable community development.

"Interpretation," on the other hand, was seen by the contributors to the charter to denote the totality of activity, reflection, research, and creativity stimulated by a cultural heritage site. In a word, "interpretation" was seen as an ongoing process—both a personal and collective activity that could and should be carried out by everyone, layperson and expert, child or adult, local resident and outside tourist alike. Although professionals and scholars would continue to play important roles in the process of interpretation, the input and involvement of visitors, local and associated community groups, and other stakeholders of various ages and educational backgrounds was, by the charter, seen as essential to transforming cultural heritage sites from static monuments into sources of learning and reflection about the past, as well as valuable resources for sustainable community development.

In its final form, the charter highlighted seven distinct principles seen as essential to this wider interpretive involvement in heritage and conservation activities: (1) Promoting Access and Understanding; (2) Reliable, Broad-based

Information Sources; (3) Attention to Setting and Context; (4) Preservation of Authenticity; (5) Planning for Sustainability; (6) Concern for Inclusiveness; (7) Importance of Research, Training, and Evaluation. Yet in attempting to accommodate the wide range of regional, linguistic, and cultural perspectives within ICOMOS and the rest of the international heritage community, the basic principles articulated in the charter necessarily remained quite abstract.

The challenge of the next phase of work is therefore to anticipate the consequences of the implementation of each of the principles and to recognize that each of them have the potential of being either a great opportunity or a dangerous Pandora's Box. Indeed, the real value of the newly ratified charter to the practice of heritage stewardship may not only be the principles it proclaims but the questions it begs—and the opportunity for continuing policy development and elaboration it provides.

Principle 1: **Access and Understanding. Open and Easy or Difficult and Closed?**

The first principle of the charter stresses the importance of access to cultural heritage resources, by the general public, in all its physical, linguistic, cultural, and intellectual diversity. It urges that cultural heritage sites offer no less accessibility than other public places, and that the opportunity to enjoy and benefit from heritage resources be available to all.

Yet the charter clearly highlights the cases where public access to a cultural heritage site is *not* desirable, among them, in cases of physical danger, property restrictions, conservation concerns, and cultural sensitivities. In each of these cases the assumption is that access to, and understanding of the site, is obstructed only by special circumstances. In all of these cases, it is recommended that "interpretation and preservation be provided offsite." Yet are all sites of cultural heritage fair game to become public cultural heritage sites?

Do the sacred places of religious groups, kinship associations, or private places of mourning and burial necessarily need to provide public access to the general public? The solution in many places of worship, such as churches, mosques, and synagogues has been to restrict visitation at times of religious ritual and to require decorum in other times as well. But what of the cases, like Uluru/Ayers Rock in Australia and medieval Jewish cemeteries in Spain and Eastern Europe, where associated groups have opposed their use as public cultural heritage sites at all? What is the right of associated communities to refuse to explain or even reveal their customs to curious visitors? The charter, having placed the issue of interpretive access on the international heritage agenda, provides an opportunity to further reflect upon and elaborate the ethical and philosophical dimensions of public interpretive access.

Principle 2: **Information Sources. What If They Contradict Each Other?**

Another of the central principles of the charter is the importance of using a wide variety of information sources, encompassing both empirical scholarship and living traditions, including all types of tangible and intangible evidence. The motivation for this principle is obvious: traditional site presentation was based on an academic or professional sensibility that stressed seemingly objective, factual, and historical aspects, implicitly avoiding emotion and subjectivity. Of course that was never entirely true; there were always subjective and emotional subtexts in every site presentation, and in recent years the critique of the myth of scholarly objectivity in history and heritage has become a common academic theme.

In the past several decades, subjectivity and individual perspectives have become recognized as legitimate and valuable sources of historical knowledge and interpretive content, first through the rise of the oral history movement within public history and the increasing use of personal narratives in heritage and later with the recognition of the importance of the performance of intangible cultural heritage traditions of indigenous and traditional communities, as officially promoted by the 2003 UNESCO Convention.[4]

But how should one deal with traditional creation stories, or tales of the ancestors when geology and archeological investigation has shown them to be literary and poetic rather than factual? What happens when rival communities' memories discredit each other's political claims? How can interpretation address these conflicts of information sources and meaning without implicitly discrediting one version or creating a new globalized Ur-mythology? The conflicts of different world views are sometimes not amenable to conciliation; they represent different living systems and living orders expressed in the language of the past. Thus another significant challenge connected with the charter is not only to recognize the need for a wide range of information and information sources, but also to develop techniques to establish programmatic frameworks in which differing visions about the very same sites can be productively discussed. Acknowledging the full range of information about a particular site is only the beginning. And the next step, inspired by the charter, is to recognize that interpretation is not just communication about heritage resources; it is fully entangled with contemporary landscapes, communities, and civic life.

Principle 3: **Attention to Context and Setting. Where Are the Boundaries?**

No heritage site is an island, and the charter emphasizes the need to interpret (and help conserve) every site's full range of environmental, chronological, and cultural contexts. From the inception of the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention, attention to environmental considerations and the more prosaic

and practical requirement of a buffer zone around every World Heritage property has helped to encourage the recognition of each site's wider context. Throughout Principle 3, the charter advocates an approach that broadens connections with nature, history, associated communities, intangible heritage aspects, and even cross-cultural significance. These recommendations clearly indicate a movement away from essentializing schools of heritage interpretation, where one period or culture is exclusively highlighted as an aesthetic or patriotic icon. Of course it is also possible to go too far in the opposite direction, with interpretation becoming so broad and encyclopedic that the site's distinctive sense of place or specific cultural contribution is lost.

For even if cultural heritage sites are interpreted in the widest possible environmental and historical contexts, they can still be regarded by modern visitors and residents as isolated enclaves, intentionally taken out of place and time. This is true not only for discrete monuments with perimeter fences and ticket booths, but also for historic town centers and cultural landscapes if they are too consciously set apart from daily life.

The determination of the boundary between universal and particular is to a certain extent a matter of cultural preference, yet the general recommendations of the charter need to be elaborated in more detail. In addition, there is another dimension of the context and setting of cultural heritage sites that needs to be recognized: their place as a part of a living, evolving contemporary landscape—and a factor in the lives of contemporary communities. For even if cultural heritage sites are interpreted in the widest possible environmental and historical contexts, they can still be regarded by modern visitors and residents as isolated enclaves, intentionally taken out of place and time. This is true not only for discrete monuments with perimeter fences and ticket booths, but also for historic town centers and cultural landscapes if they are too consciously set apart from daily life.

The search for ways that applied research and the celebration of cherished traditions can combine or co-exist to create a real sense of connectedness between modern concerns and ancient achievements (and tragedies) needs to be developed and deepened, as Little and Shackel have clearly pointed out.[5] The charter expresses a similar international consensus that the link between past and present, between conservation and the wider public interest must necessarily be communicated more effectively through interpretive programs. The challenge that lies ahead is to integrate that insight into the day-to-day practice of heritage as embodied in existing legislation and policy.

Principle 4: **Preservation of Authenticity. What is it exactly?**

However universally the quality of "authenticity" is prized and praised in the heritage community, its precise definition and qualities still eludes us all. It might have been easier and clearer for the charter to contain a principle condemning "inauthenticity," for it is often easier to identify sites and interpretations that are demonstrably inaccurate, fraudulent, or phony than to define what authenticity actually is.

Proactively conserving authenticity is a more difficult matter, however, for the general theoretical concept of where heritage significance or "authenticity" resides has been dramatically shifting over the past half-century. As Gustavo Araoz has pointed out[6], the implicit intention of the Venice Charter was to ensure that original fabric—that is, ancient or significant material remains—is the main index and embodiment of heritage authenticity. Yet the post-Venice discussions at Nara[7] and the 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage[8] have shifted the locus of significance and authenticity of an element (tangible or intangible) of cultural heritage to its meaningfulness as an expression of identity or connectedness by living or associated communities. Thus the shift has been to the social and cultural significance from the *thing*. Yet it is clear that in the years to come, interpretation activities in their full social context of living significance, rather than academic or commemorative interest, must help define further the characteristics of this elusive concept.

Principle 5: **Planning for Sustainability. Making It More than a Slogan**

As already mentioned, the utter *unsustainability* of so many heritage interpretation and presentation programs was one of the prime motivating factors for the charter initiative. Quite beyond the serious questions of reliable, meaningful, and authentic communication, interpretation at cultural heritage sites had suffered in recent years from extravagant investments made with unrealistic expectations of visitation, or, alternatively, from shrinking public budgets and insufficient visitor appeal. Heritage conservation absolutely depends on long-term sustainability; without it the sites themselves would steadily deteriorate and cease to exist. Interpretation and presentation obviously play an important role in communicating the significance of the sites and their conservation, yet with the increasing use of more expensive and complex digital technologies at cultural heritage sites (for example, Virtual Reality, interactive multimedia applications, and 3-D computer reconstructions) interpretation and presentation have themselves often come to represent a significant part of a cultural heritage site's budget.

The charter's Principle 5 stresses the need to incorporate interpretive planning in the overall budgeting and management process, and to calculate the

possible impact of interpretation programs (and increased visitation) on the sustainability of the site. The development of effective impact assessment is of course tied to the collection of reliable data and that is clearly an area where the charter could encourage further research. All too often, the design and expenditure for elaborate interpretation and presentation programs is directed toward a site's opening day. New tools are needed to monitor not only visitor experience and visitor satisfaction with interpretive programs, but also to measure quantitatively as well as qualitatively the relation between investment and (visitor) income; to anticipate the likely visitation rates at specific sites (according to their geographical location and transportation infrastructure); and to project what the "invisible" costs to the local community of increased traffic, sanitary facilities, and trash removal might be.

Indeed the creation of "sustainable" interpretation and presentation programs must begin to be seen as an important factor in the cultural economics of heritage. Having established this principle as an accepted element of international heritage policy, the charter can serve as a rationale for quantitative studies and further policy development.

Principle 6: **Concern for Inclusiveness. Who Should Control the Past?**

The conventional understanding of interpretive inclusiveness is the representation of a wide variety of stories and historical communities in the explanation or discussion of a cultural heritage site. The charter is somewhat unconventional in that it has placed the issue of broad historical representation in the principle dedicated to "Context and Setting," and focusing the principle of "Inclusiveness" on the participation of contemporary communities in shaping and refining interpretive programs. This brings us back to the charter's basic distinction between "Interpretation" and "Presentation," in which the emphasis in the former is placed on active participation by experts and general public alike. That participation should not be restricted to the final, fully formulated interpretive program but should also include the public discussion and decisions on issues of content and significance.

As in the Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society[9] *rights* to cultural heritage must be balanced against *responsibilities* to manage, conserve, and communicate. Contemporary individuals and groups with special connections to cultural heritage resources should play a part in the ongoing work of interpretation. That is not to say that heritage professionals should have no role in the process; on the contrary their challenge is rather to act in an essential facilitating capacity. How and in what legal or policy framework that should happen is a matter for future discussion and experimentation, but as the charter stresses, contemporary communities' rights should be respected and their opinions and input sought in both the formulation and the eventual revision of interpretive programs. The issues

of intellectual property rights, legal ownership, and the right to use images, texts, and other interpretive content are important new areas of community involvement, economic potential, and civic responsibility.

The challenge is to construct practical legal and professional frameworks to empower a wide range of memory communities, while ensuring equal access and participation for all.

Principle 7: **Research, Training, and Evaluation. Interpretation as Process, not Product**

The last of the charter's principles—no less than this viewpoint article itself—stresses the work that still remains to be done. In recommending continuing evaluation and revision of both infrastructure and content, the charter recognizes the dynamic dimension of heritage as an evolving cultural activity, not as a timeless truth defined once and for all. This is clearly acknowledged in the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, where its central definition stresses how this heritage "transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity."[10] That is the sense in which interpretation can serve as both an educational and cultural undertaking. And in order for it to do so, the charter's recommendations for training courses, involvement of local community members as site interpreters, and the constant international exchange of interpretive expertise constitute a concrete agenda for the work that lies ahead.

Conclusion

The ratification of the ICOMOS Ename Charter on the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites indeed may mark a new stage in the development of heritage policy. Drawing on the important insights and practical experience of a wide range of scholars and the ICOMOS National and Scientific Committees, it has set forth a group of social and professional standards that transcend the specifics of any particular national or cultural framework for heritage conservation. But the drafting and ratification of the charter was indeed just a beginning. Its importance to the practice of heritage stewardship is the process of continuing reflection it has the potential to stimulate—both within ICOMOS and the larger community of heritage stewardship all over the world.

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Notes

1 The text of this charter, ratified on October 4, 2008 at the 16th General Assembly of ICOMOS in Quebec, Canada, can be found at http://icip.icomos.org/downloads/ICOMOS_Interpretation_Charter_ENG_04_10_08.pdf. Its name combines the name of its sponsoring organization with the name of a village and archeological park in East-Flanders, Belgium, where, at the Ename Center for Public Archaeology and Heritage Presentation, the interpretation charter initiative began. For a detailed chronology of the charter initiative, see http://www.enamecharter.org/downloads/Interpretation%20Charter%20Chronology_EN.pdf

2 The texts of all ICOMOS charters, guidelines, principles, and declarations can be found at http://www.international.icomos.org/charters.htm

3 The successive drafts of the interpretation charter can be found at http://www.enamecharter.org/downloads.html

4 http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=EN&pg=home

5 For archeology, see *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement*. eds, Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel, (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007).

6 Gustavo Araoz, "Lost in the Labyrinth: Mapping the Path to Where Heritage Significance Lies," in *Interpreting the Past V/1: The Future of Heritage*, eds. Neil Silberman and Claudia Liuzza (Brussels: Flemish Heritage Institute, 2007), 7-20.

7 Knut Einar Larsen, ed. *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention* (Trondheim, Norway : Tapir Publishers, 1995).

8 http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php

9 http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/Conventions/Heritage/faro_en.asp

10 Article 2.1

An Interview with Hester Davis


(Courtesy of Hester Davis)

Hester A. Davis has served as a board member or officer of the Society for American Archaeology, Register of Professional Archaeologists, Archaeological Institute of America, Southeastern Archeological Conference, Southeastern Museums Conference, and U.S. National Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites. In the 1980s she served as Coordinator of the Coordinating Council of National Archeological Societies. She served on the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Chief's Environmental Advisory Board from 1988 to 1991. She was appointed by President Clinton to the Cultural Property Advisory Committee on which she served for seven years. From 1969-2000 she was a member of the Arkansas State Review Board on Historic Preservation (appointed by Governors Rockefeller, Bumpers, Pryor, Clinton, White, Clinton, and Tucker).

In 1959 she accepted a position with the University of Arkansas Museum, where she served first as Preparator and then as Assistant Director. In 1967, with the creation of the Arkansas Archeological Survey, she was appointed State Archeologist, a position in which she served until her retirement in 1999. She also taught in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Arkansas, among other things creating and teaching a course in Public Archaeology for 10 years. She retired as a full professor. She holds two Masters of Arts degrees, one in Social and Technical Assistance from Haverford College in Pennsylvania and one in Anthropology from the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. She earned a Bachelor of Arts in History from Rollins College (Florida), which also awarded her a Doctor of Humane Letters in 1987. Lyon College (in Arkansas) also awarded her a Doctor of Humane Letters, upon her retirement.

Barbara J. Little (BJL), CRM Journal *Editor, interviewed Davis on April 24, 2009.*

BJL: Tell us how you became interested in being an archeologist. What experiences and individuals influenced your career choice?

HAD: I don't remember thinking about and making a decision about a career. I followed some opportunities as they drifted by.

The first really influencing contact with archeology was in the spring of 1950 when I was a sophomore at Rollins and looking for something interesting to do

for the summer. My sister Penny, who was a graphic artist at Peabody Museum at Harvard, suggested that I write to Jo Brew [John Otis Brew] the director at Peabody and see if there might be a field crew going to the southwest that could use a hand. I did that, and there was. I received back a letter from Charles R.[Bob] McGimsey III, a grad student at Harvard, who was heading a field crew to test several sites in west-central New Mexico. This was not a field school, nor was it a paying job. Food and lodging (a tent camp) were free. If I could get myself out to Albuquerque, someone would pick me up and bring me to the camp. I could and they did, and I spent a great summer (a crew of about 10) learning about archeology. The next summer I did the same thing. Peabody had a small crew that year of field school students testing some more sites near those dug in 1950. I was in charge of the lab that summer, and Jo Brew and Watson Smith were the supervisors of the crew.

BJL: Is that when you began to consider archeology as a career?

HAD: It was there that I had evening discussions about my future with both Jo and Wat. Jo advised me to learn a skill like Penny had in drafting, because there were not many jobs for females in field archeology. Wat, however, said that Dr. Luther Cressman at the University of Oregon took females on his field school, and if I wanted to go into archeology that was probably the most promising place. So I applied to the grad school at the University of Oregon for the fall of 1952. I graduated from Rollins with a degree in History (they taught no anthropology at the time), and having been accepted at UO, I was looking for a job for the summer of '52. By this time my archeologist brother Mott was teaching anthropology at the University of Nebraska. Lincoln was at that time the headquarters of the work sponsored by Smithsonian and the National Park Service of sites to be inundated by many reservoirs in the Missouri River Basin. So I asked Mott to see if there was a crew that might need me.

As it turned out, Robert Stephenson was director of that RBS [River Basin Survey] work that year and he didn't like to have women on his crews. However, some of those looking to put together a crew for their work didn't have the same feelings and I was hired by Dick Wheeler to be part of his crew; actually there were two of us females. As I recall, the other girl was coming from the New York City area, but she had to drop out a day or two before the beginning of the project. So off I went to Jamestown, North Dakota with a small crew. I lived with the family who owned one of the sites we were to dig, and the males lived in an abandoned schoolhouse nearby. After the first couple of weeks, Dick found that the woman who was feeding us was also feeding her family of five and charging Dick for that. So he asked if I would be cook. Sure, says I, why not. I cooked on two two-burner Coleman stoves and took pictures at the site for the rest of the summer.

BJL: You didn't go right back to archeology, did you?

HAD: I hopped a Greyhound bus (which I have never ridden since!) and went to Eugene, Oregon, for the next phase of my journey through life!

I stayed in Eugene for two years, learning anthropology. I was captivated by the idea of using anthropology to make the world safe for democracy, and decided *that* was what I wanted to do. Providentially, I learned of a one-year graduate program at Haverford College in Pennsylvania that was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. They were teaching students who wanted to go overseas to what were called at the time "undeveloped counties," to help them recover from the ravages of war. I applied and was accepted. There were nine of us in the program that school year, and I was the only one who already had some background in anthropology. We spent Christmas break on the Cherokee Reservation in North Carolina, with Dr. Gordon McGregor as our teacher for those six weeks, learning about another culture.

BJL: So you decided to be a cultural anthropologist?

HAD: I decided I better get my MA in Anthropology. So I finished the MA thesis at Haverford, applied to grad school at Chapel Hill, and was accepted. The summer of 1955, before going to Chapel Hill, I spent six weeks on Mott's University of Nebraska Field school, again as cook and photographer and sole female on the crew (with Mott to look after me, of course). By the beginning of 1957 I had my anthropology MA in hand and was again in need of a job. The Institute for Agricultural Medicine at the University of Iowa's Medical School was looking for a research assistant to do field work on a project recently funded by the Kellogg Foundation. I was hired. I drove from Chapel Hill to Iowa City in March of 1957. I was to do participant observation for 13 months in a farm community and in the family, which included a boy of 5.

I visited Iowa City to make progress reports about once a month, and would visit in Rey Ruppé's Archeology Lab. Soon the grad student cohorts became good friends and several times I went on weekend digs with them. Ruppé ran a field school every summer, and I managed to arrange to be hired as cook for that six week period in the summer of 1958! I had finished the 13 months on the farm in June, and the field school started in July. It was great fun. I then returned to Iowa City, and spent the rest of 1958 and the first six months of 1959 there working on my final report entitled "Open County Culture." I think I gave my first paper at the AAA [American Anthropological Association] annual meeting.

BJL: But cultural anthropology had less appeal ultimately than archeology? Why was that?

HAD: My problem was that I didn't like asking personal questions of people, even

when I was no longer a stranger. During the early spring of 1957 I began writing letters to all the archeologists I had met along the way, asking about a job.

Bingo! In 1957 Bob McGimsey had been hired at the University of Arkansas to teach part-time in the department of Sociology and Anthropology and be part-time "curator" of the University Museum. For the 1958-1959 Legislative Session, he had been asked to present a budget and proposal for the university to create a Laboratory of Archeology on the campus in Fayetteville. This he did and Governor Faubus signed the bill creating the laboratory, but vetoed the bill for $35,000 funding. McGimsey then went to the Dean and said "What if we turn the half-time secretary position into a full-time research assistant for the Museum using other money that you might have" (or something to that effect). Anyway, the Dean must have felt sorry for him, because he agreed. I was offered the job and grabbed it, arriving in Fayetteville on July 1, 1959, which turns out to be 50 years ago!

BJL: How did you become the first State Archeologist?

Hester Davis and Director of Arkansas State Parks, Gregg Butts, cut the ribbon for the Opening of the new Visitor Center at Toltec Mounds State Park, the first archeological state park in the state, 1980. (Courtesy of Hester Davis)

The position of State Archeologist was created as part of the Arkansas Archeological Survey, which came into being on July 1, 1967. There was no job description, so McGimsey and I made it up as time went by. Because he was traveling a lot, the basic job was administering the Survey's research stations around the state and running the Coordinating Office. For about ten years from the mid-1970s to mid-1980s I also served as archeologist for the SHPO office for reviewing and commenting on projects. The Arkansas Archeological Society was created in 1960 as a means of making contact with amateurs. Either McGimsey or I published a monthly newsletter and an annual publication, *The Arkansas Archeologist*. In 1965 I became sole newsletter editor, a position I held through February 2008.

And that's how I took opportunities as they came along, and I ended up with a career, which might be called archeological administrator.

BJL: In addition to following opportunities, what influenced you most?

HAD: I worked for the University Museum for 8 years and as State Archeologist for 32 years. The experience that most influenced me, I think, was the observation that field archeologists always seemed to have a lot of fun. The opportunity I had while on the Cultural Property Advisory Committee was the most interesting, as it introduced me to many people working outside the U.S. and to the many international problems other countries had because of looting and smuggling.

The persons who most influenced me as far as archeology goes are brother Mott, Wat Smith (giving me good advice), all those field archeologists having so much fun, and Bob McGimsey.

BJL: You played an important role in the "Summer of 1974," which was a milestone for public archeology in the United States. Could you tell us what was so important about that time and what enduring lessons archeologists today might draw from it?

HAD: Ah, yes the "Summer of '74." I'll start with the high point, which was May 24 when Present Nixon signed what was known to all archeologists at the time as the Moss-Bennett bill, which became, officially, the Archeological and Historic Preservation Act. We, the whole profession, actually, had been working for its passage since it was introduced in 1968. I was Chair of the [Society for American Archaeology] SAA Committee on Pubic Archeology at the time (the committee consisted of one person from each state), and during those six years I periodically sent notices about progress in getting the bill through Congress, and advising archeologists of what and how they could help see that the bill would eventually become law. I think this experience politicized the profession as no previous legislation had, not even the National Historical Preservation Act, which had essentially no archeological input at all.

The importance of the act was, of course, that it put archeology squarely in the preservation process developing at the time. . . it also provided that all federal agencies that needed archeological work to be in compliance with federal law could now spend their own money for such purposes. Previously they had to depend upon getting funds from the National Park Service. . . .

The importance of the act was, of course, that it put archeology squarely in the preservation process developing at the time as regulations were being developed by the National Park Service [NPS] and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Importantly, it also provided that all federal agencies that needed archeological work to be in compliance with federal law could now spend their own money for such purposes. Previously they had to depend upon getting funds from the National Park Service, the only agency with authority and specifically appropriated funds for archeology (which were never adequate). Of course it took several years of the budget cycle for agencies to request this money from Congress and to get personnel to oversee their own archeological programs. It is my opinion that this was the beginning of CRM [cultural resource management] as we know it.

BJL: What else was happening during that time?

HAD: The other major happening that summer (not to mention activity before and after May 24), that had been at least six months in the planning were the Airlie

House Seminars. In May of 1974, Bob McGimsey (my boss at the Arkansas Archeological Survey) had been elected President of SAA. He had been working for the passage of the Moss-Bennett Act since 1968 and in the spring of 1974 felt strongly that the profession needed to be ready for what was going to happen when that bill did pass. He picked six themes that he felt needed discussion, and suggested they be considered in six weeklong seminars. Those became the Airlie House Seminars named for the conference center west of Washington, DC. The funding came from the park service. The themes covered the law, CRM, guidelines for reports, the crisis in communication, relationships between archeology and Native Americans, and certification and accreditation.

BJL: You and Bob wrote the conference report, which is still frequently cited. Why do you think it was so influential?

[McGimsey III, Charles R. and Hester A. Davis, *The Management of Archeological Resources. The Airlie House Report* (Washington, DC: Society for American Archaeology, 1977)].

