



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
JOURNALS + DIGITAL PUBLISHING



Municipal Archaeology Programs and the Creation of Community Amenities

Author(s): Douglas R. Appler

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *The Public Historian*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Summer 2012), pp. 40-67

Published by: [University of California Press](#) on behalf of the [National Council on Public History](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/tph.2012.34.3.40>

Accessed: 01/10/2012 14:49

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



University of California Press and National Council on Public History are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Public Historian*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

History Through Public Archaeology

Municipal Archaeology Programs and the Creation of Community Amenities

DOUGLAS R. APPLER

Abstract: This paper explores how the municipal archaeology programs found in Alexandria, Virginia; St. Augustine, Florida; and Phoenix, Arizona have played a prominent role in developing unique, place-based amenities that integrate local history with other community needs. These cities are unusual in that they maintain archaeologists on city staff and that those archaeologists have used their positions to develop local environments that are extremely supportive of public engagement with history. Using interviews as well as archival and documentary sources, this paper demonstrates how the public's resulting familiarity with archaeology has allowed the interpretation of local history to take a variety of unexpected forms, including public and private open spaces, urban walking and cycling trails, museums, and public art, among many others.

Key words: public archaeology, local government, urban planning, landscape architecture, historic preservation, outreach

Introduction

At different points in the twentieth century, a handful of progressive communities across the United States made the decision that archaeology deserved a formal home within local government. Three of those communities, Alexandria, Virginia; St. Augustine, Florida; and Phoenix, Arizona have maintained strong municipal archaeology programs into the present. Together they pro-

The Public Historian, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 40–67 (August 2012).

ISSN: 0272-3433, electronic ISSN 1533-8576.

© 2012 by The Regents of the University of California and the National Council on Public History. All rights reserved.

Please direct all requests for permission to photocopy or reproduce article content through the University of California Press's Rights and Permissions Web site: www.ucpressjournals.com/reprintInfo.asp. DOI: 10/1525/tph.2012.34.3.40.

vide an excellent opportunity to explore some of the unique public benefits that can occur when archaeology is carried out at the local government level.

While it may seem unusual to think of an archaeology program run by local government as creating substantively different processes for public engagement than archaeology carried out under more traditional circumstances, the three programs mentioned above do precisely that. The situation of archaeology within local government has shaped the work of these programs to such a degree that, particularly with respect to public engagement, municipal archaeology should be distinguished from other forms of public archaeology, and should be of particular interest to anyone who wants to create a stronger bond between a community and its history.

Relying on information gathered through site visits, interviews with individuals associated with these programs, and historical and documentary sources, this paper asks how these programs are able to use the knowledge gained through archaeology to develop a range of historically oriented, place-based, community-serving amenities. It demonstrates how the cities of Alexandria, Phoenix, and St. Augustine have developed public museums, public and private open spaces, transportation enhancements, public art installations, and heritage trails, all of which help to connect residents with local history, and all of which are based on the work of municipal archaeology programs. This paper also demonstrates that archaeological information is remarkably adaptable, and can be successfully incorporated into a wide variety of contexts if the political will exists to make a point of its inclusion. As local planners, elected officials, private land developers, and others seek out ways to create more distinctive living environments, the opportunities created by archaeologists working the same ground should not be missed.

What is Municipal Archaeology?

A brief introduction to some of the distinguishing characteristics of municipal archaeology programs might help to explain what these programs are, how their relationship with local government has influenced the way in which they interact with the public, and how their work has led to the development of the archaeologically informed community amenities discussed below. To begin, municipal archaeologists are concerned primarily with understanding the human events and activities that transpired within their particular city's modern political boundaries. Municipal archaeologists must become authorities on the entire history of one city, from prehistoric times through the present, in order to understand and explain the significance of whatever resources may be encountered through modern ground-disturbing activity. Acknowledging the value of such a wide range of historical events and time periods, instead of privileging one era or historical theme, creates an opening for engagement through virtually any topic in the city's history that members of the public may find appealing.

Municipal archaeology programs are also shaped by their association with local government in that the priorities of the archaeologists are more likely to be established at the local level rather than at the federal or state levels. In none of the three cities discussed here is archaeological policy determined solely by distant policymakers. Rather, it is developed by local residents in response to the specific conditions present in each of those communities. The shape and form of the programs, the regulations they promulgate to protect archaeological resources, and the relationships that develop between the archaeologists and community members all reflect local circumstances and values.

