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# CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship

Volume 6 Number 1 Winter 2009





National Park Service  
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## Introduction

By Barbara J. Little, Editor

When *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* was launched in 2003, scholarly interest in heritage was increasing worldwide. At the time, there were just a few journals with comparable subject matter. Several of these have continued to thrive, including the *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, *The Public Historian*, and *Public Archaeology*. More recently, to meet the growing international interest in heritage, the new journal *Heritage Management* was launched this year in the U. S. and Springer has a new book series on “Cultural Heritage in a Globalized World.”

Scholarly interest is also reflected in the number of academic research centers for heritage issues. University of Maryland, College Park established the Center for Heritage Resource Studies in 2000. In 2005, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign established the Collaborative for Cultural Heritage and Museum Practices (CHAMP), cross-cutting the Department of Landscape Architecture and the Department of Anthropology. In the last two years, universities have established at least three more heritage study centers. In 2008 the University of Pennsylvania Museum Launched the Penn Cultural Heritage Center. There is a new Center for Heritage and Society at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. Durham University in the United Kingdom has announced the Centre for the Ethics of Cultural Heritage. Antoinette Jackson, one of the contributors to this issue, oversees the Heritage Research Laboratory at the University of South Florida. Readers of *CRM* may be aware of more examples in the United States and worldwide. If so, please contact the editor with information about them.

As our cultural heritage inspires research and responsible stewardship, there is also a recognized need for professional principles to guide the thoughtful engagement of the broader public. On October 4, 2008 in Quebec, Canada, the 16th General Assembly of ICOMOS ratified the Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites. (Background about the charter is available online: <http://www.enamecharter.org/index.html>) As the preamble to this new charter states, earlier charters “implicitly acknowledge that every act of heritage conservation—within all the world’s cultural traditions—is by its nature a communicative act.” To strengthen this long-standing concern of heritage work, this new Charter explicitly sets out definitions, seven key principles, and seven objectives.

The principles upon which public interpretation should be based are:

1. Access and Understanding
2. 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

The following objectives follow from the principles.

- “1. Facilitate understanding and appreciation of cultural heritage sites and foster public awareness of the need for their protection and conservation.
2. Communicate the meaning of cultural heritage sites through careful, documented recognition of their significance, through accepted scientific and scholarly methods as well as from living cultural traditions.
3. Safeguard the tangible and intangible values of cultural heritage sites in their natural and cultural settings and social context.
4. Respect the authenticity of cultural heritage sites, by communicating the significance of their historic fabric and cultural values and protecting them from the adverse impact of intrusive interpretive infrastructure.
5. Contribute to the sustainable conservation of cultural heritage sites, through promoting public understanding of ongoing conservation efforts and ensuring long-term maintenance and updating of the interpretive infrastructure.
6. Encourage inclusiveness in the interpretation of cultural heritage sites, by facilitating the involvement of stakeholders and associated communities in the development and implementation of interpretive programmes.
7. Develop technical and professional standards for heritage interpretation and presentation, including technologies, research, and training. These standards must be appropriate and sustainable in their social contexts.”

This issue's contents reflect some of these principles and objectives of the new ICOMOS Charter. The research report by John D. Lesak, Benjamin Marcus, and Michael Tornabene highlights issues of careful investigation and documentation, both essential for responsible interpretation and presentation. The reports by Lindsey Dillon and Alex Tarr and by Donna Graves discuss identification projects that involve stakeholders in the identification and stewardship of New Deal heritage and Japantowns, respectively.

David Fixler's article focuses on the concept of authenticity. He discusses how essential characteristics are identified and preserved during the rehabilitation of buildings from the modern movement. The careful choices made in the process of renovating these buildings speak directly to the ICOMOS Charter's objective to respect authenticity. His discussion makes it clear that there is nothing automatic about such choices or about the ways in which treatments might be understood by people viewing the buildings. Although the discussion is not about formal interpretation, it is clear that the decisions that go into such projects influence the general public's understanding about the meanings of modernity and modern architecture.

Because it calls for explicit attention to public understanding, the new Charter challenges heritage professionals to confront historical associations that can be complex and yet are all the more valuable because of the difficult histories which places invoke. Both Antoinette Jackson and Robert Chidester speak directly to the objective of encouraging inclusiveness. Each encourages us to explicitly and objectively confront the legacy of slave-owning and racism in the United States. Jackson interviews descendants of Zephaniah and Anna Kingsley to explore complex meanings associated with Florida's Kingsley Plantation and nearby places. Chidester analyzes local context in western Maryland for historical misperceptions about slavery. He encourages further research on the Ferry Hill landscape to support public interpretation that could challenge stereotypes.

Principles and objectives specified for the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites inevitably connect to familiar issues in heritage stewardship: authenticity, sustainability, values, and inclusiveness. In addition they encourage all practitioners to recognize the broad relevance of our work to an expanding number of stakeholders.



When Martin Perschler took over the editorship from Antoinette Lee in 2006 (Volume 3, Number 2), he remarked on that challenge “*to build on that reputation for editorial excellence, to celebrate that shared tradition of resource stewardship in all its diversity and complexity, and to promote new and innovative ways of achieving those shared goals of resource protection and contemporary relevance.*”

I undertake that challenge within the context of a multi-faceted profession focusing increased energy on research, outreach, and stewardship. The pages of *CRM* will continue to explore a wide variety of topics, including international cooperation, innovative technology, heritage tourism, issues concerning Indigenous people’s heritage, and the ways in which theoretical discussions and innovations are put into practice.

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## Material, Idea, and Authenticity in Treatment of the Architecture of the Modern Movement

by David N. Fixler

In order to establish the role and importance of authenticity as it relates to the architecture of the modern movement, we must first ask the question: What does authenticity mean as it relates to an artifact that is trying to communicate an idea of modernity? Webster defines Authenticity as “that which can be believed or accepted,” or, the state of “*being in fact as represented.*” We may believe or accept many concepts of modernity—abstraction, impermanence, transitoriness, dynamism—and then imagine how these ideas are embodied through form, material, and space into something that we may define as being authentic relative to the intent of the idea, both as a modern artifact and a work of architecture.

John Allan states that “spiritual authenticity” is critical in a work of the modern movement, both as a measure of its representation of the social, technical, and aesthetic principles of modernism, and as a “commitment to change.”<sup>1</sup> This article will consider those qualities of form, space, material, and idea that contribute to the authenticity of a modern building, how those qualities are transformed in the process of modification, and how the resulting synthesis may continue to be *believed as being that which is represented.*

*The value of newness became particularly important in establishing the power and difference of buildings of the modern movement where specific materials—those whose production or finish could only have been created through an industrial process—were often used to represent an idea.*

As a building ages, changes occur in the fabric that create patina and imbue the structure with Age value, one of the essential categories defined by Alois Riegl that have been used for the past 100 years as touchstones for determining value in historic structures.<sup>2</sup> It can be argued that these changes in themselves, rendered by nature and the process of routine maintenance, should not alter the fundamental perception or meaning of a work as it was originally intended. Material integrity has long been a cornerstone of the Western concept of authenticity as it applies to cultural resources, though the nature of this concern has changed significantly over the course of the last 150 years. John Ruskin, who

first articulated a strong argument on this issue, takes what might be called the extreme organic position, asserting that it is not only material but the record of craftspeople's transformation of it that imparts authenticity, and that tampering with the surface finish or patina, even in the process of "restoration," robs the material of the evidence of this interaction of being and substance, and hence, its authenticity.<sup>3</sup>

Riegl looks at a broad spectrum to find value in built form and, at the other end from Age value he identifies Newness as a value, particularly in "our modern view . . . (that) requires flawless integrity of form," and this value is inevitably lost with the process of aging.<sup>4</sup> The value of newness became particularly important in establishing the power and difference of buildings of the modern movement where specific materials—those whose production or finish could only have been created through an industrial process—were often used to represent an *idea*. The idea could be about aesthetics, the nature of surface, systems of production, or something else the particular material was called upon to represent.

In many cases, however, particularly in the early and most forcefully polemic phase of the modern movement, the idea took precedence over the desire to render explicit the innate qualities of the material itself. Therefore, regardless of their use and aesthetic quality, a fundamental part of the original meaning of many works of the modern movement was both their newness, as an expression of modernity, and their departure, as machine-made artifacts, in concept, material, and form, from their predecessors, which were designed to evoke or reinforce tradition. This position is first and perhaps most forcefully articulated by F. T. Marinetti, writing some five years after Riegl, in *The Futurist Manifesto*, who as paraphrased by Lionel Trilling "imputes to the organic as a social and moral ideal exactly the quality of *inauthenticity* (author's italics) against which the organic principle had itself been directed—not the organic but the mechanical is to be the authenticating principle of modern life."<sup>5</sup>

The simplicity of this division is complicated by the presence of a strong "organic" strain that has asserted itself as a parallel movement in modernism, especially in the work of architects such as Alvar Aalto, Hans Scharoun, and Frank Lloyd Wright; but it is important to recognize that the organicism promoted in the rhetoric of modernism is still based upon a philosophy that embraces the use of industrial processes and materials (this is particularly true in the work of Wright) in order to realize an appropriately modern architecture. Even where natural materials are carefully used and beautifully finished in one-off applications, as may be found in the work of Aalto or Carlo Scarpa, it is now not only the material but also the *idea of craft*, and its extension into the realm of industry, rather than the actual hand of the craftsman, that we consider authentic in this work.

As we contemplate strategies for the rehabilitation of works of the modern movement, what then should we consider to be the essential authentic qualities in these works, and how should we prepare to acknowledge and express the changes of meaning that will inevitably occur once the interventions are complete? In answering these questions, we should first consider Trilling's observation of the curious correspondence between the reception of modernism in the early 20th century and the Greek roots of the word authentic, with its connotations of the willful, even violent exercise of power (*authenteo*), and the notion of the master or doer who holds the power of life and death over others (*authentēs*). Trilling writes —

*These ancient denotations bear upon the nature and intention of the artistic culture of the period we call Modern. Our habituation to this artistic culture over the decades leads us to speak of it as classic, not only as a way of asserting its greatness, but also to express our perception of its qualities of order and repose, even of transcendence. Sometimes we are a little puzzled to understand why this art was greeted upon its first appearance with so violent a resistance, forgetting how much violence there was in its creative will, how ruthless an act was required to assert autonomy in a culture schooled in duty and in obedience to peremptory and absolute law.<sup>6</sup>*

This observation points out, with particular eloquence, the conundrum that preservationists face in sustaining the authentic aura of a modern building. As a culture, we are decades beyond what Robert Hughes called “the Shock of the New,”<sup>7</sup> and one might argue that many of the best modern buildings were in fact both conceived and received as orderly, transcendent, even reassuring works designed to invite human interaction. But there is nonetheless a polemic inherent in modernism and in its relationship to the entire past history of western architecture that must be acknowledged and engaged when we propose modifications to these buildings. This polemic is both technical and aesthetic, but at its essence is social, driven by a collective desire to create habitats designed with the instruments of modernity to uplift the human condition. This observation then, in turn, might suggest that for a modern building constructed with inherent social purpose to be considered authentic in the course of its transformation, it would have to continue to render a social purpose in some form.

Capturing the authenticity of the idea is less difficult when a work retains its original purpose and program, but to define and sustain authentic social meaning in a building, as it is adapted to a new use, requires more than simply a sympathetic architectural approach; it also demands a commitment to engage and serve the community for which it is built. This objective has become problematic in contemporary culture; although there is evidence that social consciousness is working its way back into architecture, primarily through the sustainability movement. The current revival of the modernist image in architecture, which began in the mid-1980s and has gained an increasingly sustained reception, has

been decoupled, in true postmodern fashion, from its original social purpose. It is telling that the architects of the renovations that will be studied herein, confronted with the task of rehabilitating two significant works of the early modern movement, have both emphasized their aspirations to extend and enrich the original works' social purposes.

Parenthetically however, we must be careful not to prejudge the skill and quality of a renovation project solely by its social purpose, as we must in turn be wary of judging a contemporary intervention solely by the philosophical tenets of the original work. Although an architectural expression of social purpose should ideally lend value to the experience of the built environment, this should not preclude the evaluation of the intervention according to a set of values intrinsic to architecture itself. Aldo Rossi's self-referential "Autonomous Architecture" is perhaps the quintessential distillation of this argument, as opposed to form being driven by program as is the implication of Louis Sullivan's "Form Follows Function," the often quoted and widely misunderstood mantra of orthodox, functionalist modernism. The present separation of formal attitude from functional purpose is philosophically at odds with the culture of high modernism. Nonetheless, though at times more *sub-rosa* than at present (as during the hegemony of the modern movement), qualitative aesthetic evaluation has always been a critical part of architectural discourse, regardless of broader concerns, and it should continue to be emphasized as an important component in determining what is appropriate in a modification to an existing structure as well, regardless of the scale of intervention.

It is thus a sense of appropriateness, and the artistic skill necessary to successfully transform a work without overwhelming the original, that becomes the lynchpin in determining legitimate approaches to the problem of defining and sustaining authenticity when intervening in an existing work. To begin to assess how these transformations occur, and to what degree they achieve success as they emerge from their modern movement hosts, we will study how two projects use the essential strategies of extension and difference to accommodate modification in a meaningful fashion. These projects are adaptive use rehabilitations that have thoroughly transformed the buildings' original purpose. This analysis will particularly examine the attitude toward the original, and the willingness to express change as a means of reinforcing the identity of both the original and the intervention.

### The Van Nelle Factory

The Van Nelle Factory in Rotterdam (1926-31, Brinkmann and Van der Vlugt) is the largest and one of the best known buildings of the Dutch Nieuwe Bouwen movement, and an iconic early functionalist structure. (Figure 1) Used for over 60 years as a packaging facility for coffee, tea, and tobacco, the plant was closed in 1996. In 1999 a master plan by Wessel de Jonge Architects established guidelines

*Van Nelle Factory*

FIGURE 1  
*General view.*



FIGURE 2  
*Detail general view.*



*(All images in this article are courtesy of the Author)*

for its conversion to incubator space for design- and technology-oriented start-up companies.<sup>8</sup> The structure is a reinforced concrete frame structure clad with a vast proto-curtain wall of aluminum painted Crittal industrial steel sash and spandrels set in a light steel framework. (Figure 2) The building's landmark status in the Netherlands mandated a rigorous process for its rehabilitation.

From an orthodox preservation standpoint, restoration of the Van Nelle curtain wall, the building's signature character-defining feature, enables the structure to retain much of its material and contextual authenticity. However, the restoration has not obscured the fact that this icon of modernity is now a structure emblematic of technology approaching its ninth decade and that there is in fact an antique charm—we may even call it patina of a sort—that contributes to the overall effect of the work. If the character of the wall is no longer about newness, but is rather about showcasing its protean industrial character as an historic artifact, it may also be argued that it is also no longer about the active idea of the modernity of which it is emblematic. Its significance is now based on age and historic value and we have to acknowledge that its power now comes in, no small measure, through the nostalgia that inevitably informs the contemplation of the antique.

Parenthetically, we may question whether restoration is, in fact, the most authentic course relative to the ideology of the modern movement and to the original design intent of the building. The Van Nelle curtain wall was an expression of 1920s state-of-the-art building envelope technology and one could conceivably argue that the present rehabilitation should embrace the modernist idea of continuous change and progress with a new curtain wall that reflects contemporary performance and sustainability standards. However, the argument for preservation posits the wall as a significant historic resource that not only sets the tone for the building's design, right down to the elegant machine-age language of the doors, hardware, and interior fittings, but firmly locks the building's origins into the heroic modern period of the 1920s.

The principal character-defining features of the interiors are the open expanses of light-filled space that once served as the factory floors. While the architecture of the interior infrastructure, including the perimeter lighting, was restored to the greatest degree possible, the decision to maintain the uninsulated single glazed industrial curtain wall meant that, without extraordinary upgrades to HVAC equipment, the interior environment would be subject to considerable seasonal fluctuation, with an attendant increase in energy use, and that measures would have to be taken to mitigate the situation. While some of the public service spaces such as the entry lobby, lounge, and café areas could be accommodated under less than ideal environmental conditions, it quickly became apparent that the needs of a contemporary office or R&D environment demanded both more controlled comfort and higher levels of energy efficiency. Given the size and configuration of the factory floors, the consortium of architects

*Van Nelle Factory*



FIGURE 3  
*Interior with internal glass enclosures.*



FIGURE 5  
*Office; view out through interior glazing and curtain wall.*



FIGURE 4  
*Detail of new interior glazing.*



FIGURE 6  
*Restored interior stair.*



engaged in the renovation developed a scheme to create internal office units with a glazed partition system that would act as a double wall system and, in effect, create buildings within the building. (Figure 3)

The design of the new system, with its clear anodized aluminum and structural silicone-glazed combinations of clear and obscure tempered glass, is contemporary both in its slickness and the way that it creates an ambiguous relationship, through selective transparency, reflection, and obscuration, with the relentless, straightforward concrete frame and exterior envelope. (Figures 4, 5) In addition, every attempt is made, through lighting and the placement and detailing of the interior wall, to minimize its impact on the perception of the building from the outside, especially at night, and we may in fact acknowledge that through these changes, its current nocturnal appearance is far closer to its historic appearance than it has been for many years. Nonetheless, difference is clearly the strategy adopted for the interventions, as no attempt is made to blend the new work with the old. Complementing the new work, the stair halls, many of the restrooms, and the original office and reception areas for the Van Nelle Company have been meticulously restored, down to the unique hardware and fittings found throughout the complex. (Figure 6)

On the interior, because the interventions are, in this case, pure insertions within a robust and clearly differentiated armature, a distinction is made between the new and existing fabric so that, materially, the nature of each remains discreet and intact: *each is as it is represented*. However, if we accept that one of the complex's salient character-defining features is the transparency of the uninterrupted space of the factory floors, then the intervention changes the quality and the *effect* of the open universal space. The result is, in fact, a new synthesis, with new glass partitions acknowledging the potential of the open space, while denying it in fact, but simultaneously referring to and engaging, through transparency and reflection, the original building skin. The insertions create a dialogue with the envelope that serves to remind us, as they weave as ephemeral forms through the factory floors, of the cultural impact the original curtain wall, by virtue of its scale, transparency, and relentlessness, had when new.

Is Van Nelle any less authentic for this change? To answer this question we must also consider both the change in use and the continuing social purpose invested in the building. Van Nelle was constructed as a commercial enterprise, and as such, may be construed as not having been built for a social purpose, but it was also regarded as a model for a modern, safe, and comfortable working environment. Its new purpose is also commercial, but of a very different kind, reflecting in many ways the changed economic focus and direction of the developed world, away from manufacturing and processing of bulk commodities, toward creative, technology-intensive enterprises. In this way, the original social purpose of Van Nelle has been updated in a manner consonant

with the needs of today's workforce. The modifications that have transformed the interiors reflect this change in an honest, contemporary fashion, but with sufficient delicacy so that they do not overwhelm the stark power of the original architecture. The spaces have now been re-presented in a manner that will set a new, repositioned baseline for future interventions whose authors will, in turn, have to determine what constitutes authenticity in this new synthesis.

### Tweebronnen



FIGURE 7  
*Tweebronnen, Street Façade.*

In 1936, construction began on the last work of Henry van de Velde in Belgium, the Technische School in Leuven, known as Tweebronnen. An urban infill project in the center of the old city, the building has two interesting but relatively modest street façades, while receiving most of its light and much of its architectural definition as an irregular “L” developed around an interior courtyard. While the street façades utilize combinations of van de Velde’s signature large terracotta tiles and stone as honorific materials (Figure 7), the courtyards are treated in a straightforward fashion with exposed concrete frame, brick spandrels, and steel industrial sash glazing. The interiors are austere and functional, with exposed building systems and steel and glass industrial partitions used to divide the spaces formed by the exposed concrete frame. Between 1994 and 2000, the building was transformed into the Municipal Library and Archives of Leuven by a consortium of architects (RITO and Formanova) under the direction of Georges Baines, a leading Belgian architect.<sup>9</sup>

Van de Velde’s idea of the building—tectonically, urbanistically, and as a social condenser—was an important theme to the renovation architects while they conceived their project.<sup>10</sup> The exterior strategy was to restore van de Velde’s work on the façades to the greatest degree possible, and to transform the interiors “in the spirit of van de Velde,”<sup>11</sup> but in a thoroughly contemporary fashion. The architects also designed an addition to serve as the third wall of the courtyard (Figure 8); this respects the scale and rhythm of van de Velde’s work, but utilizes an elegantly detailed exposed steel frame, and large, unbroken expanses of glazing to give it a very different character from the original building. (Figure 9)

On the interior, the rhythm and sculptural qualities of the concrete frame are emphasized through the architects’ removal of the existing interior partitions that had previously defined classroom and corridor, creating a “virtual” series of rooms. They make the most of the various forms of top lighting found in the original structure, as floors are dropped and balconies added that allow for far more dramatic spatial effect in the renovation than was ever present in van de Velde’s design. (Figure 10) This is emphasized by a new central stair, top-lit with clerestory lighting. Its insertion is a major tectonic intervention within the library space, recalling the formal language and material palette (wood and steel) of the addition. (Figure 11)

*Tweebronnen*



FIGURE 8  
*Interior of addition.*



FIGURE 9  
*Interior of addition looking into courtyard.*

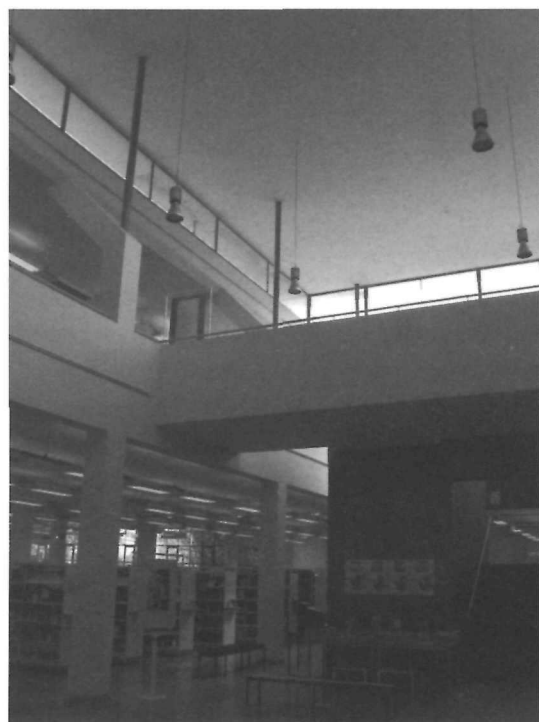


FIGURE 10  
*Renovated interior space.*



FIGURE 11  
*Top of new stair in renovated space.*



FIGURE 12  
Kiefhoek Housing Estate,  
Rotterdam, Exterior view.