HAD: In terms of your question, the six topics of the seminars were important for archeologists to think about and make suggestions to the profession as to ways the topics might best be handled when the "new" money was available, and when many more archeologists found jobs having to do things for which most were not trained, such as preparing estimates for time and money on projects with very specific boundaries.

Let me add one more thought. What enduring lessons archeologists might draw from this special summer? Be Prepared!

BJL: In your view, how has public archeology changed over the course of your career?

HAD: I think the first use of the term that I recall was by the SAA in the creation of a Committee for Public Understanding of Archaeology. That pretty quickly changed to Committee on Public Archaeology, which had a much better abbreviation—CPUA wouldn't do, COPA was better. I was chair of COPA for a while in the late 60s and early 70s, spreading the word to archeologists about the Moss-Bennett Act.

One thing I know that has changed drastically is that public archeology now means many things to different people, and that the term and its practice has spread worldwide.

BJL: I see that you've brought one of the first important books on public archeology.

HAD: Yes, and this is the first time that I know of that the concept was published, in Bob McGimsey's *Public Archeology* in 1972. In that he was passing on the

information he had gathered from around the country on archeological programs supported with state funds, that is, public money. It was a sorry showing, given the rate of destruction of sites by postwar construction, farming, road building, and so on. We've heard this lament for at least 35 years. For example, if I may read from Bob's book (page 3). "The United States Soil Conservation Service confidently expresses the opinion that within 25 years [that was 38 years ago], all levelable land in Arkansas will have been leveled [in the Mississippi Valley and that of the Red River in the southwest corner of the state]. That constitutes over one-third of the total land surface in the state and includes a major portion of the heartland of the Mississippi and Caddo archeological culture areas."

He says he wrote the book with two audiences in mind: his colleagues, who might take the case of the creation and funding of the Arkansas Archeological Survey in 1967 to their legislators and convince them to fund a similar program to save their state's heritage. The second audience was the legislators themselves, "and other interested citizens" (page xiii). He is essentially challenging everyone with any interest in the past to become leaders in preservation of that past. "Public participation provides the potential for archeology's salvation" (page 37). In challenging his colleagues to see that "the public" is involved in this effort, he says, "Public participation can produce the four key elements that must be called into play if there is to be any hope of preserving any meaningful portion of this nation's past before it is destroyed. These four elements are: (1) adequate financial support for professional efforts), (2) an effective medium for increasing understanding of archeology on the part of that portion of the public which controls the land, (3) local resources [amateurs] that can be called upon readily in cases of emergency, and (4) experienced auxiliary forces [amateurs] that can carry an increasingly significant part of the investigative load." He then goes on to lecture professional archeologists not to be condescending in their relationships with amateurs. Remember, they are volunteers.

BJL: You said earlier that the term "public archeology" has changed drastically. Have other publications become as influential as McGimsey's book?

HAD: In some ways the book is out of date. Much of what Bob was saying has been repeated in many forms over the years. It would be interesting to find some grant money and make a survey of state programs now to see what "progress" in what areas has or has not been made.

In terms of worldwide use of the term in theory and in practice, I have recently come across a book published in 2004 by Routledge, edited by Nick Merriman of the Institute of Archaeology at University College in London. The book has the same title as McGimsey's book (although archeology is spelled archaeology). There are contributions spread geographically (all over the world) and topically, from programs involving the public in museums, to the Treasure

Act in England and the relationship of metal detectorists and archeologists; from public education to using technology and media.

BJL: How has the professional community changed the way we think about public archeology?

HAD: The SAA's Committee on Public Archaeology has morphed into the Public Education Committee, and has had a strong program of developing literature for teachers, particularly in the primary grades. Most states now have an Archeology Week or Month to concentrate information on archeology going out to many audiences; demonstrations (flint knapping, atlatl throwing, etc), talks, posters, interviews, special exhibits, and short term excavations for people to visit and/or volunteer to learn about archeology. There are now a good many states with various versions of the Arkansas training program for amateurs. It is certainly my impression that there is a *lot* of this kind of activity going on in this country and others, more than it would be possible to inventory. In the early 1960s when I was active in the SAA Committee there was little of this going on.

Another interesting change is that soon after archeologists became aroused to the fact that talking to the public was part of their job, historians realized the potential for jobs outside of academia with State Historic Preservation Programs and with large companies needing professional historians to aid in recording historic sites in their project areas. Public history as a sub-subject has separate departments in universities now, and has a very active national organization (National Council on Public History), which produces a newsletter and a quarterly journal.

The feds have made an effort to see that where public (federal) money is being used for archeological research, that information from such projects be made available to the local community in the form of public lectures, newspaper articles, storefront exhibits, and/or the publication of non-technical publications about the project. Even Congress has gotten into the act (pun intended) by mentioning in new or amended legislation that the public needs to be informed of what a federally funded archeological project is doing in their area and what the results are. For example, ARPA gives federal agencies responsibility for public awareness.

Almost all archeology is now public archeology in one form or another. In the formal use of the term, McGimsey's statement that there is no such thing as private archeology has come true. The exception might be privately endowed museums and universities.

BJL: As your career has shown, one very important part of the public for archeology is the large cadre of amateur archeologists. Could you tell us why you think

it's important for professional and amateur archeologists to work together and share your thoughts about how we can best do so?

HAD: Because there are a whole lot more of them than there are of us. And that means that they own a LOT of archeological sites. Or they know where they are because they collected arrow heads in a special place while their Dad was fishing. One thing I noticed when I lived in Iowa and the same holds true for Arkansas, both rural states, is that there were in both states a lot of rural postmen who were members of the state archeological society. They all said their "customers" who knew of their interest in Indian artifacts would tell them when they found arrow heads or bones when they were working their fields. And personally, I have found that I have made lifelong friends.

Amateur archeologists, at least in small rural states, also more often know their legislatures personally. The Arkansas Archeological Society sent specific information to its members when the legislation creating the Archeological Survey was going through the State Legislature; many Society members contacted their local legislators; had a mid-morning cup of coffee with them at the local café. In our case, McGimsey was the only professional archeologist in the state, and these voices of "the public" were really responsible for the passage of the Act creating the Survey and for the passage of the bill providing the money. And they still act in this capacity when they are needed.

Amateurs come with many levels of interest, many misunderstandings about the past, many faults in their knowledge. Some will only come to meetings; some love to work in the lab and are happy to spend time washing or numbering rocks, provided there is someone to talk to and answer their questions. Some will only participate if there is field work, some have very useful jobs (like computer graphics, or public relations and marketing); a friendly and knowledgeable lawyer might come in handy some time too. We have always seemed to attract nurses, which is useful in the field!

BJL: Do you see any downside to working with amateurs?

HAD: There are, of course, some "amateurs" who are died-in-the-wool collectors, who buy and sell artifacts, who want to know where the good sites are that the professionals know of because the professionals must know there is neat stuff there. Hard to impossible to change them, although I must say that I think that the passage of [the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act] NAGPRA has slowed the looting of graves in eastern Arkansas.

The key in developing relationships with amateurs is to maximize the time you and they have for programs or activities. For example, one or two professionals can take a group for a survey project where you, the professional, can talk about why and how a survey is done. The following weekend, you can invite this

group to your lab and teach them what is involved in the record keeping and processing of the items they found. They learn; you get a lot of lab work done. Or have an arrangement that a school group come to your excavation project at a specific time and get a tour and talk about what is going on, what you are looking for, how you do the excavation so carefully, and why you are digging where you are. Always have a brochure about the site and the project for these kids to take home and talk to the parents about what they learned.

BJL: That makes me think of what many professional archeologists say about working with amateurs, which is that it takes a lot of time.

HAD: All of this develops your patience. One-on-one work with amateurs is time consuming; a more efficient way might be to write a grant proposal for a project that involves amateurs but also provides funds for one professional to devote half or full-time to the project. A project involving development of an exhibit for a local museum would not only be a great way to get information about a local archeological project to the "public" but also be a lesson for those amateurs involved in development of the exhibit in communicating research information to the "public." And for the archeologist involved it could be a lesson in communicating by writing in English and not in archeological jargon. It is better to say in an exhibit label that "This is a stone [NOT a lithic] tool made somewhere between 1000 and 1500 BC."

BJL: Would you tell us about the Arkansas training program?

HAD: The training program was started in 1964, when it lasted for nine days (so as to cover two weekends), and was a huge success. Sixty people participated, and as has been our experience over the many years, it poured rain the first day and a half. This was before the Archeological Survey was created, but we were able to use graduate students from the university to help with instruction. The dig was at three sites on the White River near the town of Mountain View. We were lucky to have the editor of the local paper and a member of the school board to help us with logistics. In essence, the high school building was turned over to us for male sleeping, lectures, and lab, and one of the school buses was assigned to us, driven by the Society member who just happened to be on the Mountain View school board. The females were able to take advantage of a rural southern addition to many public schools, and that was a separate building specifically designed for teaching home economics: a full kitchen, two bedrooms, living area, etc.

Hester Davis discusses artifacts with two participants in the Training Program, 1999. (Courtesy of Hester Davis)

There were never 60 people in the field at one time, because some were in seminars, or working in the lab. We stipulate that no one could dig without having first attended "orientation" which is given every morning that new people arrive. This provides members with information about the site and its place in Arkansas prehistory. Members are introduced to basic excavation techniques

and given a review of the forms they will be required to fill out while they are digging.

We continued this kind of a program at different sites around the state until 1972, when we complicated our lives considerably by creating a certification program. We expanded the length of the program to 17-19 days and 3 weekends. This was to accommodate the seminars that members are required to take for advancement through the certification program. The program is now considered a joint one with the Archeological Survey providing the training, and the Society providing most of the logistics, which includes arrangements for a camping area and all facilities that requires. If possible the Society Committee also makes arrangements for a place for lab, lectures, and seminars to be held.

BJL: What is the underlying purpose of the program and how does it work now?

HAD: The basic philosophy behind the certification program is to provide "goal oriented" members with an opportunity to be certified in three levels of "expertise." Each member is given a "Log Book" (this program was totally Bob McGimsey's idea, and the Log Book reflects his time in the Navy). There is a $12.50 one-time registration fee for the certification program and each member must keep track in the book of the time in the field, in the lab, and in seminars, and have the signature in the Log Book of the instructor or supervisor each day.

There are three levels of participation: Level One requires basic instruction in three areas—excavation, lab work, and surveying. Forty hours in the field or the lab and one seminar—this results in the awarding of a Certificate as a Provisional Site Surveyor, Provisional Crew Member, or Provisional Lab Technician. Each seminar is scheduled for five half-days (Monday through Friday). At least four seminars are taught each of the five days.

Level Two requires additional work and more responsibility to become a Certified Site Surveyor, Certified Crew Member, or Certified Lab Technician. For each of the Level Two certificates there is also a requirement for attendance at a number of advanced seminars. Once all six of these certified categories have been completed and signed off on, the member will/can be certified as a Certified Archeological Technician.

And then there is the final award, Certified Field Archeologist. There are but two requirements: (1) has received the Certified Archeological Technician award; and (2) has designed and carried out a research project, and it is published in a refereed archeological journal, book, or monograph (including *The Arkansas Archeologist*). The Director of the Arkansas Archeological Survey must have the final sign off on all the categories.

BJL: Does the program work as well as you'd like?

HAD: The principal problem with the program is that it takes a *long* time for an individual to get through the categories, particularly the last one. When you can only come to the dig for your week's vacation, accumulating the required field experience takes time. Only three people have completed and received the final award, that of Certified Field Archeologist; five others have done everything except complete the final written and published report, and one of those is working on his final report.

There are around 350 people who have, over the years, signed up for the Certification Program, but many of those dropped out after a year or two. Mostly these have been people from out of state, as they find a local or closer state society now giving training programs. As I have said, many people seem to want the information more than the certificate, which is fine with us.

One of the best results of the program for Arkansas is that scattered around the state are experienced, trained people who have attended the program for many years—public archeologists, if you will, who can be called upon by the Survey Station Archeologists for help. This is particularly obvious when there is some kind of an emergency. The main advantage we have in administering this program is that we have a large staff of professional archeologists with the Survey that we can call upon to provide the supervision and training. However, after 45 years, we also now have a number of Society members who can and are used as supervisors in field and lab, and can teach an occasional seminar.

There have been changes and modification over the years but registration for the training program each year (the Society Dig as it is called colloquially) still runs each summer at around 75 to 80.

BJL: You've had an influential career in so many ways. You've raised awareness and took effective action against site destruction; you've successfully argued for a high degree of professionalism among archeologists; you've led by example in involving the public in archeology. What's the most unexpected or most rewarding thing that you've accomplished?

HAD: The most unexpected was being appointed by President Clinton to the Cultural Property Advisory Committee, there is a large official looking framed statement, full of legal "testimony" as to my "integrity and ability," etc., etc. signed by the President himself although not in my presence, nor did he appear at the time I took the required oath to shake my hand. I had served on the Board of the US/ICOMOS, and am a member of the World Archaeological Congress, but most of the other people on the Committee at the time were much more familiar with trafficking of artifacts from some foreign country into the U.S. than was I. However, I learned a great deal over the six years I served on that committee.

BJL: Looking back on your career, can you share observations or advice for the next generation of public archeologists?

HAD: Let's see. If you have an interest in making things move in the profession, volunteer to work on a committee or two in your state society organization where you think you can help with ideas or through your organizational experience. Or do that for the SAA or the SHA [Society for Historical Archaeology]. As I look back, I think I probably raised my hand too often when a Chair or President said "is there anyone who would like to tackle this problem for us?" Don't be shy to stand up at the SAA business meeting and make a comment or present an idea about something that has been discussed. Learn how the SAA committees work, and particularly their relationship with the SAA Board.

Hester Davis is surrounded by piles of reports during the time she was reviewing reports for the State Historic Preservation Officer. (Courtesy of Hester Davis)

Above all, be vigilant! Particularly when information is circulated about something that has been or will be introduced in Congress. All the professional organizations have something equivalent to "Government Affairs Committee." Ask the main office of the SAA to be on the free mailing list to receive the information about bills introduced, or actions taken in congressional committee. Pay attention to new suggestions that may affect what you are doing or what the profession should be doing. Actually I think that the vast majority of archeologists are doing this now, as opposed to 40 years ago when their heads were buried in their research!

Canadian Historic Sites and Plaques: Heroines, Trailblazers, The Famous Five[1]

by Dianne Dodd

In the late 1950s the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC), chaired by prominent Canadian historian Donald Creighton, dismissed a proposal to create a national historic site at the homestead of Adelaide Hoodless, domestic reformer and one of the founders of the Women's Institutes. In a period when the nationalist discourse went unquestioned, the board simply did not see a conservative feminist making a historic contribution that warranted investment in a site. Like most Canadians of their time, board members saw the purpose of historic sites and plaques as evoking national pride by recognizing the largely white, male elites who forged a nation from a disparate group of British colonies, resisting the pull of the American republic to its south. Of course, there is no such consensus on national history today, as the voices representing class, racial, and gendered identities have gained general and academic respectability. These voices have been slower to gain acceptance in the realm of public history[2]—in many national museums, historic sites, and interpretative programs, the nationalist discourse is still valued.[3]

The recent interest in public history among academic historians has resulted in a growing body of literature, including a few case studies on Canadian women that provide rich analyses of early female history-makers, while illuminating the contested terrain of historic memory. Colin Coates describes the ambivalent admiration accorded the dramatic, military-style heroics of Madeleine de Verchères during the 17th-century French-Iroquois wars.[4] Cecilia Morgan and others have documented the early women "amateur" historians who deliberately added a feminist sub-text to the nationalist discourse by highlighting Laura Secord's brave walk through dangerous terrain to warn the British of an impending American attack during the War of 1812, a defining moment in Canadian history.[5] In a similar vein, Katherine McPherson analyzed a 1926 memorial erected by the Canadian Nurses Association to remember 49 nurses who died in the Great War. She describes the compromises women had to make to place their monument in the Canadian Parliament buildings on Parliament Hill including juxtaposing the modern uniformed nurse against her religious predecessor and expressing nurses' wartime heroism in generic, maternal terms.[6] Linda Ambrose has also looked at the role of the ever-present Women's Institutes, which were active in numerous, less controversial forms of remembering.[7]

This paper adds to two preliminary studies of Canadian women commemorated in a federal commemorative program guided by the advice of the HSMBC (the

board) and administered by Parks Canada.[8] It provides a snapshot of all 126 designations relating to women beginning with the HSMBC's establishment in 1919, up to 2008—these make up 6 percent of a total of 1,942 commemorations in this program.[9] The author draws upon the board's minutes, some Parks Canada records, plaque texts, and her own experience as a Parks Canada historian to shed light on the disparate alliances of Canadians who negotiated the inclusion of women into the national story. What do these historic markers tell us about what constitutes an appropriate model of feminine heroism for an audience of plaque readers and historic site visitors at the national level? Given the strong emphasis on warfare in public history and historical consciousness,[10] it should come as no surprise to find that women's first entry into the world of national commemoration was through an elite military-style heroine. Reflecting similar trends in several comparable surveys done in the U.S.,[11] Verchères was followed by founders of women's organizations, nuns, elite literary women, nurses, pioneers, sports figures, and even some controversial feminist leaders, among them the Famous Five who challenged the Canadian constitution to recognize women as legal persons and who enjoyed a particularly enduring popularity.

In Canada, as in American and Australian contexts, there is an apparent reluctance to accord hero status to individual females and a tendency to memorialize women collectively as pioneers, nurses, workers, or wives. Public memorials, particularly in the case of women whose entry was contested, appealed to overlapping but often quite different audiences.

In Canada, as in American and Australian contexts, there is an apparent reluctance to accord hero status to individual females and a tendency to memorialize women collectively as pioneers, nurses, workers, or wives.[12] Public memorials, particularly in the case of women whose entry was contested, appealed to overlapping but often quite different audiences. Revealing a degree of ambiguity,[13] these commemorations leave room for the celebration of traditional femininity, laced with the bravery and civic contributions that ensured they fit well into an official, commemorative program at the national level, as well as the more disputed creation of feminist icons.[14] Not surprisingly, many of these commemorations, especially in the early years, celebrated elite Anglo-Celtic or French women—the 'women worthies' of the early historiography on women. However, the paper concludes by examining recent trends in a program that is moving toward greater diversity, and tentatively explores discrepancies between commemorative themes and academic interest, asking whether women have a different purpose than men in their commemorative initiatives.

The paper also takes a closer look at the very small number of federally designated women's history sites in Canada. Initially, there were very few in the federal program, as women's achievements were often marked with a "secondary plaque" instead of a site. Some historians see the program's focus on commemorative plaques as symptomatic of a weak federal role in the more serious business of preserving and developing historic sites;[15] however, it is clear that these plaques offered women an entry into commemoration and were highly valued by proponents. Once women's history became a strategic priority in the 1990s, the number of sites increased significantly. Thus, the Canadian experience seems to confirm Dolores Hayden's observation that despite restrictive criteria, women's sites can be identified and developed when the political will exists.[16] Notably, it was through the initiative of local groups that Parks Canada brought women's history sites, already developed and interpreted by groups such as the Women's Institutes, into its network of historic sites. None of these women's history sites are directly administered by Parks Canada.

The Federal Commemorative Program: HSMBC and Parks Canada

The HSMBC, a politically appointed and regionally balanced board, is the official advisor on commemoration at the national level in Canada. It has limited resources and no staff, except for a small secretariat, and its programs are administered by Parks Canada, under the Minister of the Environment. Designations are usually initiated through a public nomination process, although board members may also bring forward a proposal or ask for a study in a specific area. Then Parks Canada historians write, or oversee the production of, a submission report, which is considered by the board at their twice-yearly meetings. Guided by its criteria[17] of national significance in evaluating all nominations, the board makes a recommendation to the Minister, and if approved s/he announces the designation as a nationally significant person, event, or site. Naturally, the board is influenced by the historiography in place in any given period and public interests.[18]

Historian Yves Yvon Pelletier has characterized the board, in its first 30 years, as a Victorian Gentlemen's club that promoted an imperialist view of Canadian history with numerous designations commemorating the War of 1812.[19] At that time, its membership was dominated by serious "amateur" historians such as John Clarence Webster, a retired physician, who became a historian and served as a long-time HSMBC member, including chairman for several years before his death in 1950.[20] With his wife, Alice, he collected artifacts and contributed substantially to the development of the New Brunswick Museum and several historic sites.[21]

In the 1950s, professional historians such as Donald Creighton and A.R.M. Lower exerted a stronger influence. However, with minimal budget and, before 1950, an insecure mandate,[22] the HSMBC often turned down projects involving

acquisition or preservation of buildings, focussing on commemoration and its role in deciding national significance. By the 1960s and 1970s, as historian J.C. Taylor has noted, Parks Canada and larger government players undertook huge renovation and reconstruction projects, many of them military, such as the Fortress of Louisbourg.[23] In the 1990s, Parks Canada identified three strategic commemorative priorities: women's history, ethnocultural communities' history, and Aboriginal history.

Still, Veronica Strong Boag, former Historic Sites and Monuments Board member and historian of women and children, found the national body slow to respond to pressures from community groups and the new historiography.[24] One critic has describe the new priorities as little more than a "plaquing program,"[25] in part because of weak federal legislation that has no "teeth" to ensure protection of a site, once designated.[26] Indeed, given the considerable political and financial resources sites require and the underfunded state of the program, there are few Parks Canada administered sites—most are run by community groups or other levels of government. As well, of the three categories of designations, persons and events (in which the majority of commemorations relating to women fall) are marked only with a historic plaque. Sites alone afford owners access to Parks Canada cost sharing support—when available—and technical expertise in order to preserve or improve a building, and/or develop interpretation.

Despite its imperfections, a federal designation holds real significance, especially for previously excluded groups. All designations are registered on the *List of Designations of National Historic Significance*, and are plaqued at an appropriate location. Particularly in the case of the three strategic priorities, designations are often featured on the Parks Canada website as well, and sites, as mentioned, are eligible to apply for financial and technical aid and become part of Parks Canada's family of National Historic Sites.

The Women's History Designations

When women's history became a strategic priority along with Aboriginal history and Ethnocultural Communities' history, in the 1990s, the board gradually became more attuned to gender issues. Although Strong-Boag has recently remarked that it is not clear "that the commemoration of women was an equal beneficiary" with the other strategic priorities, the number and diversity of commemorations continue to expand.[27] From a very small number, the commemorations subsequently grew as staff and board members drew on the growing historiography on women's history. National and, later, regional workshops were held at which board members, staff, invited experts in women's history, and grassroots activists mapped out a strategy to improve the commemoration of women.

In its early years, the HSMBC showed minimal interest in projects concerning women and/or those put forward by women, although women's commemorations did receive a boost when the board decided to erect "secondary plaques," creating a list of what it called eminent or distinguished Canadians.[28] This accelerated the number of "person" designations in which the majority of women's commemorations are now found. In the 1930s, when Parks Canada experienced a period of growth due to an influx of money from the Public Works Construction Act (PWCA) directed at reducing unemployment rates, women's designations did not receive any of the funds.[29] However, at least two of the PWCA projects enjoyed leadership from female heritage activists.[30] The principal activist, researcher, and fundraiser for the preservation and historic reconstruction of Port Royal, the 1605 settlement of Samuel de Champlain, was American Harriette Taber Richardson, who was designated for her contributions in 1949.[31] At the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site, Katharine McLennan, daughter of Senator and prominent Cape Breton industrialist J.S. McLennan, was named honorary curator of the new Louisbourg Museum built in 1936.[32] A recent virtual exhibit on women at the New Brunswick Museum adds to our knowledge of these important early women collectors and preservationists.[33]

Certainly, the distinguished gentlemen of the HSMBC were happy to accept support from women. In 1943, they thanked the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa for making arrangements and serving tea at the plaque unveiling ceremonies for British explorers who participated in the conquest of the Canadian Arctic, 1497-1880, and for Dominion Archivist Douglas Brymner.[34] When the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto solicited the board's support in its efforts to preserve Fort York in December 1920,[35] however, none was forthcoming. Ten years later, the board expressed its enthusiastic approval upon learning that the society members "desire to undertake the erection of this memorial themselves."[36] In 1953, the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa asked the board for support in renovating the old workshop of Colonel By, the builder on the Rideau Canal, but the request was deferred and no funds were allocated.[37]

Of the 126 designations relating to Canadian women in this federal program made from 1919 to 2008 (6 percent of 1,942 designations) 27 are sites, 66 are persons, and 33 are events.[38] The small number of designations compare to similar programs elsewhere. For example, in 1989, 360 out of 70,000 sites listed in the National Register (4 percent) are related to women; and, only in 2002, only 8 women were found in a survey of 252 memorials in the town of Lowell, Massachusetts.[39]

Table 1 shows a breakdown of the designations by decade with categories of person (P), event (E), or site (S) also noted. From only one designation in the 1920s, and relatively few from the 1930s to the 1960s, the numbers began to rise

TABLE 1: WOMEN'S HISTORY DESIGNATIONS BY DECADE

Years	Women's History Designations	All Designations	Person/Event/Site			Percentage
1920s	1	227	1P			0.3
1930s	4	204	2P	1E	1S	1.9
1940s	6	105	6P			5.7
1950s	7	181	5P	2S		3.8
1960s	6	125	3P	3S		4.8
1970s	10	295	7P	2S	1E	3.4
1980s	17	292	8P	1S	8E	5.8
1990s	38	311	18P	11S	9E	12.2
2000–2008	37	198	16P	7S	14E	18.6

substantially in the 1970s, due no doubt to the second-wave feminist movement and increased interest in women's history. By the 1990s, there was a larger jump forward as women's history became a strategic priority.