Municipal archaeology programs also make it possible for local residents to be both producers and consumers of archaeological knowledge. In the cities discussed here, local residents may participate in the process of archaeological policymaking, conduct historical research, carry out lab work, participate in supervised excavations, disseminate information to the public, or do all of the above. By embracing the work carried out by volunteers, each of these cities facilitates the development of a corps of locally oriented avocational archaeologists and historians that is able to guide the program to meet the needs of their respective communities. This welcoming stance allows the communities discussed in this paper to function as “public archaeology incubators,” providing a space in which archaeology’s relationship with the public can grow, evolve, and thrive in unexpected ways.

Municipal archaeology programs also benefit from their nature as local government entities because of their longevity and relative permanence. Rather than ending their work at the conclusion of a mitigation project, for example, municipal archaeologists continue to work on projects in other parts of the city. This continued presence allows the archaeologists to form working relationships with individuals and community groups, and to develop a view of the city’s past that is informed and contextualized by decades of interaction with the people most concerned with how archaeological resources are treated.

Perhaps most relevant to this discussion, municipal archaeology programs benefit from their position within local government for the simple reason that local government possesses certain powers and legal tools that can be extremely beneficial when used for the protection of archaeological resources. In the United States, the authority to regulate land use on private property is generally given to local government. Legislation typically employed to protect or recover archaeological resources affected by federal projects, such as Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, is largely irrelevant to private projects taking place on private land. In the absence of local legislation, a private landowner could have a property listed on the National Register of Historic Places one day and then bulldoze it the next. However, because local land-use regulations determine the procedures to be followed when ground-disturbing activities take place, if archaeologists and their supporters are successful in developing archaeological protection ordinances, or in producing similar procedural regulations, archaeology can become part of the

land-development review process for private property within the boundaries of that municipality.¹ Additionally, local governments are often responsible for maintaining and creating public roads, city parks, and other facilities that frequently contain, and can be used to protect, areas of archaeological concern. If archaeology has a voice in those discussions, each new community facility becomes an opportunity for introducing the public to its past.

Why Amenities and Assets?

This paper uses the terms “amenity” or “asset” to frame the work of the three case study programs in language more typically encountered in the urban planning sphere. It does this to draw attention to the potential overlap between the work of archaeologists and their colleagues involved in land-development or “place-making” efforts. Although the implications of this term can be problematic, particularly when applied to rediscovered burial sites, traditional cultural properties, or sites that illustrate a legacy of slavery or colonization, such sites can help to provide a more nuanced understanding of the city’s history, draw attention to the age of seemingly modern places, and help to demonstrate that a particular city has its own unique character and culture. As such, they are identified as assets and amenities. It is entirely possible, however, that the casual or inconsiderate use of meaningful archaeological sites and information can damage a community just as readily as it may serve it. Without consultation with stakeholder groups, including descendant families, culturally affiliated Native American groups, nearby property owners, and others, such “amenities” could quickly become sources of conflict. In municipal archaeology programs, as in many other situations where elements of the past are being re-introduced to the present, collaboration with the many different groups who may be affected by a particular project should be seen as an essential part of the process of developing a successful interpretive program.

Strengthening Ties Between Archaeology and the Public

Understanding how these three cities have been able to use archaeological information successfully to build different types of community assets requires understanding how and why archaeology developed such an interest in public engagement in the first place. Although there had long been an active relationship between professional archaeologists and their avocational

1. See generally: Zoning Ordinance of the City of Alexandria, Virginia, 11–411: “Archaeological Protection”; City of St. Augustine Code of Ordinances, Chapter 6: “Archaeological Preservation.” Although the City of Phoenix does not have an archaeological protection ordinance, it has incorporated the voice of the city’s archaeologist into its development review procedures as a way of providing the city’s planners with necessary information during the permitting and rezoning process.

counterparts, the field began to increase the amount of time and energy that it spent cultivating its relationship with the general public in the early and mid 1970s.² This shift was partly a response to several then-recent developments. The first was the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, whose implications for government-initiated archaeology were quickly becoming apparent.³ The second development was the flood of money made available for archaeology in federal projects through the Moss-Bennett Act in 1974, triggering the rapid growth of the cultural resource management branch of archaeology.⁴ The third development was the increased demand for public history that resulted from the Bicentennial celebrations in 1976. Additionally, the increasing interest in the stories of history's non-elites (associated with the rise of the New Social History) required a re-conceptualization of the relationship between professionally trained archaeologists and the modern "non-elite" public itself.

