

The background of the cover is a photograph of ancient cliff dwellings, likely Anasazi, built into a sandstone cliff face. The dwellings consist of multi-story rectangular buildings with small windows and several circular kivas. The cliff face is layered, with a prominent overhang above the structures. The foreground is filled with dense, dark green trees and shrubs, suggesting a wooded canyon environment.

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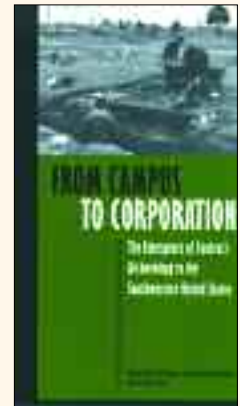
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Archaeologists and Local Communities: Partners in Exploring the Past. Edited by Linda Derry and Maureen Malloy. In this timely volume, the contributors provide case studies that range geographically from the Bering Sea to the suburbs of Washington, D.C. The book shows that by involving communities in archaeological projects, archaeologists build public support for archaeological sites and, in so doing, enrich the quality of the archaeological research itself. This text is an invaluable handbook for practicing archaeologists and students interested in establishing local community partnerships. 193 pp. 2003. ISBN 0-932839-24-X. Regular Price: \$26.95, SAA Member Discount Price: \$21.95.



Readings in American Archaeological Theory: Selections from American Antiquity 1962-2002. Compiled by Garth Bawden. This Reader is an ideal text for graduate core classes in archaeological history & theory, and undergraduate theory and survey courses. The articles provide critical discussions in American archaeology over the past 40 years. 292 pages. 2003. ISBN 0-932839-25-8. Regular Price: \$24.95, SAA Member Discount Price: 19.95.

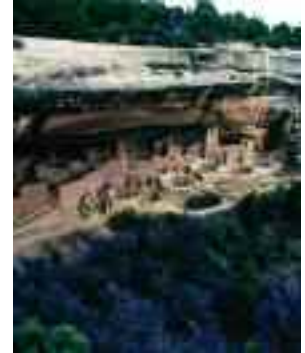
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the SAA Archaeological record

The Magazine of the Society for American Archaeology

VOLUME 5, No. 2

MARCH 2005



Cover photo: Cliff Palace ruins located at Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado. Photo by Marvin Lynchard, National Park Service.

Editor's Corner	2	<i>John Kantner</i>
From the President	3	<i>Lynne Sebastian</i>
Archaeopolitics	5	<i>David Lindsay</i>
African American Archaeology in Annapolis	6	<i>Thomas W. Cuddy</i>
Working Together: The Politics of Archaeology: Diverse Concerns and Interests at the West Bluffs Project, Los Angeles, California	11	<i>John G. Douglass, Cindi Alvitre, and Jeffrey H. Altschul</i>
SPECIAL SECTION: THE PUBLIC MEANING OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE		
Preface	18	<i>Barbara Little and Paul Shackel</i>
Archaeologists and Interpreters Working Together	19	<i>Barbara J. Little</i>
The Public Interpretation of America's Archaeological Heritage	22	<i>Francis P. McManamon</i>
Memory, Civic Engagement, and the Public Meaning of Archaeological Heritage	24	<i>Paul A. Shackel</i>
The Local Meanings of International Heritage at Copán, Honduras	28	<i>Lena Mortensen</i>
Colonial Legacies and the Public Meaning of Monacan Archaeology in Virginia	31	<i>Jeffrey L. Hantman</i>
Heritage, Archaeology, and African American History	34	<i>Cheryl Janifer LaRoche</i>
Using the Past in Calvert County, Maryland: Archaeology as a Tool for Building Community	38	<i>Kirsti Uunila</i>
NEWS & NOTES	41	
POSITIONS OPEN	41	
CALENDAR	42	



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EDITOR'S CORNER

John Kantner

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This issue features a special section on the Public Meaning of Archaeological Heritage, assembled by Barbara Little and Paul Shackel. The seven articles together reflect the growing recognition of the role of archaeology in the creation of social, ethnic, and political identities on multiple scales, from communities to nations. The articles consider issues ranging from the interactions between archaeologists and interpreters, to the role of the U.S. national park system in creating a vision of America's past, to case studies of how archaeology has unveiled the rich histories of "invisible" populations, from Native Americans to African Americans. This selection of articles contributes to the creation of a more inclusive national history by identifying relevant themes and applied approaches that we can readily integrate into our archaeological practice.

The May issue of *The SAA Archaeological Record* is dedicated to the theme of Heritage Tourism. As described by the guest editors, Associate Editor Teresa Pinter and Mary Kwas, heritage tourism represents a significant force in the tourism industry worldwide, and archaeological resources are often an important component of the heritage tourist's experience. One of the most significant challenges facing these tourism programs is ensuring that the resources that attract visitors are not destroyed in the process. This series of articles will offer diverse perspectives on national and international heritage tourism programs and policies.

Upcoming Thematic Issues

The September 2005 issue will consider the theme of Cartoons in Archaeology, and potential contributors are encouraged to contact me at kantner@gsu.edu or (404) 651-1761. In January 2006, a thematic issue will be dedicated to Archaeology in Government, organized by SAA Committee on Government Archaeology chairperson Barbara Little. Interested contributors should contact her directly at Barbara_Little@nps.gov.

Remember that not all issues of *The SAA Archaeological Record* are dedicated to specific themes! If you have any ideas for contributions, do not hesitate to email or call!





RETROSPECTIVE

Lynne Sebastian

Lynne Sebastian is Director of Historic Preservation Programs at the SRI Foundation.

Some days it is hard to believe that I am already entering the last two months of my term as President of SAA. Other days, it is impossible to believe I've already dealt with this many crises, and I *still* have two more months to go! Either way, the end is nigh. Since I began my term by identifying a set of goals for myself, I thought that I should end it by reflecting on what progress I've made—and not made—toward those goals.

When I first took office as President in Milwaukee, I outlined three issues that I hoped to pursue during my term:

- diversifying the opportunities for participation at the annual meetings;
- encouraging broader participation in the SAA committees and task forces;
- demonstrating to skeptical members of the CRM community that SAA is their professional home, too.

Personally, I love the annual meeting. It is exhausting, exhilarating, fun, and a fantastic opportunity to network, catch up with old friends, eat great food, and buy books. But I always felt that there were a couple of things missing. When I first started going to SAA meetings, I think I was expecting something like the Royal Geographical Society: there would be a huge, hushed room and Darwin and Huxley would be holding forth on stage. I was always disappointed that there was no venue that featured major figures in the profession discussing the Big Ideas in American archaeology.

The plenary sessions sometimes meet that need, but they have a tough time-slot (post-"Miller Time," see *catching up with old friends and eating great food* above). What was needed, I thought, was a session in meeting prime time (that is, pre-"Miller Time") with relatively few events scheduled against it. Beginning in Montreal, we have held a "President's Invited Forum" on Thursday mornings (a special note of thanks to the Program Chairs, since this makes their already difficult job nearly impossible). The President's Forum provides an informal venue (as informal as you can be in front of a couple thousand of your colleagues)



for discussion of a major issue in the practice of archaeology. The forum is held early in the meeting to encourage continued discussion and debate (see "Miller Time" above) among the meeting participants throughout the rest of our time together.

The other annual meeting issue that I have tried to address is the relatively limited number of options for formal participation. For most people, meeting participation means you either give a paper or do a poster. I've frequently wished there were more chances for interaction, discussion, and debate than the traditional symposia and general sessions offer. In a recent *The SAA Archaeological Record* (4[4]:3–4), I offered some ideas for sessions that would involve more discussion and less presentation and asked for thoughts from the membership.

I was very surprised that I got almost no response, and most of what I did get was from folks who disagreed with my position that rejecting papers was not the best way to improve the meeting. Given the lack of interest in "discussion symposia," I did not pursue adding that category to the Call for Submissions for the 2006 meeting in Puerto Rico, but I am going to encourage the Board and the Committee on Meetings Development to keep the idea in mind for future consideration. And once my term is over and I have time to think about something other than the latest SAA crisis, I do plan to work on recruiting more "electronic symposia" as a means of encouraging discussion and debate in annual meeting sessions.

And speaking of the Committee on Meetings Development, it is only *one* of 37 SAA committees and task forces. No matter what it is that you think SAA should be doing, not doing, or doing differently than it is . . . there is a committee or task force whose job it is to advise the SAA Board on that very issue. Anyone who doubts that an individual or small group of people can make a difference need only consider the remarkable success of the Native American Scholarships Committee with their silent auction, effective grant proposals, and creative fundraising.

FROM THE PRESIDENT

And the Board is very responsive to the views and request of its advisory committees. Two years ago, the Board voted to change the CRM Expo from an annual to a biennial event because participation was declining. The Committee on Consulting Archaeology felt that the Expo was an important member service; they volunteered to take responsibility for recruiting participants and asked the Board to reconsider. The Board rescinded its decision, the committee began twisting arms...er, recruiting participants...and the CRM Expo is growing bigger every year. You can make a difference and meet a lot of great people at the same time. Get involved; volunteer for a committee that interests you.

Because I am the first archaeologist from the cultural resource management segment of our profession to serve as SAA President, it has been especially important to me that we focus on demonstrating and increasing the relevance of SAA to CRM archaeologists. One way that we are doing this is through annual meeting workshops focused on practical skills. One need only look at this year's offerings to see the trend: a workshop on National Register and National Historic Landmark documentation and evaluation, one on rock art site management, two on public outreach and education, one on effective use of ceramic analysis, and three workshops at graduated skill levels on using PowerPoint. Got other ideas? Contact or join the Professional Development Committee.

In a partnership among the Register of Professional Archaeologists, the American Cultural Resources Association, and the SAA Committee on Ethics, we have begun organizing a forum at each annual meeting to examine the many ethical issues that arise in the modern practice of archaeology. The SAA Government Affairs program has become increasingly active in legislative and regulatory issues of concern to the CRM community (the Government Affairs Committee is another excellent volun-

teer opportunity for those with particular interest in these issues). And of course, the CRM Expo is becoming an increasingly valuable networking and marketing opportunity for CRM practitioners (and the Committee on Consulting Archaeology is always looking for new members).

Finally, the one legacy project that I would most like to see result from my tenure as President has to do with the future of CRM archaeology. In 1974, Bill Lipe published a paper entitled *A Conservation Model for American Archaeology*. This paper reflected not only Bill's views but many of the ideas current at the time among those who became the forefathers and mothers of CRM archaeology (e.g., Bob McGimsey, Hester Davis, and many others). Lipe's conservation model paper became both a prediction and a roadmap for the development of archaeological resource management in the U.S. over the next 30 years.

The field of CRM archaeology has grown and changed and matured enormously since the days of Airlie House and Lipe's conservation model. The legal and regulatory landscape within which we work, the ethical dilemmas we encounter, the employment structure, and the sheer scale of legally mandated archaeology are entirely different. It is time for a new vision and direction for the future. With the encouragement and endorsement of the Board of Directors, I am planning to convene an intensive seminar some time in the next year on the future of CRM archaeology. I want to bring together the best minds in our profession and ask them to think about where we are and where we want to go. Given the composition of our profession today, it is important that SAA take a leadership role in organizing and facilitating discussion of the future of this major component of American archaeology.

Being President of SAA has been a great honor and an extraordinary experience, and I thank you all for giving me this opportunity.

Amerind Seminar Finalists Announced!

In October 2004, the Amerind Foundation in Dragoon, Arizona, hosted its first annual Amerind-SAA Seminar entitled "War in Cultural Context: Practice, Agency and the Archaeology of Conflict," chaired by Bill Walker and Axel Nielson. The symposium was selected among 30 candidates and five finalists at the Montreal SAAs. The Amerind panel met at the end of 2004 and selected five finalists for the Salt Lake City SAAs. Salt Lake City finalists include:

- *Archaeological Theories as Ideologies*, chaired by Reinhard Bernbeck and Randy McGuire of SUNY Binghamton
- *Indigenous Archaeology at the Trowel's Edge: Field Schools, Pedagogy, and Collaboration*, chaired by Stephen Silliman of the University of Massachusetts, Boston
- *The Foundations of Southwest Communities: Variation and Change in Pithouse Villages between A.D. 200 and 900*, chaired by Lisa Young of the University of Michigan and Sarah Herr of the Center for Desert Archaeology
- *Ethnic Identities in the Inka Empire*, chaired by Gary Urton of Harvard University
- *Situating Archaeology within the Post-Colonial Condition*, chaired by Uzma Rizvi and Matthew Liebmann of the University of Pennsylvania

The winning symposium will be invited to the Amerind Foundation in the fall of 2005 for a five-day intensive seminar, the proceedings of which will be published by the University of Arizona Press. If you are interested in being considered for an Amerind-SAA Seminar, please check the appropriate box on the Session Abstract form (Form E) when you apply for a session at the 2006 meetings in San Juan, Puerto Rico. For information on Amerind-SAA Seminars, log onto the Amerind website (<http://www.amerind.org/>) and click on the "seminars" box.

ARCHAEO POLITICS

David Lindsay

David Lindsay is manager, Government Affairs for the Society for American Archaeology.

The story of 2005 may be written in red ink. The election is over, the President inaugurated for a second term, and a new Congress sworn in. But the list of things for Congress and the White House to deal with seems to only have gotten longer since the election and the need for action more pressing.

The ongoing war on terror and the situation in Iraq are still casting their shadows over everything, but the core issue that is driving nearly every policy discussion is the budget—more precisely, the deficit. The Congressional Budget Office is estimating a budget deficit of more than \$450 billion this year, and the White House is preparing to ask Congress for an \$80 billion war supplemental. There is also increasing concern about the soaring national debt, the amount of government paper held by foreign interests, the weakening of the dollar, and the effects of all of these upon the economy. With that as a backdrop, the President in his State of the Union address to Congress outlined an extremely aggressive agenda, including what promises to be an enormous political and policy battle—Social Security restructuring. The task falls to Congress to tackle this issue, along with a wide array of other legislation, including bills addressing a comprehensive energy strategy, climate change, Endangered Species Act reform, and the President's Clear Skies plan. The process began on February 7 with the transmission to Congress of the president's FY2006 budget request.

Given the impending "cash crunch," dollars could be tight for the Interior Department and its various agencies and for historic preservation programs throughout the federal government. In particular, the still-unresolved transportation reauthorization bill will be dramatically affected by the budget situation. By the end of last year, the House and Senate had each passed a reautho-

riziation bill but could not agree on an overall spending level, and the White House disagreed with both of them. So the issue was punted into this year, largely on the hope that the budget picture would be better and more money could be earmarked for transportation. That has not happened. If anything, the situation may be worse. This matters for archaeology because it is widely expected that there will be a provision in the new law that streamlines the Section 106 process for transportation projects.