But there is a twist. The structural capacity of the original concrete frame was insufficient to accommodate the live loads required for a library. It therefore became necessary, as the extent of the problem was revealed, to deconstruct and rebuild much of the internal structure of the building. While the new reinforced concrete frame mimics the original in surface material and form, it is now a reconstruction masquerading as the original; materially inauthentic, but in character as the image of a 1930s modernist foil for the architects' contemporary intervention.

To what degree does this act of reconstruction destroy the authenticity of the original? This is a core debate in modern movement preservation and it is usually necessitated for performance issues. For example, the façades of Lever House by SOM's Gordon Bunshaft, an early hermetically sealed curtain wall building, were replaced with a system that uses contemporary materials that meet present standards of weatherability and energy performance, while reproducing the appearance of the original. J.J.P. Oud's Kiefhoek housing estate in Rotterdam experienced wholesale structural failure and was consequently demolished and rebuilt in kind (on the exterior), but with completely new interior layouts to meet contemporary life-safety codes and space standards. (Figure 12) While there is no common consensus on this issue, it is at least broadly recognized that the choice in these and other cases often comes down to whether or not to accept the loss of the original fabric as the price for retaining the form and idea of the original through a replication.

At Tweebronnen, the building was stripped bare and redressed in contemporary guise, with a careful distinction drawn between the suppression of change in the faithful reconstruction of van de Velde's structural armature and façades, and its acknowledgement in the language of the interventions. Although the Technische School's original spatial qualities have been fundamentally altered, the architects and project's commentators maintain that they have refreshed and re-presented the essence of van de Velde's original by foregrounding the fundamental qualities of structure and light that are at the building's core. In this, they clearly sought to extend and amplify van de Velde's attempts at openness and transparency, both salient characteristics of the modern movement. They were also careful to emphasize the social importance of their project, noting that van de Velde's "social commitment" in the design of the school "is now confirmed once again by housing a public library there."<sup>12</sup>

*We may argue that this is perhaps an appropriately authentic response, and that, although this kind of treatment may be out of character for a building of the 1930s, it is an honest reflection of the society that commissioned the new work. The juxtaposition of these sensibilities where they have been skillfully realized, as at Tweebronnen, will perhaps be the most authentic legacy of this project.*

Tweebronnen has been modified through both extension and difference. With the exception of the concrete frame's reconstruction and the requirements mandated by the regulatory authorities for the new windows in the existing building, no attempt was made to mimic van de Velde's original vocabulary. While the architects managed to retain some of the austerity of van de Velde's design, there is no question that here, as at Van Nelle, the interventions were imbued with a quality of preciousness that clearly identify them as contemporary work. We may argue that this is perhaps an appropriately authentic response, and that, although this kind of treatment may be out of character for a building of the 1930s, it is an honest reflection of the society that commissioned the new work. The juxtaposition of these sensibilities where they have been skillfully realized, as at Tweebronnen, will perhaps be the most authentic legacy of this project.

### Conclusion

Van Nelle and Tweebronnen acknowledge that transformations establish new identity and hence new meaning, while raising the question of how this new meaning squares with the representation of a modern building. A poignant component of this new meaning is the recognition of the reality of modernism's historical status, and the paradox that is engendered when, as Hannah Lewi

comments, “it still represents futurism yet is on the verge of being engulfed by heritage values.”<sup>13</sup> This conundrum is widely recognized, and while the temporal fact of the situation is inescapable, we should resist the temptation to draw the same heritage conservation box around the growing movement to preserve works of the recent past. Preservation is changing, and ironically, it is the preservation movement itself, and its present postmodern condition, that is enabling a more activist approach to the engagement of our cultural heritage. Jorge Otero-Pailos speaks of the possibilities of the regeneration of context and meaning through intervention in “The Contemporary Stamp of Incompleteness,”<sup>14</sup> and we begin to see this occurring at Tweebronnen, where van de Velde’s vision has been mined and extended to include and celebrate the unintended consequences of his original architectural strategy. A broader view, from Vittorio Gregotti, with his roots firmly planted in the modern movement, acknowledges that modification must embody “interest in the materials of memory, not nostalgically, but in terms of juxtaposition . . . forming new orders and groupings by shifting the context of those materials that belong to memory’s heritage.”<sup>15</sup>

While these are principles that can be applied to buildings of any age, the polemical character of modernism and its continuing resonance in contemporary building culture suggests that extension can apply to meaning as well, and that the contemporary notion of incompleteness can, in fact, extend some of the dynamic and transitory qualities of a modern building in a way that some of the original’s visceral power can be reconceptualized in the new synthesis. Perhaps this new entity can only succeed through evoking nostalgia, even if it is “nostalgia for the avant-garde,” but one can also maintain, for better or worse, that nostalgia is a quintessential postmodern attribute. If we look at Van Nelle and Tweebronnen, it is possible to perceive a real dialogue, animated at times, between the modernist’s search for truth and the postmodern hunger to extract meaning from this truth and re-present it in a contemporary fashion. The willingness to acknowledge that there are parts of the dialogue that are left hanging, that the work may be finished but the project not complete, that use and process will continue to allow these structures to evolve and potentially surprise, and to configure unimagined meanings are perhaps their most authentic qualities.

### Coda

The projects discussed in this essay are products of a Northern European sensibility that already makes less distinction between preservation and the design of interventions than we have been used to in the United States. It is interesting to speculate as to how these projects would have been impacted had they been required to conform to the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Rehabilitation. The Van Nelle Factory rehabilitation can easily be imagined as an adaptive reuse in the manner to which we have become accustomed

with 19th-century mill buildings, although the greater interdependence of the interior and exterior aesthetics at Van Nelle would naturally foreground the importance of the nature and quality of the interior changes, and would subject these to the kind of scrutiny that they, in fact, faced with the Dutch authorities.

Tweebronnen presents a more complex case, both as a reconstruction and as a more robust intervention where the removal of historic interior fabric further alters the internal workings of the building. With the exception of small restored areas at the two entrance lobbies, there is no remaining trace of the original interior, including the steel and glass partitions that could easily have been listed as contributing to the character of the historic fabric. It would not have been possible, however, to realize the present project while retaining these elements. The architects depended upon the unadorned concrete frame to serve as a rough industrial foil for the contemporary insertions; this is part of the deliberate transfer of the structure's original meaning that transpired with its adaptive use.

Tweebronnen is, by nature, a fragmentary structure that can never be experienced as a whole; the interventions accentuate this condition and contribute to the episodic quality of discovery one experiences while moving through the building. Thus, although much of the character of the building's original purpose has disappeared, its architectural essence has been heightened with the revelation of the underlying tectonic logic of van de Velde's scheme. I believe that such a project could be considered as following the spirit of the Secretary of the Interior's Standards, especially since the exteriors of the original building have been restored as closely as possible to their 1938 appearance, and the addition is clearly differentiated from, but harmonious with, the existing fabric. A challenge might come from advocates for a more sympathetic interior restoration, but given the ascetic quality of the original and the general aesthetic proclivities of the regulatory community, it is not likely that this would occur.

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### Notes

- 1 John Allen, "A Challenge of Values," in *Back From Utopia - the Challenge of the Modern Movement*, Huber-Jan Henket and Hilde Heynen, eds. (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2002), 21.
- 2 Alois Riegl on Age Value from *The Modern Cult of Monuments* is quoted in Demetri Porphyrios, "Restoration and Value," in *Porphyrios Associates*. (London: Andreas Papadakis, Publisher, 1999), 203.
- 3 See Chapter 6, "The Lamp of Memory," Section XVIII in John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (New York: Noonday Press, 1961), 184-185.

- 4 Alois Riegl, *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Origins*, 1902; reprinted in *Oppositions No. 25: Monument/Memory* (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), 49.
- 5 Lionel Trilling, "Society and Authenticity," Lecture V in *Sincerity and Authenticity: The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures, 1969-70* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 129.
- 6 Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity*, 131.
- 7 Robert Hughes, *The Shock of the New* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991, 1980). See also the 1980 PBS television series.
- 8 Wessel De Jonge, "The Technology of Change: The Van Nelle Factory in Transition," in *Back from Utopia*, Henket and Heynen, eds., 58.
- 9 Steven Jacobs, Yves Schoonjans, Jan Van Vaerenbergh and Luc Verpoest, *Tweebronnen: De Reconversie van de Technische School van Henry van de Velde to Openbare Bibliotheek en Archief van Leuven*. English Translation by Gregory Ball. (Leuven: Openbare Bibliotheek Leuven, 2000), 90.
- 10 Jacobs, *Tweebronnen*, 90.
- 11 Jacobs, *Tweebronnen*, 90.
- 12 Jacobs, *Tweebronnen*, 90.
- 13 Hannah Lewi, "Paradoxes in the Conservation of the Modern Movement," in *Back from Utopia*, Henket and Heynen, 354.
- 14 Jorge Oter-Pailos, "The Contemporary Stamp of Incompleteness," *Future Anterior* I (Fall 2004): iii-viii.
- 15 See Part 2, Chapter 4 "On Modification," In Vittorio Gregotti, *Inside Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 68.



# The Kingsley Plantation Community in Jacksonville, Florida: Memory and Place in a Southern American City<sup>1</sup>

By *Antoinette T. Jackson*

*Now, who was Anna Kingsley? The shero who connects me most pointedly to where you are seated and I stand, is Anta Majigeen Ndiaye Kingsley, known to us as Anna Kingsley. It is my maternal line that makes me a descendant of the Kingsley's.* [Dr. Johnnetta Betsch Cole — Keynote address, 11th Annual Kingsley Heritage Celebration in Jacksonville, Florida, February 21, 2009]

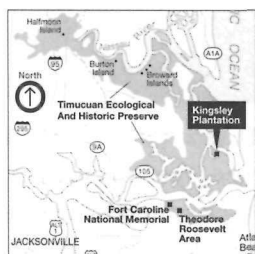


FIGURE 1  
Map of Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve and surrounding area. (Courtesy of National Park Service)

The Kingsley Plantation is located in Florida east of Jacksonville at the northern tip of Fort George Island at Fort George inlet. (Figure 1) Control of the island alternated between the Spanish and the British before being purchased by Zephaniah Kingsley, Jr. in 1817 during the second Spanish Period of control. Today, the plantation is part of the National Park Service's Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve. (Figures 2, 3)

The history of the Kingsley Plantation is an interesting and complex combination of people, personalities, and agendas. Kingsley was a wealthy planter, businessman, and slave trader, who was born in Bristol, England, in 1765. The life and business activities of Kingsley and Anta Majigeen Ndiaye (Anna Kingsley), born in Senegal, West Africa, in 1793 — who he purchased, fathered children by, and established households and businesses with in Florida and Haiti—underscore the reality of the transatlantic slave trade from the perspective of a specific family. The Kingsley's multi-racial, multi-national family and their associations on local and global levels provide insight into the complexity of meanings and experiences attached to place and the fluidity of identity formation within and outside of plantation landscapes in America.

This article uses ethnographic interviews to reflect on the importance of particular places to descendant and local communities coming to terms with the legacy of slavery and segregation. The focus is on the Kingsley Plantation community and shared family connections to places in Jacksonville, including American Beach, as well as the plantation itself. Such places provide a window to the past not only as tangible or physical markers but also as cultural signifiers. They maintain their relevance through the meanings associated with them.

There is an abundance of Kingsley myths and stories.<sup>2</sup> However, the central theme of “the Zephaniah Kingsley story” is his acknowledged spousal relationship with Anna Kingsley, described as being of royal lineage from the country of Senegal. Anna is thought to be one of three *bozales*: newly imported people

FIGURE 2  
*Kingsley Plantation main house, view looking east from lawn in front of Fort George Clubhouse. HABS FL-478-3 (Jack E. Boucher, photographer, September 2003. Courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service)*



from Africa whom he purchased and transported from Havana, Cuba, to Florida in 1806.<sup>3</sup> According to Zephaniah's own accounts, he married Anna in accordance with her native customs and established a home with her at his plantations in East Florida (Laurel Grove and Kingsley Plantation) and later in Haiti. They had four children: George, Mary, Martha, and John. Anna Kingsley also is recorded as having owned plantations as well as enslaved Africans and many accounts of the Kingsley story incorporate this perspective.

Who is Anna Kingsley and what makes her central to understanding the complexity of the descendant community and its relationship to the Kingsley Plantation? The question of Anna Kingsley and her centrality today was poised by Dr. Johnnetta Betsch Cole in her keynote address to the 11th annual Kingsley Heritage Celebration in Jacksonville on February 21, 2009. Dr. Cole is a self-identified African American woman, a seventh-generation descendant of Anna and Zephaniah Kingsley, a trained anthropologist, and a former President of Spelman and Bennett Colleges. In the opening remarks of her talk entitled, "Sankofa: Looking Back to Go Forward," Cole declared Anna Kingsley her *shero*, a female hero of special note because of her gender and the obstacles of extraordinary size and scope that had to be overcome in order to achieve her desired goal. In the case of Anna Kingsley these obstacles included slavery, racism, sexism, and patriarchy in the 1800s. Standing on the grounds of the Kingsley Plantation, a place she described as difficult for her to visit, Dr. Cole encouraged the enthusiastic and attentive audience to consider making Anna their *shero* as well. Cole said—

*She's a shero for me. Obviously the park service thinks so. They invited you here to understand not only about Zephaniah Kingsley but to understand about Anna Kingsley. She is a shero. But I have to ask you, should we remember her as a slave or should we deal with the fact that she was a slave owner? Wasn't she both? Was Anna Kingsley an African or was she an American, or was she both? Were her children,*

FIGURE 3  
 Kingsley Plantation slave  
 cabin structures, view  
 looking southeast along the  
 east range of slave quarters.  
 HABS FL-478-21 (Jack E.  
 Boucher, photographer,  
 September 2003. Courtesy  
 of the Historic American  
 Buildings Survey, National  
 Park Service)



*the four sired by Zephaniah Kingsley, were they white or were they black or were they both? Countless lessons I think. All of us are doing our best to learn from being in this extraordinary, this exquisite moment of American history and the history of the world.*

Dr. Cole's provocative descriptive of Anna Kingsley frames the theme and urgency of this discussion. In her timely analysis of Anna Kingsley's identity, Cole highlights the past as a means of informing ways to move forward. The Kingsley Plantation and community provide unique and explicit examples of dynamic and multiple constructions of identity and experiences of place. They provide a model for looking back in order to move forward.

Oral history and interview testimony provided by Zephaniah and Anna's African, European, and Latino descendant family members and descendants of enslaved and free persons of color and others associated with the Kingsley community provide an important perspective for understanding the significance of place. Because the Kingsley Plantation community includes not only the physical site of the plantation, but also the associated community, it extends well beyond the physical boundaries of the Timucuan Preserve and includes all of the places where Kingsley descendants and others associated with the plantation live and work today.

### **The Kingsley-Sammiss-Lewis-Betsch Family and Community Associations**

The Kingsley Plantation community today is embedded in the fabric of everyday life in Jacksonville and its surrounding communities. The experiences of the Kingsley-Sammiss-Lewis-Betsch family offer an intergenerational accounting of the role that varying experiences with, and connections to place, play in shaping our understanding of the past and framing the way we think about the future.

In 1884, Abraham Lincoln Lewis (1865-1947) married Mary F. Sammis (1865-1923) who was the daughter of Edward Sammis, a Duval County justice of the peace; the granddaughter of Mary Elizabeth Kingsley-Sammis and John S. Sammis; and the great-granddaughter of Zephaniah and Anna Kingsley.<sup>4</sup> Or perhaps a better way to think about the Kingsley-Sammis-Lewis family genealogy is the description given by Dr. Cole. She shared her family's genealogy in this way—

*Well, Anna Kingsley was my maternal great-grandmother Mary Sammis Lewis' father's grandmother. Now if you are an anthropologist you could figure that out. Put it another way, Anna Kingsley's grandson whose name was Edward G. Sammis married a woman whose name was Lizzy, who was sometimes called Eliza Willis Sammis. Their eldest daughter, are you with me? ... You got Anna Kingsley and you got her grandson. What's his name? [She asks the audience then continues] Edward G. Sammis. He marries. . . Eliza, they have children, their oldest child was Mary Sammis-Lewis. Who was she? [She asks the audience then continues] She married Abraham Lincoln Lewis, who is my great grandfather. You just got your PhD in Anthropology!*

The Abraham Lincoln (A.L.) Lewis and Mary Sammis Lewis union formed one of the most prominent dynasties of wealth, influence, and power in Florida's African American community. A.L. Lewis, one of the founders and later one of the presidents of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company (the Afro), became one of the richest men in Florida during the 1920s and remained so until his death in 1947. He amassed large amounts of property in Jacksonville, and throughout Florida, and operated many successful business ventures. Mary F. Sammis-Lewis was also very active in the Jacksonville community. Among her many civic, social, and business activities she served on the Deaconess Board of her church, Bethel Baptist Institutional Church, for over 20 years. Marsha Phelts, author of the book, *An American Beach for African Americans*, published in 1997, grew up in Jacksonville, and knew members of the Lewis-Betsch family personally. She shared the following perspective of the family —

*they were people that we loved to watch and loved to read about, to hear about . . . They were extremely admired and respected. They were the middle-class. Credit Randolph with the middle-class in America because what he did for the Pullman porters in terms of organizing and union and bringing their pay up but in this little corner of Jacksonville, the Afro-American Life Insurance Company was certainly responsible for a big portion . . . If you had a middle-class status as being an executive for the Afro, there certainly was that to be enjoyed, and they mortgaged homes during a period that established places did not provide mortgages that very much. Established places did provide mortgages but they were harder to come by and so the Afro and the Lewis' made great contributions, they really did.<sup>5</sup>*

Racial segregation policies in America prior to 1964 resulted in restricted or very limited access to beach recreation for people labeled as Negro. A.L. Lewis and



FIGURE 4  
American Beach Marker  
and Commemoration to  
A.L. Lewis. (Courtesy of the  
author)

the Pension Bureau of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company developed a total beach community for African Americans, known as American Beach. It served to counter restrictions imposed on African Americans by segregation laws and policies. American Beach is north of Jacksonville in the Amelia Island area. (Figure 4) Marsha Phelts explains the importance of American Beach to the African American community in this way—

*My family is from Jacksonville, and so American Beach is an extended part of the Jacksonville community, it's just 30-40 minutes to an hour away from Jacksonville, and this is where black people came during my growing up and my youth for the beach. This was the beach, even though the coast [of] Duval County has a beach coast, but that was not available in the 40s and in the 50s, only in 1964 were blacks able to go to the beaches, and all of the beaches were open to them. I was born in 1944, so I would have been 20 years old if it hadn't been an American Beach for me to come to. Because of this beach I have been coming to the beach my whole life.<sup>6</sup>*

Prior to the establishment of American Beach, African Americans in the Jacksonville area frequented Pablo Beach (now Jacksonville Beach) which was opened in 1884 to African Americans on Mondays only and Manhattan Beach located near Mayport, now occupied in part by the Mayport Naval Station.<sup>7</sup>

A.L. Lewis and his family as well as others in the African American community owned homes on American Beach. For many years this beach resort community served as the hub of recreation and entertainment for families and civic and social organizations throughout the South. Dr. Cole describes her American Beach experiences in this way—

*. . . and when the big Afro picnics would happen once a year, I have just gorgeous memories of my father making his own barbecue sauce and barbecuing there. . . . It was in my view what community could really be about, that is folk caring for each other, sharing what they had, going beyond lines of biological kinship to feel a sense of shared values, and one must say also, to feel a sense of shared oppression. Because it was clear to everybody that while A.L. Lewis in his wisdom and with his wealth had made sure that that beach was available, not just for his family, not just for the Afro, I mean people now live in Virginia, in North Carolina who remember coming to that beach. But everybody knew that we were on that beach and could not be on the other beaches.<sup>8</sup>*



FIGURE 5  
American Beach, August  
2001, Black Heritage Tours  
by the Beach Lady sign.  
(Courtesy of author)

Prior to her death in 2005, MaVynnee Betsch, Cole's sister, had an informal museum on American Beach and conducted impromptu tours for anyone who showed up on the beach. (Figure 5) In a 1998 interview she said that sometimes people would be lost on the way to Amelia Island Plantation, a more upscale resort, and they would end up on American Beach, “. . .and I[d] jump in the backseat and give them one of those tours. What! American Beach. We've never heard of it.”<sup>9</sup>

FIGURE 6  
 Anna Kingsley's kitchen  
 house in foreground,  
 view looking northwest  
 toward kitchen, covered  
 walkway, and house.  
 HABS-FL478-6 (Jack E.  
 Boucher, photographer,  
 September 2003. Courtesy  
 of the Historic American  
 Buildings Survey,  
 National Park Service)



The experiences of Kingsley descendents highlight the conflation of race and class which often occurred in the face of legalized segregation in America for African Americans. This was because anyone racialized as black, or labeled as non-white, was subjected to the same physical and social segregated place restrictions regardless of wealth or class. Uplifting, defiant, and frustrating in many ways, these memories of place experiences are poignant reminders of the cultural complexities of navigating race, place, and class in America in the aftermath of the transatlantic slave trade and especially during Jacksonville's period of segregation.