The 1970s and 1980s were years of great innovation for archaeology at the local and state levels of government in the U.S. and in Canada. Pamela Cressey, Elizabeth Anderson Comer, Sherene Baugher, and Karolyn Smardz began working for the cities of Alexandria, Virginia; Baltimore, Maryland; New York, New York; and Toronto, respectively, during this period.⁵ As local government employees charged with bringing archaeology to the public, these individu-

2. State Archaeological Surveys provide one early example of the relationship between archaeologists and amateur enthusiasts, and the formation of the Society for American Archaeology in 1934 offers another related example. The movement that began in the 1970s was led by those seeking to respond to a significantly altered cultural and regulatory environment. See generally: Committee on State Archaeological Surveys, Division of Anthropology and Psychology, National Research Council, *State Archaeological Surveys: Suggestions in Methods and Techniques*, (Washington, DC: National Research Council, 1923); Carl E. Guthe, "Reflections on the Founding of the Society for American Archaeology," *American Antiquity* 34, no. 2 (1967): 433–40; Charles R. McGimsey, *Public Archaeology* (New York: Seminar Press, 1972).

3. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) essentially created the modern legal framework for the federal government's involvement in historic preservation. This legislation created the State Historic Preservation Office system and gave the National Register of Historic Places its current importance. Section 106 of NHPA mandated that federal agencies must evaluate the potential of their projects to impact historic resources that are listed or eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. This requirement helped to establish a legislative need for the modern cultural resources management industry.

4. The Moss-Bennet Act of 1974, or the Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act, made clear that federal agencies could allocate up to 1% of their total project budget to pay for the archaeological investigations that were increasingly being required by legislation such as NHPA and the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). For a discussion of the relationship between NHPA, NEPA, and the Moss-Bennet Act, see Charles R. McGimsey, III, "'This too, Will Pass': Moss-Bennet in Perspective," *American Antiquity* 50, no. 2 (1985): 326–35.

5. Karolyn E. Smardz, "The Past Through Tomorrow: Interpreting Toronto's Heritage to a Multicultural Public," in *Presenting Archaeology to the Public: Digging for Truths*, ed. John H. Jameson (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1997), 101–13; Pamela J. Cressey, interview by Douglas R. Appler, June 22, 2010; Elizabeth Anderson Comer, "Archaeology and the Mayor: A Public Interpretation Program for the Citizens of Baltimore" (paper presented at the Mid-Atlantic Association of Museums, Scranton, PA, October 21, 1986); Sherene Baugher, "Who Determines the Significance of American Indian Sacred Sites and Burial Grounds?" in *Preservation of What for Whom?* Ed. Michael A. Tomlan (Ithaca, NY: National Council for Preservation Education, 1998), 97–108.

als were able to gain insight into the types of activities and processes that were most likely to engage the community while also developing new techniques for protecting local archaeological resources. The development of the country's first "Archaeology Week" in Arizona in 1983 and the first "Site Steward" program (the Texas Archaeological Stewardship Network) in 1984 continued to reflect the desire to adopt unconventional strategies to build a stronger relationship with the public at the state level.⁶

By the late 1980s, the cities of St. Augustine and Alexandria had both passed ordinances making review by city archaeologists a part of the private land development review process. For projects taking place within previously identified archaeological zones of each city, the archaeologists could require varying degrees of mitigation before a building permit would be issued. In 1990, the City of Phoenix officially divided the workload of its Pueblo Grande Museum staff so that one archaeologist would direct the museum, while the other would manage archaeological issues as they arose in other parts of the city, first responding to the city's own projects, and then expanding to include private projects when certain conditions were met.⁷

Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, archaeologists continued to explore different aspects of their relationship with the nonprofessional public. Sometimes the literature describing these efforts focused in the school or museum spheres.⁸ Other works focused more on how archaeologists should conceptualize their message.⁹ Still others explored specific techniques for interpreting archaeology for the public.¹⁰ Increasingly, the conversations taking place within public archaeology came to reflect the view that by virtue of the information and ideas that it brought to light, and because of the processes it used to develop those ideas, archaeology should be understood as a political activity.¹¹ Indeed, Little and Shackel's 2007 edited volume is titled *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement*, and in the introductory chapter, Little

6. Texas Historical Commission, *Texas Archaeological Stewardship Network: The Stewards Handbook* (Austin, TX: Historical Commission, 2009), 3; Theresa Hoffman and Sherene Lerner, "Arizona Archaeology Week: Promoting the Past to the Public," *NPS Archaeological Assistance Program Technical Brief*, No. 2 (1988), 1.