In addition to these considerations, there could be a host of other historic preservation-related bills considered by this Congress, including the reauthorization of the Advisory Council and numerous pieces of legislation addressing preservation efforts in specific locations. Legislation dealing with NAGPRA and sacred sites is also possible.

Work also continues at the agencies: the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's Task Force on Archaeology is continuing its work of gathering input from various stakeholder groups toward the goal of revamping the Council's archaeological activity and the science's role in historic preservation in general. The Cultural Properties Advisory Committee will hold hearings on the creation and renewal of import restriction agreements with several nations experiencing looting and smuggling of their cultural resources.

2005 promises to be busy and eventful. If you have any questions about this or other government affairs issues, please contact me at 202-789-8200, or david_lindsay@saa.org. Also, don't forget to sign up for the SAA's monthly government affairs electronic update. It's sent to the email address of your choice, and is free for SAA members! ☺

AFRICAN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY IN ANNAPOLIS

Thomas W. Cuddy

Thomas W. Cuddy is a senior archaeologist at URS Corporation in Gaithersburg, Maryland, and formerly Curator of Archaeology for the Historic Annapolis Foundation.

Maryland's capital city of Annapolis knows its history. Or does it? It knows the parts it wants to believe, the parts everyone already knows. Annapolis was settled in the mid-seventeenth century; it has a Baroque street plan laid out in 1695; it was home to four signers of the Declaration of Independence; George Washington resigned his military commission in Annapolis in 1783; and the city was the acting capital of the United States from 1783–1784. Some would ask, what's left to know? In fact, there is a whole segment left out, that of African Americans in Annapolis. This article is about the historical archaeology of African Americans in Annapolis, but it is also about ethnic divisions that have persisted for hundreds of years and profoundly affect the field of archaeology. It is more about public relations than archaeology and is something of a cautionary tale about the present meeting the past in more ways than one.

The development of African American culture in the United States is arguably the most exciting cutting-edge of archaeological research today. It is still a largely untapped subfield of research, and one for which archaeology and anthropology are exceptionally suited. Within the discipline, historical archaeology has the advantage of merging documentary and archaeological data into research. Sometimes one form of data is emphasized more, and on that continuum not all archaeology is created equal.

Historical documents from the era of colonial settlement predominantly record the transactions of the affluent and educated. Those social leaders of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were invariably white, and while their struggles with the mother country are interesting, they are European ideological debates. Much of the history describes white, European American history, and it tends to be individualistic, focusing on a male figure and his historical achievements.

African American archaeology is different. It is more anthropological, looking at broad social patterning with an eye toward culture change. Historical documents can rarely offer any more than the first name of an African American in Annapolis in the colonial era—a name often assigned by a white Christian. The archaeology of African descendants in America offers insight into domestic subsistence practices, architectural styles, material culture, and more. The cultural origins of African Americans encompass greater issues of injustice to human rights than the white settler's debates about taxation without representation. African American archaeology is inherently linked to theories of power, subjugation, and struggle. African American archaeology ultimately centers on processes of radical culture contact, played out variously through resistance, accommodation, and assimilation to changing cultural patterns. Furthermore, understanding continuity and change in the cultural practices of the earliest African American communities must be evaluated almost exclusively through archaeological methods.

Discovering Annapolis Ethnicity

"What is left from Africa?" That is the question that was asked by a visitor to one of our Archaeology in Annapolis excavations. That is what African Americans want to know from archaeology, and it is a straightforward and obvious question from an African American perspective. Unfortunately, the answer

is anything but obvious for anthropologists. The Archaeology in Annapolis project has recovered evidence that applies to this question, addressing such issues as how free blacks in Annapolis negotiated their daily lives prior to emancipation in the nineteenth century (Mullins 1999), how enslaved and free blacks engaged in spirit management (Ruppel et al. 2003), and what economic patterns of African American production and consumption existed in the Jim Crow era of “separate-but-equal” (Mullins and Warner 1993). In pursuing the simple question, “What is left from Africa,” archaeology has proven an effective research tool, but it also

reflects a peculiar convergence of issues inherent in the academic discipline of public archaeology meeting the reality of several “publics” in both the practice and interpretation of African American archaeology. The biggest, I believe, is the residual effects of disparate social power in the modern community.

People often refer to *THE* history of the U.S., but is there a single history? Some things we all share, and some things we each do differently. This is the case throughout history. In 1756, the population of Maryland was 30 percent black, and by 1790 that had risen another five percent. Many African Americans in the city of Annapolis in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were free and worked as wage laborers. The population of Annapolis today remains 31–35 percent black, clearly a substantial portion of the community, and clearly one with its own unique historical development.

Under the direction of Mark P. Leone at the University of Maryland (Figure 1), Archaeology in Annapolis has spent 23 years excavating historical remains around this city and has always maintained the idea that archaeology should be carried out as a public program and for a public constituency. In 1990, an unusual discovery provided the catalyst that turned the project from a focus on landscapes and power toward a pursuit of African American historical archaeology. A cache of large quartz crystals was found intentionally buried beneath the basement hearth in the former home of Charles Carroll (Figure 2), the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence (e.g., Leone and Frye 1999). The archaeological finds were nothing short of astonishing, but the Annapolis public has been slow to accept these finds as anything significant. Even now, 13 years later, what should have been a breakthrough in African American social history has become yet another tool to divide community and political interests. While the materials have been displayed at the Banneker-Douglass Museum of African American History and Culture, at Emancipation Day celebrations, and at the Charles Carroll House, prominent local historians continue to refer to the materials as “the rat’s nest.” The term is a pejorative reference that on the surface suggests that the archaeological context of the finds is suspect, but the term is rooted in ethnic conflict and the desire to belittle the role of African Americans in shaping this town.

Annapolis’s history is a key tourist industry in the city, and control of that history is a position of power. Controlling the city’s history is largely about the city’s national identity (e.g., Matthews 2002). Ironically,



Figure 1: Mark Leone talks with field school students in front of the Charles Carroll House in Annapolis.

divisions between black and white were never as polar in Maryland in the past few centuries as in other states. The historians here are quick to point out the percentages of free blacks in Maryland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is almost as though past facts legitimize the present day. What might have once been mere ethnic divisions now permeate institutions and political decisions throughout the city.

So how does an archaeology program fit in between? Instead of our finds providing fascinating common threads to the history of the region, they have further polarized certain segments of the community and forced us, as archaeologists, to become as creative in shaping the consumption of our research as in the pursuit of the research itself. The progression of the project has become as nuanced as the interweaving of ethnicity throughout history.

Summer Camp

Even in Annapolis, the general public knows little about archaeology and more often than not misconceives the goals and processes of the field. Archaeologists must often empower the public about the significance of their work, and this is especially true of African American archaeology in Annapolis. Since the discoveries in 1990 at the Carroll House, perhaps the most important discovery has to do with the social process of carrying out archaeology, not the material remains. It is not enough to simply find artifacts of African American lives. Empowering an effective and accurate history begins on the street with our day-to-day social interactions.

To that end, two years ago, Archaeology in Annapolis engaged in its own program of educational outreach in an attempt to create a broader community understanding of archaeology and its role in anthropology and social history. Through a partnership with the Banneker-Douglas Museum, a summer program was established to teach African American kids the value of archaeology for understanding their own history (Figure 3). Education Administrator Maisha Washington uses the class to teach a combination of science, archaeology, and history to children enrolled in the Stanton Center summer enrichment program (Figure 4). Unlike some of our other educational programs, this one has had more pitfalls in development and implementation. It also has more potential for making a substantial contribution to the field of archaeology and to the education of an underserved part of the Annapolis community. For Archaeology in Annapolis, the premise is one of active community engagement. The program has completed its third season, with the hope that it will come around full circle to confront and head



Figure 2: Quartz crystals, a pearlware bowl with an asterisk mark, and other items from sub-floor caches in the Charles Carroll House.



Figure 3: Graduate student Jennifer Babiarz leads excavation exercises with Stanton Center students and staff.

off community criticisms and break down the invisible social barriers not only among communities, but in those communities' perception of their own history.

African Americans want to have their own history, and as a cultural group with separate roots and traditions, they do. The black community in Annapolis knows that it has an extensive and illustrious history. Alex Haley's *Roots* begins at the Annapolis waterfront, and Annapolis provided a black regiment to fight in the Civil War. The state of Maryland emancipated its slaves *prior* to the federal ruling. But even in the African American communities, the past is closely guarded. They are reticent to come together financially to help develop community support for the research programs or even simply in locating and identifying sites for excavation. In the modern arena, maintaining a history separate from that of white Annapolis is a social statement that restricts archaeological research.



Figure 4: Stanton Center students catch up on paperwork as they practice mock excavation.

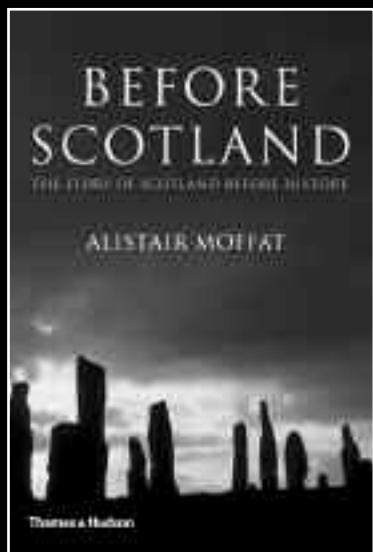
Back to School

The question of who controls the past is often debated in college classrooms, and often without much resolution or insight. The answer, of course, is that it is controlled by those with the power. It is not always controlled by descendent groups, who would seem to be obvious stakeholders. It is, however, those descendent groups that hold the keys to making the archaeological research successful. The field of archaeology needs more ethnicity in several respects. In a comprehensive demographic survey of the field of archaeology, minority groups including African Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Asians altogether formed only two percent of respondents (Zeder 1997).

Ethnic relations have become one of the primary considerations for any work done in Annapolis at the theoretical, methodological, and interpretive levels, but not for the reasons most archaeologists would initially think. The success of African American archaeological research in finding significant material contrasts with the criticisms we have encountered and with the frustrations of trying to get the community to recognize the meaning and significance of these discoveries. Ethnic relations have clearly shaped our project, but not always as we would choose. Any work will produce results, and those results will then become political power to differentiate interest groups. Almost secondary are the facts that archaeological research discovers elements of past cultural practices that become part of scholarly literature, or that ethnic relations play into the methodological processes of identifying sites to investigate.

In his exquisite 1992 book *Uncommon Ground*, Leland Ferguson opines "future students with a keenly developed interest in African American life and a willingness to combine archaeology with other research methods will embark, I believe, on an unparalleled adventure in historical research" (Ferguson 1992: xli). The Archaeology in Annapolis program considers African American archaeology central, but we are very much situated in a modern-day context with its own latent and unspoken cultural divisions. This is the public part of Public Archaeology that can not be studied. Archaeology in the public interest

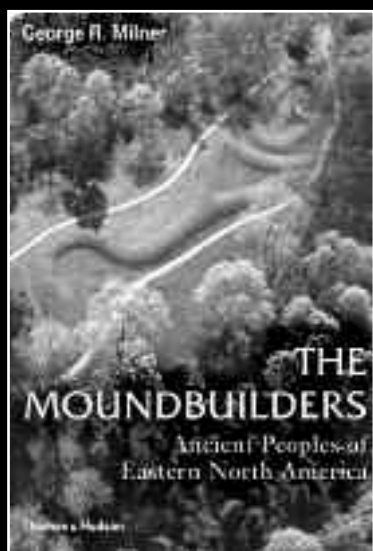
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requires us all to behave like cultural anthropologists (e.g., Watkins et al. 2000) attempting to understand the multiple "publics" and competing interests that exist in a community. In the case of African American history, I would say this is exactly how it should be. African American archaeology is infused with power struggles, political ploys, skepticism, and resistance at all levels. Why should that only be limited to the interpretive contexts? ☒

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THE POLITICS OF ARCHAEOLOGY

DIVERSE CONCERNS AND INTERESTS AT THE WEST BLUFFS PROJECT, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

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Across the country, development of open space and alternative uses of existing areas are both increasing at a phenomenal rate as urban centers and suburbs expand. Areas that in the past may not have been as inviting for development are now being considered due to the lack of easy alternatives. In Los Angeles County, where undeveloped land is extremely scarce, the use of land previously considered unusable for housing and commercial use is a common occurrence. At the same time that land development is increasing, so are concerns over its best use. Open space in many communities is considered important for both environmental and social reasons. For example, habitat depletion of many native plants and animals has been an ongoing concern of environmentalists. Local residents may wish to see open land left undeveloped, either for preserving views or for recreation areas. This expansion is also a threat to cultural resources. Whether state or federal jurisdiction applies to a particular project, there is the possibility that cultural resources will be destroyed, even if mitigation measures are taken.

Many people, including many archaeologists, believe that archaeological sites in urban settings have been so compromised that they are not as important as "pristine" sites. It may come as a surprise to many that even in densely urban areas, a great many intact sites that can offer important information still exist. Recent examples in west Los Angeles include sites recorded more than 50 years ago that were long thought to be destroyed. Yet, archaeological investigations at sites such as CA-LAN-47 and CA-LAN-54 (herein the prefix CA will be dropped), covered by railroads, modern highways, and industrial buildings, have been found to be in good condition, containing intact deposits and often undisturbed burials and domestic features (e.g., Altschul et al. 1992; Keller and Altschul 2002).

Since 1989, Statistical Research, Inc. (SRI) has been involved in several large, complex archaeological projects on the west side of Los Angeles related to land development in an area known as La Ballona. This area includes a large zone of former and active wetlands bordered to the south by upland sand bluffs and to the

west by the ocean (Figure 1). Beginning in the 1930s, numerous archaeological sites have been identified in and around the wetlands. Over the last 40 years, however, many of these sites have been destroyed in response to residential development.

Public reaction to these development projects has ranged from encouragement to outrage. Archaeological sites lying within projects viewed as favorable or benign to the public interest have elicited little response, with archaeological programs designed to recover, analyze, and curate remains viewed positively, if at all. Archaeologists and Native Americans have worked together harmoniously on these projects. In contrast, archaeological sites within controversial projects often become lightning rods, allowing developers and anti-development groups to split the Native American community. Regardless of archaeological merit, sites in controversial projects are termed as "sacred burial grounds," whereas similar sites in a nearby favorable project are tagged as "middens," a term the public misunderstands, but associates with the mundane of everyday life.