In the 1920s, the only women's history designation out of a total of 227 was of Madeleine de Verchères. In the 1930s, there were four designations related to women out of a total of 204, representing 1.9 percent. The decision to erect secondary plaques[40] resulted in recognition of many prominent individuals. Included among them were a few women, such as the internationally acclaimed opera soprano from Quebec, Emma Albani, and the first of the suffrage/Persons Case leaders, Louise McKinney. In the 1940s, there was a fall in absolute numbers of designations, probably because the board suspended its activities for several years during World War II. The percentage rose to 5.7 however, as there were six designations that related to women out of a total of 105, perhaps reflecting women's greater visibility in war-related work. In the 1950s, total designations approached pre-war levels, but with only seven designations devoted to women out of a total of 181, the percentage dropped to 3.8. In the 1960s, the percentage of women's history designations rose to 4.8, or six out of a total of 125 designations.

In the 1970s, the overall number of designations rose considerably to 295, but with only 10 of these relating to women, the percentage dropped to 3.4. In this decade Parks Canada expanded its programs, acquired new staff, new sites and participated in historic reconstruction projects. For example, larger political priorities pushed Parks Canada to undertake reconstruction of one-quarter of the old town and the Fortress of Louisbourg as a Canadian centennial project (1967) and to create tourism jobs in the face of a declining coal industry in Nova Scotia. With large sums being spent, Parks Canada, and even more so the board, took a back seat.[41]

In the 1980s, the number and percentage of women's history designations rose, with 17 out of a total of 292, or 5.8 percent, returning to World War II levels.

Nine of these were persons and one was a site. The rest were "events," a category increasingly used to capture women's collective achievements.[42] For example, when board members decided that Margaret Polson Murray, founder of the women's service organization, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE), was not of national significance, because she was involved with the organization an insufficient length of time after founding it, they decided to commemorate the organization instead.[43] In the 1990s, following a series of women's history workshops, the number of designations relating to women rose to 38 out of a total of 311, or 12.2 percent. Up to 2008, there have been 37 out of a total of 198 designations relating to women, or 18.6 percent.

Military Heroines, Religious Women, and Feminists

Are there trends in these 126 commemorations? The earliest commemoration of a woman, in 1923, was the military heroine Madeleine de Verchères. Her plaque text reads—

In 1692, Madeleine de Verchères, then only 14 years of age, alone in Fort de Verchères with her two young brothers, an old servant, and two soldiers, took command and defended the post successfully for eight days against a war-party of Iroquois.[44]

In the literature on popular historical consciousness in Canada and elsewhere, it appears that many "consumers" of public history are not particularly receptive to women's history as a topic, certainly vis-à-vis such perennial favorites as warfare.[45] Thus, women's commemoration began with a woman who captured the cautious admiration of historians and the public alike for momentarily stepping out of her traditional feminine role to assume a military posture, albeit a defensive one. Her persona uneasily juxtaposed male-like traits of heroism and bravery with feminine virtues of domesticity and passivity. The HSMBC plaque was unveiled in 1927 and placed at the site of an existing monument, created by noted Canadian sculptor Louis-Philippe Hébert. It had been erected in 1913 through the efforts of Governor General Lord Grey and the parish priest of the town of Verchères, Abbé F.A. Baillargé. Verchères designation also reflects the Canadian historiography of the 1920s, in which Canadians were positioning the Great War as a catalyst to Canadian political autonomy vis-à-vis Britain.

Interestingly, Verchères' English-Canadian counterpart, Laura Secord (1775-1868), who played a similar iconic role in mixing nationalism with feminine bravery, was not designated (as a person) until 2002, following a nomination from the Niagara Parks Commission. The board had received a proposal in 1934 to acquire Laura Secord's home in Queenston, Ontario, but deferred a decision. Although during the 1930s most building designation requests were turned down, the board was undoubtedly also influenced by the historiography of the period. Academic historian W.S. Wallace was leading a campaign to discredit Secord as a factor in the outcome of the Battle of Beaver Dams in the War of

1812 and generally to distance the emerging historical profession from amateur women's historians, led by Emma Currie and Sarah Ann Curzon, who had taken up the Secord story.[46] The plaque text, drafted in 2004, is careful not to overstate the military claims, but nonetheless acknowledges Secord's bravery and her importance to women's history—

This celebrated heroine of the War of 1812 is a renowned figure in Canadian history. Determined to warn the British of an impending American attack on Beaver Dams, Secord set out from her home on June 22, 1813, on a dangerous mission. She travelled alone for over 30 kilometres behind enemy lines, struggling to make it to the De Cew farmhouse, where she informed Lieutenant FitzGibbon about the American plan. Later in the 19th century, a first generation of women historians championed Secord's courageous deed with the goal of uncovering and popularizing women's contributions to the history of Canada.[47]

Similarly, the board deferred action on proposals in 1934 and again in 1955-56 to fund restoration of Verchères's seigneurial home in Ste. Anne de la Perade, near Montréal, Quebec.[48] Although Verchères was less an object of feminist hero-making, her luster faded by the 1920s when new records emerged to illuminate an adult life that detracted from her value as a heroine.[49] Since the 1930s, both Verchères and Secord have been largely relegated to history textbooks for young children.

The military theme came up again in the commemorative program where we find that World War I nurses were the first nurses, and among the first women, to be commemorated. The HSMBC in 1982-83 recognized Major Margaret Macdonald, Matron in Chief of the nursing service of the Canadian Army Medical Corp during World War I, and Matron Georgina Pope, the first matron of nursing services. In 1994, the HSMBC decided, in its discussions relating to the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of D-Day, to designate women's entry into the Canadian military in World War II as an event of national historic significance.[50] Although it was not the three associations of the women's services (army, navy and air force) who brought the nomination to the board, they enthusiastically embraced the commemorations. While it is not uncommon for women to be designated in relation to a broader study of a larger historical phenomenon in which they had participated, that was not always the case. For example, the 48,000 war brides who immigrated to Canada after marrying servicemen stationed overseas during World War II were designated in 1996 after the Victoria War Brides Association brought the topic to the board's attention.[51]

Popular Heroines

Besides military-style figures, other popular heroines have been designated, including exceptional female athletes who achieved some popular attention

in the aftermath of the suffrage victory and the entry of women into Olympic competitions. The plaque text for the Edmonton Grads notes—

In a twenty-five year history, beginning in 1915, the women of the Commercial Graduates Basketball Club, coached by Percy Page, achieved world recognition. This amateur squad, made up almost exclusively of graduates and students of McDougall Commercial School in Edmonton, held the provincial crown for twenty-four years and the Canadian title from 1922 to 1940. Undisputed North American champions, the Grads competed in exhibition play at four Olympic Games (women's basketball was not then recognized as an Olympic sport), defeating all European challengers. The team was disbanded in 1940.[52]

Both the Grads and Fannie (Bobbie) Rosenfeld, a hockey player and a member of the "Matchless Six" (so named for winning numerous medals at the 1928 Olympics, when Canadian women competed in track and field events for the first time), were brought to the board's attention as a result of board member Dr. J. Edgar Rea's study, *Canada's Sporting History*, in 1976.[53] In the era before professional—primarily male—sport teams monopolized fan and media attention, these women had become household names. Often they invoked national pride, as reflected in the 2005 designation of the 1954 swim across Lake Ontario by Marilyn Bell. This event designation followed a nomination by the Boulevard Club in Toronto, where she had trained. Her plaque text reads—

On the evening of September 9, 1954, 16-year-old marathon swimmer Marilyn Bell became the first person to swim across Lake Ontario. Racing unofficially against the heavily favoured American swimmer Florence Chadwick, Bell endured eels, high winds, and frigid waters for almost 21 hours to complete her world-record-breaking 51.5-kilometre swim here. Her courageous achievement won unprecedented attention both at home and abroad for the sport of marathon swimming in Canada. Bell's swim demonstrated that women could compete in even the most gruelling sports and fostered immense national pride.[54]

Several American authors have noted the many generic tributes to pioneer mothers in the United States,[55] and pioneer women were also popular in Canada. In 1982, Marie-Anne Gaboury, the first "White" woman in the west who arrived in 1806 was designated with her husband, Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière. She is briefly mentioned in his plaque text largely because the local Saint Boniface Historical Society requested it.[56] Such women seemed to combine feminine skills and a nation-building, pioneer spirit with a quiet, non-threatening challenge to gender boundaries. In the 1970s, well-known Canadian pioneer writers Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill were designated, and even pioneering nurses held a strong appeal. The Newfoundland Outport Nursing and Industrial Association (NONIA), which sent nurses to isolated outport communities in Newfoundland, was designated in 1998. The board emphasized

the nursing aspect of their story over the role that female organizers played in creating a still-thriving craft business—

Outstanding among nursing organizations serving isolated communities across Canada, NONIA brought professional health care to Newfoundland's outports. Women reformers founded the organization in 1924 using the production and sale of handicrafts to finance their work. Besides training lay midwives and delivering babies, British-trained nurse-midwives pulled teeth and transported the sick along hazardous routes to distant hospitals. Although its nursing service was incorporated into Newfoundland's health system in 1934, NONIA remains a leader in the promotion of handicraft production.[57]

After recommending designation of a Red Cross hospital in Wilberforce in 2002, a board committee suggested, "Parks Canada encourage public nominations of Red Cross outpost nurses for consideration by the Board."[58] Later, La Corne Dispensaire in Québec was also designated, another site exemplifying pioneer women who provided nurture to isolated populations while sometimes challenging local authorities. The outpost nurses were among the first women to drive automobiles and live independently from fathers and husbands. Indeed, a letter from the local Bishop giving the nurses permission to wear pants, thus overruling the objections of the local priest, is proudly displayed at the La Corne site.[59]

Female Religious Communities

American historians have noted that among the few sites relating to women, there are many house museums. Many of these such as the Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site in Hyde Park, New York could be called "Great Woman Houses."[60] However, the Canadian historic sites network is somewhat richer in motherhouses, convents, hospitals, and schools than in the homes of distinguished women,[61] a built environment legacy left by female religious congregations. Widely recognized as builders of communities and pioneers in health, charity, and education, nuns are the exception to the general invisibility of women in history and commemoration.[62] Even in the United States with a proportionally smaller Catholic population than Canada's,[63] nuns are nonetheless evident in public memorials.[64] Originating primarily in Québec, women's religious congregations later expanded across the country and played a major, if quiet, role in Canadian history.

Although religious women showed great modesty in telling their own stories—as indeed most women have—their obedience and loyalty to church hierarchy often masked a quiet assertiveness. Symbolized in the habits they once wore, their religious devotion and "marriage" to the church made them paradoxically both maternal and asexual. Sheltered from many of the restrictions women experienced in patriarchal society, they owned and managed large properties,

hospitals, and schools, raised funds in the community and negotiated with public officials.[65] Thus, leaders of female religious congregations proved acceptable female subjects with the board, proponents, and communities themselves. In the 1970s, Sainte Marie M. D'Youville, who founded the Grey Nuns in 1747, was designated as a person of national historic significance. She was followed a decade later by Marguerite Bourgeoys, who founded the Congregation Notre-Dame in 1658. In 1988 seven female religious communities were designated as national historic events in recognition of their work in health, education, social welfare, and culture.[66] This followed a 1981 board request to designate a specific monastery, and a subsequent study on "the contributions of the major religious orders active in Canada" to provide comparative context. As well, several male orders were designated.[67]

Women's religious communities built most of the early national historic sites relating to women. Given that most were designated for their architectural and/or historic association with no emphasis placed on the contribution of women, we might call them "accidental women's history sites." For example, the Hôtel-Dieu in Quebec City was designated in 1936 because it was the first hospital in North America, north of Mexico, although the plaque did acknowledge the founder and the Augustinian nuns who "ministered to alleviate human suffering" for more than three centuries.[68] The former Grey Nuns Convent in St. Boniface, Manitoba came into the historic sites system in 1958 through the efforts of HSMBC member for Manitoba, Mgr. D'Eschambault, who wanted to develop it as a museum for the St. Boniface Historical Society.[69] (Figure 1) Here, the nuns' work, especially in health care and education was subsumed under the larger commemorative theme of the French Catholic presence and survival in Western Canada. St. Ann's Academy, a Catholic girls school, motherhouse of the Sisters of St. Ann and Victoria, a British Columbia landmark, which was managed by the Provincial Capital Commission, became a national historic site in 1989 for its contribution to the cultural and educational life of western Canada.[70] At Hôtel-Dieu, the Augustines recently successfully nominated the achievements of their own congregation as an "event" of national historic significance, and since that time several more congregations have been designated, including the Misericordia Sisters and the Religious Hospitallers of Saint Joseph.

FIGURE 1
Grey Nuns Convent, Saint Boniface, Manitoba, Parks Canada, 1986 (Courtesy of Parks Canada)

Although the links are seldom drawn in a Canadian historiography divided along language lines, these religious women had counterparts in the English-speaking, Protestant community. Recent designations, most of them as events, have commemorated women who did similar work in healthcare, education, and social work. Indeed, in a recent analysis of women's commemorations, it was found that the bulk of them were congregated in community work.[71] The national women's history workshops held in the early 1990s recommended framework studies in key, well-documented areas of women's activities—areas that would be amenable to commemoration: politics, healthcare, work, education, and science/technology. Staff, which by this time included historians well versed in the new social history, drew on the growing academic literature on women. The addition of noted historians of women's history, Margaret Conrad and later Strong-Boag, on the board also meant that women's history was more explicitly represented.

Numerous designations followed, reflecting both a conservative celebration of women's collective achievements in traditional roles such as nuns, teachers, nurses, and charitable ladies, and the creation of feminist icons who broke down gender barriers.

Numerous designations followed, reflecting both a conservative celebration of women's collective achievements in traditional roles such as nuns, teachers, nurses, and charitable ladies, and the creation of feminist icons who broke down gender barriers. In health care, the Victorian Order of Nurses was designated (event) as well as five nurses' residences (sites). The achievements of important women's organizations, including the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Canadian Woman's Christian Temperance Union (CWCTU), and the Fédération Nationale Saint-Jean Baptiste (FNSJB), were commemorated as events. Designations of elite women whose careers crossed the delicate divide between social reform and feminist-inspired politics included Helen Gregory McGill, a judge who pioneered the development of family law and family courts, and Marie Lacoste Gérin-Lajoie, who founded the FNSJB which championed both women's rights and social causes such as improved infant health. Always mindful of the national criteria, historians emphasized these women's roles as nation builders who erected some of the building blocks of the emerging post-World War II social welfare state.[72]
As well, the event designation, "Winning the Vote," led to a virtual exhibit being created as well as interpretive panels being placed at the Walker Theatre, a national historic site where the famous Mock Parliament, a play starring prominent Manitoba suffragist and author Nellie McClung,[73] was held, marking a milestone event in the suffrage campaign.[74] Walker Theatre had been designated in 1991 largely for its architectural history. Although its association with important suffrage and labor meetings was later added to the plaque text,

it says little about suffrage and nothing of Harriett Walker, wife of the theatre's owner and a former actor who produced the play—

The Walker is an excellent example of an early Canadian theatre designed for serious dramas, operas and musicals. Opened in 1906, it was run by C.P. Walker, whose New York connections brought in international stars and a dazzling array of productions. Nationally important political rallies held here included meetings of the women's suffrage and labour movements. Designed by Howard C. Stone, the Walker was notable in its day for such features as fireproofing, the arched ceiling resembling the Auditorium Theater in Chicago, and the inexpensive "gods" section of seating.[75]

The Famous Five/Persons Case: An Enduring Symbol

The "Persons Case" was a successful appeal to Canada's highest court that clarified in 1929 the legal personhood of Canadian women and set a precedent for constitutional reform.[76] This removed the last barrier to full political equality and permitted women to be appointed to the (non-elected) Canadian Senate. Several commentators have noted the lack of attention accorded to the Persons Case in public remembering. Strong-Boag notes that from 1929 to the late 20th century, the Famous Five were only recognized by one bronze plaque erected by the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs outside the Senate Chambers of the Parliament Buildings in 1938. Further, Calgary businesswoman Frances Wright was motivated to establish the private Famous 5 Foundation when she discovered the gravesites of the five women did not mention their achievement.[77] However, they were not entirely forgotten. Although less well known, there were historic plaques to all five women erected by Parks Canada through the recommendations of the HSMBC. They note both the Persons Case and other achievements in relation to the women's movement.

Louise McKinney was the first of the five signatories to the Persons Case to be designated, in 1939. The Leeds and Grenville County Historical Society initially nominated McKinney in hopes that her plaque would be placed at her birth-place in Frankville, Ontario. However, it was later decided to place the plaque in Claresholm, Alberta where she lived most of her adult life and was active in community and political life. Her Alberta community was keen to promote this local heroine. Schools and businesses closed for the plaque unveiling ceremony at which prominent local, and some provincial, dignitaries presided.

While feminist sentiments were quietly present, most local boosters stressed McKinney's service to her community and expressed their pride that Western Canada had taken a lead role in the suffrage movement. The ceremony also reflected the community's aim of using a commemorative moment to instill the values of citizenship in the local populace. McKinney's feminism took second

place at the ceremony. Her plaque text was revised in the 1970s to make it bilingual (French and English) in accord with the government's new policy on bilingualism. It does not acknowledge McKinney as the first women elected to a legislative house in the British Empire because later guidelines discouraged recognition of "firsts" per se. However, the community initially considered this important.[78] Her plaque text reads—

Born in Frankville, Ontario, a graduate of Ottawa Normal School, Louise McKinney, with her husband and child, settled at Claresholm, Alberta in 1903. An active member of the WCTU and the IODE and a tireless worker for social causes including temperance and women's rights, she fought hard for female suffrage, (which was granted in 1916), before entering provincial politics. Having served one term (1917-21) as an elected member of the Legislature, she became an active member of the group of five whose appeal to the Privy Council earned for women the right of entry to the Canadian Senate. She died at Claresholm.[79]

During the 1950s and 1960s, the other four women involved in the Persons Case were also designated as persons of national historic significance. For example, Alberta HSMBC member Joel K. Smith nominated Persons Case leader Emily Murphy in 1958. He told his fellow board members that he was conveying the wishes of the people of Edmonton, Alberta who "have under consideration a very beautiful park to be known as the Emily Murphy Park and wish to erect there a fine fountain."[80] He noted Murphy was "the first woman in the British Empire to be appointed magistrate, a capacity in which she served with great distinction," and that she was "nominated for the Senate of Canada but was not considered eligible for appointment in light of the British North America Act. With her committee of four women she argued in the Courts and went to the Privy Council in her fight for equal rights for women."[81] The plaque reads—

Born in Cookstown, Ontario, Emily Murphy moved to the Swan River district of Manitoba in 1904 and about three years later to Edmonton. A fighter for women's rights she became, as judge of the Edmonton Juvenile Court, the first female magistrate in the British Commonwealth. She led the five Alberta women through whose efforts women were legally recognized as "persons" and hence made eligible for admission to the Senate. Among the books she wrote under the pen name "Janey Canuck" were Seeds of Pine, sketches of life in Alberta, and "The Black Candle" a study of narcotics and drug addiction. She died in Edmonton.[82]

Nellie Mooney McClung (1873–1951) was designated in 1954. The Women's Institutes were long-time promoters of Nellie's designation, reflecting her popularity as an icon of the first-wave feminist movement and the suffrage campaign. They purchased property that was part of the Mooney family's farm near Chatsworth, Ontario, erected a beautiful stone monument for the plaque and made plans for a memorial roadside park in McClung's honor. While the

stonework is still standing and a roadside sign directs visitors, the park was not built. The Women's Institutes dominated the plaque unveiling ceremony where McClung's feminism was highlighted as much as her community service.[83] Her initial plaque had provided only tombstone data, as was the practice with the early, secondary plaques, however like Murphy's, it was revised to make it bilingual—

Born in Chatsworth, Ontario, Nellie Mooney moved to Manitoba with her family in 1880. As a politician and public lecturer, she campaigned vigorously for social reform and women's rights. A Liberal member for Edmonton in the Alberta legislature (1921-26) and the first female member of the CBC Board of Governors (1936-42), she was one of the small group whose efforts succeeded in opening the Canadian Senate to women. She was the author of several influential books written in the form of the Methodist and temperance literature of her day, including Sowing Seeds in Danny and Clearing in the West. She died in Victoria, B.C.[84]

Then in the 1960s, the board recognized the remaining two members: Mary Irene Parlby whom the Board called "an able legislator. . .who rendered significant service in the fields of education, social welfare, and legislative reform"[85] and Henrietta Muir Edwards, "an eminent Canadian" who made an "outstanding contribution to the recognition of the status of women in Canada." Edwards had served for 35 years as convenor of the National Council of Women's committee on laws affecting women and children, and was associated with legislation for equal parental rights and mother's allowances.[86] It is not known who nominated Parlby or Edwards.

It is interesting to find the Famous Five among the very earliest designations of women, decades before Catherine Cleverdon published her important work on the Canadian suffrage movement in 1974 and the academic field of women's history began to develop.[87] What do we know about why the proponents sought recognition? Do these designations reflect the enduring popularity of the Persons Case as a feminist symbol among a small feminist cohort of the public history audience, previously ignored? Certainly the McClung case points to this, but for Murphy and McKinney, it appears that local boosters had the upper hand. The records of the HSMBC and Parks Canada are too scant to definitely answer this question, although community records might provide more information. It seems most likely however, as is so often the case with women's commemorations, that minority feminists forged alliances with more influential local figures to create these historic markers for a mix of reasons.

The achievement of full political equality remained a potent symbol of feminine historical consciousness. In 1979 an associate professor of law at the University of Toronto nominated the Persons Case as an event,[88] but the board objected that it had been sufficiently recognized through the designation of the five women responsible for it. Perhaps realizing that women's history was

underrepresented, the board noted that they remained willing to consider other persons who may have played a role in the attainment of specific rights for women. They asked staff for a research report on Lady Aberdeen (1857-1939), the distinguished wife of the governor general, and key player in the founding the National Council of Women and the Victorian Order of Nurses. In specifically requesting that the plaque make reference to her charitable activities, they perhaps revealed their conception of one form of appropriate feminine behavior in a nationally significant figure. Lady Aberdeen's plaque text reads—

Raised in Scotland, in 1877 Ishbel Maria Marjoribanks married Lord Aberdeen, who was Governor General of Canada from 1893 to 1898. A formidable and energetic person, she devoted her life to promoting social causes and served for years as president of the International Council of Women. In Canada she founded the National Council of Women, helped establish the Victorian Order of Nurses and headed the Aberdeen Association, which distributed literature to settlers. Lady Aberdeen later organized the Red Cross Society of Scotland and the Women's National Association of Ireland. She died at Aberdeen, Scotland.[89]

However, the resilient Persons Case would come before the board again and it was eventually designated as an event of national historic significance in the early 1990s following the framework study on politics that highlighted its importance. Still, the board, like most Canadians, resisted acknowledging the significance of the Persons Case as a symbol of political equality for women, beyond its legal meaning of providing entry into the non-elected Senate. This sentiment can be seen in the plaque text for Parlby, for example, which notes she was a member of the "Group of Five" a movement for, as they termed it, "admission of women to the Senate of Canada."[90] In 1979 the HSMBC noted that it was "fully cognizant of the importance of the judicial decision now popularly known as the "Persons Case," however "the essential outcome of that case was the admission of women to the Canadian senate."[91] It was not until 1997 that the board noted that the Persons Case should be designated "because the case cleared the way for the appointment of women to the Senate *and* because it has acquired a symbolic importance in so far as it established that Canadian women were full persons, equal to men, in both the legal and popular meaning of the word."[92]

The success, the second time around points to the importance of a developed historiography to document a case for national significance. However, it also reflects the popularity of the case in Canada, where women's history month is celebrated in October to mark the date of the final decision on October 18, 1929. It seems that removing such an odious phrase from the Canadian legal cannon as "Women are persons in matters of pains and penalties, but are not persons in matters of rights and responsibilities"[93] served as a rallying cry for Canadian women.