### **The Kingsley Plantation: A Physical and Social Reminder**

The remaining physical spaces of the Kingsley Plantation as it existed at the time of Kingsley's ownership includes the 'big' house, Anna Kingsley's 'kitchen' house, a barn, slave cabin remains, and approximately 720 acres of land and waterway access via the Fort George inlet. (Figure 6) In 1955, the state of Florida acquired the Kingsley Plantation, and in 1967 started restoring the plantation to the Kingsley period (1817-1843). The slave cabin remains provide a visually arresting reminder of the institution of slavery practiced in northeast Florida and throughout the U.S. South.

In 1991, the National Park Service took possession of the Kingsley Plantation complex. It is here that Kingsley's descendants and others connected to or interested in the plantation gather for the Kingsley Plantation Heritage Celebration, an annual event sponsored by the National Park Service. The Heritage Celebration offers multiple perspectives of the Kingsley Plantation and generates new ways of knowing about the meaning of the plantation site today. It attracts many first-time visitors to the plantation grounds. Participants

report that they attend in order to learn more about the plantation's history, to remember and acknowledge those who lived and worked on the plantation, and to meet other members of the Kingsley Plantation community.

The first heritage celebration at the site was held in 1998, based on an idea presented to the National Park Service by Kingsley descendant, Manuel Lebron, who was born in the Dominican Republic. The 1998 National Park Service-sponsored *Kingsley Plantation Heritage Festival and Family Reunion* brought together Kingsley family members from as far away as the Dominican Republic and as close as St. Augustine and Jacksonville. Interviews of many of the reunion participants were conducted and videotaped by University of Florida graduate students.<sup>10</sup> Stories told by participants provide insight into issues of history and heritage with respect to the Kingsley Plantation site; and provide insight into a wide range of feelings about, or connections to Zephaniah and Anna Kingsley.

For example, George W. Gibbs IV, a self-identified European American Kingsley descendant of the Isabella Kingsley-Gibbs family line, or Zephaniah Kingsley's sister Isabella's family line, expressed his thoughts about his great-uncle's business operations in this way —

*This was pure and simple a place for Zephaniah Kingsley to bring slaves in his ships to Fort George, and they tied up here and they disembarked here at Fort George, and they began the domestication, if you will, of the African slaves he had brought to America or to Florida for the purpose of training on this site and selling them, moving on and selling those slaves. This was all about slave trading. This was not about—this was not a tobacco plantation where Zephaniah sat up here in a straw hat and corn cob pipe and watched his crops grow and harvested them every year and made money. His business was—he was in the slave trade business on this site.*

Becky Gibbs, also a self-identified European American Kingsley descendant of the Isabella Kingsley-Gibbs family line, reflected upon her ancestral heritage and what it means to not only be a descendant of a slave owner, but also, a descendant of a slave owner who publically acknowledged spousal relations and fathered children with African women. She articulated her feelings in the following passage, contrasting her way of experiencing things with those of her father's and her uncle who were born the early 1900s —

*But I've also wondered about the dilemma of growing up in a white southern family, having black ancestry, we're people of the nineties, so we, I look at this as really exciting, wonderful, sort of it opens the doors. But when you come from Jacksonville, a southern town, and you . . . were born in 1911, and you grew up in the South, it must be a big dilemma having ancestors that were not only slave owners, but they also married their slaves and had children.*

In general however, when interviewed, Kingsley family descendants who attended the festival and reunion emphasized the significance of family connections made at the event. For example, descendants Sandra LeBron and her son Manuel LeBron from the Dominican Republic stressed the unity of the family and a desire and willingness to personally forget negative aspects of the past and concentrate on establishing positive relationships in the present. Sandra and Manuel trace their connection to the Kingsley family through John Maxwell, one of Zephaniah and Anna Kingsley's sons, who established his home in the part of Haiti which is known today as the Dominican Republic. According to historian Dan Schafer, around 1837 Kingsley sold most of his Florida property and resettled his extended family in Haiti because the laws there were much less restrictive for people of color. This included Anna Kingsley and her sons George and John Maxwell and a host of others.<sup>11</sup> Manuel expressed his feelings about a family inheritance dispute between Anna Kingsley and one of Zephaniah's sisters, Martha Kingsley-McNeill, in this way —

*Yeah, because, you know, the celebration was going on and like, I, for myself didn't have any, any, any, whatsoever, any you know feelings of regret or hate or anything like that—not at all. . . . As I said, you know, it's delicate issues that you have to laugh them off because there's nothing else to do, and you know, it would be stupid to have any bad feelings because it's past. You just laugh it off and forget it completely.*

Finally, Harriet Gibbs Gardiner, a fifth-generation, self-identified European American descendant of the Isabella Kingsley-Gibbs family line, describes her memories of the past and her relationship to the Kingsley Plantation site —

*We used to do this with all children—when we'd come out here [to the Kingsley Plantation], we'd look around and then we would go and stand there where you can look across to the marsh and the trees beyond and we would think what it must have been like to see a slave ship coming in or maybe see that long boat rowed out and use your imagination. This is a wonderful place for imagination because it's unspoiled and not a lot of buildings around, and so you can go back in history. So, that's something that I still like to do—stand out there and look at the marsh. I'm so happy that I hope this is the beginning of a coming together of the descendants of two families that have been separated for so long and really not because they're willful about it, but just because they haven't realized how much richness there is in this whole experience under this roof and in this locale. I've always loved Fort George Island and it's always had a special meaning right here, but now it's even more so.*

In the case of the Kingsley Plantation, the Kingsley Plantation Heritage Celebration is a mediating space, or a non-threatening social place, for members of the Kingsley family and others to share memories about, or



reconcile their own contradictory and varying identities and relationships with, the Kingsley plantation and its history from just before the antebellum period to the present.

In 2001, I conducted in-depth interviews with members of the Kingsley Plantation community, including interviews with two self-identified African American descendents of Anna and Zephaniah Kingsley: Peri Frances Betsch and Dr. Johnnetta Betsch Cole. They were very direct in analyzing their relationship to the Kingsley legacy. Peri Frances is on a personal mission to find out more about her family's ancestral connection to Anna Majigeen Ndiaye. She says that she does not find those storybook romance portrayals of Anna's arrival as an enslaved African woman and life as mistress to Zephaniah Kingsley very believable. An eighth-generation Kingsley descendent, she shared the following ideas and feelings regarding the circumstances of her great-grandmother's (Anna Kingsley) arrival in Florida and the initial encounter between Anna and Zephaniah —

*Sometimes it makes me laugh. But I don't think it was like some . . . 'I saw him across the crowded slave market, and he winked at me', that's ludicrous. I can't buy into that. And also you got to think like I would imagine, these people looked crazy to her, like who are you? I imagine some redheaded white guy with a beard, wearing funny woolen clothing, and she must have been like . . . 'You want me to do what?' I just can't picture it. But I really always wonder what was she thinking.<sup>12</sup>*

Cole, a seventh-generation Kingsley descendant expresses her feelings about the complexity and multiple identities that characterized her great-grandmother's life as an enslaved African woman, as a free woman of color and wealth, and as an eventual owner of enslaved Africans herself in this way —

*It is obviously a profoundly moving story. It's also a story, which in my view has extraordinary complexity and contradictions. My great-grandmother was not only a slave, she owned slaves. And, I would hope that for each of us as an African American, if there is any specificity to what is the general knowledge, that black people owned slaves, that we would have some contradictory feelings about that. Or better put, that one would not feel good about that. It's very, very hard for me to think of slavery as a benign, as a decent, as a wonderful system, no matter how it is constructed. And, as an anthropologist I went through my phase of cultural relativism. I'm done with that. I have no difficulty in saying that I think there are some, what I would want to describe as universal . . . not universally held values, but values that I wish could be held universally, and one of these is the total opposition to slavery. And, so to feel that my great-grandmother had acquired the kind of wealth and the kind of prestige that would allow her to own slaves, I balance that with, 'she owned slaves!' On the other hand, here was a woman of just extraordinary intelligence, ability.*

In assessing the complex and conflicting identities of Anna Kingsley and feelings expressed by Kingsley descendants with respect to their own relationship to Anna, I also see the contradictions and strength that was Anna Kingsley's life. I imagine that Anna Kingsley was determined to survive and she did. Anna, who was purchased in 1806 at the age of 13 by Zephaniah Kingsley Jr., learned to understand power and how it operated at a young age. She must have consciously used her multiple identities — her knowledge, her beauty, and her position as mistress — to secure a future for herself and her children. She lived and survived in her own way, far from her West African birthplace of Senegal, leaving precious treasures, children, and grandchildren, who have gone on to navigate their own issues of culture, heritage, and identity as Africans in America within and outside plantation landscapes.

### Conclusion

The Kingsley Plantation holds a combination of the plantation as a physical place in the form of tangible and interactively accessible reminders of slavery (i.e., plantation grave sites, slave housing remains, abandoned fields, waterways) and a socially constructed space of intersecting identities, heritage, and celebration. This combination of preserved physical place and valued memory and meaning keeps it relevant and makes it a significant site of knowledge about ways of looking at the past for those who continue to visit the grounds today.

The Kingsley Plantation community provides an opportunity to study and dialogue about the legacy of plantations and other segregated spaces in America. By addressing complexities of identity formation and experiences of place in connecting the past and the present, this interpretation gives primacy to the notion of looking back in order to learn how to move forward—a theme underscored by Dr. Cole in her 2009 talk at the Kingsley Heritage Celebration.

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### Notes

- 1 This research was conducted under National Park Service (NPS) Contract No. Q5038000491 "Ethnohistorical Study of Kingsley Plantation Community," Allan F. Burns (University of Florida) and Antoinette Jackson (University of Florida), Co-Principal Investigators. Participant observation and key informant interviews for the purpose of collecting oral history were the primary means of obtaining ethnographic field data about the Kingsley Plantation community. Interviews were conducted primarily with persons of African descent ranging from 20 to 86 years old in greater Jacksonville, Amelia Island, and St. Augustine, Florida. Additionally, oral history and interview testimony provided by Zephaniah Kingsley's African, European, and Latino descendant family members have been incorporated in this analysis.

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- 2 See: Carita Doggett Corse, *The Key to the Golden Islands* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1931); Faye L. Glover, *Zephaniah Kingsley: Nonconformist, Slave Trader, Patriarch* (Masters Thesis, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, 1970); Philip S. May, "Zephaniah Kingsley, Nonconformist (1765-1843)," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 23(3)(1045): 145-159; Daniel L. Schafer, "Shades of Freedom: Anna Kingsley in Senegal, Florida, and Haiti." *Slavery and Abolition* 17(1)(1996): 130-154; Jean B. Stephens, "Zephaniah Kingsley and the Recaptured Africans," *El Escribino* 15 (1978): 71-76.
- 3 Schafer, "Shades of Freedom."
- 4 Marsha Dean Phelts, *American Beach for African Americans* (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1997).
- 5 Interview with Antoinette T. Jackson, Amelia Island, Florida, 25 August, 2001.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Phelts, 1997.
- 8 Interview with Antoinette T. Jackson, Atlanta, Georgia, October 3, 2001.
- 9 MaVynee Lewis Betsch, Amelia Island, Florida, participated in videotaped interviews conducted by University of Florida graduate Students (Antonio de la Peña, Rachel Sandals, Edward Shaw, and Greg De Vries) at the Kingsley Heritage Festival and Family Reunion on Fort George, Island, October 10-11, 1998. Thanks to the tireless efforts of MaVynee Betsch, who died in 2005, and the generosity of the Amelia Island Plantation Company, the National Park Service has been given an 8.5-acre pristine sand dune called NaNa at the center of the community. That land is now part of the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve. <http://www.nps.gov/timu/historyculture/ambch.htm>
- 10 The following people participated in videotaped interviews conducted by University of Florida graduate students (Antonio de la Peña, Rachel Sandals, Edward Shaw, and Greg De Vries) at the Kingsley Heritage Festival and Family Reunion on Fort George, Island, October 10-11, 1998: Adewale Kule-mele, Jacksonville, Florida; George Gibbs, St. Augustine, Florida; Harriet Gibbs Gardiner, Jacksonville, Florida; William Tucker Gibbs, Miami, Florida; Emilie Gibbs, Miami, Florida; Becky Gibbs, Miami, Florida; Denny Gibbs, Miami, Florida; Sandra Lebron and Manuel Lebron, Dominican Republic; Marion Christopher Alston, Jacksonville, Florida; Elizabeth Kingsley Hull, McLean, Virginia; Steve McQueen Smith, Columbia, South Carolina; and MaVynee Lewis Betsch, Amelia Island, Florida. Their videotaped stories are on file at the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserves headquarters in Jacksonville, Florida.
- 11 Daniel L. Schafer, "Zepahniah Kingsley's Laurel Grove Plantation, 1803-1813," in *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*, ed. Jane G. Landers (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 2000), 98-120.
- 12 Interview with Antoinette T. Jackson, Atlanta, Georgia, October 2, 2001.

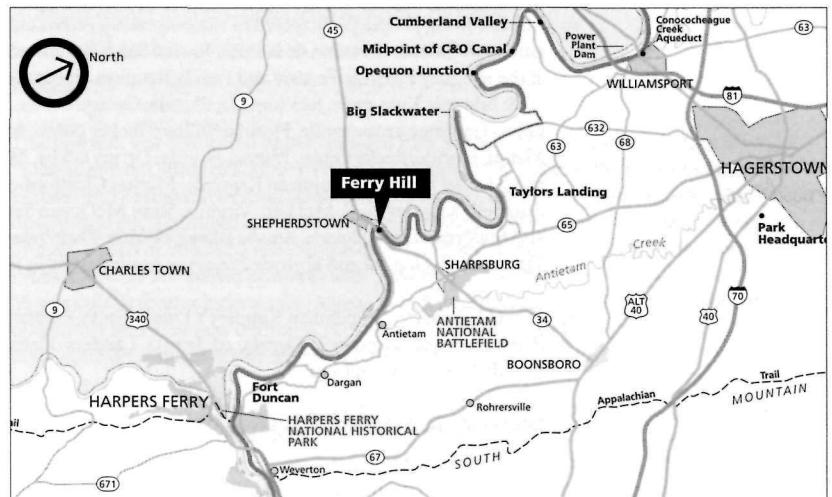
## Critical Landscape Analysis as a Tool for Public Interpretation: Reassessing Slavery at a Western Maryland Plantation<sup>1</sup>

By Robert C. Chidester

Public historians and archeologists have spent much time in recent years thinking through and discussing the thorny problem of presenting the history of African Americans at public historical sites in the United States. While a great deal of headway has been made at some of the more nationally prominent sites, smaller sites often find themselves struggling against the influence of long-cherished local historical traditions.<sup>2</sup> Such is the case at Ferry Hill Place, a property located in the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal National Historical Park (NHP) and currently managed by the National Park Service (NPS). Situated on a horseshoe bend in the Potomac River, Ferry Hill was once the center of a 700-acre plantation in Washington County, Maryland, just across the Potomac from Shepherdstown, West Virginia. (Figure 1) John Blackford, a wealthy farmer and prominent Washington County resident, amassed Ferry Hill Plantation over a period of almost 30 years in the early 19th century.<sup>3</sup>

True to the Southern “Lost Cause” tradition after the Civil War, some previous researchers have described John Blackford as a kindly, paternalistic slave owner. They have noted the fact that Blackford used little overt force to control his slaves, apparently granted some of them a large amount of autonomy, and seems to have been concerned about their health and well-being. Rather than interpreting this evidence as a reflection of the practical concessions that slaveholders necessarily had to make in order to maintain labor discipline and productivity, these scholars have argued instead that slavery at Ferry Hill was not as harsh as elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> This interpretation of Ferry Hill’s history is made

FIGURE 1:  
Map of the central portion of the C&O Canal National Historical Park, the location of Ferry Hill Place. Ferry Hill is located across the Potomac River from Shepherdstown, West Virginia at Lock 38. (Adapted from “Map of C&O Canal,” electronic document available at [www.nps.gov/choh/planyourvisit/upload/chohparkmap.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/choh/planyourvisit/upload/chohparkmap.pdf). Courtesy of the C&O Canal NHP)



all the more plausible by its geographical setting in western Maryland, an area dominated by small, diversified plantations with relatively few slaves; in other words, the opposite of the dominant popular conception of the slave South.<sup>5</sup>

While it is true that Blackford did not exactly fit the stereotype of the harsh white southern master, it nevertheless needs to be kept in mind that his relationship with his slaves was defined by the fact that he owned them as chattel. By applying critical landscape analysis to Ferry Hill Plantation, this article suggests the possibility that in addition to overt physical force to control his slaves Blackford used a psychological control technique known as panopticism, or constant, comprehensive surveillance. This argument serves two purposes: first, to dispel the dangerous notion that “slavery was not such a bad life”<sup>6</sup> at Ferry Hill Plantation (and other places like it); and second, to suggest how the public interpretation of antebellum Southern landscapes can incorporate an awareness of the ways in which the power dynamics of American slavery operated in everyday life.

### History of Ferry Hill Plantation

John Blackford was born to a prominent family in 1771, in what is now West Virginia. He married Sarah Van Swearingen of Shepherdstown in 1797. The marriage was a profitable one for Blackford, as he thus gained control of the Van Swearingen family’s heavily used ferry service across the Potomac River, just below the town. John and Sarah had three children, none of whom lived to adulthood, before Sarah died in 1805, leaving John a young widower.<sup>7</sup>

Soon after, Blackford became involved in local politics. Despite having protested against a possible war with Britain prior to the outbreak of the War of 1812, he enlisted in the militia and fought during the war. Over the next couple of decades he ran for public office several times, and frequently served as a Washington County Justice of the Peace. Blackford also became a businessman, acting as the primary shareholder in the Boonsboro Turnpike Company, continuing the ferry operation (which his wife had inherited before her death), becoming involved in the effort to get the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal built, and loaning money to friends and family.<sup>8</sup>

In 1812 Blackford married again, this time to Elizabeth Knode. Between 1813 and 1828 they had five children, all of whom survived to adulthood, and it was during this time that Blackford pieced together Ferry Hill Plantation through multiple land purchases. Sometime around 1812, Blackford built Ferry Hill Place, an L-shaped mansion, sitting it atop a bluff overlooking the river and Shepherdstown. (Figure 2) By this time a small community, later called Bridgeport, had grown up around the ferry operation on the Maryland side of the river, just below Ferry Hill Place; most of the occupants were relatives or employees (or both) of John Blackford.

FIGURE 2  
 Ferry Hill Place in 2003.  
 (Courtesy of the author)



Ferry Hill Plantation became a diversified farming enterprise, with the primary crops being wheat, rye, and hay. Blackford also maintained a large orchard. Blackford bought a number of slaves over the years, owning 18 at the time of his death in 1839. In addition to employing his slaves in agricultural work and as house servants, he hired a number of local free laborers, both African American and European American. These periodic employees performed a number of activities in addition to farming, including fence-mending, well construction, and timber harvesting. Rather than hiring free laborers to run the ferry, Blackford assigned two of his slaves to be “foremen of the ferry,” allowing them the authority to set prices, collect money, and even hire help. At the end of each day, they would deliver the profits and receipts to Blackford.<sup>9</sup>

Blackford often showed concern for his slaves’ physical well-being, ensuring that they were clothed properly and received medical attention when necessary. He was known to lend small amounts of money to his slaves for the purchase of personal items, and at least one of his slaves was allowed to visit his free African American wife who lived nearby. Despite this seeming beneficence toward them, Blackford’s actions could be interpreted merely as concern for an investment. He did occasionally whip his slaves; he recorded several such instances in his daily journals. Unrest among the enslaved laborers was common: several of them, especially the foremen of the ferry, were frequently drunk; sometimes a slave would absent him or herself from the plantation for several days at a time; and several tried to run away on multiple occasions.<sup>10</sup>

Elizabeth Knode Blackford died in 1838, and throughout 1839, John Blackford suffered declining health, finally passing away in November. Upon his death, Blackford’s estate was divided among his children. Franklin, the eldest son, received the Ferry Landing (Bridgeport) property, and Ferry Hill Plantation

FIGURE 3  
 Rear view of Ferry Hill  
 Place, where visitors  
 enter the house to view  
 a historical exhibit and  
 begin guided tours.  
 (Courtesy of the author)



continued to operate under his guidance. In 1848, Franklin sold Ferry Hill Place and its attached agricultural land to his brother-in-law, the Reverend Robert Douglas. The ferry operation ceased in the 1850s after the Virginia and Maryland Bridge Company replaced it with the James Rumsey (or Shepherdstown) Bridge.<sup>11</sup>

Due to its location on the border between Maryland and Virginia, both the Union and Confederate armies occupied the Ferry Hill property multiple times during the Civil War. The most notable instance of this was during the Battle of Antietam, when Ferry Hill Place served as both a field headquarters and hospital for the Confederate Army. Robert Douglas passed away in 1867, leaving the house in the possession of his son Henry Kyd Douglas (famous author of Civil War memoir *I Rode with Stonewall*). The core of the old Ferry Hill Plantation ceased to be an active farm after the Civil War.<sup>12</sup>

Henry Kyd Douglas died in 1903, and throughout the 20th century a succession of people owned Ferry Hill Place. The house itself was expanded several times, becoming a restaurant in 1941. Many of the old outbuildings, including the slave quarters, were torn down during the first half of the 20th century, and a large Greek portico was added to the main house. In 1974, the National Park Service acquired the house along with 39 acres of surrounding property for the C&O Canal NHP. Park headquarters were set up in trailers while the previous owner continued to live in Ferry Hill Place for several years. The house was vacated in 1979, and the C&O Canal NHP moved its headquarters into Ferry Hill Place a year later, where it stayed until 2001, when the park began preparing the property for public interpretation.<sup>13</sup> (Figure 3)

## The Historiography of Slavery at Ferry Hill

A number of researchers have investigated the history of Ferry Hill, most of them focusing on John Blackford and his agricultural activities. Blackford's journal from January 1838 to January 1839 was published in 1961. The C&O Canal NHP commissioned a historic structure report soon after acquiring the property. In 1979 a Phase I archeological survey was conducted on the grounds surrounding the house, identifying the locations of two former structures and the 19th-century orchard. Much of the analysis was based upon oral history from the property's 20th-century owners rather than on documentary research or intensive archeological investigation, thus limiting the extent of interpretation possible. More recently, the park retained University of Maryland historian Max Grivno to write a social history of Ferry Hill Plantation, focusing on its slaves, and in 2003, I was awarded an internship to conduct further historical research on the physical layout of the plantation during the 19th century. These last two investigations, in particular, were part of an ongoing park attempt to develop a suitable public interpretation for the property, one that both adequately and accurately considers the issue of slavery at the plantation. The park also contracted with an architectural firm to prepare a cultural landscape report in 2004.<sup>14</sup>

During the course of my research in 2003 and 2004, I became aware of a problem with the historiography of Ferry Hill Plantation. Earlier researchers, especially Fletcher Green (editor of John Blackford's published journal), had emphasized Blackford's "beneficence" toward his slaves. While Green acknowledged that Blackford did sometimes whip his slaves, the overall picture that Green painted of him was of a kind, caring master –

*Judging from the record, Blackford was a kindly, even indulgent, master. His slaves were well fed, well clothed, worked almost entirely without supervision, were given all sorts of special privileges, were given the same sort of medical care as members of their master's family, and were not severely punished.*

The problem with this interpretation is that it is poorly supported by historical evidence: As mentioned previously, Blackford records several instances in which he whipped his slaves for "misconduct," so the threat of physical punishment was, at the least, always hanging over their heads. Blackford was not above using incentives, such as the provision of alcohol, to pacify his slaves, and even Green acknowledged that the workers resisted their enslavement in various ways.<sup>15</sup>

While some historians of the antebellum South had begun to formulate new, more nuanced interpretations of the nature of slavery by the 1950s, many continued to follow the example of Ulrich B. Phillips, who had argued in the early 20th century that slavery was a paternalistic social order and that many slave



owners actually had their slaves' best interests at heart. Phillips' interpretation continued to be the dominant paradigm until the advent of social history in the mid-1960s. Green continued to use the older interpretive model<sup>6</sup> which he most likely learned in graduate school.