The response by the archaeological community is predictable. Consultants and regulatory archaeologists try to maintain a low profile, hoping that the public will not rise in objection, as opposed to actively seeking to engage the public on the scientific and cultural merits of the resources. Although understandable given the economic and human cost, shouldn't archaeologists encourage public discussion about how to treat archaeological resources? Shouldn't archaeologists facilitate Native American participation as opposed to allowing other agenda-driven groups to define the parameters of Native American involvement? We explore these questions through a case study from the Ballona. After presenting the project history, we examine alternatives to the current approach to cultural resource management (CRM). We end with a discussion of the issues involved with archaeological stewardship in urban settings.

West Bluffs Project History

The West Bluffs project area encompasses 44 acres along the

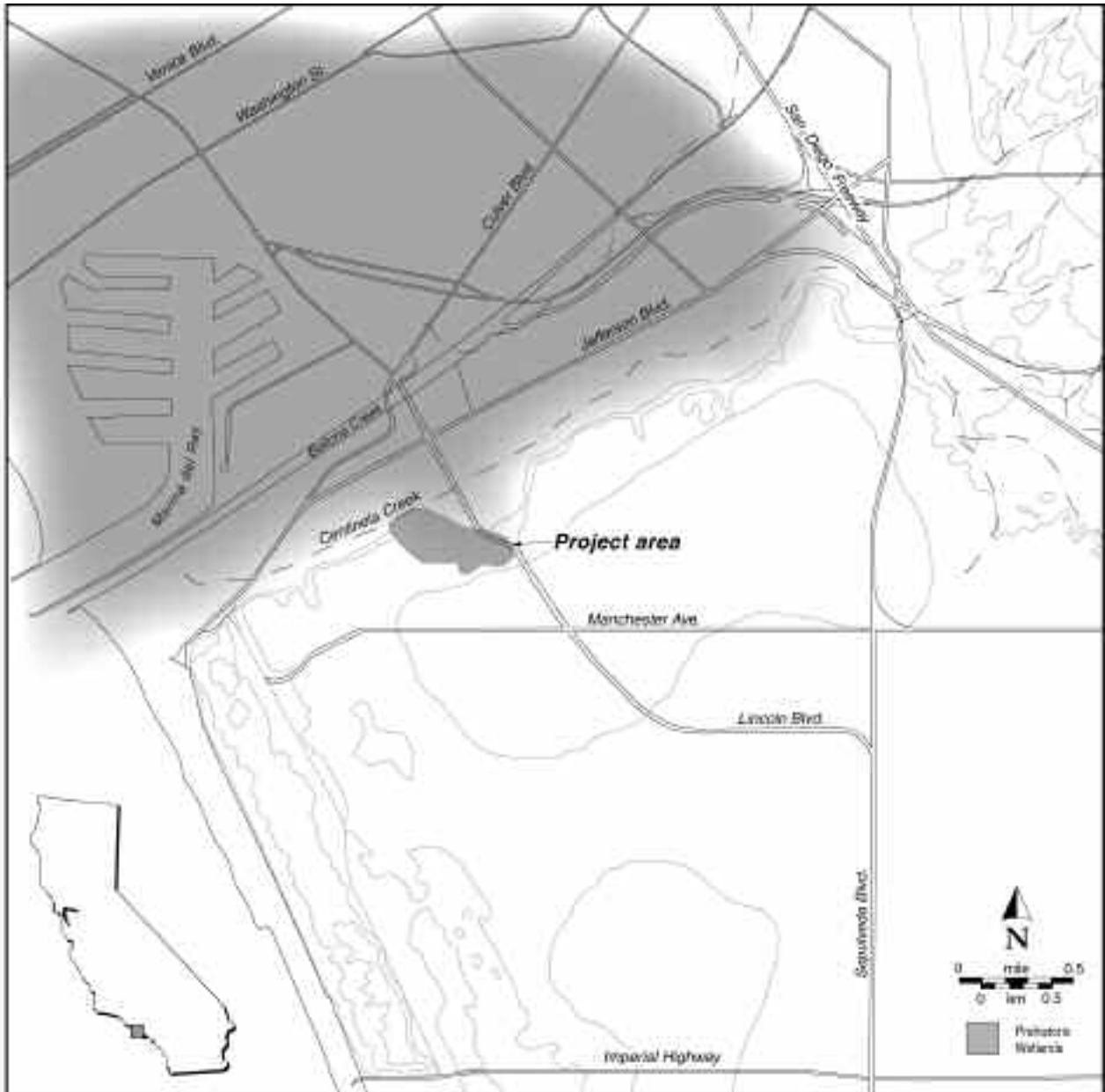


Figure 1: The West Bluffs project area in west Los Angeles. Archaeological sites on the property are located on a bluff overlooking the former and active Ballona wetlands to the north and the Pacific Ocean to the west.

upland edge of the Ballona (Figure 1). Located within the project boundaries are three large, coastal prehistoric archaeological sites (LAN-63, -64 and -206A) that are best described as sparse, accretional middens that accumulated over several thousands of years. These sites were originally documented by various professional and nonprofessional archaeologists (e.g., Rozaire and

Belous 1950). At that time, the Ballona was largely undeveloped; truck farms and oil rigs dominated the landscape. In the 1940s, the region was purchased and managed by one or more of the companies under the control of Howard Hughes. The dominating presence was the Hughes Aircraft Company, which filled the wetlands and maintained the bluffs as open space to allow

for the development of military aircraft. By the 1980s, this land, though by no means a pristine estuary, was now an oasis of open space amongst increasingly valuable housing. After struggling to develop the West Bluffs property in the 1980s, the Hughes Realty Company sold the property to its current owner, Catellus Residential Group.

Archaeological investigations in preparation for developing the property were conducted at all three sites beginning in 1979 (Pence 1979). During the mid 1980s, archaeological data recovery was performed by Archaeological Associates, Ltd. at LAN-63 and -64 (Van Horn 1984, 1987) to comply with the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA). A volunteer group led by David Van Horn conducted archaeological salvage work at LAN-206 prior to the main portion of the site being destroyed by residential development not subject to CEQA (Van Horn and White 1997). Only a small remnant of LAN-206 (LAN-206A) extended into the West Bluffs property, and Van Horn concluded that this portion of the site did not meet the legal threshold for treatment.

When the West Bluffs development was reconstituted in 1996, SRI was hired as the archaeological consultant firm. SRI's first job was to evaluate past work in light of the current regulatory standards used to comply with CEQA and the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). Although archaeological work during the 1980s was found to be acceptable under CEQA, the Corps of Engineers determined that it was not up to the stricter standard of Section 106 of the NHPA. Although the Corp of Engineer's jurisdiction only extended to LAN-64 and LAN-206, the applicant and SRI adopted the more stringent standards for LAN-63 as well. In 2000, a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) was signed between regulatory agencies and representatives of two Gabrielino/Tongva tribal communities.

Gabrielino/Tongva tribal members are the descendant community for the greater Los Angeles area, including the West Bluffs project area. Prehistoric remains attributed to the Gabrielino/Tongva are found both on the mainland and on the southern Channel Islands (McCawley 1996). During the Mission period, the Gabrielino/Tongva population decreased dramatically with the introduction of disease and forced resettlement. Currently, the Gabrielino/Tongva are recognized by the State of California, but not by the Federal government, and are represented by a number of different social and political groups.

Between 2000 and 2003, SRI conducted three phases of data recovery on the site. The final stage entailed monitoring the grading of the three archaeological sites to roughly a meter below the base of each site. This resulted in the documentation of more than 350 features and thousands of point-provenienced artifacts. Early in this final stage, human remains were identi-

fied, and the California Native American Heritage Commission appointed a Most Likely Descendant (MLD). One or two of the MLD's representatives were on the site daily, monitoring the excavation of human remains, whereas one or two Native American monitors representing another Gabrielino/Tongva group also were present to monitor grading pursuant to the City of Los Angeles's conditions of approval. Under California law, the MLD for the project was given full authority to make decisions regarding aspects of the project without the inclusion of other tribal members. There was, not surprisingly, dissension between the MLD and the other Native American monitors. Additionally, during the roughly three months of fieldwork, members of the wider Gabrielino/Tongva community were invited to visit the site to pay their respects to their ancestors and get information on the project. Cindi Alvitre, second author of this paper, was one of those descendant community members who visited the site regularly. Ms. Alvitre is not a member of either the Gabrielino/Tongva group representing the MLD or the group hired to perform construction monitoring.

Opposition to the West Bluffs Project

Opposition to the West Bluffs project stems from three separate, but related, groups: local neighbors, environmental groups, and Native Americans. Many local residents oppose the development in part because the property has been enjoyed as open space for decades and therefore view it as a public easement. In addition, neighbors are concerned about potential increased noise and traffic. Environmental groups, including the Sierra Club and a number of local groups, oppose the project because the property contained one of the last remaining upland habitats connected to the adjacent Ballona wetlands. Finally, many Gabrielino/Tongva oppose the development in part because of the environmental issues but more importantly due to the destruction of the three archaeological sites on the property, each of which contained human remains. Gabrielino/Tongva tribal members view interments as final resting places for their ancestors that should not be destroyed or removed. They believe that it is ethically and spiritually wrong to destroy things that were divinely created.

Individuals representing local residents, environmentalists, and Native Americans came together to protest the development at West Bluffs during the summer of 2003. Throughout fieldwork, much of the protesting against the archaeological work was based on the premise that the burials were being desecrated. Some local Native Americans were actively involved with these protests. Other Gabrielino/Tongva members, however, questioned the commitment of local residents and environmental groups to this stance because it was unclear if the commitment was sincere or simply an opportunity to draw attention against the development. In environmentalist-sponsored purchases of

land in the Ballona region from the developer, for example, archaeological and Native American communities were never included in discussions, and archaeological resources on adjacent property also owned by the developer were never considered. This illustrates the disconnect between Native American concerns and those of anti-development/environmentalists; the issue of preservation of Native American sites only comes up if it can help achieve the political agenda of the latter groups. Some descendant community members are disturbed by non-Native American groups using terms like “sacred burial ground” to describe the archaeological sites because they misrepresent a very essential spiritual philosophy of indigenous communities.

By the end of archaeological data recovery and monitoring, local, state, and federal officials began voicing their concerns over the destruction of the three sites. For example, in December 2003, the Human Relations Commission of the City of Los Angeles voted to support the purchase of the property due to the presence of Gabrielino/Tongva tribal ancestral remains and to return it to its former state prior to grading. Ironically, this vote came months after the completion of archaeological work and the removal of all known cultural resources. Furthermore, a local council member representing the West Bluffs district indicated that the Commission could not support the resolution if the City had no intention of actually purchasing the property. Neither the City nor the State of California has the estimated \$40 million necessary to purchase it, nor the additional millions to restore the area to its former state and protect it in perpetuity. It remains unclear if the Commission would have supported the motion if it actually had been feasible to act on it.

Cultural Resources, Patrimony, and Perceptions of Preservation

Cultural resources have been seen, since the passage of the Antiquities Act of 1906, as an integral part of the heritage and history of the United States. The landmark legislation of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 furthered the Antiquities Act and other similar legislation by creating procedures (Section 106) that must be followed by federal agencies when significant cultural properties are impacted. However, as the above discussion suggests, one of the perceived failures of NHPA has to do with public policy and historic preservation. The average interested citizen of Los Angeles may read the papers about the destruction of archaeological remains at West Bluffs, including the fact that all federal and state regulations were followed, and ask several simple questions: if NHPA regulations were followed, how was site destruction permitted? If descendant communities were involved with the planning and implementation of archaeology at West Bluffs, why were they outside the gate protesting?

There is a simple answer: Section 106 and CEQA procedures do not, in and of themselves, protect cultural resources from destruction. On privately held land, government officials have no power to stop development because of archaeological sites. Their obligation, under Section 106, is to assess the impact and, to the extent feasible, mitigate the adverse effect. Affected Native American groups, though their comments are invited, also have no authority to stop a federal project (Watkins 2003:281). This is especially true of non-federally recognized tribes like the Gabrielino/Tongva. Ultimately, while this act covers a wide range of historic properties, its power to preserve them is extremely weak; it is a procedural law, rather than strictly a preservation law. The outcome of Section 106 is that the undertaking is allowed to proceed.

Whereas there may be many reasons why NHPA contains inherent weakness in preservation, one probable reason is the considerable lack of acknowledgment of patrimony in the United States. Archaeological remains on private property are viewed as owned by that individual owner rather than as national resources. NHPA is weak in the implementation of its procedural process in many ways because of the regulators themselves. Many elected officials tie the mitigation of archaeological remains with science; dictating the excavation of an archaeological site with scientific techniques is viewed as the responsible thing to do because the information from the site is being saved. Of course, many members of the archaeological and Native American communities see that cultural resources have value well beyond their scientific importance and that this value to descendant communities cannot in many ways be mitigated. Most public officials do not understand this and may only ask a simple question: are the applicable regulations being followed? If so, then many are satisfied and the undertaking may proceed.

Given this context, it is quite understandable why Native Americans, including the Gabrielino/Tongva communities, may view archaeology with suspicion. Certainly, archaeological work like that at West Bluffs offers a great deal of important information about how the ancestors of the Gabrielino/Tongva lived and interacted with the landscape. These benefits may not be perceived as accessible to descendant groups, however, because of the technical nature of reports and publications (Lipe 2002:25–26). At the same time, it is undeniable that archaeological data recovery is a destructive and invasive procedure (Tsosie 1997:66). To many Native American groups, preservation of archaeological sites includes the prevention of excavations because the sites often are seen as more important monuments of tribal history than the information that can be gained from archaeological investigations (Watkins 2003:172, 277). Many descendant community members believe that once sites are destroyed, the innate physical and spiritual connection between them and the archaeological remains is lost. The goals and

methods of descendant communities and archaeologists may be complementary, but are uniquely different (Pyburn and Wilk 1995:75; Watkins 2003:280).

Working Towards Real Preservation

What then, can be done to better preserve archaeological sites? First and foremost, better communication within and between communities about historic preservation and what values and importance ought to be placed upon them are needed. This is an important first step often missed at the local, regional, and state level. In the case of West Bluffs, it is unfortunate that much of the focus on the project came only after the final archaeological work was well underway. The reality is that the same elected officials who regulate a specific project often only become involved and interested when their constituents are sufficiently outraged. Proponents of historic preservation need to identify what resources they find valuable and work to save them ahead of impending (or actual) development.