7. Todd W. Bostwick, interview by Douglas R. Appler, July 22, 2010.

8. Carolyn Smardz and Shelley J. Smith, *The Archaeology Education Handbook* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2000); Peter G. Stone and Brian L. Molyneaux, *The Presented Past: Heritage, Museums and Education* (London: Routledge, 1994).

9. Francis P. McManamon, "Heritage, History, and Archaeological Educators," in *Public Benefits of Archaeology*, ed. Barbara J. Little (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 31–45; Francis P. McManamon, "Presenting Archaeology to the U.S. Public," in *The Presented Past: Heritage, Museums and Education*, ed. Peter G. Stone and Brian L. Molyneaux (New York: Routledge, 1994), 61–81.

10. John H. Jameson, *Presenting Archaeology to the Public* (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 1997); John H. Jameson, *The Reconstructed Past: Reconstructions in the Public Interpretation of Archaeology and History* (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 2004); Peter G. Stone and Philippe G. Planel, *The Constructed Past: Experimental Archaeology, Education and the Public* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

11. Nick Merriman, *Public Archaeology* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Paul A. Shackel and Erve J. Chambers, *Places in Mind: Public Archaeology as Applied Anthropology* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

couches the contents of the book in the language of social capital, citizenship, and justice.¹² The subtitle of Jameson and Baugher's recent *Past Meets Present* is *Archaeologists Partnering with Museum Curators, Teachers and Community Groups*, reinforcing the importance of collaboration with community members and emphasizing the idea that archaeology should take the form of a partnership with the public.¹³ For some, such as Randall McGuire, the idea of "politically grounded archaeology" allows the opportunity for "real collaboration with communities and to challenge both the legacies of colonialism and the omnipresent class struggles of the modern world."¹⁴

During this effort to develop new ways of linking the public and its archaeological past, the idea of exploring archaeologically oriented amenities at the local government level has received surprisingly little attention. While many archaeologists struggle to communicate to the public the value of their work, or may operate within an environment where public engagement is not part of the contract, or is prohibited by project timelines, these cities and others with their own types of archaeology programs have developed a way for that information to become part of the modern urban fabric once again. A handful of examples do exist in the literature, however, of cities recognizing the ability of archaeology to play a role in local place-making efforts. In describing their work in the Old North St. Louis neighborhood of St. Louis, Missouri, Baumann, Hurley, and Allen provide an excellent example of how archaeology contributed to a very challenging inner-city community revitalization effort.¹⁵ In 2007, Pamela Cressey herself co-authored a book chapter describing how Alexandria's team of archaeologists worked with the public and the city's political leaders to locate, purchase, and protect the long-forgotten Alexandria Contrabands and Freedmen's Cemetery.¹⁶ The site is now the process of becoming a city-owned memorial park.

It is worth drawing attention to the fact that public archaeologists are hardly alone in their recent efforts to create opportunities for thoughtful engagement with the past by working with and through local government, or in using the past to develop community amenities. Examples of historic preservationists, public historians, and others working with city government and partnering with nonprofits and community groups to carry out similar work abound. For decades historic preservationists have worked to ensure that local historic dis-

12. Barbara Little and Paul A. Shackel, *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement* (New York: Alta Mira Press, 2007).

13. John H. Jameson and Sherene Baugher, *Past Meets Present: Archaeologists Partnering with Museum Curators, Teachers and Community Groups* (New York: Springer, 2007).

14. Randall H. McGuire, *Archaeology as Political Action* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

15. Timothy Bauman, Andrew Hurley, and Lori Allen, "Economic Stability and Social Identity: Historic Preservation in Old North St. Louis," *Historical Archaeology* 42, no. 1 (2008): 70–87.