The problem, however, is that Green's representation of Blackford has continued to inform local ideas about the nature of slavery at Ferry Hill Plantation. Green's 1961 annotation of the Blackford diaries was republished in 1975<sup>7</sup> and both editions are readily available in local libraries and historical archives. In addition, an interpretive panel, installed outside the house by the park in the 1970s and still standing at the time of my most recent visit in 2007, recapitulates Green's representation of John Blackford. Until 2002, when the park installed more extensive interpretive exhibits inside the house, it was the only piece of public interpretation directly available to park visitors.

A number of scholars have noted that interpretations of the past often have consequences in the present. Cultural historian George Lipsitz has recently discussed the continuing impact of inherited forms of racism in American society in the context of what he calls "the possessive investment in whiteness," or the largely hidden and ignored social and economic advantages that accrue or are denied to an individual, based on skin color. Lipsitz argues that white people often design the stories they tell about black people to escape any responsibility for pervasive racial inequality in the present: "All fiction written today by and about black people circulates in a network that includes fictions like the ones disguised as social science . . . [This] story is a social text . . . a widely disseminated story that reinforces itself every time its basic contours are repeated [in the public sphere]."<sup>8</sup>

Green's interpretation of slavery at Ferry Hill Plantation is just one of a number of such social texts. It is true that not all slave owners were as vicious and violent as the fictional character Simon Legree of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and scholars have a responsibility to portray the variability and ambiguity that existed within the system of slavery. Nevertheless, the institution of chattel slavery, even in its milder forms, was fundamentally based on exploitation and the threat of physical violence. By describing the lives of John Blackford's slaves as being fairly comfortable, Green, wittingly or not, promulgated the notion that slavery wasn't *that* bad, which can quickly lead to the mistaken and somewhat convoluted interpretation, by less discriminating individuals, that slave owners weren't really racist, but instead their actions were allegedly undertaken in the best interests of their slaves and that therefore African Americans today do not suffer from the effects of residual racism caused by slavery.<sup>9</sup>

An illustration of the currency that Green's interpretation still carries locally, despite the efforts of the C&O Canal NHP, can be found in a 1997 newspaper article about Ferry Hill Place, published in Hagerstown, Maryland's *Herald-*

*Mail*. Prominently placed on the front page of the Lifestyle section, the caption for its photo reads in part: “When Ferry Hill was a working plantation, guests dropped in frequently and slaves were treated like family.”<sup>20</sup> This misleading statement appears to have been inspired by Green’s introduction to John Blackford’s journal.

It is indefensible to suggest that John Blackford treated his family like he treated his slaves: whipping them for disobedience, providing smaller-than-adequate living quarters, and other activities meant to demonstrate his total dominance over their lives. Slavery was a dehumanizing social institution, and the racism that was spawned by racialized slavery is still with us today in many different forms. Any attempt to excuse slavery or the conditions under which slaves had to live (no matter the supposed beneficence of their masters) is, if not inherently racist, potentially supportive of racist ideas.<sup>21</sup> Such excuses support that specious reasoning that, if it is possible for human beings who are owned by other human beings as chattel to be “treated like family,” then slavery might not have been such a psychologically and socially devastating experience after all, much less one whose residual effects still haunt contemporary society.

Statements like those in the *Herald-Mail* article may merely be the product of uninformed opinions, but the incipient racism that they represent is still alarmingly widespread (although the manifestations of racism today are subtler than they were even just a few decades ago). Lipsitz has charged “both scholars and citizens . . . to avoid complicity in the erasures effected by stories that obscure actual social relations and hide their own conditions of production and distribution,” especially in the context of African American history. In simpler terms, professional historians, archeologists, and site interpreters have an ethical responsibility to disabuse the public of ideas such as the notion that slaves could ever possibly have been “treated like family” by their owners.<sup>22</sup> John Blackford may not have been the most physically violent slave owner in the South, but like virtually all slave owners, his actions were motivated primarily by a desire to maximize profits from his investment in human chattel.

### **The Presentation of Slavery at Ferry Hill Plantation**

The question for those who work at plantations that have been preserved as public historic sites, then, is how to identify for the public the ways in which control and exploitation were intimate and not always overtly visible parts of the everyday lives of enslaved African Americans. As mentioned previously, the C&O Canal NHP has been engaged in just such a project at Ferry Hill Place for some time.<sup>23</sup> Until recently, however, the site was largely closed to the public, first due to its use as park headquarters and more recently, because park staff and contractors have been conducting research and preparing appropriate interpretive materials. The property has, however, recently been opened for weekend tours.

Prior to the past few years, the only interpretive material at the site was the previously mentioned panel from the 1970s. Upon entering the house from the rear, visitors first see an installation of six panels of photographs and text summarizing Ferry Hill Plantation's history. The first panel covers the early history of the ferry operation and John Blackford's accumulation of land; the second discusses the property's inclusion in the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom program for its association with slavery in western Maryland;<sup>24</sup> the third examines the impact of the Civil War upon the property; the fourth provides information on the house itself; and the fifth and sixth panels return to the topic of slavery. The panels that discuss slavery at the plantation utilize excerpts from the diaries of both John and Franklin Blackford to illustrate the physical punishment (whipping) that John Blackford meted out to his slaves; Franklin's participation in the capture of runaway slaves for monetary reward; and several of the enslaved laborers' various modes of resistance to slavery, including absenteeism and even abortion. In addition, the sixth panel points out to visitors that size-wise, Ferry Hill was an unusual Washington County farm, since it was large enough to support a permanent group of enslaved laborers.

After viewing the small exhibit, visitors are taken on a guided tour of the house. The tour consists primarily of descriptions of the function of each major room, including attention to the separation between "male" and "female" spaces and "master" and "servant" spaces.<sup>25</sup> During training, tour guides are instructed to note for visitors two aspects of John Blackford's study on the first floor: first, that it was positioned so he could survey his fields from his window (presumably so that he could keep an eye on his field hands, both enslaved and free); and second, that a direct route from the exterior to his office was constructed so that any time one of his enslaved laborers needed to see him, he or she would not have to pass through the Blackford family's living space.<sup>26</sup>

Another way of getting beyond Fletcher Green's flawed interpretation is to begin to look at, and present to visitors, the mechanisms of everyday social and behavioral control that were vital to the maintenance of slavery as a social and economic institution. Specifically, I propose that critical landscape analysis is a fruitful approach to the preparation and presentation of public interpretive materials at former sites of slavery. Historical landscapes are a central subject of research for American archeologists,<sup>27</sup> but too often these analyses are quarantined in the academic literature and do not make it into public interpretation. At former plantations, it is especially important that we begin to present the mechanisms of social control that were embedded in the local landscape.

In the remainder of this article I will suggest how we might use archeological, archival, and topographical evidence to investigate how John Blackford may have taken advantage of the natural landscape of his plantation.

Specifically, I hypothesize that Blackford used the psychological technique of panoptic surveillance to discipline his enslaved workers and to prevent them from behaving in ways other than those he desired, or which hindered his maximization of profit from their labor. Without further research, little archeological data analysis is possible for Ferry Hill at this point, as only a Phase I shovel test pit survey has been conducted at the site. However, the results of the preliminary landscape analysis presented here should help to facilitate the production of an expanded archeological research design that can address the central issues of social control, exploitation, and the violence of slavery that are currently problematic in the local popular understanding of Ferry Hill Plantation's past. Such work can assist the park in its interpretive efforts.

*...the results of the preliminary landscape analysis presented here should help to facilitate the production of an expanded archeological research design that can address the central issues of social control, exploitation, and the violence of slavery that are currently problematic in the local popular understanding of Ferry Hill Plantation's past.*

### Panoptic Theory

The concept of panopticism grew out of European philosophy concerning social control and the correction of deviance in the late 18th century. Samuel Bentham originally conceived of the panopticon in Russia while attempting to transplant English manufacturing methods there, but it was his brother Jeremy Bentham, the famous economist and social philosopher, who developed the idea to its full potential in the form of a prison (although he advocated for its use in other institutions such as schools, hospitals, and mental asylums, as well, where inspection of inmates was also a concern). The design quickly gained great popularity.<sup>28</sup>

The design of the panopticon is quite simple. Archeologist and critical race theorist Terrence Epperson has described the –

*ideal panopticon [as] an observation tower within a large circular courtyard surrounded by an annular cellblock several stories high but only one room deep. Each cell should be occupied by only one surveillant who is subject to constant observation from the tower; yet the design of the panopticon simultaneously prevents communication between inmates. Ideally, the central tower is screened, so the inmates never know who (if anyone) is in the observatory at any particular time.<sup>29</sup>*

This design is intended to produce several effects. Because the inmate can never tell whether or not he or she is being watched, he or she eventually comes

to feel as though under a perpetual state of observation, which “assures the automatic functioning of power.” For fear of doing something disallowed and then caught, the inmate begins to monitor him or herself. This internalization of the power the inmates constantly feel from the authority’s watchful gaze, in the end, catches them up “in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers.” In short, the result, if the panopticon works, is that the internalization of self-discipline becomes permanent for the inmates, thereby enabling their reinsertion into society as properly functioning citizens.<sup>30</sup>

Despite its popularity as a concept in the early 19th century, actual instances of formal panopticons were relatively rare.<sup>31</sup> While the panopticon is a specific architectural design, however, panoptic surveillance can be conducted in other settings as well. Epperson, for instance, has applied panoptic theory to the plantations of Thomas Jefferson (Monticello) and George Mason (Gunston Hall) in late 18th-century Virginia. Epperson’s study of Monticello and Gunston Hall illustrates how two of the United States’ founding fathers used various techniques, including the design of formal gardens and the manipulation of the rules of perspective, to ensure that their enslaved laborers felt themselves to be under the watchful “eye/I” of their masters at all times, while simultaneously shielding the workers from the actual views of Mason and Jefferson.<sup>32</sup>

For instance, on the north side of Gunston Hall, Mason planted four rows of over 50 cherry trees each lining a carriageway and footpaths. These trees were planted in just such a way that someone standing in the middle of the doorway on this side of the mansion could only see the first tree in each row; take one step to either side, however, and all of the trees came into view. Landscapes manipulated in this way have been called “spaces of constructed visibility,” but Epperson notes the need to consider also “spaces of constructed invisibility.” At Gunston Hall, a row of large walnut trees shielded the slave quarters from the mansion.<sup>33</sup> At early Monticello, dependencies, including slave quarters, were used to frame formal gardens. However, these buildings were located at the base of a hill and could only be entered from that side, enabling Jefferson “simultaneously to preserve his view of the surrounding landscape, mask the dependencies from view, yet still incorporate them into the rigid, symmetrical space of the immediate plantation nucleus.”<sup>34</sup>

Epperson concludes that the panoptic designs of Gunston Hall and Monticello had more to do with Lockean “possessive individualism” and erasing enslaved laborers (who were conceived of as property) from the political landscape than with actual psychological control.<sup>35</sup> However, James Delle, Mark Leone, and Paul Mullins have argued that this type of manipulation of the landscape was also a means of illustrating “[one] class’s ability to order time and nature” and thus “[legitimized] class relations because they were intended to promote underclass deference to gentry decision-making grounded in natural law.” True panopticism, which assumes “either common citizenship or common values,”

was not possible on plantations, since social relations between the races were structured on the basis of inequality. However, “the deliberately focused gaze of surveillance institutions acted as a modified form of panoptic discipline.”<sup>36</sup>

I will take a slightly more orthodox approach to panopticism at Ferry Hill Plantation while still using Epperson’s analysis of Monticello and Gunston Hall as a guide. From his study, three key spatial aspects of panoptic plantations can be identified: formal landscape design, viewshed (both from and back toward the point of power), and the erasure of enslaved workers from the actual view of the elite. Evidence from both primary historical documents and the historic landscape of the plantation (as revealed through architectural and archeological studies) suggests that two of these characteristics were almost certainly present at Ferry Hill during John Blackford’s life, and there is circumstantial evidence that the third might have been as well.

### Evidence for Panoptic Surveillance at Ferry Hill Plantation

In his now classic study *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, Rhys Isaac argued that in the decades surrounding the Revolutionary War, southern aristocrats demonstrated their “natural” social eminence by elevating their houses above all surrounding dependencies, such as kitchens, slave quarters, and barns; thus, social inferiors (both enslaved and free laborers alike) living and working in such places literally had to look up to their masters. Indeed, architectural historian Camille Wells has written that planters’ houses were “more than [places] of dwelling—[they were] the vantage from which a planter surveyed and dominated his idealized landscape . . . In almost every respect, the texture and pace of life in [the 18th century] was determined by the impulse of landowning planters to achieve, maintain, and demonstrate their authority over others.”<sup>37</sup>

More recently, anthropologist John Michael Vlach has extended this argument into the world of plantation artwork. In a survey of plantation landscape paintings spanning the late 18th century to the end of the 19th century, Vlach notes that antebellum Southern landscape artists routinely violated one of the primary principles of contemporary landscape art in the United States by depicting the mansion houses that were their subjects from a lowly vantage point. (During the 19th century, landscape artists usually depicted the surrounding landscape from an elevated position in order to communicate human mastery over nature.) The purpose of depicting planters’ houses from a depressed vantage point was to create “images as seen by an upturned face, one that implicitly signaled submission and respect.” Furthermore, antebellum plantation artists frequently erased enslaved laborers from the landscape altogether; they focused the paintings on the mansion house instead, rather than the fields or other areas where daily labor took place. The planters and their families were depicted as people of leisure, rather than labor: All that they had was theirs because of their natural superiority, not hard work or a privileged background.<sup>38</sup> As a socially



FIGURE 4  
View of Ferry Hill Plantation and Bridgeport from Shepherdstown after a flood in 1924. This photograph provides a particularly good illustration of the viewshed from Ferry Hill Place (upper left corner). (Courtesy of the Historic Shepherdstown Museum)

connected middling planter, Blackford would have been well aware of these symbolic manipulations of the landscape.

In line with the importance of vantage in 18th- and early 19th-century Chesapeake plantations, perhaps the most important panoptic aspect of Ferry Hill Plantation was its viewshed from Ferry Hill Place, where Blackford lived and worked. He very rarely performed any physical labor himself, instead spending most of his days in his study or directing and inspecting the work of others.<sup>39</sup> As mentioned earlier, however, Ferry Hill Place was situated on top of a bluff overlooking the Potomac River and Shepherdstown. Given the plantation's location nestled in a horseshoe bend of the Potomac, Blackford had a direct view of large portions of his plantation from his home. In addition, he had a very good view of Bridgeport and the ferry operation. Thus, from various points in his mansion John Blackford could have kept watch over all of his workers, both enslaved and hired. (Figure 4)

But could the enslaved laborers at Ferry Hill, and especially the “foremen of the ferry,” see whether or not Blackford was watching them? The travel memoirs of Anne Royall, a visitor to Ferry Hill Place in the late 1820s, suggest they could not. She described her journey across the river from Shepherdstown thus –

*Seeing a beautiful mansion perched on the summit of a lofty eminence, on the opposite shore, I was told it was [Ferry Hill Place], and wishing to take a near view of the site, I left my baggage to come with the stage, and crossed the river. After a pretty fatiguing walk up a moderate mount, I found myself on a level plain . . . the*

*view from it [Ferry Hill Place] is equally grand. But the house appears to more advantage when viewed from the Virginia shore. . . . [John Blackford] was sitting in his cool portico, which overlooks the whole country, and was watching me, he said, from the time I left Shepherdstown.<sup>40</sup>*

Royall did not notice Blackford himself until she arrived at the mansion. Thus, it would seem that Blackford could keep an eye on ferry operations, without the enslaved workers responsible for operating the ferry knowing it. Such insecurity would have been meant to provide the impetus for the internalization of gaze and therefore self-discipline, that was crucial to the success of panoptic surveillance.<sup>41</sup>

The second aspect of panoptic plantations is formal landscape design. In late 18th-century “power gardens” such as those at Gunston Hall, Monticello, and William Paca’s garden in Annapolis, Maryland, designers used terracing and the careful placement of shrubbery or trees to manipulate vision and perspective.<sup>42</sup> These designed landscapes served to illustrate and naturalize the power of the social elite. Neither John Blackford nor his eldest son Franklin ever made mention in their journals of a formal garden or of ornamental landscaping, as was the norm in “power gardens.” Once again, however, John Blackford’s education and passion for knowledge suggest that he would have been familiar with the literature on ornamental garden design, at least in passing.

In addition, other primary sources hint at the existence of formal landscaping at Ferry Hill Place. One such piece of evidence comes again from Anne Royall’s description of her visit to the estate: “[Ferry Hill] lacks nothing to render it a paradise; it is well built, of brick, and magnificently finished; the terraces, network, gardens, and shrubbery all correspond.” A second clue comes from Blackford’s March 23, 1830 journal entry, when he noted that he was having mulberry trees planted on the lawn. Both white and black mulberry trees were often used in ornamental gardens. Finally, an advertisement, placed in a Hagerstown newspaper just a week after the above-mentioned 1830 journal entry, provides a detailed description of the plantation. Concerning the house’s lawn, Blackford parsimoniously wrote that it “consist[ed] of about five acres, [and was] adorned with a variety of fruit and ornamental trees.” He makes no mention of any slave quarters.<sup>43</sup>

Evidence from archeology, oral history and the historical record all suggest that the slave quarters were obscured from the direct view of Ferry Hill Place, indicating the visual erasure of enslaved laborers from the landscape: the final important characteristic of panoptic plantations. During the 1979 archeological survey, the field crew uncovered evidence of two buildings to the rear of the mansion house. A former tenant at Ferry Hill Place in the early 20th century with ties to Blackford’s descendants identified one of these buildings as a three-room service building. While the archeological survey uncovered



no conclusive evidence of the slave quarters, the same tenant described the placement of the quarters to the north of the service building, or what would have been behind it from the vantage point of Ferry Hill Place.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the quarters where the enslaved laborers actually lived would have been shielded from the view of the Blackford family and their visitors. It remains for archeology to verify the service building's age because it is possible that the structure was constructed some time after John Blackford's death in 1839. The following section further discusses archeological research needed to discover evidence about panoptic surveillance.

### Evidence for the Success of Panoptic Surveillance at Ferry Hill

Jeremy Bentham originally intended panopticism to be used to inculcate habits of self-discipline in people under surveillance, a use which presupposes the existence of individuals who understand themselves to be such and who are capable of holding certain social values and an aptitude for citizenship. However, Marcus Wood has argued that “the majority of [physical and psychological] torture inflicted on slaves grew out of the desire to break down the personality of the subject/victim, to generate and then enforce a consciousness of disempowerment and anti-personality.”<sup>45</sup>

In his study of coffee plantations in Jamaica, for instance, James Delle skillfully analyzed the spatial strategies used by white plantation owners during the pre-emancipation period in that country (then a British colony) in attempts to control the behavior of their enslaved workers. Within individual plantations, he identified a number of activity spheres that were kept spatially separate. Domestic space was further segregated by race and class: the white owner's great house, the white overseer's house, and African Jamaican slave villages. Agricultural spaces of production were further segregated into elite commodity production (coffee fields) and provision grounds for both subsistence and commodity production by enslaved laborers. Industrial space included coffee milling complexes and intermediate spaces were areas that were undeveloped and unused.