Second, members of descendant communities need to work together to preserve information about archaeological sites when development does occur. Native American monitors working alongside archaeologists need to become better trained in documenting and preserving ancestral knowledge as well as the legalities and political history of archaeology. Monitors should not be viewed as para-professional archaeologists, but, rather, as descendant community members that offer unique insight into material remains. A certification program for Native American monitors and a central cultural committee to oversee them is necessary to ensure that indigenous knowledge is collected, archived, and accessible to all ancestral community members. As long as the Gabrielino/Tongva or any other non-federally recognized tribe is divided, it is easy for a developer and the project opposition to find members of the descendant community who will support their position. In essence, descendant communities need to become more active participants in the interpretation, management, and preservation of their heritage (Ravesloot 1997:174).

Third, we need to stop trying to halt property development with cultural resources on a case-by-case basis. As has been described for West Bluffs, historic preservation laws as they now stand do little to actually prevent development. Rather, we need to work on writing laws that are tied to the goals of the constituencies of historic and cultural preservation. Instead of writing laws that in name suggest preservation but have no enforcement tied to them, we need to work together to identify those resources that are important to preserve and make cases that are realistic to a skeptical legislative branch. Archaeologists and descendant communities would certainly both be helpful in identifying sites for preservation and developing management plans.

Fourth, and lastly, if we are to preserve cultural resources on privately held land, we must be willing to compensate those property land owners; we need to value patrimony at the same time that we respect private ownership of these same resources. Recent articles in *The SAA Archaeological Record* (Doelle 2003; Michel 2003; Van Keuren 2003) have offered just such ideas: purchase the land on which sites are located and create an endowment for stewardship in perpetuity. In the case studies discussed in those articles, however, archaeological sites could be purchased for relatively small amounts, roughly \$10,000–100,000. In the case of West Bluffs, the asking price is \$40,000,000. In densely urban areas, asking prices such as this are not surprising. There are alternatives to outright purchase, of course, including tax reductions, easement donations, and similar federal or state programs (see Henry 1993 for an examination of these possibilities), but these may not adequately compensate owners for losing the right to develop the land.

Conservation groups like the Archaeological Conservancy and the Center for Desert Archaeology do significant work towards preserving cultural resources and offer important pioneering efforts, but these are private organizations with limited means. What is needed is a concerted effort by local, state, and federal governments to find novel solutions for preservation. One such example of this concept in action occurred in the Spring of 2004 around Tucson, where a \$20,000,000 bond measure passed that protected valuable cultural resources and provided heritage education. This bond created the funds to purchase and preserve seven archaeological sites, rehabilitate historic-period buildings, and create interpretation of historic-period trail segments. A similar bond, for \$6,500,000, was passed in 1997. County officials worked together with archaeologists and Native Americans to proactively identify regionally important cultural resources that were threatened with development. Based on the premise that the preservation of these resources is an important priority to all citizens, these groups worked together to offer the bond question to the county's citizens (David Cushman, personal communication, 2004).

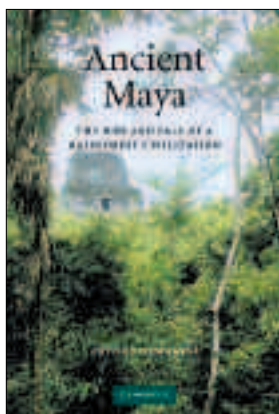
The events and outcomes discussed here are ones that hopefully make the reader stop and consider similar situations in other parts of the country. In southern California, instances where archaeological sites are destroyed for development are increasingly common as open land becomes even scarcer. A balance between development and preservation must be set in place now, before other important sites are destroyed. Communities must take a stand on identifying important cultural resources and be proactive, rather than reactive, in preserving them. Although archaeologists and Native Americans at times have different goals related to historic properties, it is important to acknowledge these differences as we work toward a stewardship of patrimony. □

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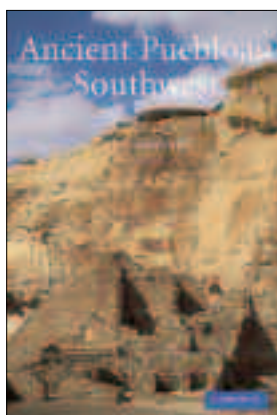
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PREFACE TO SPECIAL SECTION

THE PUBLIC MEANING OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

Barbara Little and Paul Shackel

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The public meaning of archaeology and the roles that archaeology plays in communities are increasingly recognized as integral to the practice of archaeology in the United States. Archaeology is often a vital component in the creation of national, ethnic, and community identity. Archaeology presented and discussed in public places has tremendous potential to broaden both national and local dialogue about the past and develop more inclusive histories.


The following articles are an outgrowth of a seminar on the "Public Meaning of Archaeological Heritage" held at the University of Maryland. The seminar was part of training developed by the National Park Service (NPS) and the Center for Heritage Resource Studies to reach those interested in and responsible for programs in archaeological research, interpretation, and education in our nation's public parks and historical sites. The articles discuss the public meaning of archaeology and show how archaeologists can create strategies to develop a more visible and inclusive past. They show not only how communities play important roles in the stewardship of heritage, but also how archaeological interpretation can be made relevant to descendant and local communities.

Federal agencies have a mandate for public outreach about archaeology in the Archaeological Resources Protection Act. In her article, Barbara Little describes the "shared competency" for archaeologists and interpreters in the NPS and offers a set of tools available on the Internet. Francis McManamon highlights the long history of public outreach in U.S. national parks and emphasizes how archaeology can provide visitors access to the long-term reality of diversity in the American past.

Archaeological places of many kinds are recognized as having national or international importance, and these same places

often have local meanings and contexts that are broader than that conveyed by archaeological research. In pushing archaeology to address broader stories and meaningful context, Paul Shackel urges persistence and partnerships for the hard work of public outreach. In her discussion of Copan, Lena Mortensen illustrates the complexity of interwoven international, national, and local meanings and economic realities. Jeffrey Hantman describes his work with the Monacan Indians in Virginia, illustrating how archaeology takes on extraordinary public meaning by reversing historical invisibility. Cheryl LaRoche writes of several sites with deep and persistent meaning including the African Burial Ground in Manhattan, Underground Railroad sites, and the shipwreck of the *Henrietta Marie*, a critically important discovery that had the misfortune to have been found by Mel Fisher and the good fortune to have been championed by the National Association of Black Scuba Divers. From the perspective of county government, Kirsti Uunila describes how demonstrating complex social relations in the past and framing discussions of inequality in the present use archaeology explicitly as a tool to confront racism.

Archaeology in these public places has tremendous potential to broaden our national dialogue about the past and develop more inclusive histories. Archaeology can be a vital component in the creation of national, ethnic, and community identity. These authors push the discipline into the realm of civic engagement and illustrate how archaeology has public meaning far beyond what most of us once imagined.

Some of the presentations from "The Public Meaning of Archaeological Heritage" are now available on the Center for Heritage Resource Study's website: <http://heritage.umd.edu/CHRSWeb/nps/training/papers.htm>. 

ARCHAEOLOGISTS AND INTERPRETERS WORKING TOGETHER

Barbara J. Little

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Public education and outreach are important parts of every sector of the archaeological profession. Private contract firms of all sizes incorporate elements of public outreach into at least some projects. Governments at every level are rightly concerned with the public benefit of the work they require or sponsor and often want education as well as research as a benefit. Academic institutions are engaged in outreach efforts or, responding to the demands of the workplace for which their students are destined, are starting to incorporate education and interpretation into the curriculum (I mean “interpretation” in the public education sense rather than the analytic sense.)

The materials that I describe here are available to anyone with access to the Internet. They are free and adaptable and are meant to encourage the widespread education of archaeologists in some of the basic methods and techniques of interpretation. I describe three inter-related tools. The first is the National Park Service's (NPS) “shared competency” course of study; the second is a pair of online resources—*Archeology for Interpreters* and *Interpretation for Archeologists*—and the third is an online guide to a four-part curriculum that can be adapted to any part of the country, by any institution, to train archaeologists as effective interpreters who produce and evaluate interpretive products.

The “Shared Competency” Course

Many U.S. federal agencies support efforts in archaeological outreach and ground their efforts in the requirements of the Archaeological Resources Protection Act. Within the NPS, there is an ongoing effort to improve the public interpretation of archaeological resources. One of the acknowledged goals of interpretation in the NPS is, ultimately, better protection for the resources. Interpretation aims to encourage visitors to care about park resources and become better stewards of public lands. A related goal is the telling of more complete stories so that visitors have the historical and contextual tools to understand and appreciate not only their own culture and history, but also that of others. This latter goal supports NPS Civic Engagement initiatives that seek to make and keep the parks relevant

in our ever-changing democracy.

The “shared competency” in Archeology and Interpretation is the NPS's first attempt to provide a measure of competency applicable to more than one profession. The NPS defines a competency as “a combination of knowledge, skills, and abilities in a particular career field, which, when acquired, allows a person to perform a task or function at a specifically defined level of proficiency.” A shared competency recognizes that knowledge, skills, and abilities inherent to one discipline may cross over into one or more additional disciplines. Shared competency, stated as “archaeologists and interpreters work[ing] together to provide effective and accurate interpretation of archaeological information and resources to the public,” does not replace competencies for either discipline, but it does complement and expand them.

The archaeologist must have a firm foundation in and understanding of the purpose, philosophy, and techniques of interpretation. The interpreter must have an understanding of basic archaeological principles and techniques as well as up-to-date and accurate knowledge of the archaeological resources in the park or region where the interpreter works. Together, both professions work together to create compelling linkages to cultural resources based on current factual research and creative interpretive techniques.

The shared competency course, *Module 440: Effective Interpretation of Archaeological Resources*, provides the framework and direction for this interdisciplinary training. It can be accessed at <http://www.nps.gov/idp/interp> (see *Module 440* under “Competencies” and “other developmental modules”).

The objectives for the *Module 440* curriculum are as follows:

A. Archaeologists and interpreters will be able to:

- Convey archaeological information to audiences in an understandable and usable manner;

- Identify and appropriately present multiple perspectives, or direct audiences to sources for discovering multiple perspectives;
- Work together to develop programs and texts about archaeological subjects; and
- Develop presentations and/or media about archaeological subjects to a variety of audiences.

B. Archaeologists will be able to:

- Describe how interpretation and education meet the NPS and park mission and objectives;
- Describe ways in which meanings may be revealed by creating linkages through tangibles and intangibles to the archaeological record;
- Establish a personal foundation to develop interpretive effectiveness through understanding interpretive purpose and techniques;
- Establish a mission-driven approach to interpretation of archaeological resources, which incorporates both park management outcomes and audience revelation, both of which lead to enhanced stewardship; and
- Explain the interpreter's role to facilitate the visitors' experience and relationship to the resource, and how this relationship provides an opportunity for stewardship.

C. Interpreters will be able to:

- Demonstrate an understanding of the basic principles of archaeology;
- Demonstrate knowledge of pertinent laws, regulations, and policies pertaining to archaeological resources;
- Present programs with factual archaeological content that also present other points of view;
- Demonstrate knowledge of on-site resource preservation activities; and
- Explain the archaeologist's role in interpretation to facilitate the visitors' experience and relationship to the archaeological record, with an understanding that interpretation moves beyond a recitation of scientific data and chronologies.

A pair of NPS online distance learning courses are designed to help both interpreters and archaeologists pursue this shared curriculum. Each of the courses includes a selection of questions to assess the reader's knowledge and understanding of the topics presented. These questions can be used for self-guided study or could form the basis for classroom discussion and student evaluation.

Online Guides for Interpretation

Archeology for Interpreters: A Guide to Knowledge of the Resource (<http://www.cr.nps.gov/aad/AforI/index.htm>) helps interpreters learn about archaeological methods, how archaeological interpretations are made, and how to encourage concern for the

preservation and protection of archaeological resources. This course covers the content identified in the shared competency curriculum for interpreters as the basic knowledge needed to carry out effective interpretation of archaeological resources.

The companion distance learning course, *Interpretation for Archeologists: A Guide to Increasing Knowledge, Skills, and Abilities* (<http://www.cr.nps.gov/aad/IforA/index.htm>), helps archaeologists to examine the art and science by which interpretations are made. The course focuses on the purpose, philosophy, and techniques of interpretation. It encourages archaeologists to examine and share their work with the public and also to integrate archaeological perspectives into the interpretive management of their parks and programs.

Both interpreters and archaeologists will be particularly interested in the "Case Studies Gallery" in Chapter 7 of *Interpretation for Archeologists*. There, you can take advantage of the opportunity to submit your story and help build this gallery into a place where both archaeologists and interpreters can share our ideas and find what others have tried (see "Submit Your Own Story" on that web page).

The Four-Part Program for Archaeologists and Interpreters

The final tool I want to describe is a four-part program designed for the joint participation of archaeologists and interpreters but adaptable to either audience (<http://www.cr.nps.gov/aad/SITES/inspire/index.htm>). This program is a mixed-media course of study, combining classroom lectures, online interactive learning, field trips, and participant projects. The four modules are as follows:

Module I: The Public Meaning of Heritage (seminar in a classroom setting)

Module II: Subject Matter Training (the two online learning guides described above: *Archeology for Interpreters* and *Interpretation for Archeologists*)

Module III: Study Tour of Archaeological Interpretive Programs (trips to case study sites with some classroom activity)


Module IV: Archaeological Interpretive Products and Assessment (classroom presentation and peer assessment of participants' archaeological interpretive projects)

The four modules are designed to be taken in sequence and are set up so that participants may complete the four-module sequence within one academic or fiscal year. Generally, the course schedule would be as follows: Module I, Fall; Module II, Winter; Module III, Early Spring; Module IV, Late Spring. Thus,

participants who take the modules sequentially will complete the program prior to the arrival of millions of visitors visiting public lands and other areas with archaeological stories to tell. Ideally, during the course of the four-module training program, participants would be paired (archaeologists and interpreters) to facilitate interaction between the two disciplines. Again, ideally, before beginning the program, participants would start outlining ideas for development of a new interpretive product that incorporated archaeological information from the place they wish to interpret for the public.

Archaeologists know that America's archaeological resources embody a rich heritage of human experiences and cultural identities and offer a broad public benefit. Skillful interpretation can establish compelling connections between archaeological resources and the present and can provide opportunities to the public to realize the personal relevance of archaeological resources and the importance of their preservation and protection.