16. Pamela J. Cressey and Natalie Vinton, "Smart Planning and Innovative Public Outreach: The Quintessential Mix for the Future of Archaeology," in *Past Meets Present: Archaeologists Partnering with Museum Curators, Teachers, and Community Groups*, eds. John H. Jameson Jr. and Sherene Baugher (New York: Springer, 2007), 393–410.

tricts are recognized, protected, and valued as community assets, and they continue to develop new techniques to make sure that the value of those districts can be accessed by the public from a variety of perspectives.¹⁷ The interpretation of historic urban waterfronts is increasingly seen by some in public history circles as being able to contribute to local community revitalization efforts.¹⁸ And a heritage trail developed by the local school district in Selma, Alabama to combat childhood obesity provides another example of how the interpretation of local history creates opportunities for collaboration that can create community amenities benefitting both resident and visiting publics.¹⁹

There are many examples of archaeological sites owned and operated by the National Park Service being treated as community amenities, and at the state level, the relationship between archaeological amenities and the public has also received attention.²⁰ But these larger scales are missing the dynamic nature of public archaeology when it is carried out within the context of local government. For example, when archaeology is made part of the private land development process, the archaeological data present at the site could come from any time period in the city's history, and could tell any story. There could be a number of active archaeological sites within the city at any one time, and the individual personalities, financial resources, and expectations involved with the recovery and interpretation taking place at each site vary from case to case as well. This leads to an almost constant need for creative thinking about how the public will experience each new site as it is discovered, and how those archaeological resources can be best protected. The amenities discussed below provide a window into some of the solutions that archaeologists, members of the public, local government officials, and in many cases private developers have employed to answer the question of how archaeological information can address the needs of their specific community. The examples included are not meant to illustrate every instance where ar-

17. For an account of the origins of local historic districts, framed within the broader development of the historic preservation movement in the United States, see Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust: 1926–1949* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1981). For a more recent discussion of a historic district being developed and used as a “community asset” in the sense discussed above, see Stephanie Aylworth, “A Multifaceted Approach to Historic District Interpretation in Georgia,” *The Public Historian* 32, no. 4 (2010): 42–50.

18. Andrew Hurley, “Narrating the Urban Waterfront: The Role of Public History in Community Revitalization,” *The Public Historian* 28, no. 4 (2006): 19–50.

19. Brian F. Geiger and Karen A. Werner, “A Guided Walking Trail to Explore the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Voting Rights Walk and Selma Antebellum Historic District,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 15, no. 5 (2009): 467–76.

20. John H. Jameson, “Making Connections through Archaeology: Partnering with Communities and Teachers in the National Park Service,” in *Past Meets Present: Archaeologists Partnering with Museum Curators, Teachers, and Community Groups*, eds. John H. Jameson and Sherene Baugher (New York: Springer, 2007), 339–65; William R. Iseminger, “Public Archaeology at Cahokia” in *Presenting Archaeology to the Public: Digging for Truths*, ed. John H. Jameson (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1997), 147–55; Linda Derry, “Pre-Emancipation Archaeology: Does it Play in Selma, Alabama?” *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 3 (1997): 18–26; Amy E. Facca and J. Winthrop Aldrich, “Putting the Past to Work for the Future,” *The Public Historian* 33, no. 3 (2011): 38–57.

chaeological information has been reintroduced in the form of a community amenity, but rather they are meant to provide a sample, highlighting how three cities with active archaeology programs have used their expertise and public orientation to develop unique, place-specific archaeologically oriented community assets.

Local Government-Run Archaeology Museums

While museums may be one of the first environments that come to mind when considering the relationship between archaeology and the public, local government-owned museums specifically dedicated to the archaeology of a city are few and far between. More common are nonprofit or private historical and art museums that may contain archaeological exhibits. Alexandria and Phoenix are unusual in that they both possess city-operated archaeology museums, and the public roots of these institutions allow a local focus that larger, more publicity-driven museums might have a hard time maintaining. Both cities have archaeology museums, and yet, reflecting the different eras in which the two museums were founded, each takes its interaction with the public in a very different direction. Ultimately, however, both provide exceptional examples of how archaeology can serve as a vector for involvement in history, introducing members of the public to new methods, skills, information, and ideas that help make the past a meaningful part of their lives.