Especially on controversial events, plaque texts are often an exercise in compromise, and in this case the final version is careful not to give too much weight to the broader feminist view of the Persons Case as embodying symbolic significance vis-à-vis the narrower legal interpretation. After much discussion, this plaque text was approved on December 16, 1998—

The Persons Case is a landmark legal decision in the struggle of Canadian women for equality. Although most women were given the right to vote in federal elections and to hold seats in the House of Commons in 1918, their eligibility for appointment to the Senate remained in question. When five Alberta women, Emily Murphy, Henrietta Muir Edwards, Louise McKinney, Nellie McClung and Irene Parlby, campaigned to have a woman named to the Senate, their request was denied on the grounds that women were not included among the "persons" eligible for Senate appointments under Section 24 of the British North America Act (1867). This interpretation was upheld when the matter was referred to the Supreme Court of Canada in 1928. The women appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, at the time the highest court in the British Empire. On October 18, 1929 the Committee ruled that women were included under the term "persons" in Section 24 of the Act, and were thus eligible for appointment to the Senate of Canada.[94]

A Private Initiative to Commemorate the Persons Case

Reflecting many of the themes seen in the HSMBC/Parks Canada program was a much higher-profile, privately funded, initiative to commemorate the same women responsible for the Persons Case. It occurred at about the same time as the above discussions but was not associated with the federal program. After establishing the private Famous 5 Foundation (F5F), Frances Wright succeeded in raising large sums of money among elite Canadian women, and erected two over-life-sized monuments of the Famous Five first in Olympic Plaza in Calgary, Alberta and secondly, on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, Canada's capital.[95] National level commemorations tend to generate considerable controversy,[96] and the group had to overcome a number of obstacles, including raising all of the money themselves. They also had to circumvent criteria governing statues on Parliament Hill, normally reserved for deceased Prime Ministers, Fathers of Confederation,[97] and monarchs. The F5F successfully exploited an exception to these criteria by orchestrating a unanimous vote in the House of Commons and Senate.

The unveiling of the Famous Five as feminist nation-builders was marked by much high-level political participation, with then Prime Minister Jean Chretien, Governor General Adrienne Clarkson, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Beverley McLachlin presiding. Many female members of parliament and senators who had actively supported the vote on the monument were there as well. The statue marked a major departure for women's commemoration in that it portrayed five women as real, named, and heroic figures in Canadian

political history and generated a debate that is revealing of antagonism, even within the feminist community, toward according public space to feminist heroines. Critics argued that the Persons Case was unimportant because women already had the vote, could hold office in the House of Commons and provincial legislatures, and that the Senate was non-elected, elitist, and irrelevant. The F5F countered that the Persons Case "was an important legal, constitutional achievement because it allowed Canadian women to serve as senators, thereby finalizing our laws . . . As well, the decision by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council affected all British empire countries."[98]

Forced to address well-established criteria in place for the Parliamentary precinct that singled out the Fathers of Confederation, the foundation argued that the Famous Five should be considered "Mothers of Confederation." They argued that the five women had contributed as much or perhaps more to the country than many of the "fathers." Critics within the feminist community who questioned "the historical desserts of a small group of Anglo-Celtic foremothers,"[99] painted the five women as both elitist and racist, because they supported popular eugenics beliefs of the early 20th century. This led one commentator to wonder whether women "as historic actors and subjects of monuments" are "being held to higher standards today than were the men whose statues dominate the historic landscape?"[100]

Women's History and National Historic Sites

Returning to the HSMBC/Parks Canada program, we look at the few women's history sites designated within the program. Dolores Hayden has observed that the exacting criteria in place in many heritage programs make it difficult to identify, develop, and interpret women's history sites.[101] Marginalized politically and economically, with loyalties divided across ethnic, class, and other identities, and spread out over diffuse geographic space, women have rarely designed, built, or had longstanding association with prominent public buildings, cultural landscapes, or major institutions, with the possible exception of Catholic women's communities. This section looks at the HSMBC/Parks Canada experience in relation to women's site designations. As of 2008, there were, as noted earlier, 1,942 designations and of that number 935 are sites, compared with 612 persons and 395 events. The 126 designations that relate to women show an opposite trend: only 27 are sites while 66 are persons, and 33 are events. As of 2008, there were 159 national historic sites administered by Parks Canada out of the 935 sites, and of these there is not one fully dedicated to a women's history theme.

Through most of the HSMBC/Parks Canada's history, Canadian women have had difficulty accessing the needed material and human resources to acquire, develop, and interpret sites, and to gain site designations once they have developed them. Before 1990, there were only nine women's history sites and

most of those belonged to religious communities. However, since the late 1990s when Parks Canada made women's history a program priority, the number of sites, albeit not administered by Parks Canada, has increased substantially as the agency acquired sites that women's groups or local organizations had earlier developed.

In some respects the Canadian experience, taking into account the much smaller population, compares with that of the United States where approximately 50 women's history sites (not all of these U.S. National Park Service sites) have public programming. With the exception of the religious communities' architecture in Canada, they reflect similar themes, commemorating noted writers (Louisa May Alcott), prominent political wives (Mamie D. Eisenhower), and founders of organizations (Clara Barton, American Red Cross). However, Canada does not have a site devoted to political emancipation similar to the U.S. National Park Service's Women's Rights National Historical Park in Seneca Falls, which includes the site of the 1848 founding meeting as well as former homes of movement leaders, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mary Ann McClintock.[102] As we will see in the following section, none of the major leaders of the Canadian women's movement have been the focus of national historic sites in any of their former homes.

Literary Women and Politicians

The efforts of women's groups and others to celebrate women's history were met with relative indifference by the board in its early years, particularly when they nominated subjects who played controversial political roles. Women who excited the popular and/or board imagination from the 1930s to the present were elite writers or artists who enjoyed a national and especially international following, thus inspiring recognition for Canada. For example, after deferring on a proposal in 1958 and 1959, the board recommended designation of the Emily Carr House, in Victoria, B.C. in 1964, for its age, architecture, and association with the noted West Coast artist.[103] While the Emily Carr Foundation purchased the building, Parks paid a total of $25,000 towards the cost of acquisition and restoration.[104] The text reads—

Artist and author Emily Carr was born here and lived most of her life in this neighbourhood of Victoria where she died. Her compelling canvases of the British Columbia landscape offer a unique vision of the forest and shore, while her documentation of Indian villages provides a valuable anthropological record. Lively accounts of Emily Carr's travels in the province are collected in Klee Wyck, for which she won the Governor General's Award for non-fiction in 1941. Six other autobiographical works are memorable accounts of her world.[105]

Chiefswood was not as readily accepted. It was the home of poet Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake, (1861-1913); her father, Mohawk Chief George Henry

Martin Johnson, and her British born mother, Emily Johnson. When presented with a request for designation in 1923, the HSMBC deferred a decision, and in 1929 it declined a proposal to make the site a national park. A year later a nomination of Pauline Johnson herself was deferred to a sub-committee headed by HSMBC chairman and military historian, Brigadier General E. A. Cruickshank. It appears from the next mention of Pauline Johnson in the minutes that she was designated in 1945 and Chiefswood was recommended for national historic site status in 1953. At that time the board recommended erecting a secondary tablet, and pronounced itself in opposition to providing funds for Chiefswood's restoration.[106] Although her famous poem "The Song My Paddle Sings" extolling the British connection was learned by countless schoolchildren, Johnson also, "self-consciously drew on her part-Mohawk heritage to create a public image that fostered her role as a spokesperson for Native concerns" as well as speaking for Aboriginal women.[107] During the early years of the board, when historiography was dominated by imperialism and there was general indifference to Aboriginal and women's history, Johnson did not fit the model of an artistic figure that enhanced pride in Canadian identity. As sometimes happened, the board de-designated Johnson in 1961, declaring that Chiefswood did not deserve to be preserved because it was the birthplace of Pauline Johnson.[108] A later board changed its mind and Johnson was again designated in 1983. The records do not allow us to say why with any certainty, but it was likely due to heightened community and academic interest. Her text was approved in 1985—

Born here at Chiefswood, the daughter of a Mohawk chief, E. Pauline Johnson gained international fame for her romantic writings on Indian themes, but she also wrote about nature, religion and Canadian nationalism. Beginning in the 1890s, she published numerous poems, essays and short stories and recited them in theatrical fashion on public stages throughout Canada and abroad. Reaching a wide audience, she succeeded in making the public more aware of the colourful history and cultural diversity of Canadian Indians. Her ashes were buried in Stanley Park, Vancouver.[109]

There was much less ambivalence toward Anglo-Celtic Lucy Maud Montgomery (1874-1942), famed Canadian author of *Anne of Green Gables*, potent symbol of Canadian identity, and a jewel of Prince Edward Island tourism. She was designated as a person in the 1940s and in November 1994, the board considered Leaskdale, Montgomery's home as an adult, as a historic site. (Figure 2) Although they opted to wait for a paper providing guidelines on sites associated with persons of national historic significance, the board said yes in 1996 and agreed that the program should enter into talks toward the goal of future funding assistance—

Internationally renowned author, Lucy Maud Montgomery was born in New London, Prince Edward Island. After her mother's death in 1876, she lived with her maternal grandparents in Cavendish until 1911, when she married and moved

FIGURE 2
Leaskdale Manse, former home of Lucy Maud Montgomery, author of Anne of Green Gables, *2008. The plaque to the left is HSMBC/Parks Canada while the plaque to the right was erected by the province of Ontario. (Courtesy of Colin Old, photographer, Gravenhurst, Ontario)*

to Ontario. While residing in Cavendish she wrote her first novel, Anne of Green Gables (1908). A series of popular sequels and other successful novels followed, but the enduring fame of Lucy Maud Montgomery had been firmly established with her creation of Anne, one of the most lovable children in English fiction. She died in Toronto and is buried at Cavendish.[110]

Montgomery remains popular. In 2003 the board recommended designation of the L.M. Montgomery Cultural Landscape in Cavendish, Prince Edward Island, as a site associated with Montgomery's formative years.[111]

The board did not respond as favorably to most female politicians. The board added Agnes Macphail (1890-1954) to its list of distinguished Canadians in 1955. She was a former teacher who became the first woman elected to the House of Commons following the enfranchisement of women in Canada. However the designation was revoked in 1973 in a backlog clearance exercise. When Macphail's house in Ceylon, Ontario came up before the board in November of 1976 it decided that it was not of national historic or architectural significance and a year later the HSMBC declared that Macphail herself was not of historic significance. However, in 1985 when Macphail was studied in the context of a study on the cooperative movement, she received a positive recommendation.[112]

Still, a plaque inscription for Macphail was not written and approved until February 1990. After revising it in 2005, Parks Canada has scheduled placement of the plaque at the Ceylon home for October 2010—

Agnes Macphail was the first woman to be elected to the House of Commons following the enfranchisement of women in Canada. A rural schoolteacher, she joined the United Farmers of Ontario, and ran successfully as a Progressive candidate in the 1921 federal election for Grey County. In Ottawa she fought for penal reform, disarmament, and social welfare, and championed the cause of the disadvantaged. Defeated in 1940, she sat as a CCF member of the Ontario legislature from 1943 to 1951. Witty and forceful, fearless and uncompromising, Macphail left a lasting mark on Canadian public life.[113]

The records do not tell us why Macphail was so neglected at the federal level. In a program driven by public interest, she may not have had as strong a proponent as did Nellie McClung or the religious women. Macphail was associated with the cooperative movement, the United Farmers of Ontario, the Progressive Party and later the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, but like many early female politicians, she resisted party affiliation. Recognized as the first woman Member of Parliament, she did not seem to identify with the women's movement. As she explained—

Even after twenty-five years ...I still recall clearly ... each time I left my own community I was appalled by the publicity — both the quantity and the inaccuracy of it. It seemed that not one reporter could put down exactly the simple facts of my life. It was too simple; that was the trouble. A young woman from a farm with faith in the tillers of the soil and devotion to them, who knew nothing of cities and their ways had no business being elected the first woman M.P. What did she know of the Women's Clubs, of fashion, of society? Nothing, nothing.[114]

Perhaps Macphail doesn't have the same appeal as other elite women who had been recognized. She was not a colorful "character" in her community despite her long tenure as their political representative. She was not a pioneer and except for a brief stint as a teacher, did not engage in traditional feminine activities. As seen from the mainstream political elite she disrupted the all-male preserve of Parliament, supported leftist causes and was "uncompromising." Not having cultivated the patronage of the women's community, the latter didn't push for her recognition at the national level.

The records do not tell us, but perhaps the original proponent(s) of her house in Ceylon gave up and decided to be satisfied with designation at another level of government. In recent years, it seems that new proponents have emerged and done just that. In June 2006, they placed a stone cairn with a plaque at her birth site to celebrate the 85th anniversary of Macphail's election to the House of Commons.[115] The local plaque text reads:

Agnes Macphail Cairn Plaque

Agnes Macphail
1890–1954

Canada's first woman elected to Parliament
This cairn erected on Lot 7, Conc.12, Proton Township,
the birthplace of Agnes Macphail is dedicated to her memory
in gratitude for her love and service to all people.
June 24, 2004[116]

Another non-HSMBC plaque was placed at her home in Ceylon, where she lived later in her life, as part of the National Action Committee (on the Status of Women's) Women's Voting Day celebrations.[117]

Proponents for Nellie McClung, suffragist, author, early provincial female politician, and member of the Famous Five, were offered a plaque for a person designation in lieu of a historic site. Two of her former homes have come before the board and been rejected. A house in Manitou, Manitoba, associated with the early part of her career, was nominated as a national historic site in 1958. The question was referred to Manitoba member, Father d'Eschambault who felt that "the Federal Government would not be interested in taking over this house as it seems to have been only the house of a writer." He reminded the board that the work of Nellie McClung had been commemorated with a plaque at her birthplace at Chatsworth, Ontario.[118] Although Dominion Archivist William Kaye Lamb remarked that McClung "had caught a certain stage of development of tremendous value which will be recognized some day," the board did not act. Referring the matter to provincial attention, d'Eschambault suggested that the Manitoba Heritage Council might consider the proposal for the preservation of this home.[119] A Calgary, Alberta house associated with McClung's post-suffrage period and career as a provincial politician, was also nominated and turned down in 1976, because it was "not of national historic or architectural significance."[120]

Another female politician and colorful pioneer, Martha Louise Black (1866-1957), was designated in 1987 but only after a lengthy discussion in which the board debated the possible national significance of her husband, George Black, a Conservative MP representing the Yukon.[121] They concluded in 1991: "while he is of some interest, George Black, the last Commissioner of the Yukon, is not of national historic significance."[122] Martha Black became the second women elected to the federal Parliament when her husband became ill and she ran in his riding, holding the seat from 1935-40. Black seemed to have had greater commemorative appeal than Macphail, as reflected in her plaque text—

A legendary figure among northerners who admired her pioneering spirit, Chicago-born Martha Munger Purdy climbed the Chilkoot Trail in 1898 to join the Klondike gold rush. Later, she operated a sawmill near Dawson, and in 1904 married George Black, who served as Commissioner of the Yukon. Awarded the Order of the British Empire for volunteer work in Britain during the First World War, she was also made a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society for her research on Yukon flora. She became Canada's second female M.P. when she replaced her ailing husband for one term (1935- 1940).[123]

Like Verchères who defended the fort, Black had shown spunk and determination in taking on pioneering roles usually performed by men. Similar to another

recognized pioneer Catherine Parr Traill, Black was also an amateur botanist. Unlike Macphail who made a career in politics, Black cheerfully told her admirers that she had only been holding her husband's seat during his illness. While admired for her spirit, she perhaps ruffled fewer feathers than the career politician and first female Member of Parliament had.

The Women's Institutes

The Canadian experience with Women's Institutes reflects a similar trend in the United States where house museums have been developed by such organizations as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Girls Scouts of America in dedication to their respective founders.[124] In Canada, only a few very determined grassroots women's organizations were able to create women's history sites, usually devoted to remembering a founder, although they had to do so through their own initiatives and fundraising. The Women's Institutes are a network of rural women's organizations founded in 1897 with government funding in the hopes they might help stem the tide of rural depopulation. The mandate of the organization was to educate farmwomen on agricultural and domestic skills. It also contributed to community building, including collecting local histories and providing support to heritage organizations such as the HSMBC.[125] When the Women's Institutes wanted to preserve their own historic sites, however, the board provided them with little support. In 1937 the HSMBC, at the request of the Women's Institutes, recognized the formation of the First Women's Institute at Stoney Creek, Ontario as a nationally important event, to be commemorated by the erection of a memorial bearing an inscription—

Commemorating the formation at Stoney Creek, on 19th February 1897, of the first Women's Institute in Canada, initiating a movement of inestimable value for the betterment of rural life, which has spread throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America.[126]

Commemoration was delayed by World War II and then in 1956 the minister refused to allocate funds for the plaque because "he feels that the national importance of the subject is not perfectly clear, and that there are still many sites clearly of national importance that should be considered or marked before he can give consideration to this tablet."[127] Although, there was likely some confusion between the Stoney Creek site and the Hoodless Homestead, both associated with the founding of the Women's Institutes, the lack of priority given to women's history is also clear.[128]

The Federated Women's Institutes of Canada (FWIC) approached the HSMBC in 1959 with a request for financial assistance to create a historic site celebrating its founder. While the HSMBC asserted that the Women's Institutes were "of very great importance" it did not recommend negotiations by the department

for the purchase of the birthplace of Adelaide Hoodless. Instead, board members reaffirmed their earlier recommendation that a tablet be erected at Stoney Creek. Expressing some ambivalence, board member and historian Dr. Arthur R.M. Lower described the Women's Institutes as an "extremely powerful body" while Chair Donald Creighton suggested that such "a large national body should be able to accomplish the purchase of the birthplace of its foundress."[129] As well, the board, at its next meeting, expressed reservations as to whether the Women's Institutes, a movement in the abstract sense, could be commemorated, wondering if the HSMBC mandate only allowed them to commemorate sites and persons.[130] But the women tried again. In 1960, the board minutes recount: "received a delegation from the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada who spoke about their organization's hope that the Federal Government would help their efforts to restore and maintain the Adelaide Hunter Hoodless Birthplace." With no money to offer, the board moved and carried that "in the opinion of the Board Mrs. Hoodless should be classified as an eminent Canadian" and that steps be taken to erect a secondary plaque honoring Hoodless at her birthplace.[131] The federal plaque first proposed in the 1930s did not go up at Stoney Creek until recently, when this designation was merged with a site designation of the Erland Lee home. (Figure 3)

FIGURE 3
Erland Lee (Museum) Home, Stoney, Creek, Ontario, Parks Canada.

Initially, the Federated Women's Institutes of Ontario (FWIO) was no more successful in its efforts to partner with the board and Parks Canada in creating a national historic site out of the Erland Lee Home. In 1966, it approached both the HSMBC and Ontario Archaeological and Historic Sites Board (the provincial heritage body) with a proposal to have what was then called the Lee Homestead designated a a national historic site. It anticipated "that the organization will raise one third of the purchase price, and would hope that the federal and provincial governments between them would contribute the balance."[132] The HSMBC declined the request because "there had been adequate commemoration of the Women's Institutes."[133] The following year, however, the provincial board put up a plaque in front of the home. While the Ontario government assisted in the purchase by offering legal services to the FWIO, no other government support, federal or provincial, was provided. The FWIO purchased the property in 1972 by raising $40,000 primarily through a 10-cent levy on each member.[134] It then proceeded to make restorations and develop an interpretive program.

New Women's History Sites

While earlier initiatives had failed, after women's history became a priority in the 1990s, efforts to commemorate women began to bear fruit. After spending its own money purchasing, restoring and running their two sites for several decades, the Women's Institutes saw its work become part of the national historic sites network. In 1995 the Hoodless Homestead was designated, the board noting—

Its concrete linkages with the contributions of Adelaide Hunter Hoodless, a champion of maternal feminism, who was instrumental in the founding of the Women's Institute, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Council of Women, the Victorian Order of Nurses, and three faculties of Household Science. Further, the rural situation and lack of amenities found in the Hoodless' childhood home speak eloquently to the hard labour and isolation experienced by many rural women in the mid 19th-century, a situation that Hoodless spent her entire life trying to alleviate.[135]

Similarly, in 2000, on learning that Parks Canada had made women's history a strategic priority, the curator of the Erland Lee Home, with backing of the Women's Institutes, nominated it as a site of national significance. It has now been designated. After initially refusing financial support to Chiefswood, home of Aboriginal poet Pauline Johnson, Parks Canada entered into a partnership in 1997 with the Six Nations Council to enhance interpretation there.[136] Early sites such as the Grey Nuns Convent and Hôtel-Dieu which were designated for other reasons, are now being linked with other women's history designations and interpretation is being enhanced both at the actual sites and in products created for the Parks Canada website.[137] In some cases, we see a different emphasis in interpretation as Parks Canada stressed the leadership role of the nuns in establishing the French Catholic Hospital system in British and French North America, and their competent administration of this and other hospitals for over three centuries. By contrast the locally run museums may place greater emphasis on the religious aspects of the community and their role in its founding. As well, Parks Canada historians continue to work quietly away at bringing the voices of women to bear on established interpretation at sites such as the Fortress of Louisbourg, the Quebec Arsenal, and at Batoche.[138]

Recent additions to the group of historic sites relating to women's historic achievements include five nurses' residences, commemorated as places where both rank-and-file nurses and their leaders forged a new profession for women.[139] The Ann Baillie Building, which houses the Museum of Health Care at Kingston, recently launched a new permanent exhibit on nursing education. As well, two outpost nursing stations, Wilberforce Red Cross Outpost Hospital and La Corne Dispensaire, were designated as sites representative of the pioneer outpost nurses who bravely faced life in isolated communities, and cared for the sick and injured as well as childbearing women and their babies with minimal

medical support. Like the two sites associated with the Women's Institutes, both were developed through community initiative.[140]

Recent Trends

Besides the underrepresentation of ethnic and gender perspectives, which the federal commemorative program is now beginning to address, the program is also weak in conveying stories that address class.[141] To date, only two designations directly address women in the labor movement.[142] Neither have there been many designations of Aboriginal and ethnocultural women. Aboriginal commemorations tend to focus on women with ties to white elites, sometimes through their husbands, and are thus better documented in the written record. For example, the Inuit couple, Taqulittuq and her husband Ipirvik, were commemorated for assisting an American group of explorers in surviving their 1872-73 Arctic expedition.[143] More recently, Thanadelthur, an Aboriginal woman who played an important role in the English fur trade in the Canadian North in the early 18th century has been recognized as a person of national significance. In the ethnocultural field, African Canadian singer Portia White from Nova Scotia, Mary Ann Shadd, and Mary and Henry Bibb, African Canadian newspaper editors, educators and leaders in the black fugitive movement have been recognized. While a great deal more remains to be done, consultations now being conducted have led to some interesting new directions that incorporate ethnocultural and Aboriginal women. For example, a midwife in Vancouver's early Chinatown, Nellie Yip Quong, was nominated at a Vancouver workshop. This as well as another nomination from Québec on the "Midwives of New France" will add a much needed ethnocultural perspective to the commemorative program. As well, it helps the program move away from elite women 'worthies' working in the public sphere to exploring some of women's traditional knowledge and domestic practices.

Conclusion

This overview of 126 designations in a federal commemorative program raises as many questions as it answers. The program could serve as a starting point for researchers to conduct comparative studies on how women fared before the board in relation to other groups, notably men; explore Aboriginal groups, workers, and ethnocultural communities; and/or compare federal, provincial, and municipal level commemorations. The study offers a glimpse into the role of female heritage activists such as Harriette Taber Richardson and Katharine McLennan—there are no doubt many others associated with these designations who warrant further investigation.

Nonetheless we can draw a few conclusions. Women's commemorations at the federal level have been, and remain, underrepresented in terms of numbers and resources devoted to remembering the past. Yet the number of designations,

particularly of sites, increased with "strategic priority status," thanks to the earlier efforts of female heritage activists, religious congregations, and local groups, many of them mainstream and/or conservative women's organizations, who brought women's history themes into the Parks Canada network of national historic sites. Women's history commemorations, mediated through the HSMBC, tell us that in the past elite Euro-Canadian literary and artistic women were more likely to become the subject of commemorative efforts than women who challenged patriarchal, class, ethnic, and social norms. Although person designations are still the most numerous, the increasing number of "event" designations in recent years suggests a reluctance to celebrate feminine heroes—a preference for collective recognition. Despite this, trailblazers in a number of fields—nuns, military women, nurses, founders of mainstream women's organizations, athletes, pioneers and feminists were relatively successful at fitting into the national criteria. Most women's contributions were presented in a way that was ambiguous enough to appeal to both feminists celebrating their foremothers, and conservatives who stressed women's traditional work in social welfare, health and education—women who displayed spunky if appropriately feminine devotion to community.