Acknowledgments

The NPS shared competency course resulted from the work of an interdisciplinary work group of archaeologists and interpreters lead by John Jameson and Dave Dahlen, both of NPS. 

Other Web Resources

Exploring Public Perceptions about Archaeology, by Maria Ramos and David Duganne for Harris Interactive. <http://www.cr.nps.gov/aad/pubs/harris/index.htm>

The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life, by Roy Rosensweig and David Thelen. Columbia University Press. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/survey/>

NPS Civic Engagement initiative. <http://www.nps.gov/civic/>

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THE PUBLIC INTERPRETATION OF AMERICA'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

Francis P. McManamon

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The National Park Service (NPS) has a long history of interpreting our national heritage to the public in our national parks. Among the first national parks created was Mesa Verde in 1906. Some of the most prominent ancient structures at Mesa Verde, such as Cliff Palace and Spruce Tree House, were stabilized and partially reconstructed shortly after the creation of the park specifically for public interpretation and to encourage more visitation to the park. So, from the beginning of federal management of Mesa Verde, public interpretation and outreach was an important activity.

Public Engagement

America's archaeological heritage is sometimes quite obvious in the visible remains of mounds, earthworks, cliff dwellings, fortifications and other above-ground structures. Other parts of our archaeological heritage—the vast majority, in fact—are much less visible, most frequently hidden beneath the ground surface. Many parks have archaeological remains that are nationally significant and relate to compelling stories about the long history of this land, and yet are all but invisible to the naked eye. For example, Cape Cod National Seashore, created by Congress to preserve public recreational spaces and natural resource values as well as historical resources on the outer Cape, contains hundreds of archaeological sites. These archaeological resources package thousands of years of ancient American history that is far too poorly known by most Americans today and contain information about hundreds of years of historical settlement, as well.

Of course, there are far more archaeological resources outside of national parks than inside park boundaries. And there are federal, tribal, state, and local laws that are designed to ensure that the value and importance of archaeological and other cultural resources like historic buildings and structures are considered and weighed when there is development or other potentially damaging activity. Many archaeologists working for public agencies or consulting firms spend much of their time dealing with the details of compliance with these laws, protecting and

preserving the tangible remains of our heritage for future generations. It is a challenge to wring interesting public interpretation opportunities from the individual projects that comprise much of the daily fare of cultural resource management (CRM) compliance. The overall pattern of results from this web of individual projects may provide more opportunities for telling interesting stories about the past, but integration and synthesis of projects' results has its own challenges.

Sometimes, projects driven by legal compliance and even accidental discoveries of archaeological remains reveal information that is itself compelling. At times, individual projects cause quite a stir. Two recent, well-known examples that have received a great deal of national and even international media coverage are the discovery of Kennewick Man in Washington State and the African Burial Ground in lower Manhattan. Both of these astonishing discoveries require an archaeological perspective to be understood, and both rose to prominence—or notoriety, depending upon your perspective—from more humble origins in the mix of compliance-related activities.

These two cases represent very divergent time periods—one from approximately 9,000 years ago, the other just a few centuries ago. They both raise important issues surrounding management decisions and planning, scientific investigation, relationships with descendant communities, broader public interest, and the meaning of these important discoveries in our national history. Many of the issues they raise are not easy, nor their resolution quick or satisfactory to all. But archaeologists and interpreters need not to shy away from difficult issues. The NPS as a whole has been grappling for means of dealing effectively with difficult histories and with challenges that have roots in our long past but continue into the present.

Civic Engagement

One of the new directions in the NPS today is to take on the challenge of civic engagement. By this is meant using parks and stories that arise from the interpretation of park resources as

tools for a civic dialogue about the issues that face the American people today. Archaeology has a role in providing substance for such public dialogue.

“Diversity” is a word that is much overused these days, yet the concept and the reality of American diversity is deeply embedded in our history, heritage, and identity. Archaeology and the stories it can tell about people in both the ancient and recent past is a portal through which we can access American diversity. The stuff of archaeological resources—artifacts, structures, and physical contexts—provides hard evidence of past diversity among Americans of different cultures. Some of these differences have persisted, others have been modified, and some are now only historical. The reality is that encountering and dealing with diversity has been a real aspect of much of American history. These kinds of encounters and relationships continue to challenge people today who are struggling with issues that sometimes are mistaken as being new. Diversity is not new; cultural conflicts and clashes and accommodation are not new. The challenges of living in a changing environment are not new either.

Archaeological resources and an archaeological perspective can lend insights into our national civic dialogues, but not if its results are limited to a small circle of archaeologists. That is one very important reason for this collection of articles and others like it. We need to discuss and debate the public meaning of our archaeological heritage and to share expertise and experiences about how to tell archaeological stories more effectively. Make no mistake—archaeological resources need active interpreting. As pointed out above, most are invisible. All are palimpsests—a complex overlapping and interweaving of the physical evi-

dence of human activities—that need deciphering. In fact, the means of deciphering are also fit subjects for public interpretation.

I hope that discussions on these topics will lead to ways of effectively broadening public conversations to include archaeology and the unique perspective it offers on the distant and recent past. Archaeologists should aim to provide members of the public with the opportunity to understand and appreciate that long view of the past. Government at every level faces increasing demands for accountability and the demonstration of public benefits. Archaeology has a role in the delivery of public benefits to a wide range of communities and a responsibility to let the public in on the important work that we do.

The Role of NPS

The NPS is committed to improving the effective interpretation of archaeology. We are encouraged by the groundswell in the archaeological profession that is looking seriously at improving the presentation of archaeology worldwide. I invite readers to pursue these issues and topics by visiting the NPS Archeology program website (<http://www.cr.nps.gov/aad/>). There, readers will find a variety of articles, online training courses, and other technical assistance to help with public outreach programs. Even as each of us is enmeshed in the day-to-day demands of management decisions, maintenance issues, audits, reports, and the small and large crises we face routinely, we need to focus on public outreach. It is easy to get lost in the daily details, but it is energizing to remember that there is a larger purpose in the big picture of public meaning. ☐

MEMORY, CIVIC ENGAGEMENT, AND THE PUBLIC MEANING OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

Paul A. Shackel

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Archaeological heritage is an important component of our national story, and we need to look at ways to engage a larger public. Public places, like county, state, and national parks, can reach thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of people every year. Interpreters and archaeologists at public places have a tremendous responsibility to the profession and the public to make archaeology a central issue in interpretation and to connect the meaning of the resource to important and compelling issues.

It is not enough to have gratuitous temporary exhibits or a display of artifacts that identifies their material and function. Archaeologists also need to be careful about making simplistic arguments. We have all seen exhibits at historic sites that praise technological advancements and industrial output as a significant benefit for increasing our material wealth. This type of statement ignores the process of industrialization and the struggle of labor for decent working conditions. However, by placing these items in their larger context, archaeologists and interpreters can tell important narratives related to nationally significant stories. Labor, race, class, and gender should be part of the story. When interpreting archaeological materials, we also need to think about international and national perspectives, heritage tourism, museum interpretation, community involvement, descendant communities, and the protection of archaeological resources. These are important issues that need to be part of the interpretation of archaeological resources.

Memory

What we remember and how we remember as a nation are important issues that allow us to see how public memory develops. A consensus history often occurs when we leave others out of the picture. Those who disagree with a multicultural history have questioned, “how can all these groups, each cherishing its uniqueness and its claim to sovereign attention, be mainstreamed into a single, coherent, integrated history” (quoted in Nash et al. 1998:100–101)? It is a challenge to make minority histories part of the national public memory, and these stories often make the consensus histories much more complicated. However, they also create a richer texture of the past and make it more accessible to other groups.

The National Park Service (NPS) oversees and maintains the National Register of Historic Places, and a quick glance at some statistics is quite revealing about what we as a nation see as important and worthy of remembering. There are over 70,000 places on the National Register of Historic Places, and less than 7% of these are archaeology sites (Little 1999). Fewer than 900 sites on the National Register are connected to African American, Asian American, and Latino heritage (Kaufman 2004).

The representation of traditional peripheral groups on the American landscape has changed significantly since the Civil Rights Act. Until that time, there was very little on the national landscape that could

memorialize minority groups in the national public memory. Places like Woman's Rights National Historical Park, The Frederick Douglass House, and Lowell National Historical Park now tell the stories of women, African Americans, and labor. The telling of stories of traditionally marginalized groups is becoming even more important on the national scene with the redevelopment of many inner cities. Traditional minority communities are being displaced from the landscape with gentrification and the development of transit schemes, like highways and metros. While the heritage of minorities can still be found in traditional folkways, the places may no longer exist, and the historical park is one of the few places where minority stories can be told and passed down to generations (Kauffman 2004). We need to think about how we can make our national heritage more representative of the entire nation, and I think archaeology can be one tool to help create a more inclusive past.



Figure 1: Late 19th-century image of the Robinson House (Courtesy, Manassas National Battlefield Park).

Civic Engagement and Archaeology

The process of civic engagement can make places of memory usable to a wider audience by engaging muted and nontraditional communities in a dialog that addresses issues of social importance. Historic sites can become places to understand contemporary social and political issues. They can also be places that teach social justice.

Some examples outside of archaeology may serve to frame our archaeology projects. The NPS sponsored a *Community Study Report* (Bowser 2000) that highlights the organization's recent experience in helping to organize community and park cooperation to celebrate diversity (http://www.nps.gov/community/community_report.htm). The report contains many stories that show how the NPS connects with diverse communities and promotes pluralism. For instance, at Alcatraz, the NPS explores the history of the American Indian occupation of the island and relates it to the current activism within the American Indian community. It is part of a larger program titled "Promoting Tolerance," which "brings emerging leaders from Eastern and Central Europe to the U.S. to learn about techniques to strengthen pluralism and respect for diversity" (Bowser 2000:20). Representatives come from Russia, Bosnia, Estonia, Rumania, and Bulgaria. In each of these countries, the practice of democracy is a relatively new concept, and the program demonstrates how differences could be reconciled and minority groups could become part of the political process. The program uses a NPS park to help promote democracy around the world (Bowser 2000:20).

Another example is a compelling exhibition titled *Looking for Liberty: An Overview of Maryland History* at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore. *Looking for Liberty* is an interesting, compelling, and thought-provoking exhibit. The exhibition helps visitors to understand the historic struggle for liberties, and it encourages them to contemplate the threats to their own liberties today. The exhibit is very timely, as many Americans today feel that their civil liberties are threatened in the name of patriotism. The

exhibition uses artifacts as props, and it asks visitors to “help tell the story of liberty.” Visitors are asked to comment on the exhibition, and they are told that it is a prototype. They are told that their stories are valuable and may be added to the final and completed exhibition. Allowing people to participate in the story of their past is an important part of making history more socially engaging to communities.

Archaeology needs to be more fully integrated into the civic engagement process. Here is one example how. The Center for Heritage Resource Studies at the University of Maryland is involved in a series of important workshops held in the community of Hampden, Baltimore—a once-powerful industrial center in the city of Baltimore. The mill companies that built the town have abandoned the area, leaving their factories to be reused as warehouses and offices. Despite having lost the basis of its local economy, the community and much of the early workers’ housing still remains. Center Affiliates David Gadsby and Bob Chidester engaged the local community in a dialog about the archaeological process. Through a series of workshops, they learned about the topics that are important to the community. These issues include gentrification, racism, class structure, and labor. Through the process of civic engagement, archaeology has brought the community together to discuss some very important matters that trouble them. These concerns will become part of the archaeology’s research design, and it will be the focus of continued collaboration with the community.

There are other ways to promote civic engagement in archaeology. For instance, St. Mary’s City, the first capital of Maryland, has been the focus of archaeology for many years, and the town has been recovered through extensive excavations. To me, the story of Margaret Brent is both interesting and compelling. She became a landowner in the colony, and in 1648 she petitioned the Maryland assembly for the right to vote, a privilege that only landowners shared. The assembly denied her this right. Her story became a rallying cry for the subsequent women’s suffrage movement. Using this archaeological site and tying it to issues related to gender and women’s rights for school groups or any organization discussing these issues is a powerful use of the place.

Also, the story of the Robinsons at Manassas National Battlefield Park in northern Virginia is compelling. This free African American family lived on what is now the battlefield before and after the Civil War (Figure 1). They replaced and expanded their house by about 1870, and it burned in the early 1990s. Only the chimney remained on the landscape after the house was dismantled by the NPS because of fire damage (Figure 2). The Park administration decided to dismantle the chimney, and in effect erased a significant trace of this African American family from the battlefield (Figure 3). The archaeological material from the Robinsons’ house dates from the antebellum era into the early 20th century. Manassas National Battlefield Park can expand its interpretation of the place and use the archaeology to interpret the African American experience during Reconstruction and the Jim Crow era.



Figure 2: The remaining Robinson House Chimney after the house was dismantled by the NPS following a fire that damaged the structure.

It can be a place to engage the public and address issues of race and racism in the larger community. The park interpretation does not have to stop at the Civil War (Shackel 2003).

In local, state, and federally owned parks, it is a difficult task to counter the status quo and do a different kind of archaeology. Based on my personal experience, I can suggest that change only occurs with persistence, partnerships, and public outreach. It is hard work! The data we collect have the potential of telling a much broader story. We need to assert our findings into the public memory.

Archaeological objects can be a touchstone for a dialog that can be placed in broader conversations of the past. If we

want to be relevant to society and to be part of an important dialogue throughout this country, we need to think about how we can make our discipline relevant. Archaeologists can address the issues of a diverse past, the social relevance of archaeology, and real-world problem-solving (see Bender and Smith 2000). It is important to motivate students and practitioners of archaeology to convince stakeholders and decision-makers that we can make these contributions. 📷



Figure 3: The dismantling of the chimney erased the landscape signature of the Robinson family.

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THE LOCAL MEANINGS OF INTERNATIONAL HERITAGE AT COPÁN, HONDURAS

Lena Mortensen

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Copán, an ancient Maya city in western Honduras, is well known among scholars and lay aficionados of the Maya. When most archaeologists think of Copán, they tend to think of it as an impressive and important archaeological site. But Copán is many things to many people. It is simultaneously a UNESCO World Heritage Site, a Honduran National Monument, and a contemporary archaeological park that sustains an important local tourism industry. It is also a sacred site for contemporary Maya and a favorite resource for Mayanist scholars. These simultaneous identities mark Copán as a complex resource and make it a useful place to look at the ways different interested communities derive meaning and value from the archaeological past.