Alexandria: Alexandria Archaeology Museum

When the Alexandria Archaeology Museum first opened to the public in 1984, it differed from the other museums within the city, and for that matter in other parts of the country, because it was developed to showcase the process and practice of archaeology itself rather than to present individual artifacts that had been recovered through excavation. The philosophy that guided the creation of the museum was well explained by the city's archaeologists in the news coverage of the facility's opening. A 1984 *Alexandria Journal* article quotes City Archaeologist Pam Cressey as saying: "We're entering a whole new phase of archaeological study in the city. . . . We're making it possible for the public to participate with us."²¹ Likewise, Steve Shephard, another member of the city's archaeology staff, was reported as saying, "Most archaeologists never come in contact with the public. They do their research and put it in a paper that no one reads. . . . We're getting that information out to the public. I think that's the best service archaeology can provide."²²

21. Dan Beyers, "Archaeology center opens; public invited to participate," *The Alexandria Journal*, March 12, 1984.

22. *Ibid.*

Since its founding, Alexandria residents have eagerly taken advantage of the opportunities created by their archaeology museum. In keeping with the spirit of its creation, the museum does not simply consist of archaeologists presenting information to a passive audience. Instead, those members of the public who are willing to donate their time are trained in the skills they need to contribute to the city's own archaeological outreach efforts.

The experience of Mary Jane Nugent, an archaeology volunteer and one of the founders of the nonprofit organization Friends of Alexandria Archaeology (FOAA), helps to illustrate how the activities of the museum and the archaeology program in general have made use of volunteers. She described the activities of FOAA members by saying "what they do is they're the volunteers who man the lab, man the digs, provide the manpower, womanpower, for doing the actual work. . . ."²³ Trained volunteers are responsible for helping with excavations, with sorting, washing, and labeling the artifacts from some of the city's projects as they come in from the field. The Archaeology Museum gives the public a chance not just to watch the archaeologists carry out their work, but also to receive training from the archaeologists, and when appropriate, to contribute needed labor that allows new archaeological information to be introduced to the city.

The story of how Nugent first became involved with the Archaeology Museum in the mid-1980s can be easily appreciated by anyone who has ever wanted to learn more about how the experts gathered information from an archaeological site. It also provides some insight into how accessible the museum made archaeological techniques and methods. After seeing ruins while on a family vacation, Nugent's interest in the archaeology she had seen followed her back home to Alexandria:

"I had not studied . . . [archaeology]. I came back and I thought 'oh wow, this is really interesting, but I'm never going to . . . four kids, I'm never going to go over and dig a dig or anything like that' and then I remembered that we had developed this program in Alexandria. So I thought 'well, if you think you're interested why don't you just go see if you actually are interested and if you'd like to do it.' And that was the beginning for me. So I came down and started doing lab work and I dug a number of sites. . . . And what I found was, I had no training, but because of the way it's handled and how you are shown what to do as a volunteer, over the years you learn a huge amount. . . ."²⁴

Nugent is hardly alone in her experiences at the archaeology museum. In 2010, volunteers donated over 7,300 hours to the city's archaeology program, and in each of the past three years the archaeology program's activities, including the museum, have drawn between 26,000 and 30,000 individual participants.²⁵

Because the museum is also the workspace for the city's archaeologists,

23. Mary Jane Nugent, Interview by Douglas R. Appler, June 21, 2010.

24. Ibid.

25. *Alexandria Archaeology Volunteer News* 27, no. 3 (2010): 1; City of Alexandria, Virginia, *City of Alexandria FY10 Budget*, 534.

the facility contains much of the information about the city's past that the archaeologists need to carry out their daily work. And because the level of public engagement that the program has developed through the years is so high, many volunteers, amateur historians, and others have received training in how to use and contribute to the archaeology museum's archives, providing still another level of service to the public. The city archaeologist may let an interested volunteer know that the city has an ongoing project with regard to a particular area of town, and that volunteer may spend time in the city's deed room, for example, making copies of property records to be included in the archaeology museum's files. Through informal activities such as this, not to mention the procurement and transcription of oral histories, historical census records, Sanborn and other historic maps, and a host of other material, the Archaeology Museum becomes its own repository of knowledge about the city's past.

Phoenix: Pueblo Grande Museum

For more than eighty years, the activities of the Pueblo Grande Museum in Phoenix have helped to ensure that the city's residents and visitors are aware of its earlier and much longer history as a home to the Hohokam and their descendant communities, including the Akimel O'odham (Pima) and Tohono O'odham (Papago). In 1924, the Pueblo Grande platform mound was presented to the city of Phoenix as a gift by a local citizen, with the expectation that the site would be protected and preserved.²⁶ In 1929, Odd Halseth was hired as the city archaeologist, and the excavation and interpretation of the mound became his primary responsibility.²⁷ From that point to the present, the City of Phoenix has kept an archaeologist on the city payroll. The museum that developed around the Pueblo Grande platform mound has grown to become a major cultural asset for the city of Phoenix, helping the public to better understand the Hohokam, their descendants, and life in the southwestern desert environment.