Discrepancies between commemorative themes and academic history may simply reflect the lag time in commemorative programs "catching up" with the historiography. Certainly many of the elite women founders reflect the early historiography on women. However, they also remind us that commemoration and academic research serve very different purposes. Agnes Macphail, whose career as a female politician has deservedly drawn much academic attention received only lukewarm commemoration at the federal level, especially in contrast to the colorful pioneer wife and botanist Martha Black who deferred to perceived gender roles by keeping her husband's seat in Parliament warm for him.[144]

On the other hand, the Persons Case, commemorated through designations of the legal milestone itself and all five of the signatories to the constitutional appeal, showed great resilience as a feminist symbol even before feminist historiography had "discovered" it. Indeed, women's history literature initially was unkind to the Persons Case, portraying it as an elitist preoccupation of white middle-class women.[145] Emily Murphy's ambitions for a Senate appointment, her imperialism and her adherence to the popular eugenics philosophy of her day as seen particularly in her diatribe against the Chinese involved in the drug trade,[146] did little to make her a heroine, especially in the academic press. More recently historians are revisiting the symbolic and political value of the vote and the Persons Case. Besides the huge symbolic victory full political enfranchisement represented, the Persons case also put an end to male challenges to the authority of female magistrates that Murphy and others experienced.[147] Despite the ongoing protests of some, the Persons Case still retains a commemorative appeal in its declaration that women were indeed "persons" in the eyes of the law and the nation's constitution,

whereas formerly they had been denied this right. The F5F, a conservative feminist group caught the spirit of that symbolism when they erected the statues to the Famous Five and the Persons Case. Its goals, as reflected in its program of advocating the Persons Case be added to educational curricula and sponsoring leadership talks in which the Famous Five were used to inspire young women, were simply to instill pride and confidence in women.[148] Feminism, however muted, was present at Nellie McClung's plaque unveiling ceremony where she was heralded as an inspiring feminist model. The Women's Institutes have used the Erland Lee Home and the Hoodless Homestead to host meetings, entertain visiting dignitaries, educate the public, and give quiet recognition to women's work in the home, farm and community.

All of these women's history designations were, of necessity, cast in the language of nation building—in order to meet existing criteria at the federal level. But do women create a different usable past than men? Male elites have traditionally used national narratives to instill civic or national pride yet recent surveys of historical consciousness now tell us that—at least American women—are less interested in national narratives.[149] Women's history has a long way to go to be fully accepted at historic sites and museums, as confirmed by one Australian study that found women's history to be poorly received as a topic.[150] Given that the acceptance of gender as a category of analysis or interpretation in public history has a long way to go to catch up with that of academic history where it is a given, we may have to be patient in waiting for a more diverse and multi-layered interpretation that encompasses class and ethnicity. However this federal commemorative program is certainly moving in that direction.

We can say with some certainty that surprisingly few women nominated topics related to women. Local communities or "fans" nominated some of the literary or artistic women, such as Emily Carr. The Peterborough Historical Society nominated pioneer author Catherine Parr Traill and their home communities nominated Emily Murphy and Louise McKinney; and they were probably more motivated by tourism than feminism. St. Ann's Academy and the Grey Nuns became sites through local heritage groups who were not primarily interested in interpreting women's history. Others were designated as a result of internal debates on issues in which a few exceptional women might be included, or academic framework studies prepared in support of the national commemorative program of the post-1990 era, although such cases did not always generate the public participation that is desirable for government programs. Women continue to show tremendous modesty in putting subjects relating to women's history forward for commemoration and this prevents a more inclusive history becoming part of our commemorative programs and national historic sites. In a program that depends on public nominations, it will only be through greater public participation that women will add more and/or different types of feminine and feminist heroes, events, or organizations to this inadequate list of 126.

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Notes

1 The author would like to thank Parks colleagues, Gordon Fulton and Catherine Cournoyer, as well as Nicole Neatby, and the anonymous reviewers for their comments on various drafts of this paper.

2 At two recent sessions on women and public history at the Canadian Historical Association, the contrast between academic acceptance of gender as a variable of analysis and the reluctance to incorporate it into interpretation at museums, historic sites etc, was remarked upon. "Women and Public History" (Roundtable), Canadian Historical Association, University of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, May-June 2007; "Gendered Ways of Knowing the Past: Challenging the 'Authority' of the Discipline of History" (Roundtable), Canadian Historical Association, Carleton University, Ottawa, 27 May 2009. See also: Veronica Strong-Boag, "Experts On Our Own Lives: Commemorating Canada at the Beginning of the 21st Century," *The Public Historian*, 31, 1 (February 2009): 63.

3 Despite the speculations of John Gillis and Charles Maier to the contrary, there is little evidence we are in a post-nationalist era. David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian*, 18, 2 (Spring 1996): 21; "Roundtable: Responses to David Glassberg's "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian* 19, 2 (Spring 1997): 31-72; "Introduction," *Remembering Canadian Pasts in Public*, eds. Nicole Neatby and Peter Hodgins. (Forthcoming, University of Toronto Press). Thanks to Nicole Neatby for sharing a draft copy of the introduction; Lyle Dick, "Public History in Canada: An Introduction," *The Public Historian*, 31, 1 (February 2009): 9.

4 Cecilia Morgan and Colin M. Coates, Part One, *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord* (University of Toronto Press, 2002).

5 Morgan and Coates, Part Two, *Heroines and History*; Beverly Boutilier, "Women's Rights and Duties: Sarah Anne Curzon and the Politics of Canadian History," in *Creating Historical Memory: English-Canadian Women and the Work of History*, eds. Alison Prentice, Beverly Boutilier (Vancouver: UBC Press 1997); Cecilia Morgan, "Of Slender Frame and Delicate Appearance": The Placing of Laura Secord in the Narratives of Canadian Loyalist History" in *Gender and History in Canada* ed. Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996), 103-136.

6 Kathryn McPherson, "Carving Out a Past: The Canadian Nurses' Association War Memorial," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 29, 58 (November 1996): 417-429.

7 Linda Ambrose, "Ontario Women's Institutes and the Work of Local History" in *Creating Historical Memory*, 75-98; Ambrose, *For Home and Country, the Centennial History of the Women's Institutes in Ontario* (Guelph: Federated Women's Institutes of Ontario, 1996).

8 Luce Vermette looks at anniversary dates in relation to several high-profile women's commemorations, and Alan McCullough looks at both commemoration and interpretation of women's history at existing sites. Alan B. McCullough, "Parks Canada and Women's History," in *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation* eds., Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Luce Vermette, "Great Events in Canadian Women' History: Celebrations and Commemorations," *CRM*, 11 (1998): 37-41.

9 Women's history designations were defined somewhat loosely. Certainly all women, women's organizations and buildings associated with an individual woman or women's group, were included however there are cases where a women's history designation may have little to do with gender issues or feminism. For example, Butchart Gardens, a site designated primarily for aesthetic reasons was counted as a women's history site because its founder and designer was a woman.

10 Margaret Conrad, Jocelyn Létourneau and David Northrup, "Canadians and their Pasts: An Exploration in Historical Consciousness," *The Public Historian*, 31, 1 (February 2009): 21, 23.

11 For example, Eileen Eagan looks at women in public sculptures and finds similar types of women being remembered. Eileen Eagan, "Immortalizing Women: Finding Meaning in Public Sculpture," in *Her Past Around Us: Interpreting Sites for Women's History*, eds. Polly Welts Kaufman, Katharine T. Corbett, (Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 2003), 31-68. Further, Page Putnam Miller and Gail Dubrow outline American sites related to women in *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History*, ed. Page Putnam Miller, (Bloomington: Indiana Press, 1992). See also the special issue on the place of women in historic sites: "Placing Women in the Past," CRM 20, 3 (1997).

12 Vivien Ellen Rose, "Women of the West: Sacajawea, Frontier Mother and Madonna of the Trail Statues Coast to Coast," paper presented at 1996 National Council of Public History Conference, Seattle, Washington, as cited by Martha Norkunas, *Monuments and Memory*, 94; Rose, "Men Make No Mention of Her Heroism: Natural and Cultural Resources and Women's Past," *OAH Magazine of History* 12 (Fall).

13 Glassberg, 13, 14.

14 Neatby and Hodgins, 13.

15 C.J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Parks and Sites* (Montréal, Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press); Fritz Pannekoek, "Canada's Historic Sites: Reflections on a Quarter Century, 1980-2005," *The Public Historian*, 31, 1 (February 2009): 60-88.

16 Dolores Hayden, "The Power of Place: Claiming Women's History in the Urban Landscape" in *The Place of History: Commemorating Canada's Past, Proceedings of the National Symposium held on the Occasion of the 75th Anniversary of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada*, ed., Thomas H.B. Symons (Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada, 1997), 67–77; Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1995).

17 A person (or persons) may be designated of national historic significance if he or she, individually or as a representative of a group, made an outstanding and lasting contribution to Canadian history. An event may be designated if it represents a defining action, episode, movement or experience in Canadian history. And, a site may be designated by virtue of a direct association with a nationally significance aspect of Canadian history or for architectural significance. *Criteria, General Guidelines, Specific Guidelines for evaluating subjects of potential national historic significance* (HSMBC Fall 2002).

18 The board today consists of two provincial representatives each for the most populous provinces of Ontario and Quebec, and one each for the other provinces and territories, as well as representatives from Library and Archives Canada and the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

19 Yves Yvon J. Pelletier, "The Politics of Selection: The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and the Imperial Commemoration of Canadian History, 1919-1950," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, 17, 1 (2006): 125-150.

20 Taylor: 74, 75.

21 Bonnie Huskins, Review of *Progress and Permanence: Women and the New Brunswick Museum: 1880-1980* , Virtual Exhibit, http://www.unbf.ca/womenandmuseum/Home.htm, Shawna Queen, researcher and author; Lianne McTavish, project supervisor and researcher; Greg Quinn, Web Designer, in *The Public Historian*, 31 (February 2009): 131.

22 The Historic Sites and Monuments Act was passed in 1953 establishing the board by statute, enlarging it and giving it increased resources and in 1955 an amendment gave the board the power to recommend designation for architectural significance. More recently its role has been expanded to include streetscapes; districts; gardens; urban and rural landscapes; and Heritage Railway Stations. "The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, An Introduction," (Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 1997).

23 Taylor, 175-187.

24 Strong-Boag, "Experts On Our Own Lives," 63.

25 Pannekoek, 75.

26 For Pannekoek, the important "players" in preservation are provincial and municipal governments, private foundations, community groups and of course, the real estate market. Pannekoek, 60-88; Taylor makes a similar point. See Taylor, 33, 47, 140, 189.

27 Strong-Boag, "Experts On Our Own Lives," 63.

28 "Anyone of sufficient fame would be considered to be worthy of a secondary tablet including provincial premiers, painters, poets and popular novelists." Taylor, 126.

29 Taylor, 105-123.

30 In Canada, as in the United States, upper-middle-class women used their wealth and social/political connections to promote major heritage developments. Canadian sources include: Boutilier and Prentice; Morgan; McPherson. American sources: Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums* (Washington, London: Smithsonian Press, 1999); *Reclaiming the Past*; *Restoring Women's History*; *Her Past Around Us*.

31 Taylor, 68, 107, 113-117.

32 McLennan has twice been considered but turned down for designation. Dianne Dodd, "Katharine McLennan (1892-1975)," HSMBC Submission Report 2007-34; A.J.B. Johnston, "Into the Great War: Katharine McLennan Goes Overseas, 1915-1919" in *The Island: New Perspectives on Cape Breton's History, 1713-1990*, ed. Kenneth Donovan (Fredericton, N.B.: Acadiensis Press; Sydney, N.S.: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1990), 130; Rosalie Gillis, "Katharine McLennan: A Lifetime of Public Service," in *Everyday Lives, Extraordinary Journeys* (Sydney: Cape Breton University Press, 2008); "McLennans of Petersfield," Cape Breton Regional Library website, (http://www.cbrl.ca/educators/mclennans/petersfield.html.).

33 Huskins.

34 HSMBC Minutes, May 1943.

35 HSMBC Minutes, 16 November 1921.

36 HSMBC Minutes, 22 June 1931.

37 HSMBC Minutes, 1953.

38 See Directory of Designations, Parks Canada's website, National Historic Sites, (http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/lhn-nhs/index_e.asp) and "Canadian Women's History, Be Proud of It, Be Part of It" for a list and brief description of these designations: (http://www.pc.gc.ca/progs/lhn-nhs/femmes-women/index_e.asp).

39 Norkunas, 94.

40 According to Taylor, this occurred in 1937, however, it was certainly discussed prior to that time. Taylor, 126; HSMBC Board Minutes, 1926.

41 Taylor, 169-189.

42 Collective designations, although not used exclusively for women, reflect the generic form of commemoration popular for women as well as a preference expressed by participants at workshops on women's history to avoid elitism in commemoration.

43 HSMBC Minutes, November 1982.

44 HSMBC Minutes, 1927.

45 Conrad, et al. 21, 23, 24.

46 HSMBC Minutes, 1934; Alexandra Mosquin, "Laura Secord," HSMBC Submission Report 2002-15; Boutilier, "Women's Rights and Duties" in *Creating Historical Memory*; Morgan, *Heroines and History*. For a discussion of this phenomenon of excluding women from the historical profession in the United States, see: Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Memory, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

47 HSMBC Board Minutes, 22 June 2004.

48 The monument to Verchères is in the town of Verchères, just outside Montréal while Ste. Anne de la Perade, located between Trois-Rivières and Québec City, is the site of her family's former seigneurie. HSMBC Minutes, 1934, 1955, 1956.

49 She was accused of sexual impropriety and her many legal actions against neighbors made her appear overly litigatious. Coates, *Heroines and History*, 95-115.

50 Three plaques were erected, one to each of three services – the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service at Halifax, Nova Scotia; the Canadian Women's Army Corp at Esquimalt, British Columbia; and the Canadian Women's Auxiliary Airforce at Calgary, Alberta.

51 The War Brides Association noted that, "it would be appreciated by all the families and future generations as a significant historical event." Marsha Hay Snyder, "War Brides," HSMBC Submission Report 1996-5, 122.

52 HSMBC Minutes, November 1977.

53 Dr. Rea actually suggested Percy Page, the coach of the Edmonton Grads, for designation but the board decided to focus on the team instead. Dr. J. Edgar Rea, "Canada's Sporting History; Preliminary list prepared for the consideration of the Thematic Studies Committee," HSMBC Report, June 1976.

54 HSMBC Minutes, 11 May 2007.

55 For example, the Daughters of the Revolution (DAR) took the lead in creating and distributing statues called "Madonnas of the Trail," or "Pioneer Mothers." See Eagan, "Immortalizing Women," 33; Rose, "Women of the West."

56 They also asked the board to designate the Lagimodière property in 1982 and again in 1995, but there is nothing in the minutes to indicate whether it was denied or deferred indefinitely. HSMBC Minutes, June 1982, November 1984, July 1995.

57 HSMBC Minutes, December 2002.

58 Ibid.

59 Brigitte Violette, "Le Dispensaire de la Garde, La Corne, Abitibi-Téminscamique," HSMBC Submission Report 2003-36, 9, 31.

60 Miller, "1—Landmarks of Women's History" in *Reclaiming the Past*.

61 As congregations dwindle, many of these buildings are being sold to make room for condos, university classrooms and other uses. Marian Scott, "The Quiet Evolution: Convent Conversions, the Rich Architectural Heritage of Montréal's Grey Nuns," *Canadian Geographic* (64) September/October, 2006; Tania Martin, "Housing the Grey Nuns: Power, Religion, and Women in fin-de-siècle Montréal," in *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VII*, eds., Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 212-229.

62 Veronica Strong-Boag, "Contested Space: The Politics of Canadian Memory", Presidential Address, Canadian Historical Association, *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, (1994), 9.

63 In the United States, Roman Catholics represent approximately 22 percent of the population, whereas in Canada they make up 44.3 percent. "Statistics by Country," Website consulted 01 September 2009. (http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/country/sc1.html).

64 Eileen Eagan found a number of nuns memorialized in her survey of commemorative sculptures. Eagan, "Immortalizing Women."

65 Marta Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil: an Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, Spinsterhood in Quebec,1840-1920,* edited with a preface by Paul-André Linteau, Alison Prentice, and William Westfall (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987); Sioban Nelson, *Say Little, Do Much: Nurses, Nuns, and Hospitals in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 2001); Micheline Dumont and Nadia Fahmy-Eid, *Les Couventines L'éducation des filles au Québec dans les congregations religieuses enseignantes 1840-1960* (Montréal: Boréal, 1986); Marguerite Jean, *Évolution des Communautés Religieuses de Femmes du Québec de 1639 à nos jours* (Montréal: Fides, 1977).

66 They include the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, Sisters of Providence, Sisters of Charity of Ottawa, Sisters of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Grey Nuns of Montréal and the Congrégation de Notre-Dame. Claudette Lacelle, *L'apport social des communautés religieuses catholiques présentes au Canada avant 1940: une étude préparée à la demande de la Commission des lieux et monuments historiques du Canada dans le but d'identifier les communautés religieuses catholiques susceptibles de faire l'objet d'une commémoration en raison de leur contribution à l'histoire canadienne,* Environment Canada, Parks Canada, 1987, Microfiche report no. 425.

67 They included the Oblates of Mary Immaculate; the Jesuit Fathers (Society of Jesus) and the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

68 In an earlier draft of the plaque text the words "heroic self-devotion" also appeared but were later removed. HSMBC Minutes, 20 May 1937.

69 Taylor, 164.

70 HSMBC Minutes, June 1989.

71 The System Plan divides all designations by five major themes and a number of sub-themes. Women were best represented under the theme "Building Social and Community Life," *National Historic Sites of Canada System Plan,* Parks Canada (2000).

72 Margaret Little, *No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit: the Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1997* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998); Megan Davies, "'Services Rendered, Rearing Children For The State': Mothers' Pensions in British Columbia 1919-1930", in *Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays on the History of Women's Work in British Columbia,* eds. Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984); Ruth Roach Pierson, "Gender and the Unemployment Debates in Canada, 1934-40," *Labour/Le Travail,* 25 (1990): 77-103; Nancy Christie, *Engendering the State: Family, Work and Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

73 Much has been written about this prominent female suffragist and spokesperson for Canadian first wave feminism. Mary Hallett and Marilyn Davis, *Firing the Heather: The Life and Times of Nellie McClung*, (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1994); Randi Warne, *Literature as Pulpit: The Christian Social Activism of Nellie L. McClung* (Wilfrid University Press, 1993); Cecily Devereaux, *Growing A Race: Nellie L. McClung & the Fiction of Eugenic Feminism* (McGill-Queens University Press, 2005); Veronica Strong-Boag, ""Ever a Crusader:" Nellie McClung, First Wave Feminist," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 1st edition, eds., Veronica Strong-Boag, Anita Clair Fellman (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), 178-190; and Janice Fiamengo, "A Legacy of Ambivalence: Responses to Nellie McClung," in *Rethinking Canada*, 4th edition, eds., Veronica Strong-Boag, Mona Gleason and Adele Perry (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), 147-163.

74 See Virtual exhibit, "Women Winning the Vote in Canada," Parks Canada's website. (http://www.pc.gc.ca/canada/proj/fcdv-wwv/index_E.asp).

75 HSMBC Board Minutes, November 1993, June 1991.

76 The Persons Case established the 'living tree' approach to constitutional interpretation—the proposition that Canada's constitution is a capable of growth within its natural limits. Robert J. Sharpe and Patricia I. McMahon, *The Persons Case: The Origins and Legacy of the Fight for Legal Personhood*, (University of Toronto Press for Osgood Society for Canadian Legal History: 2007), ix, 206.

77 Strong-Boag, "Experts of Their Own Lives," 56; Frances Wright, "The Famous 5 Foundation Commemorates the Famous 5! Making Public Knowledge – Making Knowledge Public," paper presented to the Canadian Historical Society, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 28 May 2007.

78 "Louise McKinney," File HS10-107, Vol. 1414, Parks Canada, RG 84, National Archives.

79 "Inscriptions/McKinney, Louise, "Special Committee on the Revision of Unilingual Plaques, 1973 to 1977," HSMBC Board Minutes, n.d.

80 HSMBC Minutes, May 1958.

81 The British North America Act, granting self-government to the British North American colonies, was passed 1 July 1867 by the British Parliament. It outlined the powers and responsibilities of the federal and provincial governments and serves as the foundation for the Canadian constitution. HSMBC Board Minutes, May 1958.

82 It is of interest to note that the board in the 1970s was not conscious of any possible objections to the reference to Murphy's book "The Black Candle" later cited as evidence of her racism. HSMBC Minutes, Special Committee on the Revision of Unilingual Plaques 1973 to 1977.

83 "Nellie McClung," File HS9-114, Vol. 1369, Canadian Parks Service, RG 84, National Archives.

84 "Special Committee on the Revision of Unilingual Plaques 1973 to 1977," HSMBC Minutes.

85 HSMBC Minutes, June 1967.

86 HSMBC Minutes, November 1962.

87 Catherine Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada*, with introduction by Ramsay Cook, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

88 HSMBC Minutes, May 1979.

89 HSMBC Minutes, June 1987.

90 HSMBC Minutes, June 1967.

91 HSMBC Minutes, November 1979.

92 HSMBC Minutes, June 1997.

93 An 1876 decision by a British court – obsolete but not yet overturned – had been was used by a lawyer to question Emily Murphy's right to function as a magistrate. Monique Benoit, "The "Persons" Case," *The Archivist*, reprinted by the National Archives of Canada to commemorate the October 2000 unveiling of the Famous Five Monument on Parliament Hill, 3.

94 HSMBC Minutes, 16 December 1998.

95 Norkunas, 96, 97; "Introduction, " Devereux. See also the F5F Website: http://www.famous5.ca.

96 Eagan, "Immortalizing Women," 35.

97 The HSMBC defines the Fathers of Confederation as those political delegates to three founding meetings that led to the Confederation of British North American colonies, on 1 July 1867. HSMBC Minutes, June 1976, May 1959. Thanks to Blythe MacInnis, Parks Canada, for pointing out this reference.

98 Email from Frances Wright to author, 25 July 2007.

99 Strong-Boag, "Experts on Our Own Lives," 57.

100 Eileen Eagan, "Immortalizing Women," 47.

101 Hayden: "The Power of Place" in Symons, *The Place of History*, 67–77; Hayden, *The Power of Place*.

102 Miller, "Landmarks of Women's History," in *Reclaiming the Past*, 2-25.

103 HSMBC Minutes, October 1964.

104 HSMBC Minutes, June 1967; "Emily Carr," File HS10-130, Vol. 1417, Canadian Parks Service, RG 84, National Archives.

105 HSMBC Minutes, 16 June 1986.

106 HSMBC Minutes, May 1953.

107 Veronica Strong-Boag, Carole Gerson, eds. *E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake: Collected Poems & Selected Prose* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), xiii; Carole Gerson, Veronica Strong-Boag, "Championing the Native: E. Pauline Johnson Rejects the Squaw," in *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past*, eds. Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale (Vancouver, Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 47.

108 HSMBC Minutes, June 1961.

109 HSMBC Minutes, November 1985

110 HSMBC Minutes, 20 November 1993.

111 James De Jonge "The Site of Lucy Maud Montgomery's Cavendish Home," HSMBC Submission Report 1999-05; Danielle Hamelin, "Site Boundaries, Name and Plaque Location for a L. M. Montgomery Cultural Landscape in Cavendish," HSMBC Submission Report, 2003-44.

112 In November 1984 the board requested that, "as resources permit," papers be prepared on cooperative movement leaders including T.C. Crerar, William Irvine, George Keen and E.A. Partridge and that, "the papers previously prepared on Agnus Mcphail (sic, Agnes Macphail) and C.A. Dunning be brought forward for future consideration." HSMBC Minutes, November 1984. See also: Board Minutes, May 1955; November 1976; November 1977; November 1984, June 1985.

113 HSMBC Minutes, May 1992.

114 Agnes Macphail's *Autobiography* as cited in "Welcome to Agnes Macphail Country," *The Agnes Macphail* Website, Grey Highlands Public Library, site consulted 14 August 2009, (http://www.greyhighlandspubliclibrary.com/AgnesMacphail/LocalTour/Agnes_Macphail_Country.htm)

115 Email from Rev. Donna Mann to author, 19 August 2009.

116 Macphail Website.

117 Unfortunately the plaque was later stolen. There are road signs at her birth site and Ceylon and a stretch of County Road 9, past her birthplace, was named "The Agnes Macphail Road." There is also a webpage dedicated to Agnes Macphail on the Grey Highlands Public Library website and a local resident has published a book on Macphail's childhood. See: "Agnes Macphail's childhood home in Grey County officially designated."

Macphail Collection, South Grey Museum, 996.023.025; 996.023.024; Donna J. Mann, *Aggie's Storms: The Childhood of the First Woman Elected to Canadian Parliament* (Port Elgin, Ontario: Brucedale Press, 2007); Email from Donna Mann to author, 19 August 2009; Macphail Website.

118 An early plaque text stated: "Lecturer, legislator, teacher and writer. Ardent advocate of women's rights in Canada. Author of "Sowing Seeds in Danny" and other works. Born near Chatsworth, 20 October, 1873. Died in Victoria, B.C., 1 September, 1951." This reflected the tombstone data used for plaques of eminent Canadians, or secondary plaques in the early period. McClung's plaque text has since been revised. HSMBC Minutes, November 1958, June 1954.

119 In this case, we see two well-used methods of dealing with unwanted proposals – to assert that it is already appropriately commemorated elsewhere or to refer it to a provincial heritage body.

120 HSMBC Minutes, November 1976.

121 HSMBC Minutes, June 1987. The matter came up again in the board minutes in November 1989; McCullough, "Parks Canada and Women's History."