Copán's Multiple Identities

Honduran archaeologist Ricardo Agurcia describes a mandate for Copán that goes well beyond a limited notion of archaeological value:

Archaeology in Copán is not just about dead people. It is about the growth and development of contemporary populations. It is about feeding poor people, giving them jobs, and making them proud of their heritage [Pena and Johns 2002].

This focus on Copán as a resource for economic development is not new. The major projects at Copán since the 1930s have been conceived jointly as tourism development and archaeological research, always in the service of multiple goals that benefit both national and international interests.

Copán first gained an international reputation when it was depicted in John Stephens and Frederick Catherwood's famous travelogue from 1841, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*. Since that time, the ruins have attracted a steady stream of scholars and visitors wishing to learn about the ancient city and the people that built it. Replete with reconstructed temples, intricately sculpted stelae, and an impressive hieroglyphic stairway, Copán is often featured in the pages of

National Geographic and other media (Figure 1). For the past nearly 30 years, Copán has been the subject of ongoing academic investigation. During this time, at least ten independently funded research projects have produced several generations of Ph.D. students and a wealth of data, making it one of the most intensively and extensively studied sites in the Maya region. In 1980, the site was inscribed in UNESCO's list of World Heritage, formally establishing its international significance.

Because of its international stature and scientific value, Copán is a great source of pride for Honduran citizens. The Honduran state has claimed Copán as an important cultural monument since the mid-nineteenth century, and in 1982 it was officially declared a National Monument. As the most salient physical manifestation of the ancient Maya past in Honduras, Copán has become an important symbol in generations of political rhetoric. The site has historically played an integral role in nationalist campaigns that underwrite the modern *mestizo* identity with the perceived splendor of the indigenous Maya past (Euraque 1998; Joyce 2003). Contemporary leaders also recognize and reinforce the importance of Copán as a national symbol, staging political spectacles there, like the 2002 inauguration of President Ricardo Maduro.

The Maya past also plays an important part in the country's future. Government investment, local entrepreneurship, and World Bank projects have made archaeological tourism at Copán a focal point for regional development. Over the past 15 years, the region has witnessed explosive growth in the Copán tourism sector, benefiting many local residents and boosting the country's international profile. Over the last decade, visitors to Copán have increased from just under 90,000 in 1994 to 135,000 in 2004 (including Hondurans and foreigners), making Copán the second most popular tourist destination in Honduras as well as an important generator of foreign currency (Figure 2). Many local entrepreneurs have taken advantage of the tourism boom by transforming their homes into hotels and their properties into souvenir stores and restaurants. In 2001, the mayor of Copán Ruinas, the town situated adjacent to the ruins, esti-



Figure 1: Partially reconstructed temple in Copán's "East Acropolis."

estimated that approximately 50–60 percent of local residents now make their living from tourism-related business.

Copán's Interested Publics

Copán's importance in these varied contexts means that many different groups claim interests in the site and that Copán heritage comes in many forms. Copán is first and foremost cared for and regulated by the Honduran state through the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia (IHAH), the official custodian of all the nation's cultural patrimony. IHAH manages the day-to-day operations at Copán, makes decisions about what kind of research takes place there, and in general controls how the archaeological park is conserved and developed. Although IHAH is the official custodian, they must operate in conjunction with other state agencies, foreign researchers, local employees, and under international regulations (dictated by Copán's status as a World Heritage Site) in order to maintain this complex resource. From a state perspective, Copán is national heritage, something that bolsters national identity and pride and something that must be protected.

The Ministry of Tourism also has a vested interest in Copán as it is the second-largest tourism destination in the country (behind the Bay Islands) and a cornerstone of national tourism development campaigns. IHAH and the Ministry of Tourism often work together to promote and protect Copán, but understandably, their goals do not always coincide. From a national tourism perspective, Copán's heritage is also a commodity to be marketed that will support regional and even national development.



Figure 2: Tourists and guides in the great plaza of Copán.

Most of the archaeologists and other researchers who have worked at Copán are foreigners. Many began their career there as students, and a significant number have continued working there, contributing substantially to the depth and breadth of research at the site. As a consequence, many foreign researchers are now heavily and personally invested in the management of the resource. While foreign researchers recognize Copán as a Honduran monument, they typically feel a responsibility to the site as scientific heritage because, for this group, Copán primarily represents an important source of data on the ancient Maya.

Unlike most of the archaeologists, technical specialists at Copán are Honduran, and many come from the Copán region. Their interest in Copán has typically been shaped by their familiarity with the site as a fixture in their everyday lives. It is also conditioned by the training they receive in order to work in different capacities for IHAH or for different archaeological projects. Whereas foreign researchers are sometimes transient, many technical specialists work continuously, moving from project to project over time, deepening their knowledge of the site and gaining ever more expertise. Many individuals express loyalty and a responsibility to the site that extends well beyond the bond dictated by employment. Copán heritage for this group is both local and national, personal and scientific.

Other employees of the park, some long term and others very temporary, have a different vision of Copán and what it means to them and others. Many of the people employed at Copán recognize its central importance in the local economy, especially in

recent years as coffee and tobacco industries have declined. They know, however, that their own employment opportunities as excavators, guards, masons, and in other positions are typically dependent on political party affiliation or a chance relationship with people in positions to hire, such as foreign project directors. They also recognize what Copán means to archaeologists and others who work in positions of power there. They can see, as one worker expressed, that "coming to Copán means to be famous." This individual was not referring to people like him, but rather commenting on how managers and archaeologists are featured in the media and frequently meet with foreign dignitaries.

Tour guides at Copán also have a distinct interest in Copán. Most are directly dependent on the state of the park, and their own expertise, for their livelihood. Some would characterize their interest as purely economic. But they are also the most direct public mediators of the park, and many have developed their own personal sense of stewardship based on their experiences in guiding. As individuals who walk the grounds nearly everyday, and who invest in learning about the overall context as much as they can, many guides believe they have a unique perspective on Copán. Some guides even consider themselves the most vigilant stewards of all.

People employed in the local tourism industry tend to have strong opinions about what goes on at the Copán park because they know their business depends on its continued success as a tourism destination. And while most tourism workers acknowledge Copán's importance as a cultural monument, and as a source of scientific data, they are primarily concerned with its operation as a tourist attraction and speak out loudly against any decisions taken that they perceive will threaten this status.

The local public, residents of the town of Copán Ruinas and surrounding communities, also tend to share a distinct connection to the ruins. Almost every family in the vicinity has at least one member who has worked in the ruins in some capacity, for instance on a research project, as a guard, or doing maintenance. Archaeological, restoration, and conservation projects have employed thousands of individuals, providing them with short-term, and in some cases longer-term, income, as well as an intimate perspective on some aspect of archaeological work. Because of the long-term connections and relationships between the town and the site, fostered by the many research projects and international visitors that bring them together, local residents tend to feel protective of Copán as their own local heritage.

Although there are other kinds of interested groups that can be described, I will only mention one more, the Chortí Maya, many of whom still live in the region and consider themselves the descendants of the original builders of the ruins. In recent years, the Chortí have become very politically active in Honduras, incorporating

➤ MORTENSEN, continued on page 44



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COLONIAL LEGACIES AND THE PUBLIC MEANING OF MONACAN ARCHAEOLOGY IN VIRGINIA

Jeffrey L. Hantman

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It is a long understood and difficult truth that the population size, territorial boundaries, social identities, and even the tribal names of many Native peoples in the Eastern United States were vastly transformed by the impact of European diseases and colonial domination. In the Virginia colony, the Algonquian (Powhatan) and Siouan (Monacan) speaking people were as dramatically affected, and as rapidly decimated in number, as any other people or region in the Middle and Southeastern United States between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Wood 1989). The legacy of this colonial history in the modern-day interface between archaeology, Native American political concerns, and the larger public are a series of issues about territory, history, identity, and the legitimacy of claims for cultural patrimony. The ethnohistoric record in Virginia after the early seventeenth century is very thin, and oral traditions are not necessarily known or shared with outsiders. Archaeology, when done collaboratively with tribal groups, is in a position to help address some of the contemporary public issues still extant as a result of colonial-era legacies.

Over the past 15 years, students from the University of Virginia and I have worked with the Monacan Indian Nation of central and western Virginia. The interaction began as a straightforward, if limited, effort on my part to share information on research I was doing and ideas I was publishing on colonial-era Monacans. It is pertinent here to acknowledge that when I began to do research and write about the archaeology and ethnohistory of seventeenth-century Monacans and what I perceived as the formidable role they played in the Jamestown era in the Chesapeake, I was not aware that there was a contemporary Monacan Indian community of approximately 800 tribal members, based just one hour from the University of Virginia (today the tribal numbers are closer to 1,400). When I did first hear of the community, I heard many disparaging and unfounded assumptions about who they were, often from people who had not visited the community or met community members. All this was a function of centuries of invisibility for Indians in the Virginia interior caused by colonial policies, population decline, and the eugenics-driven, racial-categorizing policies of the twen-

tieth century in which Virginia tenaciously reclassified Indians into the generic category of “colored” (Smith 1992).

It should be said, too, that the Monacan community also chose to be out of public view, a centuries-old survival strategy in the face of colonial and later state policies. Situated just an hour from Charlottesville and less than that from Lynchburg, the Monacan community is nestled in the mountains ten miles from a major road. It was relatively easy to be out of view. For decades, Monacan children could not attend public schools. An Episcopal Mission established in the early twentieth century supported a one-room, log cabin school that was in use through mid-century (Figure 1). This all changed in the 1980s as the Monacans actively sought public recognition. Official state recognition was awarded in 1989 after a thorough review of history and opinion sought from other tribal groups in Virginia, and today the Monacans are one of eight state-recognized Indian tribes in Virginia, and the only one located in the western part of the state.

I first met with the Tribe shortly after official and public affirmation of their identity had occurred. Outsiders were still met with understandable caution. I had been invited to attend a Tribal Council meeting to discuss the possibility of working jointly on a modest traveling museum exhibit about the Monacan community, past and present. It was right at the outset that I realized that what I had considered important, but fairly esoteric, research on the Indian-English relations in colonial Virginia struck a positive chord with the Monacan people, and that archaeology in this region would have public meanings far beyond what I even imagined at that time. They understood the lingering impact of colonial-era history and subsequent state policy from their own experience. The archaeology provided a new narrative and a counter-narrative. This prelude is all necessary to understanding the brief overview I offer below of the ways in which archaeology has had some impact on the Monacan community's understanding of their own deep history and on a public understanding of who this Virginia tribe was, and is, today. I will focus on two issues, examples among many,



Figure 1: The Monacan Indian Museum includes archaeological, historical, and contemporary exhibits. The recently restored log cabin seen here was the Monacan school during most of the first half of the twentieth century. The street sign also notes the former presence of the Episcopal Mission to the community.

that archaeological studies were able to address that are legacies of the colonial era: Invisibility/Continuity and Territory.

Invisibility/Continuity

The story of colonial Indian history might seem well known—from the publication in the seventeenth century of the writings of Jamestown colonist John Smith, to the Disney-animated film about Pocahontas and John Smith, to the anniversary commemoration of the settling of the Jamestown colony planned for 2007. But the focus of that Indian history is actually quite limited—it only addresses the people who lived in the area immediately surrounding Jamestown and only the early seventeenth century. Until recently, most people throughout Virginia would have been hard-pressed to say more about other tribes, regions, or time-frames in Indian history. And this left the Monacans in a state of virtual invisibility, past and present.

Identifying the late precolonial sites that my students and I were excavating in ancestral Monacan territory as Monacan sites, and referring to them by that name rather than in the jargon of archaeological culture complexes, was a first step toward connecting archaeology to Monacan history and ending that invisibility. Part of the community's difficulty in receiving recognition as Indian people in the twentieth century could be tied to their comparatively obscure colonial and precolonial history. The archaeology served to offset that difficulty in simply documenting that people were on the landscape and had been there for

some time in continuous settlement of the region even if sites were moved frequently. Further, they were agricultural and lived in villages. All of this offset erroneous perceptions that derived from colonial-era ethnography. The Tribe evaluated what I was writing about Monacan archaeology and history, and selectively adopted some of it (as all people do) into their own histories and sense of their past. While having a collective sense of a deep past is important, it was sharing that message with a modestly wider audience that was of greatest interest in the early years of our collaboration.

The idea of developing the small traveling exhibit was adopted by the Monacan Tribal Council. A grant from the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities (VFH) made the development of this exhibit possible, and the impact was fairly significant. A traveling exhibit that could be placed in schools was desired, as leaders of the Tribe were now being asked to travel to local schools and discuss Monacan history and identity with students, teachers, and curriculum planners (Figure 2). It is worth noting that archaeology and related ethnohistory was a small part of the exhibit. The Tribe was particularly interested in “talking” about the recent past and present in this exhibit. But the archaeology served to connect this more recent history to a place in the deeper history of Virginia, as well as to the familiar Jamestown story. In this way, the exhibit was a success. A video produced by members of the Tribe about this time also included archaeology and ethnohistory in establishing the deep history of the tribe for an audience new to the name and identity of Monacan. The exhibit and video were widely distributed, most effectively to schools. The result helped to reverse the invisibility that even state recognition could not offset.

Territory

A final important issue concerns the dramatic transformations in territory from the colonial era and contemporary identification with ancestral territory. The Monacan community of today is focused on one small community centered in an area called Bear Mountain, in Amherst County, Virginia. Two centuries of settlement continuity there help establish the recent historic claims to tribal status in-state, but leave open, if not in fact obscuring, any connection to a larger territory. It is the case that small expatriate communities of tribal members live today in Maryland, Tennessee, and Georgia, families whose parents or grandparents moved out of Virginia to avoid racist state laws and policies enacted during the eugenics era. Accordingly, a fluid and noncontiguous tribal affiliation is not presumed in the present.

On the basis of archaeological information, including settlement pattern data and especially a distinctive burial mound complex, a larger territory that is Monacan can be discerned



Figure 2: This traveling exhibit, including one panel on archaeology and three on the recent community history, was used by Monacan tribal leaders when meeting with students, teachers, and curriculum planners on the local level. Today this exhibit has been largely supplanted by a popular Monacan living-history program at the Natural Bridge National Historic Landmark and other widely seen public venues.