Although planters kept these spaces separate, the social hierarchy of the plantation was represented in their spatial layout as well as their material characteristics. Domestic spaces, for instance, were clearly distinguishable: the “great house” of the plantation owner was, not surprisingly, the largest, followed by the overseer's house and then slave houses. Great houses could be isolated from other areas of the plantation, but often they were situated within view of the industrial spaces of production. Overseer's houses were placed either within or adjacent to these same spaces. These placements were useful because they allowed the overseers, and sometimes the owners, the opportunity for perpetual surveillance of the industrial production process—and also, therefore, the labor of the enslaved workers.<sup>46</sup>

Furthermore, the location of slave villages and the materials with which slave huts were constructed attest to their devaluation. Slave villages were often clustered in areas of a plantation that were considered to be marginal to the coffee production process. The small huts in which enslaved laborers lived were made of perishable materials (unlike the great houses and overseers' quarters, which were built of stone or strong timber), and thus would have needed repairs more frequently. Another indignity was the cartographic practice of either vaguely referring to an area as the "Negro grounds," or leaving any mention of slave quarters off of plantation maps altogether.<sup>47</sup> To control the laboring population, owners and overseers also restricted slaves' movement within the plantation and kept the work process under perpetual surveillance. In these ways, the planter elite conceptually devalued the labor of the enslaved population, as well as the laborers' personal dignity as human beings.<sup>48</sup>

How could these two seemingly conflicting goals—on one hand, to inculcate self-discipline based on a shared set of values and expectations, and on the other, to obliterate the subject in order to create an anti-personality—coexist and function on slave plantations? The differing contexts of the European and Euro-American rehabilitative or educational institutions (for instance, prisons, poor houses, mental asylums, or schools) and the American plantation are of paramount importance. In the former context, the goal of discipline was to create individuals capable of functioning in society according to specific, predetermined rules of behavior and even thought. The latter context, however, operated on the assumption that Africans and African Americans were biologically and mentally incapable of such assimilation. Any challenge to this assumption, such as insubordination by enslaved laborers (taking any form, from armed rebellion to the acquisition of literacy), had to be obliterated. The psychological torture of panoptic surveillance, intended in this context to break down the individual subject and to create an "anti-personality," was therefore perfectly consistent with the prevailing racial ideology and in fact accomplished the same ultimate goal (the validation and naturalization of the social order) as it did in its original institutional context.

The evidence from the historical record seems to indicate that at Ferry Hill, as at most sites of enslavement (including the Jamaican coffee plantations analyzed by Delle), John Blackford did not achieve this goal through surveillance of his enslaved workers. Delle, Leone, and Mullins have characterized the relationship between masters and slaves on plantations as "the dialectics of discipline and resistance."<sup>49</sup> There is plenty of evidence that Ferry Hill Plantation's slaves actively resisted discipline, including accounts of runaways (all of whom were caught), prolonged periods of absenteeism, frequent drunkenness, and even an abortion.<sup>50</sup> Such resistance seems to indicate that individualism did indeed exist among the enslaved laborers, and that Blackford was unable to instill self-discipline (or the absence of resistance) and overwhelming feelings of disempowerment in his slaves.

Given the ambiguities of the historical record on the relationship between discipline and disempowerment at the plantation, further archeological investigation at Ferry Hill could help address questions as to the extent and effectiveness of surveillance techniques used at the plantation. The archeological survey completed in 1979 was only preliminary and was conducted before plantation archeology emerged as a major field of study within historical archeology. Even today, very few archeological studies of plantation life have dealt with small, agriculturally diverse sites such as were common in the piedmont of Maryland and Virginia.<sup>51</sup> Phase III excavations should be undertaken around the house and in the vicinity of the possible slave quarters to find any evidence relevant to surveillance, control, and resistance at Ferry Hill Plantation.

The first step should be to more accurately date the “service building” (or any predecessors upon whose foundations it may have been constructed), as well as to firmly locate and excavate the slave quarters. This would allow researchers to create a better reconstruction of the antebellum landscape of the plantation than is currently possible, and might be able to support or refute the hypothesis that the slave quarters were hidden from view behind the service building—an example of constructed invisibility.

Another line of analysis should focus on ceramic assemblages from any privies, trash dumps, or other features that might be found. What kinds of ceramics did the enslaved laborers use? Did they make their own ceramic vessels, or did they participate in a local or even regional trade network with other slaves or free black people? Or, did they receive hand-downs from the Blackford family? Standardized assemblages have been shown to indicate conformity to a predefined order;<sup>52</sup> if the Blackfords’ *slaves attempted to piece together matched sets of dishes, this may be an indication that they used material culture to resist the antebellum plantation’s dehumanizing discipline by laying claim to an equality that they were denied as slaves. On the other hand, if ceramics can indicate the success, or lack thereof, of the disciplinary process, then material assemblages associated with the Blackford family might be able to indicate the opposite process, that of the establishment of an ideology of natural hierarchy.*

Fine-grained stratigraphic interpretation coupled with detailed pollen analysis and the location of planting features in the yard areas immediately surrounding the mansion might be able to answer securely whether ornamental landscaping ever existed on the grounds of Ferry Hill Place.<sup>53</sup> Did commonly used ornamental landscape plants, such as mulberry trees, exist at Ferry Hill prior to the Civil War? Can the archeological traces of such planting episodes reveal information about the spatial organization and density of any ornamental gardens that may once have existed? Again, the answers to such questions could help park staff to test hypotheses of the plantation’s constructed visibility and invisibility.

Finally, understanding the Bridgeport landscape (the location of the ferry operation) would provide yet more evidence for questions of the estate's constructed visibility and invisibility. Bridgeport has been damaged by periodic floods and, more recently, bridge construction and repair. These post-depositional events may have severely impaired or even destroyed this portion of Ferry Hill Plantation's archeological potential. Testing should be conducted in the Bridgeport area to determine the feasibility of further archeological study there. Archeological investigation of intact areas could address the following questions. For instance, how large an area did the foremen of the ferry have to move around in, and were any parts of this area out of sight of the mansion house? Or were there other possibilities for escaping from Blackford's surveillance, such as buildings to hide in or behind? Are there material remains of the ferry foremen's activities, such as drinking, that would provide evidence that surveillance to instill an appropriate subjectivity (or anti-personality) in them failed?

### Conclusion

While there is no indisputable evidence for the use of panopticism at Ferry Hill, the balance of archival and archeological evidence points toward that conclusion and highlights the need for additional research. The argument put forth here is intended to defuse the idea that slavery as experienced at Ferry Hill Plantation was *fairly comfortable*, but it represents only a *first step*. The C&O Canal NHP has been steadily working toward a new public interpretation of the property that fully accounts for the lived realities of slavery. Ferry Hill Place is a local landmark familiar to many Washington County history buffs, and it will not be easy to modify longstanding beliefs about John Blackford and his treatment of enslaved laborers. Archeology and critical landscape analysis, however, are two tools that could greatly aid in the development of a nuanced yet compelling interpretation of the enslaved African Americans' daily lives at Ferry Hill.

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### Notes

- 1 An earlier version of this article was presented at the 34th Annual Middle Atlantic Archaeological Conference in Rehoboth Beach, Delaware, in 2004. I would like to thank the following individuals for their assistance during the writing and preparation of this article: James Perry and the staff of C&O Canal NHP in Hagerstown were extremely helpful and supportive during my internship. Mark Leone and Douglas Sanford read and commented on the MAAC conference paper. Bill Justice and Curt Gaul from NPS and two anonymous *CRM* reviewers provided insightful comments on earlier drafts of the present article. Jason Shellenhamer and Meghann

Kent provided me with useful supplementary information on power gardens and tours of Ferry Hill Place, respectively. Finally, Martin Perschler and Barbara Little have been most helpful in shepherding this article through the review and publication process.

- 2 See Laura (Soullière) Gates, "Frankly, Scarlett, We Do Give a Damn: The Making of a New National Park," *George Wright Forum* 19(4)(2002): 32-43; Michèle Gates Moresi, "Presenting Race and Slavery at Historic Sites," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 1(2)(2004): 92-94; Sharon Ann Holt, "Questioning the Answers: Modernizing Public History to Serve the Citizens," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 129(4)(2005): 473-481; James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, eds., *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory* (New York: The New Press, 2006); essays by Carol McDavid, Lori Stahlgren and Jay Stottman, and Kelly Britt in Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel, eds., *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007); Carol McDavid, "Descendants, Decisions, and Power: The Public Interpretation of the Archaeology of the Levi Jordan Plantation," *Historical Archaeology* 31(3)(1997): 114-131; Parker B. Potter, Jr., "What Is the Use of Plantation Archaeology?" *Historical Archaeology* 25(3)(1991): 94-107; John Tucker, "Interpreting Slavery and Civil Rights at Fort Sumter National Monument," *George Wright Forum* 19(4)(2002): 15-31.
- 3 While the property has historically been called a plantation by both researchers and local residents, this is a somewhat misleading description. The largest number of slaves that Blackford is known to have owned at any one time is 18, two shy of the number usually required for plantation status (at least in the Deep South; see Kenneth M. Stamp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956], 30). Instead of a large workforce of enslaved laborers, Blackford utilized a mixed labor force of his own slaves, enslaved African Americans whose labor he hired from other slave owners, and both white and black free laborers.
- 4 Fletcher M. Green, ed., "Ferry Hill Plantation Journal, January 4, 1838-January 15, 1839," *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science* 43 (1961): xviii-xix; Max L. Grivno, "Historic Resources Survey: Ferry Hill Plantation, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historic Park" (unpublished report, C&O Canal National Historical Park, Sharpsburg, MD, 2001), 50. On the history of the "Lost Cause" movement, see David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001).
- 5 The practice of slavery in Western Maryland has a long history of being described as "the mildest form of slavery," stretching back even to the antebellum period. See Edie Wallace, "Reclaiming the Forgotten History and Cultural Landscapes of African-Americans in Rural Washington County, Maryland," *Material Culture* 39(1)(2007): 11-12.
- 6 Potter, "What Is the Use," 103.
- 7 Grivno, "Historic Resources Survey," 17-18.
- 8 Green, "Ferry Hill Plantation Journal," xiii; Grivno, "Historic Resources Survey," 19-21; *Hagerstown Guardian*, September 22, 1812, 3.
- 9 Green, "Ferry Hill Plantation Journal," viii, xii, xv-xvi; Grivno, "Historic Resources Survey," 17-18, 40, 42; *Hagerstown Torch Light and Public Advertiser [HTLPA]*, April 1, 1830, 3.
- 10 Green, "Ferry Hill Plantation Journal," xviii-xix; Grivno, "Historic Resources Survey," 41, 48-49; Harry Warner, "The Life of Slaves at Blackford's Ferry Hill Plantation," *Daily Mail*, Hagerstown, Maryland, October 27, 1982, A-9.
- 11 Green, "Ferry Hill Plantation Journal," xiii, 96; Grivno, "Historic Resources Survey," 55-56; Deed from Blackford to Douglas, November 11, 1848, Washington County Land Records, Deeds, Liber IN3 Folio 816, Maryland State Archives [MSA]; Melissa Robinson, "Ferry Hill Place Resource Guide" (unpublished report, C&O Canal NHP, Sharpsburg, MD, 1998), 16.
- 12 Grivno, "Historic Resources Survey," 56, 61-66. Henry Kyd Douglas's memoir (*I Rode with Stonewall, Being Chiefly the War Experiences of the Youngest Member of Jackson's Staff from the John Brown Raid to the Hanging of Mrs. Surratt* [Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1940]), a classic of "Lost Cause" propaganda, may have been the original inspiration for the historical narrative of paternalistic, comfortable slavery at Ferry Hill Plantation.

- 13 C&O Canal NHP, *Ferry Hill Place* (Hagerstown, MD, n.d.); Grivno, "Historic Resources Survey," 71, 75; Barry Mackintosh, *C&O Canal: The Making of a Park* (Washington, D.C.: History Division, National Park Service, 1991), 141-142; Robin D. Ziek, *Archeological Survey at Ferry Hill* (Denver: Denver Service Center Branch of Historic Preservation, National Capital Team, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1979), 7-8.
- 14 Robert C. Chidester, "Final Report on Historical Research, Ferry Hill Plantation, C&O Canal National Historical Park" (unpublished report, Partners in Parks, Paonia, CO and C&O Canal NHP, Hagerstown, MD, 2004); Green, "Ferry Hill Plantation Journal;" Grivno, "Historic Resources Survey;" Quinn Evans Architects, "Cultural Landscape Report: Ferry Hill" (unpublished report, C&O Canal NHP, Hagerstown, MD, 2004); Harlan Unrau, "Historic Structure Report: Ferry Hill Place" (unpublished report, C&O Canal National Historical Park, Sharpsburg, MD, 1977); Ziek, *Archeological Survey*.
- 15 Green, "Ferry Hill Plantation Journal," xix-xx.
- 16 Ulrich B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1929). On the development and growth of social history in the United States, see Geoff Eley, *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); and Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 440-445. Two of the most influential early examples of the new social history interpretation of slavery are Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959) and Stamp, *The Peculiar Institution*.
- 17 Fletcher M. Green, Thomas F. Hahn, and Natalie W. Hahn, eds., *Ferry Hill Plantation Journal: Life on the Potomac River and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 4 January 1838-15 January 1839* (Shepherdstown, WV: American Canal and Transportation Center, 1975).
- 18 George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Benefit from Identity Politics*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 177. For more on the forms and impacts of inherited (and largely invisible) forms of racism in American culture, see Barbara J. Fields, "Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review* 181(1990): 95-118; and Potter, "What Is the Use."
- 19 See Potter, "What Is the Use," 103.
- 20 Pat Schooley, "Ferry Hill," *Herald-Mail*, Hagerstown, Maryland, March 2, 1997, D1, D4. Hagerstown is the seat of Washington County and the nearest city to Ferry Hill Place.
- 21 Fields, "Slavery, Race, and Ideology;" Potter, "What Is the Use."
- 22 Terrence W. Epperson, "Race and the Disciplines of the Plantation," *Historical Archaeology* 24(4) (1990): 35; Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness*, 177; Potter, "What Is the Use."
- 23 See Chidester, "Final Report," and Grivno, "Historic Resources Survey." The park did not contribute to the original publication of John Blackford's journals in 1961, their republication in 1975, or the production of the 1997 *Herald-Mail* article.
- 24 Ferry Hill Place was added to the Network, which is a project of the National Park Service, in 2002 (see National Park Service, "Network to Freedom Database: Ferry Hill Plantation" [2001]; electronic document available online at <http://home.nps.gov/ugrr/TEMPLATE/FrontEnd/Site3.CFM?SiteTerritoryID=168&ElementID=156>).
- 25 These descriptors are my own, and not the tour guides'.
- 26 Meghann Kent, C&O Canal NHP Intern, personal communication, June 16, 2007.
- 27 For examples of some of the most influential landscape studies within American historical archeology, see the following: James A. Delle, *An Archaeology of Social Space: Analyzing Coffee Plantations in Jamaica's Blue Mountains* (New York: Plenum Press, 1998); William M. Kelso and Rachel Most, eds., *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Archaeology* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990); Mark P. Leone, "Interpreting Ideology in Historical Archaeology: Using

- the Rules of Perspective in the William Paca Garden in Annapolis, Maryland,” in *Ideology, Representation and Power in Prehistory*, ed. Christopher Tilley and Daniel Miller, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 25-35; Leone, “Rule by Ostentation: The Relationship Between Space and Sight in Eighteenth-Century Landscape Architecture in the Chesapeake Region of Maryland,” in *Method and Theory for Activity Area Research: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach*, ed. Susan Kent (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 604-633; Karen Bescherer Metheny, *From the Miners’ Doublehouse: Archaeology and Landscape in a Pennsylvania Coal Company Town* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006); Stephen A. Mrozowski, *The Archaeology of Class in Urban America* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Rebecca Yamin and Karen Bescherer Metheny, eds., *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996).
- 28 Terrence W. Epperson, “Panoptic Plantations: The Garden Sights of Thomas Jefferson and George Mason,” in *Lines That Divide: Historical Archaeologies of Race, Class, and Gender*, ed. James A. Delle, Stephen A. Mrozowski and Robert Paynter (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 58; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 200-206. For the original postulation of the theory, see Jeremy Bentham, *Panopticon; or, the Inspection House* (London: T. Payne, 1791).
- 29 Epperson, “Panoptic Plantations,” 58-59.
- 30 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 201, 203-204.
- 31 Epperson, “Panoptic Plantations,” 59.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 58-77. Epperson’s use of panopticism to explain power relations on plantations is an extension of the archaeological trend, begun in the late 1980s, to replace the concepts of status and caste in plantation studies with power and class (Theresa A. Singleton, “The Archaeology of the Plantation South: A Review of Approaches and Goals,” *Historical Archaeology* 24(4)(1990): 73). For examples, see Epperson, “Race and the Disciplines of the Plantation;” Epperson, “Constructing Difference: The Social and Spatial Order of the Chesapeake Plantation,” in *“I, Too, Am America”: Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, ed. Theresa A. Singleton (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 159-172; Jean E. Howson, “Social Relations and Material Culture: A Critique of the Archaeology of Plantation Slavery,” *Historical Archaeology* 24(4)(1990): 78-91; J.W. Joseph, “White Columns and Black Hands: Class and Classification in the Plantation Ideology of the Georgia and South Carolina Low Country,” *Historical Archaeology* 27(3)(1993): 57-73; Charles E. Orser, Jr., “Plantation Status and Consumer Choice: A Materialist Framework for Historical Archaeology,” in *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, ed. Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood (New York: Plenum Press, 1987), 121-137; Orser, “The Archaeological Analysis of Plantation Society: Replacing Status and Caste with Economics and Power,” *American Antiquity* 53 (1988): 735-751; Orser, “Toward a Theory of Power for Historical Archaeology: Plantations and Space,” in *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, ed. Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 314-343; and Brian W. Thomas, “Power and Community: The Archaeology of Slavery at the Hermitage Plantation,” *American Antiquity* 63 (1998): 531-551.
- 33 Epperson, “Panoptic Plantations,” 62, 64. The phrase “spaces of constructed visibility” is from John Rajchman, “Foucault’s Art of Seeing,” *October* 44 (1988): 103.
- 34 Epperson, “Panoptic Plantations,” 68.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 72-73.
- 36 James A. Delle, Mark P. Leone, and Paul R. Mullins, “Archaeology of the Modern State: European Colonialism,” in *Companion Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, Vol. 2, ed. Graeme Barker (London: Routledge, 1999), 1118-1119.
- 37 Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Camille Wells, “The Planter’s Prospect: Houses, Outbuildings, and Rural Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 28(1)(1993): 28. See also Leone, “Rule by Ostentation;” and Dell Upton, “Imagining the Early Virginia Landscape,” in Kelso and Most, *Earth Patterns*, 71-86.

- 38 John Michael Vlach, *The Planter's Prospect: Privilege and Slavery in Plantation Paintings* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). The quote is from page 1.
- 40 Green, "Ferry Hill Plantation Journal," xv.
- 41 Anne Royall, *Black Book; or, a Continuation of Travels in the United States*, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Printed by the author, 1828), 294-295, quoted in Grivno, "Historic Resources Survey," 23.
- 42 Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 155.
- 43 See Leone, "Rule by Ostentation;" and Carmen A. Weber, Elizabeth Anderson Comer, Louise E. Akerson, and Gary Norman, "Mount Clare: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Restoration of a Georgian Landscape," in Kelso and Most, *Earth Patterns*, 135-152.
- 44 Royall, *Black Book*, 294-295, quoted in Grivno, "Historic Resources Survey," 23; John Blackford, diary, 1829-1831, Manuscript 1087, Manuscripts Department, Maryland Historical Society Library; *HTLPA*, April 1, 1830, 3. (Why Blackford initially wanted to sell the plantation in 1830, and why he apparently decided not to do so, has never been discovered. He makes no mention of any such plans in his journal around the time of the advertisement.) I am indebted to Jason Shellenhamer (University of Maryland, personal communication, January 20, 2004) for informing me about the prevalence of mulberry trees in ornamental gardens.
- 45 Ziek, *Archeological Survey*, 25.
- 46 Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780-1865* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 216.
- 47 Delle, *An Archaeology of Social Space*, 120, 135-143.
- 48 Compare this practice to John Blackford's previously discussed omission of any mention of Ferry Hill Plantation's slave quarters in his 1830 sale advertisement, despite the fact that several other outbuildings were described in detail.
- 49 Delle, *An Archaeology of Social Space*, 143-144, 156-161.
- 50 Delle, Leone, and Mullins, "Archaeology of the Modern State," 119.
- 51 Green, "Ferry Hill Plantation Journal," xix, 25-26.
- 52 However, for an example of such a study, see Kathleen A. Parker and Jacqueline L. Hernigle, *Portici: Portrait of a Middling Plantation in Piedmont Virginia*, Occasional Report 3 (Washington, DC: Regional Archeology Program, National Capital Region, National Park Service, 1990). An overview of the topic is provided by Douglas W. Sanford, "The Archaeology of Plantation Slavery in Piedmont Virginia: Context and Process," in *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake*, ed. Paul A. Shackel and Barbara J. Little (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 115-130.
- 53 Delle, Leone, and Mullins, "Archaeology of the Modern State," 1147; see also Paul A. Shackel, *Personal Discipline and Material Culture: An Archaeology of Annapolis, Maryland, 1695-1870* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1993).
- 54 For examples of pollen and phytolith analyses as a tool in historical archeology, see Gerald K. Kelso, "Pollen-Record Formation Processes, Interdisciplinary Archeology, and Land Use by Mill Workers and Managers: The Boott Mills Corporation, Lowell, Massachusetts, 1836-1942," *Historical Archaeology* 27(1)(1993): 70-94; Gerald K. Kelso and Mary C. Beaudry, "Pollen Analysis and Urban Land Use: The Environs of Scottow's Dock in 17th, 18th, and Early 19th Century Boston," *Historical Archaeology* 24(1)(1990): 61-81; essays by Michael Hammond, Naomi F. Miller et al., Irwin Rovner, and James Schoenwetter in Kelso and Most, *Earth Patterns*; and Rovner, "Floral History by the Back Door: A Test of Phytolith Analysis in Residential Yards at Harpers Ferry," *Historical Archaeology* 28(4)(1994): 37-48.