122 HSMBC Minutes, November 1991.

123 HSMBC Minutes, 11 February 1993.

124 Miller, "Landmarks of Women's History"; Gail Lee Dubrow, "4 – Women and Community" in *Reclaiming the Past*.

125 Linda Ambrose, "Ontario Women's Institutes" in *Creating Historical Memory*, 75-98; Ambrose, *For Home and Country*.

126 HSMBC Minutes, 1937.

127 Letter dated 24 May 1956 from Professor Fred Landon to A.J.H. Richardson, File HS9-68, Volume 1364, Series A-2-a, Canadian Parks Service, RG 84, National Archives.

128 The Federated Women's Institutes of Canada (FWIC) championed the home of Adelaide Hoodless, famed domestic reformer who spoke at the founding meeting while the Federated Women's Institutes of Ontario (FWIO) saw the former home of Erland and Janet Lee in Stoney Creek, where the organization's constitution was written, as its birthplace.

129 Dr. Donald Creighton, HSMBC Minutes, May 1959.

130 The event category had not come into widespread use at this early date. HSMBC Minutes, 25-27 November 1959.

131 HSMBC, Minutes, May 1960.

132 "The Lee Homestead, Stoney Creek, Ontario," HSMBC Agenda Paper 1966-65.

133 HSMBC Minutes, June 1967.

134 "The Agricultural Hall of Fame – Erland Lee 1864-1926," letter from Helen McKercher, Director, Home Economics Branch, to T. R. Hillard, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, 12 April 1972, I MS A077, FWIO Collection, University of Guelph Archives.

135 HSMBC Minutes, November 1995.

136 *State of the Parks Report*, Parks Canada, (1997).

137 A 3-D tour feature takes visitors on a virtual tour of various sites. A feature called, "Breaking the Barriers" explores various designations, and a "Women in History" page lists all the designations related to the strategic priority of women's history. http://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dci/src/3d_e.asp?what=themes&sitename=&theme=wh&btn_state=HTML; http://www.pc.gc.ca/progs/lhn-nhs/femmes-women/index_e.asp.

138 McCullough, "Parks Canada and Women's History"; Ann Marie Jonah, "La Guerre au féminin: Women's experiences of the Seven Years War, the Siege of Louisbourg," *Cap aux Diamants* (forthcoming); Brigitte Violette, "Plus qu'une participation à l'effort de Guerre: Les travailleuses de l'Arsenal," *Cap-Aux-Diamants* (95), 10-15; Diane Payment, The Free People—Otipemisiwak-Batoche, Saskatchewan 1870-1930 (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1990) as cited in Pannekoek, 87.

139 Dianne Dodd, "Nurses' Residence: Using the Built Environment as Evidence," *Nursing History Review*, 9, 2001, 185-206.

140 Erland Lee Museum website: http://www.erlandlee.com; Adelaide Hunter Hoodless Homestead website: http://www3.sympatico.ca/hoodlesshomestead1/AHH.htm; La Corne Dispensaire website: http://www.dispensairedelagarde.com/; and, Wilberforce Red Cross Outpost websites: http://www.redcrossoutpost.org/.

141 It should be noted, however, that when nominations have been received for events related to labor history, such as the Winnipeg General Strike and the On-to-Ottawa-Trek, the latter a Depression era strike by unemployed camp workers, they have often been successful. Veronica Strong-Boag, "Experts on Our Own Lives."

142 They include the chartering of Local 120 of the Garment Workers of America in Edmonton, a union that won concessions from a major employer of female textile workers, Great Western Garment Company (GWG), and the 1937 milestone strike of Montréal dressmakers. William Wylie, "The Chartering of Local 120 of the United Garment Workers of America in Edmonton, 1911," HSMBC Submission Report 2006-10; Brigitte Violette, "La Greve "Des Ouvrières de la Robe" de Montréal, en 1937," HSMBC Submission Report 2006-11.

143 HSMBC Minutes, 1981, June 1983.

144 "Martha Louis Black," in *Women in History*, Parks Canada website.

145 Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred?: the Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983); *Rethinking Canada: the Promise of Women's History*, 4th edition, eds. V. Strong-Boag, M. Gleason and A. Perry (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2002).

146 Emily Murphy, *The Black Candle* (Toronto: T. Allen, 1922).

147 Sarah Burton, "The Person Behind the Persons Case," *The Beaver*, (October/November 2004); Sharpe and McMahon.

148 Famous 5 Foundation Website.

149 However, women's numbers were higher than Aboriginal and African American respondents. Conrad, et al, "Canadians and Their Past," 21, 23.

150 Although this may reflect an absence of sites identified with women and/or a general reluctance of women to self-identify as feminist. Conrad, et al, "Canadians and Their Past," 24.

Kechiba:wa: A New Vázquez de Coronado Site in West-Central New Mexico[1]

by Clay Mathers, Charles Haecker, and Dan Simplicio

For more than 170 years, the 1539-1542 entrada of Capitan General Francisco Vázquez de Coronado into the Greater Southwest has been a subject of interest for historians, archeologists, and others.[2] Until recently, our knowledge of the Vázquez de Coronado expedition was largely dependent on contemporary narratives and documentary research, rather than extant archeological assemblages. In recent years, however, the discovery of a number of sites in Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas has begun to alter how we understand the activities, route and significance of this salient historical event.[3]

The Ancestral Pueblo site of Kechiba:wa, or "gypsum place", is located on Zuni Tribal lands in west-central New Mexico and was occupied from approximately 1425 to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.[4] The remains of this irregularly-shaped pueblo measure 152 m by 128 m. With some 471 ground floor rooms and 824 overall, its population has been estimated at over 1000 individuals.[5] Lying in relatively close proximity to the six other major Zuni pueblos, Kechiba:wa has been documented by generations of archeologists, historians, and ethnographers since the late 19th century, including a brief excavation by L.C.G. Clarke of the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology between 1919 and 1923.[6] (Figures 1, 2) In addition, Kechiba:wa appears to have been mentioned by a series of 16th-century Spanish chroniclers including Melchoir Díaz and Pedro de Casteñeda de Nájera (Vázquez de Coronado expedition, 1539-1542); Hernán Gallegos (Sánchez Chamuscado-Rodríquez expedition, 1581-1582); Diego Pérez de Luxán (Antonio de Espejo expedition, 1582-1583); and Juan Velarde (Juan de Oñate expedition, 1598).[7] As the first major entrada into the American Southwest, the Vázquez de Coronado expedition—numbering some 2800 people and more than 8000 animals—has assumed special significance for our understanding of initial Native-European contacts on the frontiers of New Spain.

After more than a century of investigations, it remains difficult to identify, definitively and archeologically, sites that were visited by the Vázquez de Coronado expedition both at Zuni and in other regions along the route of this entrada. Pedro de Casteñada de Nájera's extensive narrative concerning the activities of the Vázquez de Coronado expedition indicate that a major battle took place at the ancestral Zuni pueblo of Hawikku in July 1540. Casteñada de Nájera's narrative also indicates that this large party of Europeans, native allies, Africans and others remained in the area for a period of four months before

FIGURE 1
View of the ruins of the Ancestral Zuni Pueblo of Kechiba:wa. Photograph taken by Frederick Webb Hodge during L.C.G. Clarke's 1917 excavations. (Courtesy of the Pueblo of Zuni and the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Image No. N01851)

FIGURE 2
Detail of the masonry walls at the Ancestral Zuni Pueblo of Kechiba:wa. Photograph taken by Frederick Webb Hodge during L.C.G. Clarke's 1917 excavations. (Courtesy of the Pueblo of Zuni and the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Image No. N01854)

departing eastward, in November 1540, for the Southern Tiwa pueblos in the present day Albuquerque-Bernalillo area of New Mexico. Recent research at Zuni by Damp has not only found evidence of the Battle of Hawikku, but has also revealed a Vázquez de Coronado presence at the site of Kyaki:ma, a smaller pueblo of some 250 ground floor rooms located roughly 20 kilometers northeast of Hawikku. The site of Kechiba:wa, reported on here, is situated closer to Hawikku—about three kilometers to the east-southeast—and represents another site at Zuni with clears signs of Vázquez de Coronado materials.

Following a series of serendipitous discussions between our colleagues Louanna Haecker at the Archeological Records Management Section in Santa Fe, NM and Dr. Patricia Nietfeld at the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in Suitland, MD, we became aware of a number of metal objects from the Kechiba:wa collections at the NMAI. These items include, amongst others: a copper crossbow bolthead (Figure 3), two copper(?) Clarksdale bells and approximately two dozen links of chain mail. Other metal objects recovered from Kechiba:wa during Clarke's 1919-1923 investigations include a large iron awl with a short bone handle; flat iron object (possibly an axe); a large iron fragment with a pointed end (possibly a spike/lance head); a large, thick iron chisel or punch; a long copper needle; a series of iron spheres which may be natural concretions; and a fragment of a horseshoe or (more likely perhaps) a muleshoe. The copper crossbow bolthead, early cupreous bell forms (i.e., Clarksdale-types), and chain mail are all suggestive of a 16th-century presence at Kechiba:wa. After the Vázquez de Coronado expedition returned to Mexico in 1542, the next major European entradas into the Zuni area and the American Southwest generally were in the early 1580s with the expeditions of Francisco Sánchez-Chamuscado and Fray Augustín Rodríguez (1580-1581) and Antonio de Espejo (1582-1583), and again in the late 1590s with Juan de Oñate and Marcos Farfán de los Godos (1598-1599). Clarksdale bells and chain mail could potentially belong to any of these expeditions[8]. Crossbows, however, are known to have been used during the Vázquez de Coronado entrada, but were apparently not employed by later expeditions in the Southwest[9]. In addition, the size of the Vázquez de Coronado expedition at Zuni (~2800 people) and the duration of their camp there (four months), was significantly larger and of

longer duration than other, later 16th-century expeditions to visit that region—i.e., Sánchez-Chamuscado/Rodríguez (~31 people/~2 days); Espejo (~21 people/~29 days), Oñate- Farfán de los Godos (~30 people/~9 days).[10] These data suggest that much of the 16th-century material at Kechiba:wa is likely to result from the Vázquez de Coronado expedition rather than later Spanish entradas.[11]

Furthermore, independent research by William Billeck[12] at the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, in Washington, D.C. points to additional Vázquez de Coronado materials at both Hawikku and Kechiba:wa. His investigations indicate the presence of early bead forms at both sites including Nueva Cádiz varieties (dating up to c. 1500-1550 and 1500-1575, for large and small varieties, respectively) and faceted-chevron beads (dating to c. 1500-1587/1588). Billeck reports two Nueva Cádiz beads and one faceted-chevron form at Kechiba:wa. While the latter may be associated with later 16th-century entradas, the presence of Nueva Cádiz beads clearly supports our and Billeck's conclusion that the Vázquez de Coronado party had contacts with the inhabitants of Kechiba:wa. The nature of these contacts and the possible presence of other Vázquez de Coronado materials at this site is the subject of ongoing collaborative work and heritage preservation efforts by the Pueblo of Zuni, the Coronado Institute and the National Park Service.

approx. 4.2 cms

FIGURE 3
Copper Crossbow Bolthead from Kechiba:wa, Zuni, New Mexico (Courtesy, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (NMAI Catalog Number: 123896.000)). Photo by Clay Mathers.

Future work in and around Zuni will no doubt shed additional light on the nature, activities and impact of the Vázquez de Coronado expedition. In the meantime, we hope the findings reported here help enhance our understanding of several important aspects of this entrada. First, while contemporary 16th-century narratives emphasize the expedition's battle at Hawikku, and their subsequent occupation of that pueblo, new evidence reported here suggests a wider set of interactions between European expeditionaries and the communities at Zuni. The recent discovery of Vázquez de Coronado materials at Kyaki:ma, and now at Kechiba:wa, suggest that Spanish contacts at Zuni may have been more spatially extensive than suggested in the documents. Indeed, the widespread reconnaissance by sub-sets of the Vázquez de Coronado entrada (e.g., to the Hopi Mesas, Grand Canyon, and Rio Grande Valley) may imply that Spanish activities extended to most, if not all, of the Zuni pueblos occupied at contact. In this sense, the expedition's stay at Zuni may reflect strategies employed later in the Tiguex (Southern Tiwa) area, involving both major military confrontations and an extensive network of contacts with Pueblo communities. Second, the newly discovered objects from Kechiba:wa give us a better sense of the constellation of material culture associated with this important historical event. As we improve our knowledge of the range of site types and artifact assemblages relating to the Vázquez de Coronado expedition our ability to identify, evaluate and protect these important resources will likewise be enhanced. Finally, the historical legacy of the Vázquez de Coronado expedition cannot be understood without reference to its lasting impact and consequences, especially for Native communities.

As we endeavor to understand those processes—where contacts took place, what form they took, and what their longer-term implications were—we are acutely aware of the insights to be gained from new objects, documents, and other sources of data. Although the Kechiba:wa assemblage was excavated in the early decades of the 20th century, contextual and material analyses[13] of these objects have the potential to contribute to some of the larger issues concerning the initial Contact Period in the American Southwest. As comparative research progresses at Kechiba:wa, in the Zuni area generally, as well as further afield, for example, we see the potential to address important questions about ethnic identity, military conflict, resistance, exchange, and other relations. In the interim, we hope this modest addition of evidence will help contribute to our understanding of events as Native Americans, Native Mexicans, Africans, and Europeans, interacted with one another at Zuni in the summer and autumn of 1540.

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Notes

1 The authors would like to extend their thanks to following individuals whose support and expertise contributed significantly to this report, including: Governor Norman Cooeyate and Lieutenant Governor Dancy Simplicio of the Pueblo of Zuni, Zuni, NM; James Enote, Executive Director of the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center, Zuni, NM; Dr. Kurt Dongoske, Acting Director of the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office, Zuni, NM; Tom Kennedy, Director of Zuni Tourism, Zuni, NM; Louanna Haecker, Archivist at the Archeological Records Management Section, Santa Fe, NM; Dr. Patricia Nietfeld, Supervisory Collections Manager at the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of the American Indian, Suitland, MD; Dr. Robin Boast, Deputy Director and Curator for World Archaeology at Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK; Lou Stancari, Photo Archivist at the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of the American Indian, Suitland, MD; and John Connaway, Archaeologist at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, MS.

2 Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, Relations et Memoires Originaux pour Servir a l'Histoire de la Découverte de l'Amérique,* 10 volumes (Paris, France: Arthur Bertrand, Libraire-Éditeur, 1837-1841); W.W.H. Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico* (Doylestown, PA: William Watts Harts Davis, 1869); J.H. Simpson, "Coronado's March in Search of the 'Seven Cities of Cibola' and Discussion of their Probable Location,"*Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1869* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1872), 309-40; Victor Mindeleff, A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola, in *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1886-1887* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891) 3-228; George Parker Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542," in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the United States Bureau of Ethnology*, Part I (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), 329-613; Adolph F. Bandelier, *History of the Colonization and Missions of Sonora, Chihuahua, New Mexico and Arizona to the Year 1700* (Rome: Vatican Library, Bandelier Collection, 1887) Manuscripts, Vat. Lat. 14112-14116; George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, translators and editors, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1940); Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *The Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva: The 1540-1542 Route Across the Southwest* (Niwot, CO: University of Colorado Press, 1997); Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1542. "They Were Not Familiar with*

His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects" (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005); Richard Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2008).

3 Nugent Brasher, "The Chichilticale Camp of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado: The Search for the Red House," *New Mexico Historical Review* 82 no. 4 (2007): 433-468; Nugent Brasher, "The Red House Camp and the Capitan General: The 2009 Report on the Coronado Expedition Campsite of Chichilticale," *New Mexico Historical Review* 84 no. 1 (2009): 1-64; Jonathan E. Damp, *The Battle of Hawikku, Archaeological Investigations of the Zuni-Coronado Encounter at Hawikku, the Ensuing Battle, and the Aftermath during the Summer of 1540*. Zuni Cultural Resources Enterprise (ZCRE) Report 884, Research Series 13 (Zuni, NM: ZCRE, 2005); Charles M. Haecker, "Tracing Coronado's Route through Trace Element Analysis," Paper presented in the symposium, *Between Entrada and Salida: New Mexico Perspectives on the Coronado Expedition*. Charles Haecker and Clay Mathers, organizers. Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Conference, Albuquerque, New Mexico, January 12, 2008; Clay Mathers, Phil Leckman, and Nahide Aydin, "'Non-Ground Breaking' Research at the Edge of Empire: Geophysical and Geospatial Approaches to Sixteenth-Century Interaction in Tiguex Province (New Mexico)," Paper presented for the symposium *Between Entrada and Salida: New Mexico Perspectives on the Coronado Expedition*, Charles Haecker and Clay Mathers, organizers. Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Conference, Albuquerque, New Mexico, January 12, 2008; Donald J. Blakeslee and Jay C. Blaine 2003, "The Jimmy Owens Site: New Perspectives on the Coronado Expedition," in Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *The Coronado Expedition from the Distance of 460 Years* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 203-218.

4 Frederick W. Hodge, *The Age of the Zuni Pueblo of Kechipauan*, Indian Notes and Monographs Volume III. No. 2, (New York, NY: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1920); Frederick W. Hodge, *The History of Hawikuh, New Mexico: One of the So-Called Cities of Cíbola*, Publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund, Volume I (Los Angeles, CA: The Southwest Museum, 1937), 58-78; Frederick W. Hodge, *A Square Kiva at Hawikku, New Mexico*, Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Volume XII. No. 4, Hendricks-Hodge Expedition (New York, NY: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1939); Watson Smith, Richard B. Woodbury and Nathalie F.S. Woodbury, *The Excavation of Hawikuh by Frederick Webb Hodge. Report of the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition 1917-1923*. Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Volume XX (New York, NY: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1966); T.J. Ferguson and E. Richard Hart, *A Zuni Atlas*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma, 1985); Keith W. Kintigh, *Settlement, Subsistence, and Society in Late Zuni Prehistory*, Anthropological Papers, Number 44 (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 68-69; Todd L. Howell and Tammy Stone, eds., *Exploring Social, Political and Economic Organization in the Zuni Region*, Anthropological Research Papers No. 46 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University Press, 1994); T.J. Ferguson, *Historic Zuni Architecture and Society: An Archaeological Application of Space Syntax*, Anthropological Papers, Number 60 (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 44-45.

5 Kintigh *Settlement, Subsistence, and Society in Late Zuni Prehistory*, 69, 75.

6 Apart from Kechiba:wa, the remaining Zuni pueblos include Halona:wa, Mats'a:kya; Kyaki:ma, Kwa'kin'a, Hawikku and Chalo:wa; all of these communities appear to have been occupied at the time of initial contact with European entradas, with the possible exception of the latter (Chalo:wa), see Kintigh *Settlement, Subsistence, and Society in Late Zuni Prehistory*, 66-68; Hodge, *The Age of the Zuni Pueblo of Kechipauan*; G.H.S. Bushnell, "Some Pueblo Pottery Types from Kechipaun, New Mexico, USA," *Anais do 31 Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, São Paulo* 2 (Sao Pãulo, Brazil: Editora Anhembi, 1955), 657-665.

7 Kechiba:wa appears to have been mentioned in a variety of 16th-century Spanish documentary sources either obliquely: e.g., by Melchoir Díaz and Vázquez de Coronado as an unnamed site belonging to one of the Seven Cities, or more directly as Martín de Pedrosa's *Acana*; Diego Pérez de Luxán's *Cana*; and Juan Velarde's *Canabi*. Although Esteban de Dorantes visited Zuni in spring 1539 as part of the advanced scouting party for the expedition of Fray Marcos de Niza, and was later killed at Zuni along with other members of his party, there is no archeological evidence to date linking the presence of Dorantes at Zuni with the site of Kechiba:wa. Apparently fearing he might suffer the same fate as Dorantes, Fray Marcos de Niza seems to have observed one or more Zuni pueblos from a distance and returned to Mexico without

having visited them directly; Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1542. "They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects"*, 75-76.

8 Smith, Marvin, *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation During the Early Historic Period* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1987) 43-44; John Connaway, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, MS, personal communication, April 2009. Smith, *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation During the Early Historic Period*, 43 indicates that Clarksdale bells date from the earlier half of the 16th-century to the first third of the 17th-century. While Clarksdale bells have been found on a number of Vázquez de Coronado sites in New Mexico, e.g., Damp *The Battle of Hawikku, Archaeological Investigations of the Zuni-Coronado Encounter at Hawikku, the Ensuing Battle, and the Aftermath during the Summer of 1540*, 39,40,42,46,49,105, and none have been found to date on later 16th-century sites in the Southwest, Clarksdale bells may have been carried by Juan de Zaldívar's party at Ácoma in 1598 (see reference to the use of "hawks bells" as trade items in George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico 1598-1628*, Coronado Cuarentennial Publications, 1540-1940. Volume V (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico, 1953), 449. In addition, Clarksdale bells are known from later 16th-century contexts in the Southeastern U.S., e.g., at Santa Elena, reported in Stanley South, Russell K. Skowronek and Richard E. Johnson 1988 *Spanish Artifacts from Santa Elena*. Anthropological Studies 7. Occasional Papers of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1988), 142. Chain mail, on the other hand, is known from late 16th-century and early 17th-century contexts in New Mexico, e.g., at the site of the 1598-1610 colony (San Gabriel del Yunque Oweenge) established by Juan de Oñate in northern New Mexico, and reported in Florence H. Ellis, *San Gabriel del Yunque as Seen by an Archaeologist* (Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 1989), 46.

9 Stanley M. Hordes, "The Historical Context of LA 54147", in Bradley J. Vierra, ed., *A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Campsite in the Tiguex Province*. Laboratory of Anthropology. Note No. 475. (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of New Mexico, Research Section, 1989), 218.

10 George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey 1967. *Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo 1582-1583 as Revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, A Member of the Party*. Quivira Society Publications. Volume I. (Los Angeles, CA: The Quivira Society, [reprinted New York, NY: Arno Press]), 120; Hammond and Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico 1598-1628*, 18, 394-395; George Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest 1542-1706*. (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 204-206.

11 Richard Flint, "Without Them, Nothing Was Possible: The Coronado Expedition's Indian Allies," *New Mexico Historical Review* 84(1) (2009): 75,115; Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada*, 139-141; Hammond and Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico 1598-1628*; Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan de Onate and the Settling of the Far Southwest* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 127-132; Hammond and Rey, *Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio de Espejo 1582-1583 as Revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, A Member of the Party*, 88-94; George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey *The Rediscovery of New Mexico 1580-1594: The Explorations of Chamusacado, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, Morlete and Leyva de Bonilla y Humaña*. Coronado Cuarentennial Publications, 1540-1940. Volume III. (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico, 1966), 120.

12 William Billeck 2009. "Traces of Coronado: Spanish Glass Beads in the Southwest and the Plains". Poster presented at the 74th Annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Atlanta, GA, April 2009. We would like to extend our significant thanks to William Billeck for making his poster available to us in digital form after the conference and for the additional information regarding his work after the presentation of his SAA poster in Atlanta.

13 For example, the use of lead isotope analyses to source metal ores associated with non-diagnostic, non-descript objects such as lead shot or copper sheet fragments. The successful use of such techniques on Vázquez de Coronado assemblages has been reported by Charles Haecker, using objects from sites in Texas and New Mexico; see Charles Haecker, "Tracing Coronado's Route through Trace Element Analysis," in *Between Entrada and Salida: New Mexico Perspectives on the Coronado Expedition*, symposium organized by Charles Haecker and Clay Mathers, Society for Historical Archaeology, Albuquerque, New Mexico, January 12, 2008.

Preserving Philadelphia's Carnegie Branch Libraries

by *Sabra Smith*

The City of Philadelphia boasts one of the largest and most cohesive collections of Carnegie Libraries in the world, a network of neighborhood branches built between 1905 and 1930 with a $1.5 million grant from Pittsburgh steel magnate Andrew Carnegie.[1] The Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia recognized the importance of the Carnegie branches in the history of the city, the development of public libraries in the United States, and especially the role of public libraries as important landmarks in many city neighborhoods. (Figure 1) In an effort to raise awareness about and preserve Philadelphia's Carnegie Libraries, in 2006 the Alliance's Executive Director John Andrew Gallery began developing a documentation project with Catherine Lavoie of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS). HABS's efforts to research, study, and document each of the remaining Carnegie buildings—20 of the original 25 —would prove to be more important and timely than expected when several historic library branches were threatened with closure in late 2008.