(but see Boyd 2003; Hantman et al. 2004). The “original core” of what was Monacan territory is derived from a known place—that is, the area that is shown on John Smith’s map of Virginia as “Monacan.” From there, archaeological survey and excavation data strongly suggest that a neighboring region given a different name by the colonial observers (“Mannahoac”) was virtually undifferentiated materially, or in terms of burial ritual, from the Monacan “core.” The public implications of this archaeological research, vetted by the Monacan Tribe, relate largely to issues of cultural patrimony. Human remains from two of the burial mounds have been returned to the Monacans following NAG-PRA review of their claim, and the remains have been reinterred in the historic Monacan cemetery on Bear Mountain. In consultation with the Tribe, bioarchaeological analyses were conducted prior to the reinterment (Gold 2004). In another example, a collection of more than 20,000 artifacts collected in ancestral Monacan territory by amateurs, then curated by the

National Park Service since the 1940s, is in the process of being returned to the Monacan Tribal Museum. The University of Virginia is inventorying the collection so as to facilitate its transfer to the Monacan Indian Museum.

The public meanings of a Monacan archaeology begin with the value placed on the knowledge of deep history, and even individual identity (Hantman 2004), by the members of the Tribe themselves. These meanings extend to concerns beyond the boundaries of the Tribe to issues of public identity and acceptance, recognition, and legal status with respect to cultural patrimony. The Monacans have come out of the long shadow created by colonial-era writing and policy and are now very much a part of the cultural history of the region as well as the contemporary political and cultural landscape. Archaeological data have been one part of this very public transformation brought about by the Monacan people themselves. ☐

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HERITAGE, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY

Cheryl Janifer LaRoche

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Locked beneath the sunken ships, tenuous structures, abandoned cemeteries, and forgotten former towns and plantations that comprise the archaeological record lay the material remains of an African American history of place. Archaeological investigations into a variety of sites raise new questions that release scholarship from the boundaries and limitations of written histories. Alternative knowledge that emerges from archaeological practices has the potential to generate controversy, public engagement, and scholarly activism. Passionate public responses combined with scholarly commitment indicate the level of importance and depth of meaning associated with several African American archaeological sites. The impact and implications of archaeological knowledge can be seen among the intersections of local activist communities, academe, regional economic interests, and national and global issues that bring new thematic combinations in African American history.

For sites such as the African Burial Ground in New York City, the *Henrietta Marie*, a slave ship that sunk off the coast of Florida in 1700; or Underground Railroad sites, nonverbal communications, the language of material culture, and cultural landscape analyses must be interpreted in conjunction with maps, deeds, probate, and census records to piece together an African American history of place. For each of these sites, the public, stakeholders, descendant community members, or committed professionals took action to ensure survival of historical and cultural heritage. At the African Burial Ground in New York City, for example, the public was involved in rescuing historical and cultural property at Broadway, Duane, Elk, and Reade Streets on a site that historic maps indicated had been the location of an "African Burying Ground." The rugged topography of early Manhattan helped preserve a portion of the cemetery buried 23 feet below street level (Castanga and Tyler 2004). The original cemetery was approximately six acres; its use spanned the greater portion of the eighteenth century.

Although the concept of a "site of conscience" is currently limited to museums, throughout the conflict and contentiousness of the past 14 years, the African Burial Ground has been a site consistently marked by public stewardship. Through both public reaction and scholarly activism, the African Burial Ground meets the definition of a site of conscience. The cemetery site possesses the "unique power to inspire social consciousness and action" and is a vehicle through which "new conversations about contemporary issues in historical perspective" are introduced and realized (International Coalition n.d.). In addition to meeting the primary definition of a site of conscience, the Burial Ground, through the Office of Public Education and Interpretation, meets the remaining criteria: (1) interpreting history through historic sites, (2) engaging in programs that stimulate dialogue on pressing social issues and promote humanitarian and democratic values as a primary function, and (3) sharing opportunities for public involvement in issues raised at the site (Figure 1).

Stakeholders

For African American heritage sites such as the African Burial Ground or the *Henrietta Marie*, scholarly or public activism was required to insure scientific and archaeological investigation. Stakeholders vary from site to site; they are idiosyncratic and particular to the individual circumstances of discovery. As a result, it



Figure 1. Revealing the power of archaeological resources, Nigerian President Obasanjo, "called upon the citizens of New York to revere the African Burial Ground as a sacred place of meditation, reconciliation and healing, and as a site of African history and heritage." Shown here prior to the 2004 reinterment ceremony is a marble plaque placed at the site. The plaque is a gift from the people of Nigeria. (Quote from Dan Perkins. 2004. "Nigerian President Calls for Reconciliation Between Africans and African-Americans." U.S. Newswire. Originally from *diversityinbusiness.com*, Oct. 2004. http://www.diversityinbusiness.com/dib2004/dib20410/News_Nigeria_Reconciliation.htm Photo by Cheryl J. LaRoche.

is imperative that we understand who the various stakeholders really are. How well do we understand the people we serve, our ethical clients (Mack and Blakey 2004)? Among the New York public not associated with governmental agencies, educational institutions, or archaeological firms, an older population consisting primarily of black women was at the forefront of the movement to save the site. This mature population recognized the importance of heritage in ways that often elude younger generations. These elder community members saw or see themselves as placeholders, with a responsibility to protect heritage sites until the next generation is in position to offer support or take up the fight.

As part of the Section 106 process and other state and local mandates, required oversight meetings are generally held during business hours. Frequently, retired members of the descendant community have the time to attend mid-day meetings and emergency sessions. Stakeholders often self-identify or self-select and have no official designation or affiliation. Within the process of reclaiming an archaeological site, contentiousness initially may be viewed by stakeholders as more productive than partnership, and from this ethos comes the certain knowledge that reclamation of a site may depend upon effective power sharing. At the New York African Burial Ground, stakeholders recognized interpretation as a political act and that intense provocation could be an effective force for change.

For the *Henrietta Marie*, the National Association of Black Scuba Divers (NABS) worked tirelessly to

ensure that the wrecked ship was scientifically excavated and nationally publicized. The *Henrietta Marie* sailed from London in 1697 and again in 1699 and eventually sank off New Ground Reef in the Florida Keys in 1700, where it settled in 12 to 32 feet of water. The ship was discovered off the coast of Florida in 1988 by Mel Fisher, a treasure salvor considered a pariah among underwater archaeologists. The history of the ship was deemed less valid by academicians, due to the circumstances of discovery and was not scientifically investigated for several years. NABS was largely responsible for commemoration efforts and insisted that the historical legacy was too important to be lost. *The Wreck of the Henrietta Marie*, by Pulitzer Prize-winning author Michael Cottman (1999), chronicles rescue efforts and is a powerful example of public response to archaeology. The book and a national exhibition make the history of the ship accessible to the public.

Underground Railroad

Scholarly inattention to the topic of the Underground Railroad led Congress to mandate implementation of a study by the National Park Service (NPS) in 1993 and to establish the Network to Freedom in 1998 when Congressman Rob Portman (R-Ohio) co-sponsored the National Underground Network to Freedom Act with Congressman Louis Stokes (D-Cleveland). The Network to Freedom Act links Underground Railroad sites across the country into a network maintained by NPS which, in conjunction with The National Underground Railroad Freedom Center in Cincinnati, has become the institutional custodian of Underground Railroad history. Throughout the years of neglect, however, local and family historians understood the relevance of preserving their stories.

In the absence of strong documentation in the form of written records supporting Underground Railroad activities, historians and other researchers find little to no basis for historical analysis or claims by local historians. Archaeologists from the National Forest Service, however, are excavating Underground Railroad sites in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Through a combination of archaeological, family, and historical records, archaeologists are realizing that free people of color involved with the Underground Railroad adopted a radical stance in helping one another, often risking their own freedom to ensure the escape of family, friends, or loved ones, as well as strangers. One must literally create this history by first identifying and confirming sites and then looking at census data, deed books, slave schedules, and old maps in order to formulate historical perspectives and create a thematic presence. Heritage resources cannot be effectively established until after historical analyses have been completed.

History

Combining a critical mass of archaeological sites such as the Underground Railroad sites identified by the National Forest Service opens new historical perspectives. Multidisciplinarity, informed by landscape studies and combined with the material record generated through archaeology, adds dimension and alternative paths to historical inquiry. However, archaeological contributions to American history in general and to African American history in particular continue to be both overlooked and undervalued. From the plantation economy, to an understanding of foodways, medicinal, and spiritual practices, to bioanthropological data, archaeology has made significant and long-lasting contributions to understanding African American history.

Archaeological inquiry answers questions unavailable to historians where the supporting documentary record is simply unavailable. Archaeology, therefore, is one of the most powerful tools leading to African American cultural heritage. Analysis of material culture retrieved from archaeological sites has contributed to understandings of African American religious, social, biological, and cultural structures. Archaeology is a tool that contributes compensatory information that enriches history. Questions derived from archaeological investigations are separate and distinct from those arising from historical sources. Furthermore, the language of the landscape informs an understudied and overlooked African American history of place within efforts to reclaim an African American past.

Heritage and History

Generational transmission of cultural legacies and traditions, communal histories, artistic expression, identity, and sustained cultural values combine to form heritage. A historical component is necessarily included in any definition of heritage. History precedes heritage. If the historical record is not preserved, neither heritage resources nor historical legacy can emerge.

Sites once dense with African American cultural expression lay forgotten beneath the earth. Were it not for archaeological investigation of a site, resurrecting and reclaiming the past, history would have been completely lost. But for many of these sites, African Americans in conjunction with other concerned citizens recognized the importance of the story that lay behind the silences, the lack of preservation, and the collective forgetting associated with archaeological rediscovery. Archaeology is not an end in itself; it is, rather, a conduit, an avenue leading to renewal of black history. One of the greatest archaeological finds of this century exists, in part, because of the relentlessness of the New York descendant community in a space and time when there should have been no discussion, no less contentiousness, associated with investigation of the African Burial Ground. This and other examples reveal the struggles that surround preservation of African American history and heritage as African Americans look for ways to negotiate their cultural capital.

↳ LAROCHE, continued on page 44

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ARCHAEOLOGY AS A TOOL FOR BUILDING COMMUNITY

Kirsti Uunila

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This brief discussion of two examples of how the past is used in Calvert County, Maryland follows from the assumption that the past always serves the present, with good, bad, or indifferent motivations and corresponding results. County planners, with citizen participation, have articulated constructive uses for the past. The goals toward which planners use the past are to foster a sense of place, recognize or establish community identity, and support the preservation of cultural resources that citizens value as important to a good quality of life. Archaeology is a tool suited to these ends with the added goal to address racism. Archaeology, especially public archaeology, can contribute to all of these goals through insistent and persistent demonstration of the complexity of social relations in the past. Archaeologists can facilitate open discussion of social inequality on the sites we interpret and equip people to see inequity in the present.

In any undertaking that builds on these ideas, the first step is to establish legitimacy. In the cases cited here, legitimacy has been constructed in partnership with the public archaeology program at Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum, a state-run facility dedicated to regional archaeology, and with the public schools. Calvert County has crafted policy to undergird such partnerships under the rubric of heritage. The policy is written in documents, such as the Calvert County Comprehensive Plan, the Zoning Ordinance, and the Southern Maryland Heritage Area Heritage Tourism Management Plan. There is no necessary relationship between policy and content, but policy can be crafted in such a way as to drive a wide variety of projects to serve policy goals. Major objectives of the Calvert County Comprehensive Plan, for example, are to control growth and build strong communities. Heritage education and preservation are explicitly named in the plan as tools to these ends. Content that engages citizens in history may meet the action items included in the Comprehensive Plan.

Content also has helped to shape policy. In Maryland, jurisdictions are required to rewrite their comprehensive plans, providing cyclic opportunities for heritage practitioners to influence

policy. It is important for archaeologists and interpreters to get involved in planning activities in the jurisdictions in which they practice. They can be effective lobbyists for community participation, as well, and may be able to identify and bring communities that might not otherwise be heard into the planning process.

Tourism offices are also potentially potent allies in providing public access to interpretive sites and activities. Archaeologists and interpreters must maintain constructive relationships with tourism marketers to ensure that heritage tourism content is accurate, appropriate, and managed sensitively with respect to the needs of communities where resources are located.

Case 1: Public Archaeology at Sukeek's Cabin Site

Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum (JPPM) was established in 1983 as an archaeological preserve and interpretive site. When a needs-assessment project in the early 1990s revealed that JPPM was perceived as "white space," the research and education departments wove two projects together: one to search for African American perspectives on JPPM, the other to reach out to African American communities to offer assistance to document and celebrate their histories and heritage. The projects came together in the public archaeology program to connect living African American families with sites on JPPM property.

Oral histories were collected from members of a family that traced their heritage to women who had been enslaved at what is now JPPM. Mining the memories of family elders for names and dates, researchers found documents, such as death certificates, that yielded new information and created productive avenues for further investigation. Recollections of elders in the family gave new meaning and a name—Sukeek's Cabin Site—to at least one site already identified. Documentary research and archaeology established the site as representative of the family's first home as free tenant farmers after Emancipation. Family members participated in all phases of research, and JPPM staff instituted regular meetings with descendants to share information and give updates on planned activities.



Figure 1: A child's alphabet plate in association with writing slate and pencil fragments suggests that the occupants of Sukeek's Cabin Site were teaching and learning at home.

Sukeek's Cabin Site was the focus of the public archaeology session in 2000 and 2001. Work at the site provided opportunities for family members to mingle with archaeology volunteers who were not related. Early on, the cooperative context produced the question, "why do you care?" and prompted nonrelatives to answer in a way that showed their interest in and readiness to identify with the former occupants of the site and, by extension, to identify with the living family members. Before fieldwork began, and at the beginning of each new field season, the family was invited to a meeting and site visit. Gathering at the site was at least as important as the participation of family members in site clearing because it included all kin who were able to travel to the site and not just those physically able to work at it. At the gatherings, the family conferred its blessing on the project and JPPM spokespersons affirmed their commitment to work to uncover the family's history and to tell the stories truthfully.

The site is situated out of the public area on top of a ridge, at the end of a trail up a hill and through woods. The time it takes to walk to the site affords an opportunity to equip visitors with the ability to see human agency of the past in the setting. The relative marginality of the site with respect to the nineteenth-

century plantation—as well as the present uses—is pointed out in numerous examples along the way. By the time visitors reach the site, they are ready to "see" the former occupants and understand their relationship to other sites and people on the property. Visitors are shown a sample of artifacts to support interpretations about the use of various spaces on the site. Fragments of a child's alphabet plate are shown with pieces of writing slate and slate pencil fragments (Figure 1). Interpreters suggest that the people who lived here were teaching and learning at home during a period when public education was not available to African American children. The artifacts provide entry into discussions about land and labor before and after the Civil War, education, and race-based differences in access to services that most Americans now take for granted.