## Preserving California's Japantowns

by *Donna Graves*

Debate about the preservation of California's historic Japantowns in Los Angeles, San Jose, and San Francisco has intensified in recent years. Development pressures, retirement of long-time community businesses, and loss of the Nisei (second) generation who rebuilt their communities after World War II stimulated concern about the future of Japantowns, or *Nihonmachi*. Activists and historians responding to this critical juncture found a related question emerging from their dialogues about cultural and historic preservation: "Where were California's other Japantowns and what remains of them?"

This query inspired a recent statewide effort to identify historic resources associated with dozens of Japantowns that thrived throughout California prior to World War II and provide a basis for documentation, stewardship, and interpretation of sites associated with Japanese American heritage. The *Preserving California's Japantowns* project is sponsored by the California Japanese American Community Leadership Council, a statewide network dedicated to addressing challenges and issues affecting the Japanese American community, and funded by the California State Library's Civil Liberties Public Education Program, which supports projects that document and educate Californians about the experiences of Japanese Americans during World War II.

California held the largest population of people of Japanese descent, or *Nikkei*, in the United States just before World War II, yet their historical presence is often invisible today in cities and towns where they farmed, fished, built businesses, and established institutions. (Figure 1) Wartime incarceration wreaked havoc on the physical and social fabric of communities across the West Coast, as well as on 120,000 individuals (over three quarters Californians). At the onset of World War II, most Japanese Americans did not own their homes or places of business due to discriminatory early 20th-century laws restricting Asian immigrants' rights to own property. Few *Nihonmachi* were able to regain their pre-war vitality, and many suffered yet again from urban renewal programs in the 1960s that destroyed what was left. The erasure of community history was one of the many painful legacies of forced removal and incarceration of *Nikkei*.

To help reclaim this history, in 2006-2007, *Preserving California's Japantowns* conducted reconnaissance-level surveys of historic resources in 43 communities across the state from Marysville to San Diego. *Nihonmachi* were selected to reflect the geographic, cultural, and economic diversity of California's Japanese

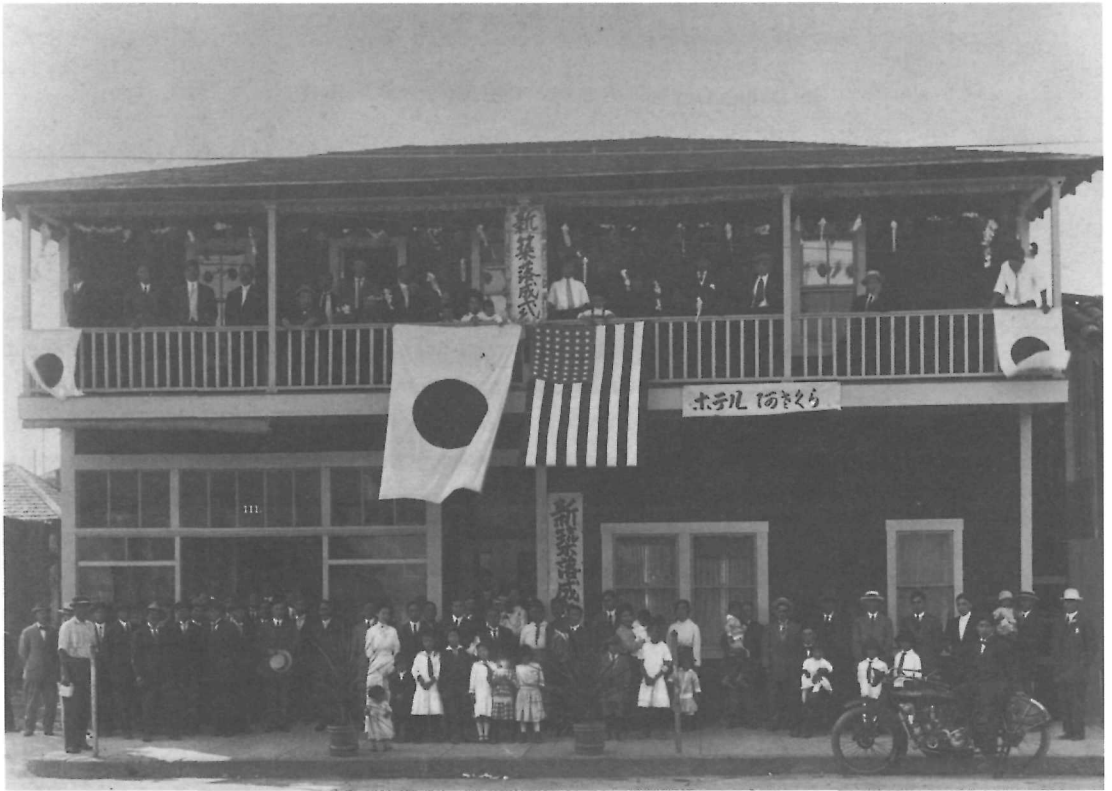


FIGURE 1  
*Sentaru Asakura, one of the first Japanese immigrants to settle in Santa Barbara, opened the Asakura Hotel in 1908 at 111-1/2 E. Canon Perdido Street. Adjacent properties soon held the Asakura family home, a bathhouse, grocery store, and barbershop. The Asakura family were among the few to return to Santa Barbara following forced relocation and incarceration in Gila River internment camp. By 1965, their boarding house and all of the surrounding Japantown had been demolished to make way for the El Presidio de Santa Bárbara State Park, a recreation of the 17th-century Spanish Presidio. The property is now used as a parking lot. (Courtesy of the Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation)*

American communities. Directories published by Japanese American newspapers provided a richly detailed primary source. Reorganized into spreadsheets, the directory listings guided the search for historic resources ranging from culturally-specific businesses such as bathhouses and tofu factories to churches and temples, community halls, and places like the ball fields where Nikkei teams played. The survey focused on sites that reflected the shared spaces of daily life: businesses, services, community halls, and religious and recreational spaces. (Figure 2) Even leaving out the residential listings, this approach generated an enormous number of locations to be surveyed.

Enlisting community support was crucial to meeting this project's ambitious goals. (Figure 3) *Preserving California's Japantowns* trained volunteers to survey Japantowns in the Los Angeles area and the Sacramento/Delta region. Although not necessarily the labor-saving strategy originally envisioned, the volunteer program fostered relationships with community organizations, preservation advocates, and interested residents. These personal connections promise to be important catalysts for community-based projects that emerge from the findings.

Recruiting Japanese American seniors to this effort helped tie the stories and personal memories, as the lived experience of California Nikkei, to buildings and landscapes across the state. Because detailed histories have not been recorded for most of these communities, gathering information from Nisei who



FIGURE 2  
 Fresno's grand Buddhist temple was built in 1920 after a fire destroyed the original 1902 structure. *Preserving California's Japantowns* surveys found a relatively large number of extant buildings that represent the heart of most Japantowns: Christian churches, Buddhist temples, community halls, and Japanese language schools. These structures were the primary places for Japanese immigrants and their children to gather as a community and preserve traditional cultural practices. (Courtesy of *Preserving California's Japantowns*)

grew up in Japantowns dramatically altered by World War II was a pressing task. The oral history component was especially critical in rural communities where directory listings only provided a post office box or rural route address.

While expecting to find some traces of the vibrant Japantowns that suffered such violent disruption during and after World War II, the historic resource surveys yielded results far more extensive than anticipated. Hundreds of previously unrecognized historic resources throughout California capture the diverse historical experiences of the state's Nikkei, from residents of urban Japantowns that featured a wide range of community institutions and services to those who worked and lived in smaller communities across the state.

The majority of historic buildings identified by *Preserving California's Japantowns* surveys could best be described as modest, vernacular structures reflecting the kind of working-class, immigrant history that has, for the most part, been under the radar of landmarks programs and heritage organizations. Very few announce their connections to Asian heritage through their architecture. With the rupture of public memory caused by World War II and the ensuing decades, many current residents had no idea their community once held a Japantown.

As the surveys progressed, they underscored the importance of sharing this knowledge and fostering dialogue between preservationists, local history organizations, contemporary residents, and Japanese American communities.

FIGURE 3

*Preserving California's Japantowns* staff Jill Shiraki and Donna Graves with Mas Hashimoto in front of his childhood home in Watsonville. The Hashimotos ran a small udon shop and sake brewery here and rented the upstairs to Dr. Frank Ito, a dentist. Previously, the building stood a few blocks north and served as headquarters for the local Japanese association. (Courtesy of *Preserving California's Japantowns*)



*Preserving California's Japantowns* efforts to develop awareness and advocacy for newly rediscovered Japanese American historic sites was recently recognized by the Vernacular Architecture Forum, which gave the project its inaugural Advocacy Award in May 2008.

Although it was not in the original project goals, a website was created at [www.californiajapantowns.org](http://www.californiajapantowns.org) and has proved to be an important tool for sharing this work. The site includes interactive maps of San Francisco, San Jose, and Los Angeles Japantowns; historic profiles and survey highlights of about half of the communities surveyed by the *Preserving California's Japantowns* project; an extensive bibliography; and a prototype "Nisei Story" excerpted from a series of place-based oral histories. A grant from the National Trust for Historic Preservation helped in the development of a "preservation toolkit" for the site. Next steps include organizing all of the survey data for posting on the website and finding a long-term web host.

*Preserving California's Japantowns* research points to numerous avenues for further scholarly exploration and provides the basis for efforts to designate, protect, and interpret these historic buildings and landscapes. The information will help local governments, heritage organizations, and the general public to more fully understand their community history and better plan for stewardship and interpretation of California's past.

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## California's Living New Deal Project

by *Lindsey Dillon and Alex Tarr*

President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal looms large in the collective American memory as one of the most important public programs of the 20th century. Yet people today often forget that New Deal agencies created much of our public infrastructure in both city and countryside as well as beautiful art works that adorn public places.(Figure 1)

In the fall of 2004, geographer Gray Brechin, a visiting scholar at the University of California, Berkeley, and photographer Robert Dawson began to document the physical legacy of New Deal-era public works in California.(Figure 2) With a seed grant from San Francisco's Columbia Foundation, they traveled the state recording, in text and photographs, the New Deal's most visible legacies. They rediscovered the New Deal landscape in California, and also investigated how so many useful and enduring structures could have been built in such dire economic circumstances.

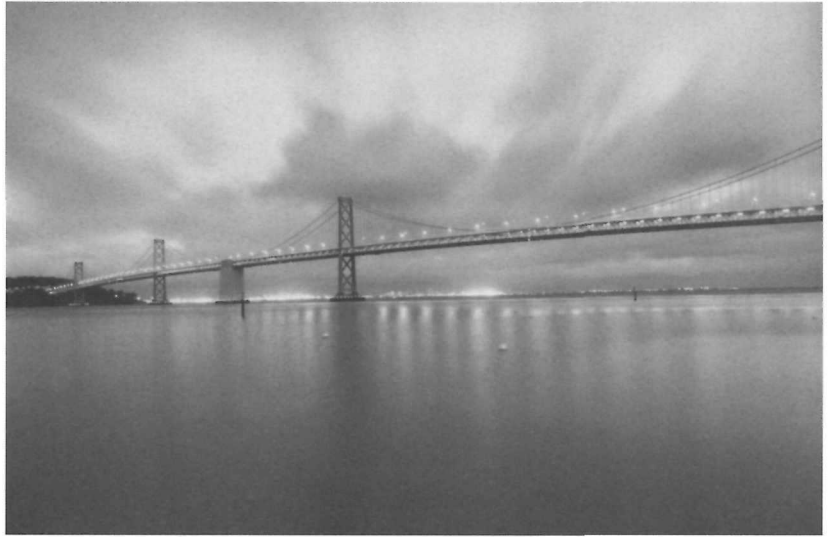
No one had attempted to document and map all of the public works created in one state by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Works Progress Administration (WPA), Public Works Administration (PWA), and other "alphabet soup" agencies. Because World War II brought an abrupt end to these efforts, the agency records are scattered, spotty, and imperfectly preserved. In 2007, geography professor Richard Walker brokered a supportive connection between the project, the California Historical Society (CHS), and the California Studies

FIGURE 1  
A WPA crew paves  
Harding Boulevard in  
San Francisco.  
(Courtesy of National  
Archives and Records  
Administration)



FIGURE 2

*The San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge was completed by the WPA in 1936. (Photograph courtesy of Robert Dawson, 2005)*



Center at the University of California, Berkeley's Institute for Research in Labor and Employment (IRLE) to establish *California's Living New Deal Project*. With additional funding from the Columbia Foundation, CHS hired Lisa Ericksen as project manager and research assistants Lindsey Dillon and Alex Tarr. Even with a larger team and funding, the complete record of what New Deal agencies accomplished in California remains difficult to piece together.

Research has taken project scholars through a wide variety of archives and across the state. They have scoured minutes of city meetings from the 1930s, old newspaper and magazine articles, college theses, and papers from historical societies for information about what was actually built, retrofitted, painted, and sculpted. For example, the California CCC museum, located at Cuesta College near San Luis Obispo, houses dozens of boxes of original files from CCC camps in California. While incomplete, these records reveal the extensive amount of tree-planting, trail-cutting, stonework, and other important CCC contributions to California parklands.

This research documents a broad landscape of important public resources built by New Deal agencies. For example, most airports in California are New Deal constructions. While the PWA built big airports in urban areas, the CCC was responsible for most of the rural airports in California. These originated as emergency landing strips and today are invaluable to rural populations. In rural and urban areas alike, the WPA built hundreds of schools and often embellished them with artwork, such as sculptures, mosaics, and murals. Other important contributions to civic life left by the New Deal include many of California's bridges, post offices, courthouses, playgrounds, and parks. (Figures 3, 4)

*California's Living New Deal Project* aspires to reintroduce this legacy of the New Deal to as many people as possible while simultaneously reinvigorating conversations about the promise and potential of large public works. In addi-



FIGURE 3  
*John Hinkel Park Amphitheater in Berkeley was built by the Civilian Works Administration (CWA) and opened in 1934. (Photograph courtesy of Gray Brechin, 2005)*



FIGURE 4  
*This rock wall at Point Reyes was built by the WPA prior to the area becoming a National Seashore. (Photograph courtesy of Gray Brechin, 2005)*

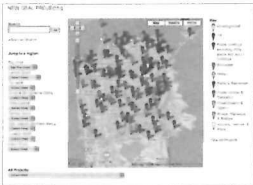


FIGURE 5  
*Screen capture of California Living New Deal History website shows San Francisco Bay Area projects.*

<http://livingnewdeal.berkeley.edu/>

tion to writing a book about the transformations that took place in California under the New Deal, Brechin has been delivering multimedia presentations to audiences throughout the state ranging from historical society members to public school teachers. Much of the research is already publicly available on the IRLE-hosted website that allows visitors to explore and contribute to the ever expanding database of New Deal sites in California.

At the heart of the website is an interactive map that displays a small marker for each New Deal project in the database. (Figure 5) Visitors to the site can explore the map by a region of interest and/or a particular type of site. For example, one could ask the map to display all parks and recreational areas in Los Angeles County. Each marker on the map links to a webpage for that particular New Deal project. Visitors can see both archival and contemporary photographs and read about what agencies were involved with the project, including its cost, duration, employment levels, and much more, depending on what information has been found.

The website also provides a forum to share knowledge about the New Deal in California and to collaboratively build the database. Visitors to the website can submit information about New Deal projects in their own communities and also read the stories of others who have shared their memories and experiences. These submissions can fill notable gaps in the public record of New Deal projects. They also are important testaments to the “living” aspect of the New Deal.

A research librarian recently wrote to the project about her morning swims at a WPA swimming pool in Los Angeles. Another woman wrote about watching WPA artist Belle Baranceanu paint two murals in her high school in San Diego in the 1930s, and about going on a date to see the WPA opera in San Diego’s Balboa Park. These submissions help to build the Living New Deal Project—an accessible and dynamic public record of buildings, murals, trails, parks, and other amenities enjoyed by the public for over 70 years.

The project continues to grow as more people visit the website, contribute, and share information. The daunting number of sites already recorded by *California’s Living New Deal Project* just begins to scratch the surface of what was constructed under the impetus of the New Deal in California. The worsening economic conditions of our own times and current public debate over the value of large, publicly funded works brings a new resonance and a deeper sense of urgency to gathering and appreciating the full record of the Living New Deal in California and throughout the United States.

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**Lindsey Dillon and Alex Tarr** are doctoral students in geography at the University of California, Berkeley. The Living New Deal History website can be accessed at <http://livingnewdeal.berkeley.edu/>.

## Discovering Layers of History at the Royal Presidio Chapel

by *John D. Lesak, Benjamin Marcus, and Michael Tornabene*

In the fall of 2007 several layers of decorative finishes, including classically inspired mural paintings, were uncovered at the Royal Presidio Chapel, a mission-era church constructed c. 1794 in Monterey, California.<sup>1</sup> Found during a seismic retrofit beneath a layer of wire lath-reinforced, Portland cement-based plaster, the artistry almost certainly dates to the chapel's original construction. The fortuitous discovery contributes significantly to the knowledge of decorative wall-painting during California's Spanish Colonial period. The fresco techniques, workmanship, and polychrome motifs evidence Spanish influence of the late 18th century. Although wall-painting from this era is not unheard of, this level of artistic sophistication and classical training is rare. The motifs visible at the chapel are unique among extant buildings of colonial New Spain for their age, classical influence, and refined technique.

Designated a National Historic Landmark for its significant representation of California's colonial history, the Royal Presidio Chapel has been studied extensively. The Historic American Buildings Survey recorded its architectural form in 1934; investigations with a more exploratory mandate followed. These included archeological investigations, an analysis of the stone façade, examination of interior finishes, and a historic structure report. Analyses of the building's interior finishes indicated that the original interior was unadorned. Conservators sought to confirm this assessment in spring 2007 by making limited openings through the cement plaster. They found rubble masonry from the exterior walls directly underneath.

During seismic rehabilitation in October 2007, plaster treatments were removed from the chapel's exterior. This exposed original (but later in-filled) window openings and forever dispelled the long-held view of the chapel's first "simple and unadorned" appearance. The jambs of the windows featured brightly painted surrounds that mimic large, ochre-colored stone blocks. Within days, contractors discovered a painted valance at ceiling height. This led to the uncovering of complex and vibrant frescoes and finishes.

### Paralleling California History

The history of the Royal Presidio Chapel parallels that of California: settlement and cession by the Spanish, transition to Mexican rule in 1821, secularization in 1835, and annexation by the United States in 1849. Originally constructed as a



FIGURE 1

*The exterior view of the Royal Presidio Chapel shows the building before beginning the seismic retrofit campaign.*

*(Courtesy of the authors)*



military church in a basilica style, the structure was expanded with the addition of a transept and apse in 1858 and remodeled. (Figure 1) In 1942 architect Harry Downie, Jr., attempted to return the interior to an austerity then associated with the Spanish Colonial aesthetic by removing or hiding the Victorian-era alterations and many previous decorative schemes behind wire lath-reinforced cement plaster.

That wire lath proved to be the greatest impediment to uncovering the interior finishes. The steel rapidly dulled the tools used on the cement plaster. Nonetheless, buoyed by the discovery of a decorative valance adjacent to the ceiling plane, a series of inspection openings were inserted through the cement plaster to determine the extent of the historic finishes. These openings were located strategically per their relationship to the confessional, sacristy, choir loft, nave, and bell tower. Each revealed up to four decorative finish campaigns varying in technique and color.

### Investigating the Decorative Finishes

The unexpected number of decorative campaigns and their complex, pictorial nature led conservators to implement a methodology based on strategic, but invasive, openings in the wall fabric, meticulous plaster removal, stabilization, and sampling, and documentation of all work done. The locations were determined by earlier studies and on the results of those investigations; that is, if decorative elements were found on the east wall, an opening in the similar location would be made on the west. Locations for the exploratory openings were also guided by the likely position of architectural elements as well as by the iconography of other missions.

Scored first, the individual squares of plaster were removed by hand, exposing the friable decorative finishes in the process. The finishes were then stabilized using chemical consolidants along with edging and injection with natural hydraulic lime grout. Each layer at any given opening was documented in-situ through hand-tracing, archival digital photography, and color-matching to the Munsel standard. The exposed decorative finishes were carefully sampled for use in laboratory analysis; layers of the different decorative finish campaigns were carefully removed by hand with dental tools, wooden scrapers, and brushes. Finally, as the openings revealed specific decorative elements, they were enlarged to completely document the element. Each opening was sized, measured, and referenced to datum points.

Using this exploration technique, the conservators conducted a comprehensive investigation of the chapel's interior. Initial work near the confessionals and transept uncovered an arch-shaped holy water receptacle surrounded by floral decorations and crosses and a vibrant diamond-patterned dado border executed in a surprisingly rich color palette. Further analysis revealed intricate architectural ornamentation and decorative figure painting executed in a variety of finish techniques.

### Conducting Laboratory Analysis

Physical on-site exploration, investigation, and laboratory analysis of the paint samples elucidated the composition of the paints and stratigraphy of the layers, which corresponded to various repainting campaigns conducted between 1794 and 1858. At least four schemes were found, including multiple layers of whitewash between the decorative layers, and were identified through cross-sectional microscopy. (Figure 2)

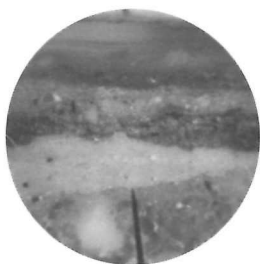


FIGURE 2  
*Microscopic analysis revealed three finish layers and two layers of whitewash applied between finish campaigns. (Courtesy of the authors)*

Laboratory characterization of the paints was conducted by the Getty Conservation Institute. Analysis revealed mineral and organic colorants commonly used in the 18th century. These included burnt organic materials, such as bones and wood, to make blacks and grays, hematite and maghemite used to make reds and pinks, and goethite for the ochre color. The presence of these colorants, which have been found in paintings of the period, confirms the early date of the chapel's frescoes.