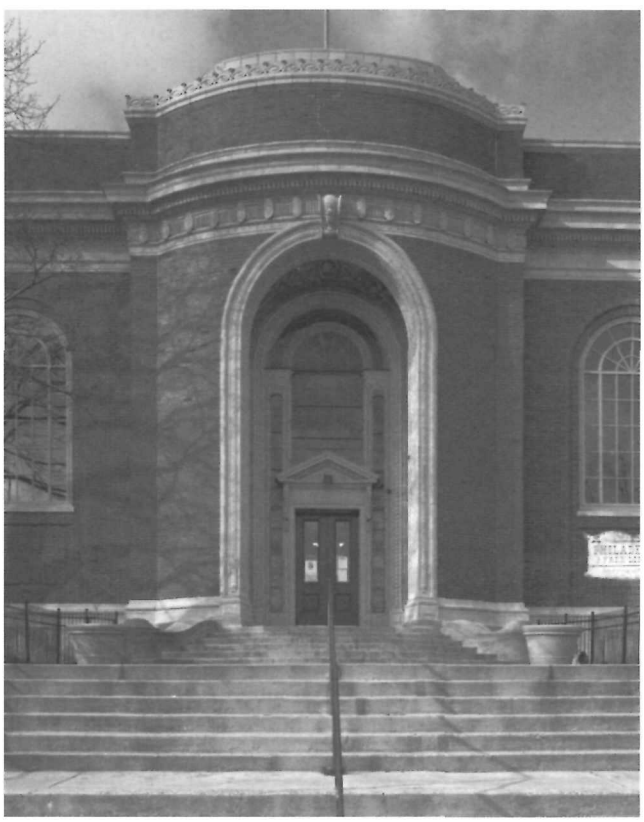
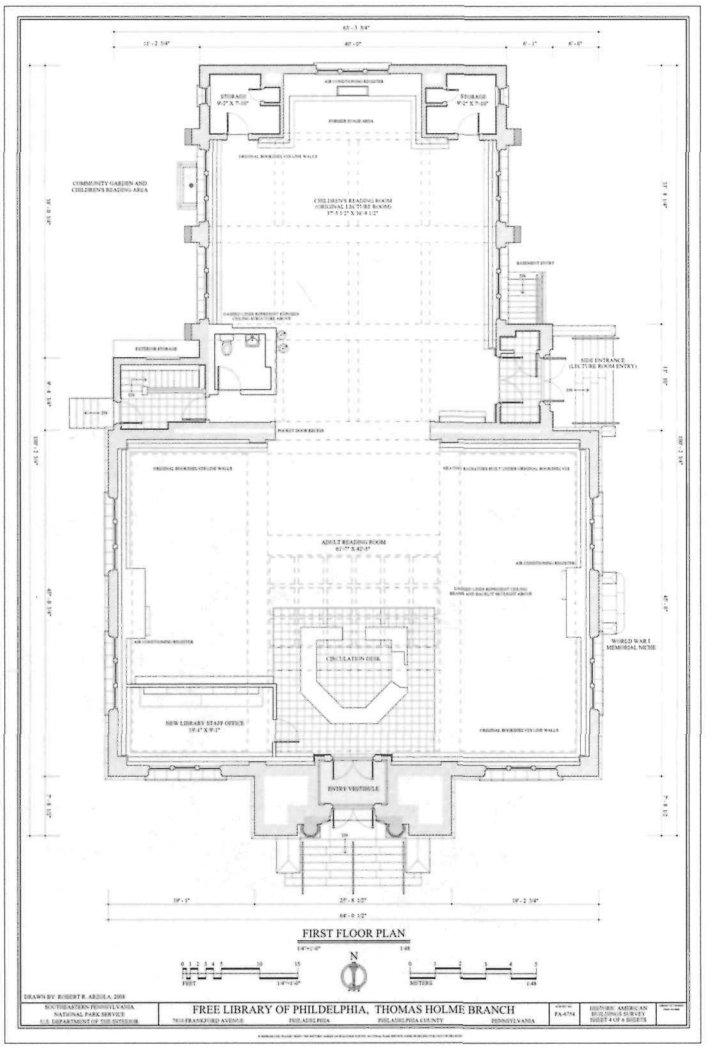


FIGURE 1
The Haddington Branch of the Philadelphia Free Library is located in West Philadelphia and features handsome terra cotta ornament at the main entrance portico. HABS No. PA-6753-3, Joseph Elliott, Photographer.

FIGURE 2
The Thomas Holme Branch opened in 1906 and continues to serve the Holmesburg neighborhood. HABS No. PA-6754-6, Joseph Elliott, Photographer.

FIGURE 3
First floor plan of Thomas Holme Branch showing the characteristic Philadelphia Carnegie branch library T-shaped plan. HABS No. PA-6754, Sheet 4 of 6, Robert R. Arzola, Delineator.



Carnegie's Philadelphia Libraries

Philadelphia has a significant place in library history as home to the country's first private subscription library, the Library Company, founded in 1731. The American Library Association, now the oldest and largest library association in the world, was founded in Philadelphia in 1876. The city's public lending library, the Free Library of Philadelphia, was established in 1891.

Yet prior to Carnegie's grant, the Free Library had no purpose-built library buildings. Libraries of the time were often private collections or were housed in buildings built for other purposes, such as shops or residences. Carnegie's grant to Philadelphia was intended for the construction of 30 Free Library branches; that number was reduced due to rising construction costs over the decades-long building campaign. His generous funding not only led to advances in library science and the development of the library as a building type, but also made libraries a civic responsibility. Carnegie firmly believed that the wealthy should contribute to the welfare and happiness of the common man and that anyone could be successful given the proper tools and a good work ethic.

The $1.5 million grant was accepted by vote of City Council in 1904 and used to construct library branches designed by some of the finest architects of the time, including James Windrim, Albert Kelsey and Paul Cret, Cope & Stewardson, Hewitt & Hewitt, and Clarence C. Zantzinger. (Figure 2) Today, 16 of these structures still serve the public as branch libraries. Four others have been repurposed and five of the original buildings have been demolished or significantly altered.

The HABS study included detailed historical reports and large-format photographs of the 20 extant library buildings, and measured floor plans of one representative example.[2] A program of the National Park Service, HABS is the nation's first federal preservation program, founded in 1933 to record and document all aspects of the country's architectural heritage. HABS historical reports, large-format photographs, and measured drawings are held by the Library of Congress and made available online without copyright restrictions.[3]

This documentation revealed that the Carnegie building program in Philadelphia was significant in the architectural and historical development of the Carnegie library building type. (Figure 3) Philadelphia branches have a quintessential T-shaped open plan, raised windows allowing for maximum book storage, and flexible space for lectures and other public programs. Open stacks allowed patrons to browse and select their own books under the watchful eye of the librarian at a central desk, a relatively uncommon practice at the beginning of the 20th century. (Figure 4) All of these features placed the Philadelphia branches on the forefront of library design.

FIGURE 4
Logan Branch patrons enjoy the high-ceiled, open plan interior typical for Carnegie Branch libraries in Philadelphia. HABS No. PA-6757-8, Joseph Elliott, Photographer.

FIGURE 5
Main elevation of Kingsessing Branch. HABS No. PA-6755-1, Joseph Elliott, Photographer.

Philadelphia's Carnegie Branches Today

The surviving Carnegie branches not only represent a significant historical story, but also stand as beloved landmarks in their communities, as evidenced when the libraries recently came under threat. In the fall of 2008 Philadelphia Mayor Michael Nutter proposed closing 11 branches of the Free Library in an effort to close a major budget gap. Of the 11 branch libraries to be shuttered, four were built during the Carnegie-funded initiative of the early 20th century: Thomas Holme (Stearns & Castor, 1906) Haddington (Albert Kelsey and Paul Cret, 1915), Logan (John T. Windrim, 1918), and Kingsessing (Philip H. Johnson, 1919). (Figure 5)

The Preservation Alliance intended to use the HABS research and documentation as the basis for nominating all of the remaining intact Carnegie libraries to the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places, and, with HABS, to nominate them as a thematic group to the National Register. Instead, armed with the HABS documentation, the Alliance moved to an expedited schedule of local nomination for the four threatened branches. Closures could result in the buildings being designated surplus city property and subsequently sold and thereby put at risk of demolition or adverse alteration.

The material provided by HABS served as the basis for individual nominations to the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places for the four threatened branches. While the reports were supplemented with some additional research, the HABS's study allowed the nominations to be completed quickly and submitted to the Philadelphia Historical Commission (PHC) while the budget debates continued. In practice, a property comes under protection of the PHC as soon as the commission has received the nomination and notified the owner, until the full commission is able to vote on designation. On June 12, 2009, the Historical Commission approved the nominations and placed the four threatened libraries on the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places. Now the Alliance will move forward with nominations of the other Carnegie-funded branch libraries in Philadelphia.

The Carnegie Libraries are an irreplaceable architectural resource and important icons in their communities—a fact that was demonstrated by hundreds of community residents speaking out in support of the branch libraries, leading Mayor Nutter to withdraw his plans for library closures. Now not only will these fine buildings remain open for use as libraries as intended, but their historic significance will be recognized and the buildings protected. The swift protection and preservation of these architectural treasures would not have been possible if it were not for the timely partnership between HABS and the Preservation Alliance.

Sabra Smith was an Advocacy Associate for the Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia. For questions regarding the Alliance and its efforts to save the Carnegie branches, contact John Gallery, Executive Director (john@preservationalliance.com). For information about the HABS program and collection go to www.nps.gov/history/hdp/index.htm.

Notes

1 Only New York City built a larger collection of Carnegie-funded branch libraries. See George S. Bobinski, *Carnegie Libraries: Their History and Impact on American Public Library Development*, (Chicago: American Library Association, 1969), 13-14.

2 The HABS documentation of the Philadelphia Carnegie libraries includes historical reports prepared by Catherine Lavoie and Lisa P. Davidson. Joseph Elliott produced large-format photographs for each of the 20 extant buildings. Robert R. Arzola, Jason McNatt, and Anne E. Kidd produced measured drawings of the Thomas Holme Branch (HABS No. PA-6754), a typical example of the local Carnegie library form. To access the documentation, visit the Library of Congress website listed below.

3 For a history of the HABS program, see Catherine C. Lavoie, ed., *American Place: The Historic American Buildings Survey at Seventy-Five Years*. Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, 2009. To access the HABS collection at the Library of Congress visit http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs_haer/index.html

Creating Cultural Resource Spatial Data Standards

by Deidre McCarthy

Throughout the field of historic preservation, accurate locational data remains a fundamental component to understanding cultural resources. Examining resources in a geographic context allows preservationists to study the interaction of those resources and to identify larger trends across landscapes. Using technological tools such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to better manage and protect our cultural resources is, therefore, increasingly critical. With the implementation of such systems, however, comes the need for improved data management, which in turn necessitates the development of standardized elements to facilitate data sharing and dissemination.

The Need for Data Standards

Spatially, each resource is a single entity. Yet experts in various disciplines view those individual sites from differing perspectives, be they architectural, archeological, or ethnographic. These viewpoints manifest in a series of separate databases cataloging the same resources with terminology for characteristics specific to each field of study. Geography can integrate these disparate databases by using one location to reference multiple sources of descriptive information. To accomplish this efficiently and effectively, locational data must be standardized to ensure consistency and quality.

Historic preservation programs throughout the federal government rely on cultural resource geospatial information to comply with preservation laws, regulations, and guidelines that call for the collection and maintenance of inventory information, such as the National Historic Preservation Act (1966), Archaeological Resources Protection Act (1979), Abandoned Shipwreck Act (1987), or Historic Sites Act (1935). As a result, numerous sources of descriptive and spatial data about cultural resources exist within a single agency, as well as with other federal agencies and their partners, primarily State and Tribal Historic Preservation Offices.

After 40 years of conducting surveys, the volume of cultural resource geospatial data has reached a critical mass. The data are difficult to access in a paper form, where they currently reside in many cases. Paper records limit the ability to perform efficient spatial analyses and distribute data. Thus, the conversion of paper cultural resource inventories to a digital geospatial format is essential. A digital format will allow all government agencies not only to better understand our

cultural resources, but also comply with laws and regulations, share data when necessary, and ultimately better protect the resources themselves.

Digital data are the foundation for cultural resource GIS tools. Beyond computerized cartography, GIS software represents real world features as map layers according to feature type, such as roads, building footprints, or county boundaries. By stacking map layers on top of each other, users view the layers geographically in relationship to each other and to the earth. Attribute information describes what each map feature stands for in a database, allowing users to query the data based on text descriptions or on the geography itself. In this way, GIS holds the key to integrating our cultural resource data sources and enabling cultural resource managers to explore new approaches to using the data, which enables more complete resource protection.

Currently, no national standards for cultural resource spatial data exist. Without standards to direct recordation efforts, it is difficult to fully realize the benefits of GIS tools, and the ability to exchange data among agencies or organizations engaged in cultural resource management is severely hampered. Standards give the agencies involved in inventory creation a set of guiding principles to create the necessary data in a consistent and accurate way. Users can also evaluate the data they receive against such standards to make better informed decisions regarding the data itself, thus improving the quality of the conclusions generated through GIS tools.

Interagency Cooperation

OMB Circular A-16 (revised in 2002) defines the Federal Geographic Data Committee (FGDC) as an interagency organization promoting the coordinated development, use, and dissemination of geospatial data on a national basis. The FGDC, chaired by the Department of the Interior is composed of 19 members representing the Executive Office of the President and independent Federal agencies. Organized into subcommittees based on individual data themes and cross-cutting working groups, the FGDC creates the National Spatial Data Infrastructure and is the framework within which all federal agencies operate to generate and share their geospatial data.

The same OMB Circular designates the National Park Service (NPS) as the primary agency to steward the cultural resource spatial data theme, which includes the responsibility for the establishment of data standards. Within the NPS, the Cultural Resource GIS Facility (CRGIS) has been given the lead in this effort inside the NPS and through the FGDC.

CRGIS brought together GIS and cultural resource subject matter experts within NPS and developed a draft set of cultural resource spatial data standards as well as an implementation model for use by the park service. CRGIS tested

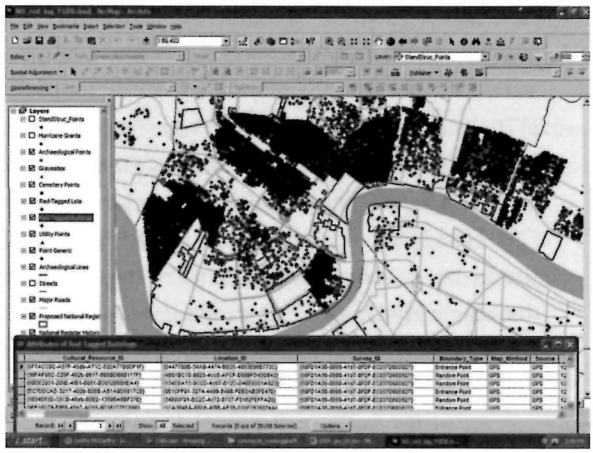


FIGURE 1
An example of the GIS used in response to Hurricane Katrina, showing the cultural resource locations collected as part of FEMA's initial survey and identification, as well as the subsequent treatment measures to comply with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. The accompanying table shows some of the data collected to describe the geography itself and to meet the draft cultural resource spatial data standards.

these working standards when devising a strategy for identifying and evaluating all properties affected by Hurricane Katrina in Orleans Parish, Louisiana, at the request of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), enabling their compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act.

The successful application of the standards during the largest cultural resource catastrophe since the enactment of the National Historic Preservation Act clearly demonstrated the benefits of utilizing GIS tools in disaster response. It underscored the need for establishing data standards to facilitate the efficient and timely exchange of data among federal, state, tribal, and local agencies. The ability to integrate disparate data sources, perform sophisticated spatial analyses, and provide easy access to information proved essential to FEMA as well as for the protection of resources following the disaster. (Figure 1)

Building on this model, and the lessons learned from its performance during the Katrina response, CRGIS engaged in the formal NPS spatial-data-standard-creation process, under the direction of the NPS GIS Council. CRGIS then published a working draft of the standards in August 2008, which were distributed throughout the agency for comment. Incorporating the comments received, CRGIS and the Cultural Resource Subcommittee of the NPS GIS Council revised the draft for a similar NPS-wide release in July 2009.[1] After the review and comment period, a final draft of the standards will be submitted to the GIS Council for approval. The Cultural Resource Subcommittee will then put the standards into practice within NPS.

On a parallel path, CRGIS formally entered the FGDC standard creation process in December 2007 with a proposal defining the need for cultural resource spatial data standards for all federal agencies. Approved by the FGDC Standards Working Group the following February, CRGIS then turned to the Subcommittee on Cultural and Demographic Data to shepherd the standards they had crafted for NPS and then edited for the broader FGDC audience through the FGDC review process.[2]

Because consensus building was essential to this endeavor, in March 2009, CRGIS hosted a GIS Summit in Washington, DC, inviting over 75 federal, state, tribal, local, academic, and private sector participants to help direct the FGDC standard creation effort. From the participants, and through assistance of FGDC staff, CRGIS gained new insight that redefined the basic guiding principles for creating the cultural resource spatial data standards. At the summit, CRGIS and the other participants settled on establishing cultural resource spatial data transfer standards as a first step. Similar to the internal NPS process that culminated in the draft standards tested in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, CRGIS formed a Cultural Resource Work Group within the FGDC to begin producing the standard itself.[3]

The creation of spatial data standards for the National Park Service and the larger FGDC involves public input, like that solicited at the Summit in March, and invites broad public review as well as the testing and modeling of the standards before final approval. By necessity, however, the FGDC standard will affect all federal agencies and by association the State and Tribal Historic Preservation Offices as well as local governments with whom they work, thus requiring high levels of coordination and wide-ranging review. The internal NPS cultural resource spatial data standards that evolved after testing in Louisiana soon should be in final draft. The FGDC standards will likely take several years to reach the same stage. By developing the two standards in conjunction with each other, however, CRGIS hopes to ensure their compatibility.

Both drafts address the geographic representation of cultural resources, link these representations to external databases that contain descriptive information, document how the geographic data was created and its specific parameters, and find ways to ensure security of sensitive cultural resource data. The primary concentration of the standards remain feature level metadata (data about the data) which records the history of the geographic data, providing for the combination of cultural resource geographic data from multiple sources and presenting a means of sharing information easily. Both the NPS and FGDC standards purposefully do not address the descriptive information about each cultural resource in an effort to preserve the myriad of perspectives offered by experts in various disciplines.

Conclusion

Locational data will always play a critical and fundamental role in understanding cultural resources. Creating standards to improve the quality and accuracy of that data, to expand the accessibility of the data, and to enhance the capability to share the data will only lead to better cultural resource management. Taking advantage of the GIS tools that accompany such enriched data will help historic preservationists investigate cultural resources with new and thoroughly innovative approaches.

Contact CRGIS for additional information on the cultural resource spatial data standards creation process within the NPS and through the FGDC.

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Notes

1 For more information on the composition of the NPS GIS Council, see www.nps.gov/gis. Cultural Resources are but one part of this group that includes various regional contacts, network coordinators, and personnel within programs such as inventory and monitoring, facilities management, fire, land resources, air quality, geology, remote sensing, vegetation mapping, the Midwest Archeological Center, and National Trails, as well as the Natural Resource GIS Coordinators .

2 The Subcommittee on Cultural and Demographic Data (SCDD) of the FGDC is composed of members from the federal agencies collecting, financing collection, or applying cultural and demographic geospatially referenced data. (See http://www.census.gov/geo/www/standards/scdd)

3 The Cultural Resource Working Group (CRWG) includes representatives of federal agencies, the SCDD of the FGDC, State Historic Preservation Offices, Certified Local Governments, the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Offices, universities, and consultants in the private sector.

A Decade of Progressive Partnerships: CESUs and Cultural Resources in the NPS

by William Patrick O'Brien

Introduction: CESUs and the National Park Service

Scientific research and technical expertise are increasingly called upon to guide the policy decisions of federal land management, particularly in regard to the demands of long-term stewardship within an ecosystem context. Ecosystem studies draw on the biological, physical, social, *and* cultural sciences to address issues related to both natural and cultural resources. Despite the steady demand for useable, scientific knowledge and the recognition of the need for an interdisciplinary and multi-agency approach to resource management, funding sources at all levels are dwindling. Federal fiscal constraints are mirrored in academic institutions and private research organizations, meaning the scientific community is seeking new avenues for project sponsorship, such as that outlined by the Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Units (CESU).

CESU is "a network of cooperative units established to provide research, technical assistance, and education to resource and environmental managers."[1] Essentially, the CESU network represents a collaboration between the federal government and universities. Academic institutions provide the base of operations and so become the hub for each unit's geographical region. Scholarship is shared. So, too, are the costs. Federal agencies support their personnel while the participating organizations underpin their technical staff and offer monies for administrative and project expenses. Because the practitioners are so highly trained and the subject matter so specialized, CESUs are an efficient way to accomplish the nation's federal research business while engaging the public. In this way CESUs function alongside other cooperative agreements, interagency arrangements, and contracts awarded through the fair-bid process.

Four inaugural units were established in 2000, comprised of 20 universities in 13 states. Today there are 17 units located across the United States. Numerous participating agencies, not-for-profit partners, and host universities fall within the CESU network. Concurrently, the National Park Service issued its Natural Resource Challenge putting science and ecosystem concerns at the heart of the national park system. The challenge was introduced by the admission that—

For most of the 20th century, we have practiced a curious combination of active management and passive acceptance of natural systems and processes, while be-

coming a superb visitor services agency. In the 21st century that management style clearly will be insufficient to save our natural resources. [. . .]

Protection of these natural resources now requires active and informed management to a degree unimaginable in 1916. The lack of information about park plants, animals, ecosystems, and their interrelationships is profound. If we are to protect these resources into the far future, we must know more.[2]

The same need for research, technical expertise, and education that fueled the establishment of CESUs prompted the challenge.[3] As a result, many projects relating to park resources have been undertaken through CESUs. These projects, while disproportionately focused on the stewardship of natural resources, include those that assist cultural resource management.

While it is true that all 17 CESUs promote cultural resource projects, this report reviews work done in the Intermountain Region of the National Park Service.[4] The Intermountain Region is unique in that it recruited CESU cultural resource specialists to oversee the CESU projects from the beginning. Research-oriented endeavors are highlighted here.

The Cultural Component of NPS Intermountain Region CESUs

In the Intermountain Region, cultural disciplines in the sciences and humanities have flourished under CESUs. These successes came about, in part, due to the expertise of the cultural resource personnel charged with overseeing the CESU endeavors. In 2001 the Intermountain Region placed the author, a cultural resource program manager, in its Tucson office where he assumed responsibility for the newly established Desert Southwest CESU. Even without dedicated funding from the Region, the DSCESU accrued over $300,000 and awarded projects to professors and graduate students. CESU personnel received adjunct faculty status at the host university.

In light of the DSCESU accomplishments, the Intermountain Region established two additional positions in 2003. Trinkle Jones, an archeologist with the NPS Western Archeological and Conservation Center in Tucson, became the Colorado Plateau CESU Cultural Resource Specialist. From 2003 to 2009, Christine Whitacre, an NPS historian and state coordinator with the National Historic Landmarks Intermountain Regional program, was the Rocky Mountain CESU Cultural Resource Specialist. Whitacre left the RMCESU Cultural Resource Specialist position and returned to the NPS Denver offices in mid-2009. This Rocky Mountains CESU function will be assumed by Pei-Lin Yu, an archeologist who has worked with the NPS, the USDA-Forest Service, and the Bureau of Reclamation, in addition to serving on the faculties at Boise State and Sacramento State. Yu brings to the job significant expertise with tribal partnerships, NAGPRA and considerable university teaching experience.

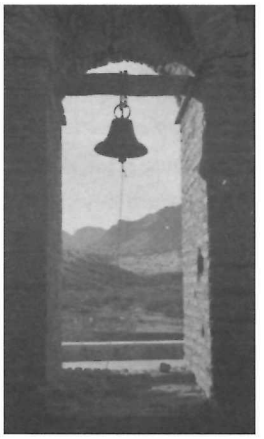


FIGURE 1
Information about the Missions Initiative can be found on the bilingual website maintained by the Arizona State Museum, www.statemuseum.arizona.edu/oer/missionsini/index.shtml and represented here by the photographic detail view of a belfry tower at San Jose de Tumacacori. (Photograph by Frederick D. Nichols, 1937, Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress. See HABS No. AZ-3-10)

As in the Desert Southwest, the new CESU officials arrange for projects, graduate internships, and related partnerships of varied scope and application.