Because Sukeek's Cabin Site is not accessible to everyone, public programs, brochures, a web page, interpretive panels and small exhibits have been created for use by people who cannot physically get to the site. These products also help carry the content beyond the site. Another means of extending the experience is a course developed for training teachers.

Case 2: The Landscape of Segregation Tour

The Landscape of Segregation Tour was initially conceived as a component of a teachers in-service to fulfill a state requirement for training in multicultural education (such requirements should be in place in other states as they follow a Federal initiative). Training has also been offered to history and social studies teachers in a summer institute. The tour applies the same objectives as the tour to Sukeek's Cabin Site on a much larger scale and directly addresses the issue of achievement gaps between white and African American students in county schools. One assumption is that low expectations are as much to blame as any other single factor. An intuitive solution is to raise expectations through raising the value of local history and experience by using the past of local African American communities to confer depth and complexity upon their young members.

The tour focuses on African American life after the Civil War. Before boarding a bus, teachers are shown historic maps and aerial photographs of the area. Sukeek's Cabin is pointed out on a 1902 USGS map, along with comparable dots indicating dozens of African American households along the shoreline at the beginning of the twentieth century. There are no African American households on the waterfront at the beginning of the twenty-first century—the meaning and value of waterfront has changed.

The first stop on the tour is a pull-out above two cemeteries that abut each other between two United Methodist churches. One is historically African American, the other historically white.



Figure 2: Albert Gantt enlisted in the 2nd Regiment Light Artillery, U.S. Colored Troops in 1863. He returned to Calvert County, where he became a community leader. He is one of several men buried in this cemetery who resisted slavery through military service.

The church properties were both donated by the same white man in the mid-nineteenth century. The landscape prompts questions that easily permit a discussion of the history that created it, including schisms in Methodism and other social institutions over slavery, legislation regulating African American worship, resistance to slavery, and how people built community to meet their collective needs.

The tour proceeds into the cemeteries to show the subtle ways that the boundary between them is maintained. Teachers are led to the graves of Sukeek's descendants and "introduced" to other families, including men who won their freedom by enlisting in the U.S. Colored Troops. Before leaving the cemetery, teachers' attention is drawn to the buildings and other landscape features that demonstrate the continuity of multiple activities centered

around the African American church—a community center since its founding. The church was arguably the only public arena in which African Americans enjoyed autonomy well into the twentieth century (Figure 2).

The tour then continues to an Episcopal church, founded more than a century before the Methodist movement took off in Calvert. Names of the dead are discussed in light of their connections to families who converted to Methodism and their connections to former bondsmen. The tour proceeds past the farm of former slaveholders to an African American farmstead. The two farms were once connected; a path through the woods is visible on the 1938 aerial. On the porch of the farmhouse, a descendant of the African American farmer greets the tour and, through her craft of storytelling, gives a powerful interpretation of the landscapes and relationships in the rural neighborhood. The last stop on the tour is the oldest standing one-room school built for African American children in the county. The building, roughly 15 by 17 feet, held up to 40 students in seven grades until 1934. Finally, the teachers return to a modern classroom setting with all the aerials and maps and discuss what they have seen, felt, and learned.

The tour and courses have been popular with participants. Teachers are multipliers of audience. An investment of resources to offer such a course will pay off in classrooms for years to come as teachers apply what they have learned. Teachers may also provide feedback into policy; Calvert County teachers recommended to the school board that all new teachers be required to take a course in local history.

Concluding Thoughts

The Calvert County case-study projects were designed to address identified needs with existing resources. Partnerships were critical to the success of both projects. The partners involved have counterparts in many locales: school systems, local government, museums, churches, etc. A landscape-based project is guaranteed to be locally relevant, which will make it easier to engage potential partners and audiences. □

NEWS & NOTES

National Register Listings. The following archeological properties were listed in the National Register of Historic Places during the fourth quarter of 2004. For a full list, check "Recent Listings" at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/nrlist.htm>.

- Kansas, Leavenworth County. *Evans Site*. Listed 10/28/04.
- Kansas, Leavenworth County. *Scott*. Listed 10/29/04.
- Mississippi, Adams County. *Ratcliffe Mound Site*. Listed 12/30/04.
- New Jersey, Burlington County. *Burlington's Lost Burial Ground*. Listed 11/26/04.
- New Jersey, Cumberland County. *Indian Head Site*. Listed 10/27/04.
- Oklahoma, Harper County. *Patsy's Island Site*. Listed 12/06/04.
- Oklahoma, Harper County. *Smith No. 2 Site*. Listed 12/06/04.
- Texas, Comal County. *Natural Bridge Caverns Sinkhole Site*. Listed 10/29/04.

University of Arizona Field Schools Reunion. The University of Arizona invites alumni and friends to attend its Archaeological Field Schools Reunion during the SAA meetings in Salt Lake City. This special event will be held on Thursday, March 31 from 5:00 to 7:00 pm (no-host bar). We are seeking photographs for a Power-Point presentation that captures the essence of Point of Pines, Grasshopper, Silver Creek, and Marana. If you'd like to share some of your treasured photos with your friends and colleagues, please send JPEGs to tjf@email.arizona.edu. This will be a great opportunity for four generations of field school students and staff to meet one another and celebrate. We hope to see you all there!

POSITIONS OPEN

POSITION: ASSOCIATE CURATOR

LOCATION: TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA

The **Royal Ontario Museum (ROM)** is Canada's pre-eminent international museum and houses some of Canada's most important collections in both World Cultures and Natural History. The ROM currently invites applications for the position of **Associate Curator** (an entry-level Curator position comparable to an entry-level Assistant Professor position at a university) specializing in ancient societies from Central or South America. The successful applicant will be expected to: develop a program of externally funded collections-based scholarly research and publications; curate and continue to develop the collections relating to Central and South America; participate in the development of galleries, in-house and traveling exhibitions, and other public programming; and participate in departmental administrative work. Qualifications: Applicants must have a Ph.D. in Anthropology specializing in New World Archaeology or a related field at the time of appointment, a strong research interest in Central and South America, a record of scholarly publication in peer-reviewed journals, and be qualified for cross-appointment to the University of Toronto and be eligible for grant funding in support of research (i.e., proven record of successful grant applications). Experience in a museum or equivalent environment is preferable; some university-level teaching experience would be an asset. Salary and rank are commensurate with experience as stipulated in the Collective Agreement between the ROM and ROM Curatorial Association and the successful candidate is eligible for promotional progression through curatorial ranks to Senior Curator. All qualified candidates are encouraged to apply; however, Canadians and permanent residents will be given priority. Applications for the position will be

accepted until **May 1, 2005**. Applicants should provide a curriculum vita, a summary of related research and an outline of proposed research, and should arrange to have three confidential letters of recommendation sent on their behalf to Human Resources Department, The Royal Ontario Museum, 100 Queen's Park, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2C6; fax: (416) 586-5827.

POSITION: PROJECT MANAGERS

LOCATION: NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc. is recruiting Project Managers for its New Orleans, Louisiana office. Successful candidates for these positions must minimally possess a M.A. in Anthropology/Archaeology, have completed an archaeological field school, and served in a similar capacity for at least three years. These positions require superior writing, management, and interpersonal skills. Training in historic archaeology, computer skills, artifact analysis, experience with report or proposal writing, and Section 106 training are highly desirable. Opportunity for advancement to significant management responsibilities is available for the right candidate. These are full-time, salaried, professional positions that come with a full benefits package (paid holidays, vacation, sick leave; health, dental, life insurance; and a liberal 401(K) plan). Salaries are competitive and commensurate with educational and professional experience. Send letter, resume, and names/contact information for at least three references to R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc., Attention: Ms. Gertrude Weinberger-Biondo, HRM, 309 Jefferson Highway, Suite A, New Orleans, Louisiana 70121-2512; tel: (504) 837-1940; fax: (504) 837-1550. Alternatively, these documents may be submitted via email to gbiondo@rcgoodwin.com. Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Employer.



CALENDAR

2005-2006

APRIL 21-24

Society for California Archaeology 39th Annual Meetings will be held at the Hyatt Regency in downtown Sacramento. Deadline for reservations at the conference rate is March 25. Registration information and a Preliminary Program are posted at <http://www.scahome.org>. For additional information, contact the Local Arrangements Chair, Glenn Gmoser at glenn_gmoser@dot.ca.gov. For general information, contact Melinda Pacheco at the SCA Business Office, tel: (530) 898-5733; fax: (530) 898-4220; email: SCAOffice@csuchico.edu.

MAY 18-20

The Arthur M. Sackler colloquium, "Early Cities: New Perspectives on Pre-Industrial Urbanism," is scheduled at the National Academies Building in Washington, D.C. Many disciplines including sociology, demography, geography, architecture and urban planning, economics, anthropology, and history are increasingly interested in urbanism. Ten archaeological case studies will be discussed by distinguished scholars from fields such as geography, economics, urban planning, architecture, and environmental psychology. To facilitate the participation of younger anthropologists and social scientists, travel grants will be available for graduate students and postdocs to help subsidize their travel to the conference. For more infor-

mation or to register, please go to <http://www.nas.edu/sackler/earlycities> or email us at sackler@nas.edu.

JUNE 8-13

The American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works Annual Meeting will take place in Minneapolis, MN. The topic for the General Session is "A Documentation Dilemma: Managing Conservation Data in the 21st Century." The Architectural Specialty Group (ASG) is organizing an interdisciplinary session that focuses on the documentation process for the conservation of monuments, heritage sites, objects, and other works of art. For more information, contact Dorothy Krotzer, ASG Program Chair, at Fairmount Park Historic Preservation Trust, 2020 Chaminoux Dr., Philadelphia, PA 19131; email: dorothykrotzer@fairmountparktrust.org; tel: (215) 877-8001; fax: (215) 877-8049.

JUNE 9-27

The 1st Rencontres Internationales du Films sur l'Art will be held at the Louvre Museum in Paris, France. The initiative dedicated to the visual arts (painting, sculpture, drawing), architecture, and archaeology will present films produced during the two preceding years, programming dedicated to a particular topic of art history, and videos by artists, in addition to related lectures and panels. For further information, contact Pascale Raynaud, Musée du Louvre, Direction de l'Auditorium, 57 rue St. Roch, 75058, Paris cedex 1, France; tel: (33.01) 40.20.58.59; fax: (33.01) 40.20.54.30; email: raynaud@louvre.fr.

JULY 18-22

The XIX Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala will take

place at the Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Etnología in Guatemala City. The main theme for this year's symposium will be "The Awakening of Cultural Complexity: Art, Settlement, and Society." For more information, email arroyobarbara2003@yahoo.com, laporte@intelnet.net.gt, or simpologiaguatemala2005@yahoo.com.

SEPTEMBER 15-18

The 7th Biennial Rocky Mountain Anthropology Conference will be held at the Park City Marriott Hotel, Park City, Utah. The conference will feature a plenary session, symposia, and general paper and poster sessions on the archaeology and anthropology of the Rocky Mountains and vicinity. Symposia abstracts are due May 1 and individual paper and poster abstracts due July 1. For more details, visit <http://www.history.utah.gov/RMAC2005>. Submissions should be emailed to Ron Rood at rrood@utah.gov.

OCTOBER 15

The 1st Three Corners Archaeological Conference will be held at the campus of UNLV. This conference seeks to promote interaction between regional researchers and to present recent interpretation of archaeological data within southern Nevada, southeastern California, and western Arizona. Presentations on any research domain and time period within this region are welcome. For more information, visit the conference website at <http://nvarch.org/3corners/> or contact Mark C. Slaughter or Laurie Perry at the Bureau of Reclamation, LC2600, P.O. Box 61470, Boulder City, NV, 89006; tel: (702) 293-8143; email: threecornersconference@yahoo.com.

OCTOBER 28-30

The Fourth Annual Tulane Maya Sym-

posium and Workshop will be held at the Uptown campus of Tulane University on the theme *Murals and Painted Texts by Maya Ah Tz'ibob*. Murals from the northern Maya area will be the focus of discussions by archaeologists, epigraphers, and art historians, with additional examples from elsewhere in the Maya world. For further information, please contact Gabrielle Vail at FIHR@tam-pabay.rr.com. To see a retrospective of the 2004 symposium and for program and registration information for the 2005 event, please visit our website at <http://stonecenter.tulane.edu/MayaSymposium/>.

NOVEMBER 18–20

The 6e Festival International du Film Archéologique held in Brussels, Belgium is a biennial festival focused on production made between 2000 and 2005 about all aspects of archaeology with an emphasis on good cinematography. The sixth festival will include a section dedicated to archival footage of excavations filmed before the 1950s. For further information, contact Serge Lemaître, President or Benjamin Stewart, Secretary at Asbl Kineon, 55, rue du Croissant, B-1190 Brussels, Belgium; tel: +32(2) 672.82.91; fax: +32(2)

537.52.61; email: asblkineon@swing.be; web: <http://users.swing.be/asblkineon>.

2006

APRIL 26–30

71st Annual Meeting of The Society for American Archaeology will be held in San Juan, Puerto Rico.



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MORTENSEN, from page 30 ↻

claims to the Copán site into their general demands for social rights. The Chortí view Copán as part of their own cultural heritage based on a logic of cultural and biological descent. The political leadership of the Chortí officially regards Copán as a sacred place, and they argue for a greater role in its management and more opportunities to benefit from its international significance.

Conclusion

Barbara Little recently observed, “there is no single public and no single past” (2002:7). At Copán, there is also no single conception of heritage. Instead, different interested groups derive meaning and value from the archaeological past based on the perspective that their relationship to the site provides. Factors such as national citizenship, cultural identity, biological descent, and local residence are fairly straightforward angles for constructing heritage out of the archaeological past. But other kinds of dimensions, such as work investment, academic expertise, official custodianship, basis of livelihood, and level

of interest, also play a role in the kind of heritage Copán represents. The variety of meanings Copán holds for various publics speaks to the complexity of the archaeological past as resource and reminds us that managing such resources is always a shared endeavor. ☐

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LAROCHE, from page 37 ↻

Conclusion

Archaeological inquiry is a powerful tool that often introduces new questions for historical research and analysis. Expanded approaches to African American history can benefit from multidisciplinary perspectives that combine cultural studies, material cultural, religious and historical analysis, and political and legal research with archaeology. The combination yields information that contextualizes documentation and provides tangible and lasting historical legacies that enrich society and engage the public, while expanding research questions and approaches of scholars. In some instances, were it not for public stewardship combined with archaeological investigation of a site, resurrecting, reclaiming, and reconfiguring the past, the history might have been lost to us. ☐

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
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