### Picturing the Historic Paint Schemes: 1794-1858

With the on-site exploratory investigation and laboratory analysis completed, the project team constructed an overall picture of the church's interior appearance as it evolved over time. The original layer, incised and applied wet as true fresco, was the richest period of decoration with a classical colonnade, dado, valance, ornamental window surrounds, and portraiture. The colonnade consists of a pair of Corinthian columns painted on each nave wall, surmounted by a multicolored, faux-stone tri-centered archway that mimics the carved portal of the church's

primary façade.(Figure 3) This classically influenced architectural ornamentation framed the original sanctuary area, separating it from the comparatively unadorned nave.

Wood members, wrought iron spikes, and plaster outlines found above the column capitals suggest that the painted columns visually supported a wood arch likely removed before 1858. At floor level, the dado of a scarlet and pink diamond pattern defines the former sacristy.(Figure 4) The upper walls of the church featured a valence made of an intricately painted striped faux fabric capped by an interlocking banderol pattern. Employing a rich color palette, the window surrounds of the exterior continued on the interior, where the faux stone blocks are finished with decorative corner flourishes and floral motifs. A circular floral motif articulates the center keystone of the faux flat arch.

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### Across Four Centuries of Change: a Timeline

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- 1769 *"Sacred Expedition" to colonize Alta California begins, teaming Franciscan missionaries with the Spanish military.*
  - 1770 *Father Junípero Serra arrives at Monterey Bay and on June 3rd dedicates the Mission San Carlos Borromeo, southeast of present-day Monterey, the second of what would total 21 California missions. Three chapels are built in subsequent years, each destroyed by fire.*
  - c. 1771 *Father Serra moves the mission to Carmel. The existing chapel near Monterey becomes part of a Spanish military post, a presidio, headed by a military governor and the King of Spain, who has claimed Monterey as the capital of Alta California.*
  - 1791 *Construction of the fourth chapel begins on the site. Opening in 1794, it becomes the Royal Presidio Chapel the following year. Now a National Historic Landmark, it is the sole extant structure of the Monterey presidio established in the 1770s.*
  - 1821 *Mexican War of Independence is victorious against the Spaniards (who call it the Mexican Revolution), and the Royal Presidio Chapel is now in the hands of the independent Mexican government. It falls into disrepair under military rule. The Chapel is transferred to civil jurisdiction in 1835.*
  - 1846 *Congress declares war on Mexico, and the U.S. soon occupies Monterey. U.S. wins the Mexican-American War in 1848. California, part of the Mexican Cession, declares U.S. statehood in 1850.*
  - 1858 *Chapel expansions include a transept and apse, reflecting the early prosperity of Monterey. The interior is remodeled to reflect Victorian taste. Alterations to the interior include covering the original beams of the ceiling.*
  - 1942 *Architect Harry Downie, Jr. leads ambitious restoration seeking to seismically strengthen the Chapel and return it to a Spanish Colonial aesthetic.*
  - 1950s *The first of many archeological studies is conducted at the site.*
  - 1995 *Funded by the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, study of the façade's decaying stone initiates a decade-long period of investigation, research, and analysis.*
  - 1999 *Historic Structure Report undertaken by a team of conservators and historians, headed by historian Edna Kimbro.*
  - 2006 *Diocese of Monterey announces \$7.2 million Chapel restoration campaign including seismic strengthening, interior rehabilitation, and façade conservation.*
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FIGURE 3

*This view shows the Corinthian column capital, slightly obscured by the thick layer of wire-reinforced cement plaster. Note the cut wooden member at the top of the column capital, providing evidence of the faux transverse arch. (Courtesy of the authors)*



FIGURE 4

*The diamond dado served to define the sacristy. This full-height border appears to have extended to the floor, but rising damp has damaged the bottom 18 inches. (Courtesy of the authors)*

Perhaps the most significant find from the primary paint layer is a portrait of a red-haired woman on the wall of the choir loft. Although damaged by centuries of water infiltration and soot, it clearly shows a woman with curly bright red hair, with her head turned to the right, with distinct facial features and clothing. (Figures 5, 6) The style of the portrait resembles figures carved into the stonework of the church's transept doors and appears to be the earliest such painted representation in colonial California.

Although focused on the decorative finishes of the oldest layer, further analysis of the subsequent three layers yielded significant information. The second-oldest scheme includes an orange dado with black band painted on a layer of whitewash. A third layer corresponds to a drastic shift in coloration and techniques. Devoid of vibrant colors, it features black and white stenciled floral detailing and gray accent lines. Original ochre-colored faux-stone window surrounds were covered with gray faux-stones, creating an interior that may have been painted entirely in shades of black and gray. The fourth scheme exhibits a single solid layer of ochre appearing only at the dado level.

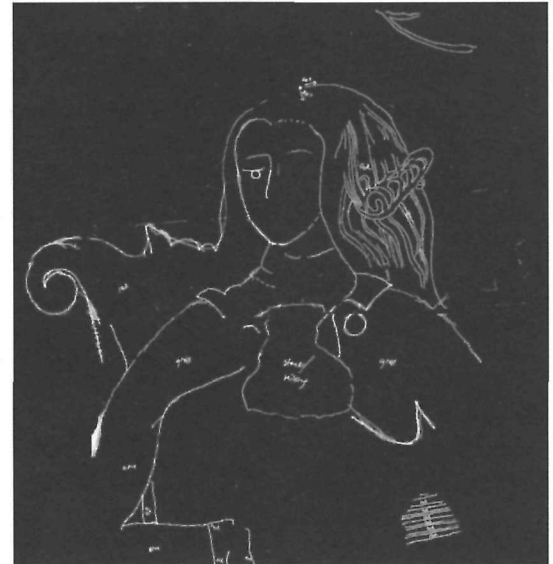
FIGURE 5

*The view of the female figure portrait shows damage from years of water infiltration and previous construction campaigns. (Courtesy of the authors)*



FIGURE 6

*A trace of the figure painting reveals what appears to be the top of a throne, the angle of her arm, and her decorative clothing. (Courtesy of the authors)*



## Building on this Discovery

The discovery of original frescoes has enriched the interpretation of the Royal Presidio Chapel, answering many questions about its construction, alteration, and appearance. Interpretive windows in the new finish plaster expose select painted borders, architectural elements, and decorative figures. Peeling back the layers of paint and displaying pieces of the early ornamentation not only offers a better understanding of the paint schemes but also of the chapel's own multifaceted history.

The frescoes were the highlight of the 4th Annual Historical Preservation of the Royal Presidio Chapel Conference, hosted by the Chapel Conservation Project in the fall of 2008. Through this forum, team members provided an extensive update of their respective areas of work and the ensuing discussions amplified the dovetailing of the disparate evidence uncovered thus far. Conservators hope further study of the frescoes will allow them to “bracket” the four decorative schemes. This next phase will entail an interdisciplinary approach involving study of the iconography of the chapel and placing its motifs within the context of the California missions. In-depth analysis of materials and artistic techniques employed in the paintings, combined with research of the chapel's imagery, promises to add much to the subject of Spanish Colonial wall-painting in North America.

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Principal **John D. Lesak**, AIA, LEED AP, an architect with an interdisciplinary background in engineering and materials science, leads Page & Turnbull's Los Angeles office. **Michael Tornabene**, Assoc. AIA, LEED AP, is a designer in the firm's Building Technology and Conservation studio in San Francisco. **Ben Marcus** is a conservator in the same studio in Los Angeles.

## Notes

- 1 The project team consisted of the Diocese of Monterey, owner; Cathy Leiker, project manager; Franks Brenkowitz & Associates, architect; Anthony Crosby, architectural conservator; Page & Turnbull, preservation architect; Fred Webster, structural engineer; and Webcor, general contractor.

## Reviews

### BOOKS

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*Slavery in the Age of Reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm*

By Alexandra A. Chan. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007; xiv + 284 pp., illustrations, maps; cloth \$48.00.

Ten Hills Farms, the estate of the Royall Family of colonial Massachusetts from 1737 to 1775, is the fascinating backdrop for Alexandra A. Chan's *Slavery in the Age of Reason* to provide "a historical archaeological investigation of colonial New England slavery" (p. 3). Ten Hills Farm provides one of the last intact examples of agricultural slavery in New England and as such offers a rare opportunity to investigate the 18th-century transatlantic slave trade and the institution of slavery in the region. Using the 65,000 artifacts collected from archeological digs conducted at the farm in summer 1999, 2000, and 2001, Chan reconstructs what she calls "one of the most neglected aspects of New England history and development" (p. 8) by using the materials as "primary evidence . . . of people forgotten or represented only indirectly in the written record" (p. 3).

Interweaving historical records such as contemporary newspapers, the writings of local antiquarians, letters, wills, and estate records, Chan "reads" the recovered objects and forms a nuanced picture of the interactions of Ten Hills Farm's historical residents within larger New England colonial society. Chan argues that the Royalls and their enslaved workers were involved in a fluid process of racialization — the creation of "white" and "black" public and private identities in a particular time and place—in which meanings

were expressed through the possession and use of things, such as dishware, toys, tools, clothing, plants, and other objects. *Slavery in the Age of Reason* uses these objects not only to tell the story of the Royalls but also show how the enslaved "sought, within practical limits, to structure their lives meaningfully and to create personal identities and relationships that belied their status as slaves" (p. 173–174).

Chan convincingly argues that the objects found around the main Royall House, such as an iron bootspur and a brass shoe buckle, are the material survivals of how the Royall family defined and maintained their identity as members of the elite in a period of ascendant European colonialism: white, wealthy, philanthropists, merchants, slave traders, and slaveholders. I appreciated Chan's awareness that in describing the Royall family identity as colonial elites, her analysis was skewed toward a patriarchal perspective, primarily because contemporary gender ideology produced male-dominated documents as source material. *Slavery in the Age of Reason* states this gender bias without negating the importance of Chan's analysis or denying the role of the Royall women in the creation and maintenance of the family's colonial identity.

Taking a new approach of reading identity through material culture, Chan writes in a narrative style that is both accessible and engaging to non-archeologists. The inclusion of a fictive vignette of Jemmy, an imaginative account that includes the historical enslaved worker's use of artifacts found at the site, illustrates how broken shards of dishware and an abandoned set of marbles can articulate a moment in the daily lives of the enslaved. Through

the vignette, *Slavery in the Age of Reason* effectively establishes associations between the Ten Hill Farm's historical residents and the collected artifacts. For the contemporary reader, the book personalizes the meaning of recovered remains into tangible, lived experiences.

The connection to historic preservation is clear: the valuable knowledge presented by *Slavery in the Age of Reason* would not have been possible without the preservation of Ten Hills Farm and the Royall House. In 1908, the Royall House Association bought the estate in Medford, Massachusetts and has since used it as a historic house museum, now called The Royall House and Slave Quarters. In 1962, the Isaac Royall House was designated a National Historic Landmark for its illustration of mid-Georgian architecture and its association with George Washington's strategizing with Generals Lee and Stark during the 1775 Siege of Boston. The Royall House's exceptional degree of historic integrity allowed new data to be recovered that became the basis for a new understanding of our collective past.

The excavation at the Royall House came about as a project by the Royall House Association to update interpretation at the historic site to capture the experiences of the African and Creole workers who labored at the farm and to explore the Royall's place in New England mercantilism and the Atlantic slave trade. In 1999, the Royall House Association approached Professor Ricardo Elia at Boston University's Department of Archeology to undertake the project. Chan participated in the project as a graduate student in Elia's "Archaeological Ethics and the Law" seminar, before taking over direction of the excavations in summers 2000 and 2001.

The Royall House Association's recognition of the past as a public heritage prompted the Ten Hills Farms' stewards to pursue the opportunity to expand previously un-interpreted knowledge of colonial life for its visitors. Chan's *Slavery in the*

*Age of Reason*, an outgrowth of her dissertation research, extends dissemination of that knowledge and understanding, first demonstrated by the Royall House Association through interpretation at Ten Hills Farm, to a larger, appreciative audience.

Turkiya L. Lowe

*National Conference of State Historic  
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*Dirt: The Erosion of Civilizations*

By David R. Montgomery. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007; ix + 295 pp; illustrations, maps; cloth \$24.95.

We are running out of good dirt, and when we are out, civilization as we know it will be over. Geomorphologist David R. Montgomery makes an urgent and compelling case for the modern world to pay attention to its dirt resources. Montgomery takes a historical view to observe the patterns of past civilizations and argues for sustainability and conservation, intergenerational land stewardship, and awareness that technological advances can cause disaster in the long-term.

The message of *Dirt* is: that which we take for granted in the lives of civilizations, we stand to lose if not taken seriously. Dirt, good, fertile dirt, has been foundational to the health of civilizations throughout the history of humankind. The taking of dirt for granted time and time again has proven disastrous.

How societies treat dirt is of fundamental importance to secure the future of civilizations on a global scale. Montgomery begins *Dirt* by laying out his concern that study of past civilizations reveals lessons in the implications of dirt abuse for contemporary civilizations. In Chapter 2, Montgomery provides an overview of the processes of soil accumulation, deposition, and erosion. He

outlines the ways that natural processes form new dirt, the ways nutrients get into soil to make it healthy, and the impact of conventional agriculture on natural soil systems. Chapter 3 discusses climate change and its effect on land, water, and humans. Climate change instigated human migration around the globe and affected cultures through the development of agriculture and animal domestication. Populations became larger and more sedentary which, in turn, created more demand on the soil. Soil degradation over hundreds of years, however, contributed to the fall of Mesopotamian civilizations.

Chapter 4 compares ancient and modern agricultural uses of soil in Mexico and Peru to argue that agricultural practices do not have to undermine societies. Modern families in these places use ancient methods that still work and provide sustainable approaches to cultivation. Chapter 5 investigates soil in Europe in terms of the effect of soil erosion on population density and movement, first in ancient societies then in the present day. Chapter 6 addresses developments in agriculture such as fertilization and slavery. It demonstrates the problem-solving approaches taken by cultures to build awareness of soil issues and remedy challenges. Chapter 7 outlines the significance of machinery and its dirt-moving capabilities in soil erosion. It also makes a case for government to coordinate and prioritize soil conservation activities.

Chapter 8 investigates society's poor keeping of the soil and the ways that companies and farmers degrade it. Montgomery makes the point that the difference between conflict and peace relates to how social systems dealt with agricultural productivity without new land. Chapter 9 looks at islands like Haiti, Cuba, and Iceland. Chapter 10 concludes the study. Montgomery reiterates the key issues, such as the reform of agriculture for industrialized and developing countries, the impact of soil-destroying practices on local economies, the need for government intervention before it is

too late, a reigning-in of the free market in order to support sustainable approaches, and the need to prioritize agriculture over other markets like oil. Montgomery also offers hope for the future through a series of recommendations to shift contemporary thinking about dirt in order to alter our current course.

Montgomery's book is a data-rich and fascinating discussion of an issue that clearly applies to everyone on the planet. The book should appeal to a range of disciplines ranging from history to archeology to geography to soil conservation, partly because it reconfigures analyses of labor, technology, politics and other aspects around something that seems so fundamental as to be forgotten.

Questions for the public, professionals, and students alike include: What mistakes in soil have past civilizations made that hastened their demise? How do the lessons for the past provide reason to change direction and slow the consumption of soil faster than it forms? How can mapping erosion, farming, or development play a role in the global management of dirt resources? Can we offer predictive models that will help nations strategize for the long-term health of their dirt for future generations? From more abstract angles, how does soil contribute to peace, social justice, the rights of humankind?

As cultures across the globe face food shortages, social stress, political unrest, and disharmony, Montgomery's book provides a reasoned program for the future.

Teresa S. Moyer  
*National Park Service*



*New Solutions for House Museums:  
Ensuring the Long-Term Preservation of  
America's Historic Houses*

By Donna Ann Harris. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007; xi + 260 pp, illustrations; paper \$27.95.

The historic house museum is perhaps the paradigmatic historic site, the most common way for Americans to encounter local history. Even as the number of new historic house museums is accelerating, these institutions face dire challenges in deferred maintenance, funding, board and volunteer participation, visitation, and perceived relevance. Over the last decade, preservation leaders have increasingly focused on the precarious status of many historic house museums. In this book, Donna Ann Harris, a preservation consultant with more than 20 years of experience, provides a critical resource for boards, staff, and volunteers at historic house museums, who need to consider whether creative alternatives to the house museum model may allow them to better realize their fundamental obligation—the preservation of the house.

The first part of the book provides context on the current problems many house museums face, as well as step-by-step explanations of the processes that boards can go through to evaluate the sustainability of their historic house museum. In a fascinating portion, Harris recounts the establishment of early historic house museums, such as Mount Vernon, and notes the interpretive challenges that house museums often confront. In a very clearly written chapter on the legal and ethical issues boards face, she underscores the importance of their stewardship responsibility even as she demystifies it. She uses fictional case studies of house museums facing such problems as recruiting board members, funding educational programs, and maintaining a connection with changing neighborhoods to embody issues she explores throughout the book.

Harris then devotes one of the longest chapters to a thorough explanation of the decision-making

process that boards, concerned about the future of their historic house museum, should undertake. A valuable resource in itself, this chapter includes concrete and specific advice, incorporating flow charts and checklists, as well as a sensitive discussion of the difficulties inherent in any kind of organizational change and suggestions for strategies that can help ease transitions. Harris then provides a typology of the solutions she will explore, arranging them on a spectrum according to the magnitude of change involved, and illustrating the advantages, disadvantages, and applicability of each approach through a reader-friendly question-and-answer format.

The real-life examples that make up Part II of the book reflect a wide range in geographic location, organizational size, and collaboration with other nonprofit groups, government agencies, and private individuals. Harris's research included interviews with the leaders of more than 50 historic sites. She presents a dozen case studies to illustrate a variety of solutions for struggling historic house museums, including asset transfer and merger (the Margaret Mitchell House and Museum with the Atlanta History Center), short-term leases (Heritage Branch of the British Columbia Ministry of Community, Aboriginal, and Women's Services), long-term leases (the Resident Curatorship Program at Hazelwood, Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission), and even sale to a private owner with easements (Robert E. Lee Boyhood Home).

In her analysis of each example, Harris examines the decision making process, recounts the challenges that participants faced and their reflections on the experience, and assesses the relative success of the new model. Each concludes with a section called "How to Use this Case Study," which helps the reader understand the potential relevance of complex situations. Frequent cross-references in the text connect the examples in Part II with the procedural parts of the book, helping readers to use this text most effectively. A well-organized and thorough bibliography that includes general works

on historic preservation and management, as well as materials specific to each case study, adds to the value of the book as a resource manual.

Harris calls on those charged with the stewardship of historic house museums to look beyond the standard model. Many such museums, she explains, were founded by default once an historic home had been saved, but this template does not represent the best strategy for the ongoing vitality of many historic houses. She urges board members, staff, and volunteers to reflect on the case studies she offers here and to assess whether their own situation is sustainable.

Some of the models she presents may be anathema to traditionally-minded boards, but she combines a passionate commitment to preservation with a clear-eyed look at current realities. She reminds board members that their primary duty is to the preservation of the house, and sometimes the best way to “do right” by the historic resource in their charge is to find a new use. Her tone, however, is not fatalistic but realistic, and her series of inspiring case studies suggests that bringing a more creative and entrepreneurial approach to historic house museums results not in loss, but rather enriches the possibilities for the structures themselves, for local history outreach, and for strengthening community.

Michelle McClellan  
*University of Michigan*

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*The Archaeological Survey Manual*

By Gregory G. White and Thomas F. King.  
Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007; 184 pp., illustrations; paper \$29.95.

This relatively short book (144 pages of text) is about the “nuts and bolts” of archeological survey. The authors define archeological survey as “a field application consisting of the constellation of meth-

ods leading to the detection, identification, and documentation” of the archeological record (p. 1). This book is a combination of Tom King’s 1978 publication, *The Archaeological Survey: Methods and Uses*, and an archeological survey handbook developed by Gregory White for classes and field schools he taught at California State University, Chico, in northeast California.

The authors suggest that the readers of this book should be: (1) primarily avocational archeologists and students; (2) professional archeologists who conduct or are responsible for archeological surveys; and (3) non-archeologists who are responsible for managing land that contains archeological sites or who finance, plan, or undertake land development and might end up paying for an archeological survey. It is clear how each of these audiences will find different parts of this book interesting and useful, but not all three audiences will find all parts equally so.

The book is organized into 14 chapters, which over a third of these, Chapters 4 through 8, describe maps, reading maps, and orientation in the field. These chapters, along with Chapter 2, “Gearing up for Archaeological Survey,” will be of most use for students and perhaps avocational archeologists who are not experienced with archeological survey. These audiences also will find the many examples of forms for recording survey information or examples of notes from surveys interesting and useful.

Chapters 9 through 14 are the most generally useful part of the book. Here, there is information that all the audiences mentioned by the authors will appreciate. In their introduction, the authors note on page 11 that “the challenge in planning a survey is to decide what one really needs to identify and the amount of detail one needs to record about what one identifies, then to design the most efficient, effective means of identifying it.” The later chapters of the book focus on this challenge. The most important general points that readers should take away from these chapters include:

- Archeological survey methods and techniques need to be adapted to the environmental characteristics of the area being surveyed and to the characteristics of the archeological sites expected in the area;
- Substantial amounts of planning and pre-fieldwork research are appropriate to understand as much as possible about the local environment and expected sites;
- Careful, systematic, and detailed recording of survey techniques and coverage are essential; and,
- If sites are discovered, careful and detailed documentation of their characteristics and locations are an important part of any archeological survey.

Of course no book of this modest length can cover all the aspects of archeological survey. The part of the archeological record that will be most susceptible to discovery and documentation using the methods, techniques, and “lessons learned” described in this book is the archeological remains that are more-or-less readily visible on the surface of the ground. There is only brief discussion on pages 112-118 about how to discover subsurface sites by inspection of natural stratigraphic exposures, the use of shovel test pits, or carefully controlled backhoe trenches. The archeological survey of the hypothetical Griffin Valley includes the use of shovel test pits in one section, but these are characterized as “slow, expensive, frustrating, and often marginally effective.”