The DSCESU realized a number of initiatives including administrative histories, ethnobotanical research, and consultation on the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). An example of one of the CESU facilitated projects is the strategic planning document for partnerships in conserving and interpreting Spanish Colonial resources sponsored by San Antonio Missions, Salinas Pueblo, and Tumacacori National Park units and the University of Arizona School of Planning under the direction of Barbara Becker. A bilingual website based on the planning project was completed as an additional student and faculty endeavor. (Figure 1) Present managing partners for DSCESU are the University of Arizona's College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture led by Associate Dean R. Brooks Jeffery as well as Mexico's Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.[5]

A cooperative research endeavor sponsored by the region's Workforce Enhancement Office and known as the Warriors Project depends on the successful solicitation of grants and matching funds through the CESU network. The program brings together African American and American Indian university students to research and discuss their mutual histories in the American West. (Figure 2) Over the past five years, students from Howard University, Haskell University, and the Mescalero Apache Nation have participated in a variety of projects including an archeological field school in the Guadalupe Mountains of New Mexico and folklore documentation by the Institute of Oral History at the University of Texas at El Paso. This research benefits a number of national park units: Fort Davis National Historic Site, Fort Union National Monument, Guadalupe Mountains National Park, Chiricahua National Monument, and Fort Bowie National Historic Site. In 2008 the program expanded, connecting USFS personnel in the Gila National Forest with Howard University students. The program spilled into the Midwest Region at Nicodemus National Historic Site in Kansas, where Howard faculty and students are continuing to explore Buffalo Soldier related sites at this historic African American 19th-century Exoduster settlement.[6]

The Rocky Mountain CESU (RMCESU) cultural program sponsored a NAGPRA cultural affiliation study at Glacier National Park; a Save America's Treasures-funded archives project at Yellowstone National Park; a fire management archives project at Grand Teton National Park; and archeological surveys at Yellowstone, Grand Teton, and the Fort Laramie National Historic Site. In addition, the RMCESU allied with the region's Heritage Partnerships Program to bring university expertise to National Historic Landmarks (NHL) and the Heritage Documentation Programs[7] projects, including an archeological survey of the Tom Sun Ranch NHL, HABS documentation of pueblito sites in New Mexico, and HALS documentation of Skyline Park in Denver.[8] (Figure 3)

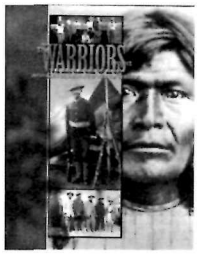


FIGURE 2
Cover illustration for the Warriors Project booklet. The Warriors Project is a national consortium of partners formed through the CESU network that promotes the interaction of African and Native American student study of their mutual histories in the American West. (Courtesy of Dennis Caldwell, Caldwell Design)

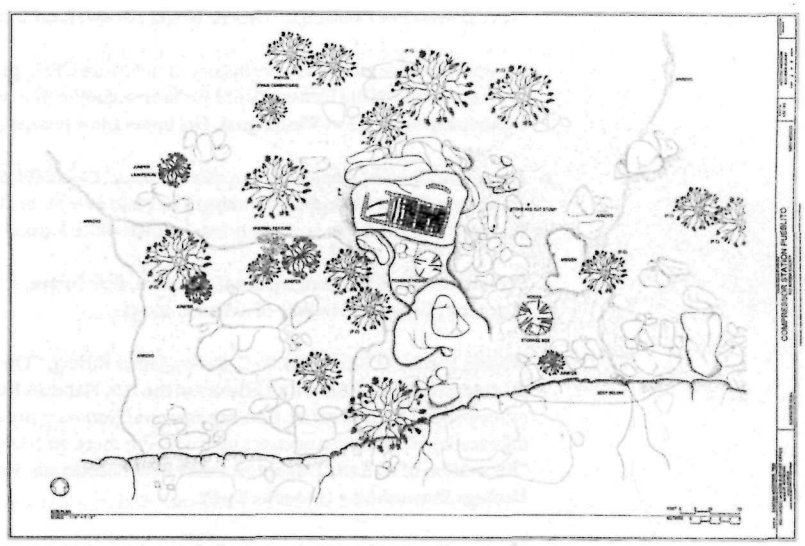
University partners were the University of Montana, the University of Wyoming, and the University of Colorado, Boulder and Denver campuses.[9]

In the same period, the Colorado Plateau CESU cultural program facilitated projects as varied as Collections Management Plans for Navajo National Monument and Chaco Culture National Historic Park; mapping prehistoric structures at Canyon de Chelly National Monument, El Morro National Monument, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, Grand Canyon National Park, Chiricahua, Navajo, and parks under the umbrella of the Vanishing Treasures Initiative; conducting Environmental and Administrative histories, Historic Resource Studies, and Historic Structures Reports at Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, Wupatki National Monument, Minidoka Internment National Monument, Roosevelt-Vanderbilt National Historic Sites, and Bryce Canyon National Park. Interdisciplinary efforts characterized the geoarcheology at Glen Canyon and the NAGPRA consultation at the Petrified Forest. Seven partners were active in a majority of the projects run at the Northern Arizona University (CESU host) and the University of Arizona.[10]

Conclusion

The CESU program is an effective a tool for research and preservation of cultural resources, as the three units in the Intermountain Region demonstrate. As an administrative entity, CESUs allow for multiple federal agencies and research institutions to act in partnership. As such, CESUs provide cost savings; funding flexibility (CESU funds can remain current for five years); dialogue within the academic, governmental, and non-governmental (NGO) communities; and collegial interaction.

FIGURE 3
Representative of the university expertise brought into documentation projects funded through CESUs administered by the Rocky Mountain office is the team assembled by David Woodcock of Texas A&M University. Here Woodcock and his team recorded the early 18th-century Compressor Station Pueblito in Rio Arriba County, New Mexico. (Drawing for the Historic American Buildings Survey; see HABS No. NM-185, sheet 2



Despite regular use by many federal agencies for a host of cultural resource research needs, CESU project oversight is typically assigned to personnel as collateral duty without the ability to function as members of the academic community as the Intermountain Region's base-funded, CESU staff members are able to do through the host universities. The Intermountain Region's endorsement of the program enhances the scholarly dialogue and cooperation that underlies the research, enables the sharing of technical expertise, and fosters educational opportunities that together are the hallmarks of the CESU network.

In the Intermountain Region, CESUs have supplied quality research and become a venue by which students and professors engage directly with the professionals responsible for the preservation and management of our nation's resources. As a result, the discussion about natural and cultural resource conservation and stewardship has been expanded to include a myriad of U.S. citizens—researchers, professors, students, administrators, and volunteers—all with a common objective: to pass on responsible management of our cultural heritage and natural legacy to future generations.[11]

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Notes

1 Definition and general description of CESUs were taken from the CESU website, http://www.cesu.org/ accessed 1 July 2009.

2 *Natural Resource Challenge: The National Park Service's Action Plan for Preserving Natural Resources* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Interior, 1999), 2. For more information about the challenge, see www.nature.nps.gov/challenge and Dale B. Engquist, "A Dialogue on the Natural Resource Challenge," *George Wright Forum* 18, no. 4 (2001): 8-14.

3 A comprehensive administrative history of the entire CESU program is being completed by Diane Krahe of the University of Montana in cooperation with the national CESU administrative offices in Washington, DC under the direction of Tom Fish.

4 The Intermountain Region encompasses Arizona, Colorado, Montana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, Utah, and Wyoming. The main office is in Denver, with satellite programs in Tucson and Santa Fe. In 2001, there was an IMR office located in Tucson.

5 Barbara Becker, Tom Spangler, Bradford Stone, Erik Logan, et al., *Mission Initiative Strategic Plan 2005* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2005).

6 William Patrick O'Brien, Maceo C. Dailey, James Riding, "The Warriors Project: Diversity and the Interpretation of American History in the U.S. National Park Service," *International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities, and Nations* 7, no. 4(2007): 285-91. For additional information, see http://academics.utep.edu. For more on Nicodemus, see Sherda Williams, "Excavation of an Early Dugout Homestead at Nicodemus, Kansas," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 5 (1)(2008): 84-87.

7 Heritage Documentation Programs is the umbrella program name for the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), Historic American Engineering Record (HAER), Historic American Landscapes Survey (HALS), and the Cultural Resource Geographic Information System Facility (CRGIS).

8 For more information about the HALS documentation of Skyline Park, see Ann Komara, "Recording a Mid-Century Modern Landscape in Denver, Colorado," *CRM: The Journal for Heritage Stewardship* 3 (2)(Summer 2006): 94-98.

9 For complete information on each project listed in the text, see Rocky Mountain CESU project files, RMCESU Office, Missoula, Montana, Kathy Tonnesson, Coordinator.

10 For complete information on each project listed in the text, see Colorado Plateau CESU project files, CPCESU Office, Flagstaff, Arizona, Judy Bishoff, Coordinator.

11 Consult the CESU website, http://www.cesu.org/ for details about current CESU units, projects, personnel, and details about the network and its administration.

Reviews

BOOKS

Preserving New York: Winning the Right to Protect a City's Landmarks

By Anthony C. Wood, New York: Routledge [Taylor & Francis Group], 2008. 422 pp., illustrations; cloth, $44.95.

The New York City Landmarks Law, one of the strongest in the country, was enacted in 1965. Its affirmation in 1978 by the Supreme Court in the Grand Central decision strengthened preservation laws throughout the country. Anthony Wood tells the riveting tale of how the Landmarks Law came into being.

The book is illustrated with evocative historic photos and images of the period and profusely footnoted. The author describes the decades of effort behind the creation of the law. He depicts the seminal roles of civic organizations like the Municipal Art Society and the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society and now-forgotten civic leaders such as Albert Bard and George McAneny. The New York City preservation movement, as well as that of the nation, stands on the shoulders of the great preservationists of the late 19th and early 20th century.

While the author is focused on the passage of the Landmarks Law, his view is broad as he paints a vivid picture of preservation and civic activism during the first half of the 20th century. He maintains that these early preservation efforts, in particular those of the civic groups concerned with the aesthetics of the city, ultimately led to the passage of the Landmarks Law. This law, passed in 1965, incorporates the regulation of aesthetics, which was upheld by the Supreme Court in the 1950s. The law states that it is a public necessity to protect properties and landscapes of special historical or aesthetic interest. Wood demystifies the popular story: New Yorkers were so horrified by the destruction of Penn Station in 1963 that, two years later, the law was passed. In reality the demolition of Penn Station was related to the New York City Landmarks Law in the way the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand was to the start of World War I.

The star of the book is Albert Sprague Bard, the attorney and civic activist who caused the state enabling legislation to be passed, clearing the way for a landmarks law. For more than half a century he served on the boards and led most of the arts-oriented civic organizations in New York City. He worked on passage of aesthetic regulation for decades before the Bard Act became law in 1956. The Bard Act was an amendment to the General City Laws of New York State that provided for the regulation of places, buildings, structures, works of art, and other objects that have a special historical or aesthetic interest or value. This legislation enabled the New York City Landmarks Law to be passed. The language in the city landmarks law defining a landmark by historical and aesthetic considerations is similar to the Bard Act. Bard himself died at 96 in 1963, the year demolition of Penn Station began and two years before passage of the Landmarks Law.

Robert Moses is a central figure in this story, as a catalyst. The powerful city planner was active in the city from the 1930s through the 1960s as City Parks Commissioner and Chairman of the

Triborough Bridge Authority. He used these agencies to change the face of the city by pushing through, with great political skill, the construction of parks and transportation corridors. His projects, such as the Brooklyn-Queens Expressway, caused major demolition of neighborhoods and historic properties. This eventually caused the adoption of strong preservation agendas among the civic organizations.

One notable fight was over Castle Clinton in Battery Park in Lower Manhattan. Robert Moses initially proposed a large bridge to connect Lower Manhattan with Brooklyn and his new Brooklyn Queens Expressway. The civic organizations opposed, caused a delay and the project was rejected by the War Department in 1941. A tunnel was substituted and eventually constructed instead. Moses insisted that Castle Clinton be demolished for the tunnel construction. Some preservationists maintained this was out of spite for losing the bridge. He demolished the upper part of the structure, an aquarium designed by McKim, Mead & White, but the 8-to-12-foot masonry walls of the fort were too difficult to knock down with the limited equipment and manpower available during the war. Moses built a high construction fence around the fort and maintained it was largely razed. The project stopped during the war but started up again in 1945. Preservationists delayed the demolition until 1950, when the National Park Service accepted Castle Clinton as a monument. This was one of Robert Moses' few defeats.

After World War II, development caused the demolition of many beloved landmarks, like St Nicholas Church on Fifth Avenue and the Brokaw Mansion. The fights to save these buildings were unsuccessful, although the 19th-century buildings on Washington Square North in Greenwich Village were mostly preserved. Grand Central Station was threatened in the 1950s but survived. When the plans were released for the demolition of Penn Station, the building was not well maintained and was in poor condition. The civic organizations thought it was another false alarm, like Grand Central. When it was clear that the demolition would take place, there were calls for its preservation and the members of the Fine Arts Federation, the Municipal Art Society and others picketed in front of the building. Demolition began in 1963 and took three years. After the demolition of other major buildings, this was the last straw. The public was finally outraged and there was pressure and support for a landmarks law.

The tools developed to preserve Castle Clinton were used to establish landmarks regulation and they are familiar to the field. The civic groups developed lists of the most important buildings to protect, much like the endangered lists today. They held exhibitions, walking tours, and demonstrations, raised funds, lobbied politicians, drafted legislation, and wrote articles and letters to the newspapers. By the 1950s, the Greenwich Village and Brooklyn Heights communities formed their own groups to explore preserving their neighborhoods. These became the first historic districts designated under the Landmarks Law. The cast of characters from earlier in the century were joined by people who became towering figures in preservation, such as Jane Jacobs, Margot Gayle, Giorgio Cavaglieri, Harmon Goldstone, and many others. Today, there are nearly 25,000 properties protected by the Landmarks Law, although this is a small fraction (less than 5 percent) of the buildings in the city.

The author has been a preservation activist in New York City for three decades and has been involved with the organizations he chronicles, such as the Municipal Art Society and the National Trust. He helped establish the New York Preservation Archive Project, which documents New York City preservation efforts. His book chronicles the story of a major world city's efforts to preserve its cultural heritage, through fascinating stories populated by colorful and consequential characters.

Mary Dierickx
New York, New York

The American Indian Oral History Manual: Making Many Voices Heard.

By Charles E. Trimble, Barbara W. Sommer, and Mary Kay Quinlan. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008; 160 pp., paperback, $22.95.

During the past decade Barbara W. Sommer and Mary Kay Quinlan have written concise yet sophisticated guides to oral history that address the needs of novice and veteran practitioners alike.[1] Now they have collaborated with Charles E. Trimble, an Oglala Sioux from the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation who advises Native American non-profit organizations and has served as a trustee of the American Folklife Center, to produce a manual "for use with oral history projects conducted primarily by and for tribal communities." (p. 9) The National Park Service's Sand Creek Massacre Site Oral History Project is featured, but the authors acknowledge that they do not fully address the complex issues surrounding federally funded research with American Indians.[2]

Indigenous oral history, the authors note, is distinctive because various tribal social and cultural practices must be honored. Among American Indians, what the authors call "archival oral history" or "a planned process for recording and preserving first-person information and making it available to others" might differ markedly from the purposes and aesthetics of generations-old oral traditions and narratives and the circumstances under which they are told. (p. 15) Certain stories can be told only in one season of the year, and therefore oral history recordings would only be made and processed in the same season. For tribal narrators first-person interviews might "be a blend of ancient telling and modern interviewing methods that reflect the specific indigenous cultural communications patterns of the narrators." (p. 19)

Because historically non-Indian researchers have all too often exploited and misinterpreted the tangible and intangible property of Native Americans, field workers must be especially mindful of tribal legal and ethical codes. For example, the protocols devised by the First Archivists Circle emphasize that Native American communities have primary rights for all culturally sensitive materials that are culturally affiliated with them." (p. 29) Other important ethical considerations include ensuring that narrators fully understand the purpose of the oral history project and sign a release form designating ownership of the interview; that interviewers receive appropriate training; that oral history projects maintain good records that safeguard materials; and that Native communities enjoy the fruits of researchers' labors. The oral history project that the NPS did among Arapaho and Cheyenne descendants of the Sand Creek Massacre exemplifies how Natives and non-Natives negotiated research rules that addressed Indian concerns about intellectual property rights. (p. 35-36)

The success of any oral history project, the authors note, depends on the planning that precedes the interviews and the processing and interpretive work that follows. The authors postpone discussing interviews themselves until the sixth of eight chapters. Meanwhile, they consider project development, equipment and budgets, and interview preparation.

While the number of steps involved might seem overwhelming at first, breaking down a large piece of work into its component parts can help project organizers get started and stay on track. These tasks include writing a mission statement that turns broad ideas into focused research questions; choosing an advisory board that links the project to the community; determining the repository where project materials will be archived; identifying narrators and interviewers (Will non-tribal or non-Native interviewers be considered? Does the age or gender of interviewers matter?); selecting project personnel (a director, treasurer, office manager, and transcriber); setting up a recordkeeping system; and brainstorming about the community outreach possibilities that accompany oral history projects.

Choosing recording equipment in the midst of the "digital revolution" and budgeting for the project are among the most important decisions project organizers will make. Equipment decisions affect how recordings will be transcribed, archived, and used, and they dovetail with budgeting decisions. Oral history projects are not cheap, and project organizers need to budget for a range of supplies and services. Sources of funding might include tribal colleges, cultural centers, museums and colleges, as well as state and federal agencies.

As the authors note, "narrators know when an interviewer has taken the time to prepare." (p. 67) Background research in archival records, newspapers, land deeds, photographs, and other sources helps interviewers determine topics to be discussed and to structure the questions to be asked. Interviewers should also be ready to explain to narrators the goals of the project, why certain themes are being explored, where the interviews will be housed, and how they will be used.

The chapter that focuses on the interview itself is an excellent introduction to questioning techniques, interpersonal dynamics, and cultural customs that may affect interviews with tribal members. The authors describe the arc of a model interview, from basic questions about personal background, to those about specific topics and ending with questions that invite an assessment of events and experiences. A set of interviewing tips emphasizes the value of open-ended questions, careful listening and follow-up questions, sensitivity to body language, and an understanding of cross-cultural dynamics that might be in play. The authors include an excerpt from a first-person archival oral history interview with Wallace Black Elk that focuses on his thoughts about military service during World War II and illustrates "the opportunity the interviewer gave him to tell the story in his own words." (pp. 84–85)

After two short chapters that address interview processing and care and the variety of uses for oral history interviews, the authors include two helpful appendices that contain sample forms and letters that will facilitate project record-keeping and the full text of the Oral History Association's *Evaluation Guidelines*.

The American Indian Oral History Manual is a good starting point for tribal groups interested in preserving their own histories and cultures and for cooperating researchers. As its subtitle, translated into six indigenous languages on the cover suggests, these guidelines can help make many voices heard.

Lu Ann Jones
National Park Service

1. Barbara W. Sommer and Mary Kay Quinlan, *The Oral History Manual*, second edition, American Association for State and Local History Book Series (Lanham, MD: AltaMira, 2009).

2. Alexa Roberts, "Sand Creek Massacre Site Oral History: Protecting Tribal Intellectual Property," *CRM Magazine*. 23 (9) (2000): 43-46.

Storytelling In Yellowstone: Horse and Buggy Tour Guides

By Lee H. Whittlesey. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007; 391 pp., illustrations, map, index; cloth, $27.95.

Given its age and origins, Yellowstone National Park, by default, claims "first" status in any number of topics. Yellowstone National Park historian Lee Whittlesey adds to that list the park's role as the incubator of National Park Service (NPS) interpretation, in *Storytelling In Yellowstone: Horse and Buggy Tour Guides*. Whittlesey provides the previously untold "story of storytelling" in the country's first national park, a complex 50-year history that predates the 1920s establishment of the National Park Service's (NPS) professional interpretation program. He successfully proposes that NPS interpretation traces its beginnings to park concessioners in the 1870s and 1880s, along with an army of

early storytellers, lecturers, photographers, writers of descriptive and directional material, tour guides, and even a few early federal employees.

The book makes clear that the activities of those pre-1920s trailblazers were not and could not be identical to today's NPS interpretive discipline. Yet in their efforts could be seen a commonality with interpretive goals of the present. These include compelling storytelling—the most basic form of interpretation—information conveyance, and encouraging personal connections between resources and visitors.

Whittlesey presents his thesis in a series of clearly-defined chapters that address his primary research questions: How did storytelling begin? Who were the early park guides? What stories were told by those guides to park visitors? What were the influences on the telling of tales? And what did park visitors think of those stories? (p. 2) In some instances, the answers to his questions had to be extrapolated, based on limited accurate information. For the majority of the work, however, Whittlesey draws on a wealth of information taken from the vast Yellowstone archives, as well as from a number of universities, historical societies, and private collections.

The author begins with Native Americans as the region's first storytellers. In the process, Whittlesey is careful to distinguish between formal Indian traditions and unsubstantiated misinformation, fabrication, and misunderstandings that long obscured this aspect of Yellowstone's history. From there the book proceeds to a discussion on Munchausen storytellers, primarily trappers and prospectors of the early and mid 19th century who shared grandiose tall tales from their explorations of the region. While fanciful and often misattributed, these campfire "yarns" served to "paint word pictures," spreading the word to a skeptical audience. The widespread distribution of photographs and paintings further contributed to information on and interest in the landscape. In their own fashion, these professional and amateur artists influenced public perceptions of, and interest in, the park. Likewise influential were a cadre of lecturers who presented Yellowstone's natural wonders to audiences across the country.

Moving beyond these initial influences, Whittlesey settles into the meat of his topic to examine those most involved in informing and educating the park's earliest visitors. Primary among these were Philetus "Windy" Norris and George Legg Henderson, whom Whittlesey considers the first real interpreters of Yellowstone National Park. Norris, the park's second superintendent, and Henderson, an assistant superintendent, were matchless educators, tour guides, storytellers, and information and resource managers.

Of the few federal employees at the park, these two stood out for their interest and support of interpretive efforts. Far outnumbering them were park concessionaires, who supplied the bulk of tourism services. The concessionaires hired or were the "horse-and-buggy tour guides," (nearly always men) stagecoach drivers, and walking guides who undertook interpretive chores from 1878 to 1916. Whittlesey goes into some detail documenting stories from the "halcyon days of Yellowstone stagecoaches" and distinguishes not just between these storytellers and other guides, but between interpretation at specific park locations. Numerous first-hand accounts by visitors reveal their impressions of their guides, the quality and type of information provided, and experiences of Yellowstone's Grand Tour.

Whittlesey acknowledges that the book is not a comparative analysis of interpretation development at other parks, although locations such as Yosemite predated Yellowstone as a tourist destination. Hopefully this work will inspire others to undertake a greater study of park interpretation (federal or otherwise) nationwide, for a greater understanding of this aspect of America's tourism history. Future researchers would do well to emulate Whittlesey's use and assessment of numerous primary sources.

A potential benefit of the author's comprehensive discussions is that they may assist in identifying previously unattributed information. For example, of the many photographers known to have worked in the Yellowstone area, only a fraction of their work has been identified.

Appropriate to the interpretive topic, it is not difficult to consider this book the product of the author's own personal connection to Yellowstone. He served as a park concession tour guide in the 1970s, and his continuing enthusiasm for the park and the topic is clearly evident. This includes making occasional personal observations. While such editorials might not be encouraged in typical NPS publications, Whittlesey makes clear that the book was produced independently. It began from a work assignment, expanded to serve the requirements of a master's program, and finished as this publication.

The one disappointment with the book was the lack of detailed maps showing the natural and man-made features so frequently described by Whittlesey and his historic sources. As a reader who enjoys cross-referencing text with graphics, I found it difficult to distinguish early road beds and landscape features in the one map included in the book, the 1895 Hiram Chittenden map showing the park's Grand Loop. This shortcoming is more than compensated by the series of appendices, detailed footnotes, and bibliographic essays. Included is a full reprint of a rare written tour from Yellowstone's stagecoach days, a biography of an early "geyser gazer" (a geyser enthusiast), and a petition to retain Norris as park superintendent. The bibliographic essay is Whittlesey's analysis of the best books about Yellowstone, which continues the tradition by early guides and interpreters to provide the best knowledge and science to park visitors.

Dena Sanford
National Park Service

Letters

Dear Editor,

Thinking further about David Fixler's article, "Material, Idea, and Authenticity in Treatment of the Architecture of the Modern Movement," on Dutch restoration, I imagine what might be the ultimate test. In the post-Roman period, people moved into abandoned structures: amphitheaters in Lucca, Florence, Arles, and Nimes, and into Diocletian's palace at Split. Today they embody varying ideas about restoration. The amphitheaters in France were restored to their original Roman form; that in Florence is embedded invisibly in the city fabric; that in Lucca is an oval piazza. Most interesting is Diocletian's palace. When restoration was undertaken there in the early 60's, some Roman parts were restored, in other places various later modifications were retained and modern construction was allowed to remain, producing a mixed bag—an interesting mixed bag. I see all these as precursors of "Shiny New in a Gritty Old."

Every situation must be evaluated on its own. Such criteria as those of the Department of the Interior can at best be only general guides, never strait jackets.

Sincerely,

Tom Killian
Françoise Bollack Architects
New York, NY

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On the cover

This photograph of the Main Reading Room of the Falls of Schuykill Branch of the Free Library of Philadelphia was taken in 2007 during a HABS project documenting the Carnegie Libraries of Philadelphia. The HABS documentation will assist the Preservation Alliance of Greater Philadelphia in their ongoing efforts to preserve the endangered Carnegie Libraries. (Joseph E. Elliot, photographer, October 2007. Courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service)

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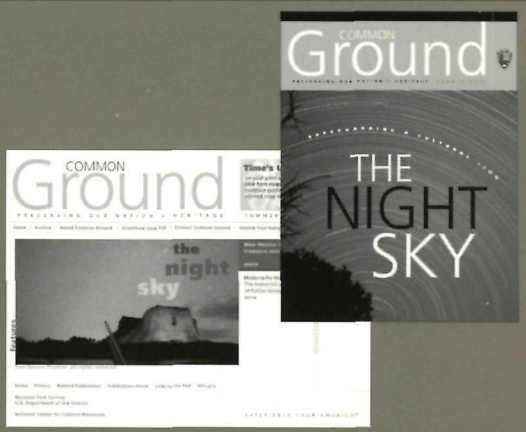

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