This conclusion about shovel testing is taken directly from King’s 1978 text on the archeological survey. Unfortunately it does not reflect the substantial research and professional discussion about shovel testing as a site discovery technique that occurred and was published in the 1980s. The impression is that this technique, while mentioned, is best avoided. On the other hand, in much of the country where sites are buried below the surface, shovel test pits are a necessary archeological

discovery technique. It would have been useful for all the potential audiences of this book to know a little more about how shovel test pits and other subsurface discovery techniques have been used successfully, along with the implied expense and difficulties they can pose.

The bulk of Chapter 2 is taken straight from King’s 1978 publication without significant update, so it remains a short history that more or less ends with the status of archeological survey in the late 1970s.

The description of predictive modeling and formal sampling in archeological survey also is quite abbreviated and not well-referenced regarding statistical sampling. This section is largely taken directly from King’s 1978 survey publication.

The focus is on avoiding bias in drawing a sample, which is indeed an important consideration, but there is no discussion of steps needed to ensure that one can obtain estimates with known standard errors of site frequencies or site type frequencies from the sample. There is a focus on sample percentage, when actually the number of sample units is more relevant for reducing standard error in statistical sampling.

Despite a few oversights, this book has a great deal of practical advice about archeological surveying that has many applications. However, readers also need to recognize that the authors are not selling a particular kind of archeological survey. Rather, they are trying to note important considerations that need to be taken into account in the design and execution of this kind of archeological investigation. In a short section on standards for archeological survey at the end of Chapter 2, they write “a fundamental point of this book is that there is no standard way to do archaeological survey. Different approaches are appropriate for different circumstances and to achieve different purposes” (p. 11).

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*Chinese American Death Rituals:  
Respecting The Ancestors*

Edited by Sue Fawn Chung and Priscilla Wegars.  
Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2005; ix + 307 pp;  
illustrations, maps; paper \$34.95.

A generation ago, material culture studies about death typically concentrated upon headstones. For example, Allan I. Ludwig's *The Graven Images of Early New England, 1653-1815*, published first in 1959, pioneered the subject. As these examinations have added to our understanding of the myriad ways society reveres the deceased, scholars have given an increasing emphasis not only upon mortuary art, but also upon less permanent elements concerning how we remember the dead and what we do for the dead in the immediate aftermath.<sup>1</sup>

*Chinese American Death Rituals: Respecting the Ancestors* joins the growing body of literature on the material culture of death that has emerged during the past four decades. Not surprisingly, the book appears as scholarship has increasingly focused upon the role under-represented ethnic groups have played in shaping the American landscape. The editors include eight essays written from a variety of disciplines, including history, archeology, and anthropology. In their introduction, Chung and Wegars write that:

*Asian ethnic expressions regarding death differ from Western traditions. Until recently, little has been known about Chinese American funerary rituals and practices that illustrate the weltanschauung of the people. Shaped by individual beliefs, customs, religion, and environment, Chinese Americans have resolved the tensions between assimilation into the mainstream culture and their strong Chinese heritage in a variety of ways. . . . The purpose of this work is to describe and analyze cultural retention and transformation in rituals after death.<sup>2</sup>*

While space will not allow a thorough description of each essay, all are worthy of mention here. In

“‘What We Didn’t Understand’: A History of Chinese Death Ritual in China and California,” social historian and archeologist Wendy L. Rouse describes how death rituals that began in ancient China eventually emerged in 19th-century California. Particularly fascinating is the notion that *fengshui* was originally a concept applied to both burials and houses so that these would be placed in harmony with nature. Handed down over the centuries, funerary traditions obviously evolved, but they provided a foundation for the customs that would later appear in the Golden State.

External forces would also influence burial practices in the new land. According to Rouse, “at the height of discriminatory practices against the Chinese, Californians began adopting laws designed to further restrict traditional burial practices. Calling the Chinese hazardous to public health, many towns forced them to bury their dead away from the common burying ground.” Rouse also authors the chapter “Archaeological Excavations at Virginia-town’s Chinese Cemeteries,” which focuses on two cemeteries in a California mining town, where she found physical evidence of how Chinese burials were segregated from Caucasian burials, also followed *fengshui* principles.

In the essay “On Dying American: Cantonese Rites for Death and Ghost Spirits in an American City,” Paul G. Chace, a social anthropologist and archeologist, describes the festivals and rituals practiced in Marysville, California. Some of these rites center around death or remembering the spirits of ancestors. Admittedly, these rites have become Americanized over time.

In “Venerate these Bones: Chinese American Funerary and Burial Practices as Seen in Carlin, Elko County, Nevada,” editor Chung, who is associate professor of history at University of Nevada, Las Vegas, teams up with Fred P. Frampton, an archeologist with the U.S. Forest Service, and Timothy W. Murphy, who is an archeologist with the U.S. Bureau of Land Management. Through

their research, the three contributors reveal the probable identities of three of thirteen men buried in Carlin prior to 1924.

In “Respecting the Dead: Chinese Cemeteries and Burial Practices in the Interior Pacific Northwest,” Terry Abraham, head of Special Collections and Archives at the University of Idaho, joins editor Wegars, founder of the university’s Asian American Comparative Collection, to discuss the Chinese cemeteries in Idaho and Oregon. As with California examples, *fengshui* principles were applied in the siting of graves. Equally fascinating is the authors’ finding that Euro-Americans were sometimes buried alongside their Chinese spouses.

“Remembering Ancestors in Hawai’i,” by Chung and Reiko Neizman, is yet another geographic context for the influence Chinese death rituals had upon a remote outpost of the U.S. Chinese laborers immigrated to the islands to work in sugar cane fields prior to U.S. annexation. By 1892, the Chinese association Lin Yee Chung established the Manoa Chinese Cemetery, the largest and best known of Hawai’i’s Chinese cemeteries. According to Chung and Neizman, who at the time of the book’s publication was a candidate in the University of Hawai’i master’s program in library and information sciences, “cemeteries in Hawai’i reinforce the connection between the living and the dead in accordance with Chinese beliefs.”

In “The Chinese Mortuary Tradition in San Francisco Chinatown,” anthropologist Linda Sun Crowder describes Chinese rites such as funeral processions, which continue to be held in Chinatown. As with several other contributors, she notes that “reverence for ancestors, formalized in Confucianism, is the cornerstone of Chinese cultural belief, social structure, and religious practice.” In “Old Rituals in New Lands: Bringing the Ancestors to America,” historical archeologist Roberta S. Greenwood rounds out the book’s eight essays with a fascinating account of how the Chinese tradition of exhumation and repatriation of cremated or skeletal remains to the

Chinese homeland has evolved so that such remains are now being brought from China to the U.S.

It is worth mentioning that the book lacks a concluding chapter that ties everything together. Some of the visual aids were a bit unsatisfying. For example, many of the black and white photographs found in Chapter 7 are rather washed out. On the other hand, the historic views found in Chapter 1 will be of tremendous interest to those specializing in Chinese American history and culture. The book includes an extensive bibliography, though it pertains more to the references cited in the essays rather than publications recommended for further reading.

Despite these shortcomings, Chung and Wegars have assembled an impressive collection of essays, although each stands on its own as a separate treatment. *Chinese American Death Rituals: Respecting the Ancestors* is a valuable addition to the increasingly important subject of death ways. This highly readable work should be of tremendous interest to archeologists, ethnographers, folklorists, landscape historians, cultural geographers, and architectural historians.

Jeffrey L. Durbin

*Advisory Council on Historic Preservation*

1. Typical of this new direction is Holly Everett’s *Roadside Crosses in Contemporary Memorial Culture* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2002). A recent example of the earlier focus on mortuary art may be found in *New Jersey Cemeteries and Tombstones: History in the Landscape* by Richard Francis Veit and Mark Nonestied (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008).

2. For an analysis of Chinese death ways in a completely different geographic context, see Tong Chee Kiong’s *Chinese Death Rituals in Singapore* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004). Also see Gary Laderman’s *Rest in Peace: A Cultural History of Death and the Funeral Home in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) for a cross-cultural comparison of how different ethnic groups (including the Chinese) treated the dead in America during the past century.

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*Quality Management in Archaeology*

Edited by Willem J. H. Willems and Monique H. van den Dries. Oxford, UK [Oakview, CT]: Oxbow Books [David Brown Books], 2007; viii + 159 pp., illustrations, maps; paper \$56.00.

Over the past 40 years or more, countries around the world have become increasingly concerned about the physical survival of their heritage resources in the face of ever-advancing development, and with good reason. Such resources are both finite and non-renewable. Therefore, as infrastructure grows to keep pace with changing times and accommodate the needs of society, it is important for governments to be mindful of those tangible vestiges of the past that have meaning to present and future generations.

In the laudable effort to manage threats to heritage resources, many laws, regulations, and international conventions have been promulgated, and the discipline of archeology has evolved dramatically in order to comply with those government mandates. In almost every instance, however, the question of how best to approach the preservation and protection of significant archeological sites has been especially challenging. This book is the first major attempt to present a comparative study of the policies and procedures adopted by nine nations in North America, continental Europe, and the United Kingdom.

The editors, Dutch archeologists having considerable experience with the practices in the Netherlands, begin this volume with an introduction in which they discuss “quality management” concepts derived from the business world and explain how they might apply them to archeology carried out in the public interest under government mandates. Analogies to Japanese business philosophies, in fact, have apparent resonance in light of widespread perceptions that many of the problems related to assuring quality products and performance in compliance-related archeology derive from the

fact that it is largely a private enterprise performed by government contractors. Underscoring points made in the 10 chapters that follow, Willems and van den Dries show how different perspectives on the organization of archeological resource management affect quality assurance in the mandated research.

As an American archeologist, having long and varied experience with how the system of cultural resource management works—and sometimes does not work—in the United States, I read this book with great interest, looking for specific ways in which our system differs from other countries. While I did learn a great deal about how other countries approach this slippery problem, I gained no insights into how U.S. protocols could be substantially improved. This owes, in no small measure, to many of the key differences in those systems that the editors emphasize in their introduction.

It becomes clear, from various chapters in this book, that distinct disparities exist among nations respecting concepts of government’s responsibility in guaranteeing the proper management of cultural resources and notions of government’s authority to regulate commercial enterprise. There are also notable dissimilarities in views on the sanctity of individual property rights and what aspects of private property can rightly be subject to governmental control. Those models do not necessarily translate well across national boundaries where political systems and long-standing historical precedents vary greatly.

The book, in fact, makes it apparent that evolving political systems in certain European nations have brought about a trend toward the American way of doing things, much to the chagrin of at least one volume contributor. The prevailing attitude in Europe once favored government control of cultural resource management as a public monopoly. In the past decade, as apparent from several of the chapters, more nations have begun to encourage the growth of a private enterprise in archeology, as well as developer funding of required investigations.

Indeed, in chapter 10, “Scientific Quality Control and the General Organisation of French Archaeology,” this widening transformation is attributed, in part, to the policies embodied by President Ronald Reagan in the U.S. and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the U.K., which promoted the privatization of state enterprises and the deregulation of markets.

As several authors point out, however, free-market forces that normally weed out poor performance through competition do not work in the context of compliance-driven archeological research, because few developers or land managers have any concern for the quality of products received. Most have no vested interest and see no benefit in financing high quality archeological investigations that lead to meaningful interpretations of the past. Instead, they wish only to meet the minimal government requirements mandated by law and then move on with the progress of their undertakings. Therefore, it is incumbent upon government and the archeological profession to work together in assuring that the larger public interests in heritage preservation are served.

Unfortunately, as shown in the chapter on guidelines and practices in the U.S., attempts to implement an effective system of quality assurance here have not been terribly successful. In the highly critical contribution, “Cultural Resource Management Guidelines and Practice in the United States,” the authors provide a litany of familiar examples showing how the system has so often failed to make certain that the persons, processes, and products associated with cultural resource management in the U.S. meet high and consistent standards.

As is often said of laws and sausages, the more one knows of their making the less one respects the end products. Similarly, if one closely examines the American cultural resource management system, one is bound to find numerous flaws that make it appear far worse than it is. In contrast with most other contributions to this volume, which

acknowledge but downplay systemic difficulties while praising national success stories, the chapter on U.S. practices seems to me a harsh appraisal that takes insufficient notice of what is good about our historic preservation programs.

There is no question, though, that the U.S. system could stand improvement. Substantial variability can be found in the procedures of state and tribal historic preservation offices, which are typically understaffed for the incredible volume and diversity of obligatory compliance reviews. Moreover, few state or tribal governments in the U.S. have adopted stringent professional qualification standards beyond the minimums defined by the Secretary of the Interior. At the same time, attempts by the archeological profession to self-regulate through the establishment of watchdog organizations, like the Society of Professional Archaeologists and its successor the Register of Professional Archaeologists, have not been as successful in realizing their mission as similar professional institutions have been for practice of law, medicine, or civil engineering.

Such failures owe, at least in part, to the fact that the perceived consequences of being wrong are not as keenly felt in the case of archeology as they are for those other professions. The public insists that those professions and their government take more active roles in policing the quality of practice, because it is all too clear what results will come of poor performance. Not so with archeology, and thus there seems no compelling need for the public to be concerned with measures that would bolster quality assurance.

While most citizens see intrinsic value in enhancing our knowledge of the past, relatively few seem to recognize how our interpretations are diminished by the loss of important archeological sites and data, whether by indiscriminant development or incompetent investigation. Until those public perceptions fundamentally change, those who practice cultural resource management will continue to struggle with the issues addressed in this book.

*Quality Management in Archaeology* is an important and thought-provoking book for its examination of diverse approaches toward the resolution of a common dilemma. Readers will take from it some consolation in knowing that others around the world face the same problem of promoting historic preservation in the face of much-needed development and maintaining high-quality research in the face of other priorities and pressures.

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*Windshield Wilderness: Cars, Roads, and Nature in Washington's National Parks*

By David Louter. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006; xvii + 288 pp., illustrations, maps; cloth \$35.00.

David Louter's *Windshield Wilderness* is timely and important. Although focused on national parks in Washington state, Louter's well-written, engaging work offers insights valuable for any student of either the National Park System or of our automobile-oriented landscape—our windshield world.

Louter historicizes the complex interrelationship of automobiles, roads, the national parks, and an elastic concept of "wilderness." Cars, he argues, "dominate the national park experience." (p. 164) Louter examines how Mt. Rainier, Olympic, and North Cascades National Parks, established in three different periods of park planning development (1900s, 1930s, and 1960s), accommodated themselves to cars. Continuity overshadows change, as the idea of "national parks as places of windshield wilderness, where it was possible for machines and nature to coexist" has retained perennial appeal" (p. 4).

This idea grew in the 1920s and 1930s under first National Park Service director Stephen Mather

and his successor Horace Albright, of transforming parks into landscapes for highways in nature, partly by relying upon landscape architects to fit park highways carefully to the land as part of "master plans" for each park. Nature and wilderness were scenic or visual (rather than ecological) qualities; preservation occurred if the roadside picture appeared natural and roads blended into the landscape. While park supporters worried about extractive resource development and the Hetch Hetchy dam near Yosemite National Park, they envisioned "protection through development" for tourists.

Mt. Rainier, officially the first national park to admit automobiles in 1908, eight years before the founding of the National Park Service, was an early proving ground for Mather's philosophy. Supported by tourism-boosting urbanites in nearby Seattle and Tacoma, Mather championed a (never fully realized) road system encircling the mountain and pressed for a network of connections from this park to others via the National Park-to-Park Highway dedicated in 1920.

In the 1930s, the new Wilderness Society and other critics suggested that wilderness should be an ecological rather than a visual/scenic quality, best protected by excluding cars and roads. In response, NPS established Olympic National Park in the late 1930s as a roadless area. But most visitors viewed Olympic's wilderness from the "grandstand" of the scenic 13-mile Hurricane Ridge Road, opened in the 1950s just outside the park boundary. NPS planners believed this road and the highway connections to Washington's urban centers were essential to allowing the public to experience the park's wilderness character

Finally, Louter explores the development of North Cascades NPS Complex in the context of the modern environmental movement, embodied in the Wilderness Act of 1964, which codified roadlessness as a key characteristic of federal "wilderness" and seemed to herald the demise of the accord between



cars and wild places. However, the public and NPS clung to the “expectation of viewing splendid scenery from the roadside within a park.” The legislation establishing North Cascades in 1968 provided for a “park complex” in which the park proper was roadless but the associated “national recreation areas” featured the traditional scenic highways that provided a glimpse of the primordial wilderness in the park proper.

With policy and legal changes in the 1970s, North Cascades managers faced a conundrum of how to “impress upon visitors the value of the park if they could neither drive into it nor easily view it from the road” (p. 156). Discussions about road access, alternative means of mechanized visitor transport (tramways), or virtual “windshields” (new park films in the 1990s) as ways for viewing the wilderness dominated park management.

Based upon thorough research in primary sources and secondary literature, Louter’s book provides an excellent overview of the history of the NPS and offers a convincing analysis of the role of cars in allowing us mentally to map our park landscapes. His insights undermine longtime claims that eastern parks like the Blue Ridge Parkway represented revolutionary new directions in park development. Built during the 1930s, the Blue Ridge Parkway embodied the roads-parks symbiosis that Louter posits: there, the road did not just run through or around the park, the road *was* (and is) the park.

That said, Louter’s chronology and some observations might have been nuanced by incorporating more references to eastern parks, which were carved not from the trackless public domain, but from lands devastated from logging or other heavy industrial uses. Key books and dissertations on the Great Smoky Mountain National Park, Shenandoah National Park, and the Blue Ridge Parkway, are not referenced. This may explain why Louter can imply that, but for their roads, parks might have been remained “primitive.” And that is certainly why he can claim that the era

of great scenic park road building was mostly over by the early 1930s, just as the Blue Ridge Parkway (completed in 1987) was getting underway.

Additionally, in focusing on the national context, Louter sometimes neglects the local contexts that shaped his three parks and NPS’s early adoption of a pro-roads stance. The Seattle and Tacoma boosters are only vague players in Louter’s account of the national drama. The book would also have benefitted from more and better maps showing the evolution of road plans for each park. The single undated map from each park is not sufficient to illuminate the various alternatives considered.

Too, as convincing as Louter’s argument is, the ubiquity of the automobile in 20th-century America calls into question his implication that a park system that grew in that same period might have made different choices. In a nation where people’s access to almost *everything* is provided by cars, is it reasonable to expect that we would see and use parks any other way?

Louter’s insistence on continuity downplays important changes and implies a lack of alternatives. If every suggested automobile substitute (tramways, shuttles, or films) is understood as another “windshield,” are we powerless to reduce or mitigate the impact of the internal-combustion engine automobile in the parks? Is the only viable option to bar machines altogether, leaving enjoyment to vigorous hikers alone?

These few reservations do not diminish the power of this book, which provides clear evidence for how malleable our concept of “wilderness” is and how hegemonic the automobile has been. Clearly argued and insightful, with an eye on the big picture, it is crucial reading for anyone thinking about the history of the national parks or how we might reshape them for a post-automobile age.

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## Letters

Because *CRM* readers recognize the important role cultural resources can play in contemporary social issues, I am writing to encourage further attention to the ways in which treatment of history can be understood as a bellwether for human rights.

As *CRM* practitioners are aware, memory is a central terrain on which democracies are constructed, negotiated, and secured for the future. Local and international bodies increasingly recognize the inextricable relationship between history and human rights. Democratizing history, and using history to sustain a healthy democracy, requires public forums for people to wrestle with their pasts, in all its glories and dishonors. A growing movement of such places that call themselves “Sites of Conscience” is taking shape in communities around the world. Communities from Serbia to Senegal are recognizing that dynamic, responsive spaces for public dialogue on the past and its contemporary legacies today can be vital tools for building an active, engaged citizenry that questions authority, embraces debate, and builds a culture of political freedom.

For example, the justices of the South African Constitutional Court placed their new court building on the site of the infamous Old Fort prison, and created a public space for people both to remember the abrogation of justice under Apartheid and debate the current questions of justice before the Court. The Monte Sole Peace School brings Italian youth to the ruins of a village destroyed in a Nazi massacre in debates over the responsibility of all sectors of Italian society for what happened there, as a starting point for discussions about individual responsibility for issues like xenophobia and racism in Italy today. Russian memory sites like the Gulag Museum at Perm-36 are taking courageous steps to give voice to the many different experiences of the Soviet era and how their legacies are felt today.

Creating ongoing spaces for debate on all aspects of the past and its implications for an ever-shifting present reality can help to build a popular culture of democratic engagement. Those who work in the field of cultural resource management have important roles to play as stewards of tangible heritage, including archives, because every nation’s treatment of its past needs to be taken seriously as a bellwether for its commitment to human rights.

Liz Ševčenko

Director, The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience

ON THE COVER

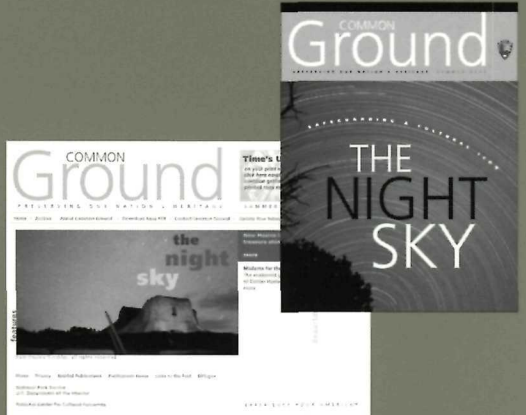
HABS photographer Jack E. Boucher took this photo of the slave quarters at Kingsley Plantation in 2003. The slave quarters, ca. 1820s, are listed in the National Register of Historic Places as one of the most intact examples of enslaved plantation life in Florida. Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve, the sponsor of the HABS project, began stabilization of the slave quarters in 2003 to prevent further deterioration of the tabby structures. (Jack E. Boucher, photographer, September, 2003. Courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey, National Park Service)

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