The museum identifies one of its main purposes as "enhancing the knowledge of prehistory, history, and ethnology of inhabitants of the Southwest, and promoting a greater understanding of the diversity of cultures past and present, for our guests and the citizens of Phoenix."²⁸ One of the most sig-

26. David R. Wilcox, "Pueblo Grande in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Archaeology of the Pueblo Grande Platform Mound and Surrounding Features Volume 1: Introduction to the Archival Project and History of Archaeological Research*, eds. Christian E. Downum and Todd W. Bostwick (Phoenix: City of Phoenix Parks, Recreation and Library Department, 1993), 89.

27. David R. Wilcox, "Pueblo Grande as Phoenix: Odd Halseth's Vision of a City Museum," in *Archaeology of the Pueblo Grande Platform Mound and Surrounding Features*, eds. Christian E. Downum and Todd W. Bostwick (Phoenix: City of Phoenix Parks Recreation and Library Department, 1993), 107.

28. Pueblo Grande Museum, "Pueblo Grande Museum Archaeological Park," City of Phoenix Official Website, <http://phoenix.gov/recreation/arts/museums/pueblo/about/index.html> (accessed August 31, 2011).

nificant ways in which it links the public with its archaeological past is by involving members of a volunteer group, the Pueblo Grande Museum Auxiliary, in the planning and construction of museum exhibits. A sampling of the exhibit titles from the past thirty years offers some insight into the different approaches that the museum has used to carry out its mission. Some of the titles have included *Pottery and the Pueblos*, *Cycles of Conquest*, *Lodges from Mother Earth*, and *Archaeoastronomy: Hohokam Time Pieces*.²⁹ Recent exhibits include *Hohokam: The Land and the People*, and *Landscape Legacies: The Art and Archaeology of Perry Mesa*.³⁰ These exhibits are in addition to the museum's outdoor exhibit, which includes the 1,500-year-old Pueblo Grande mound complex, a walking path, and a reconstruction of several Hohokam structures.³¹ The museum and its educational facilities are situated on approximately 108 acres of land in the middle of Phoenix, adjacent to its airport, and are now easily accessible by the city's newly established light rail system.³²

The museum also provides a home and meeting space for other groups of interested local residents. One such group is the Phoenix chapter of the Arizona Archaeological Society, which holds its meetings, talks, and other events at the museum.³³ Another group is the Pueblo Grande Mudslingers, led by local resident Jim Britton. The group that became the Mudslingers first received training to stabilize the platform mound from National Park Service technicians in 1993. They now continue to work on site to make sure that damage done by erosion and by vibrations from the city's airport is appropriately repaired.³⁴

Aside from mounting temporary and permanent exhibits, and establishing connections with interested groups of the public, the museum has also developed programs connecting with local and regional schools, maintains a research library, and serves as a repository and curatorial facility for the archaeological material recovered during the city's archaeology projects throughout Phoenix, and for material recovered in previous digs at the Pueblo Grande site.³⁵ The Pueblo Grande Museum also hosts the annual Indian Market, during which time the presence of Native American artists gives residents and visitors a chance to purchase artwork and learn directly from the artists about

29. Todd W. Bostwick, "Pueblo Grande in the Late Twentieth Century," in *Archaeology of the Pueblo Grande Platform Mound and Surrounding Features, Volume I: Introduction to the Archival Project and History of Archaeological Research*, eds. Christian E. Downum and Todd W. Bostwick (Phoenix: City of Phoenix Parks Recreation and Library Department), 244.

30. Pueblo Grande Museum, "Pueblo Grande Museum Calendar of Events," City of Phoenix Official Website, <http://phoenix.gov/recreation/arts/museums/pueblo/calendar/index.html> (accessed December 16, 2010).

31. Pueblo Grande Museum, "Pueblo Grande Museum Archaeological Park," City of Phoenix Official Website, <http://phoenix.gov/recreation/arts/museums/pueblo/about/index.html> (accessed August 31, 2011).

32. *Ibid.*

33. Al Arapad, Interview by Douglas R. Appler, July 27, 2010.

34. Jim Britton, Interview by Douglas R. Appler, July 29, 2010.

35. Roger Lidman, Interview by Douglas R. Appler, July 28, 2010.

their processes and the traditions associated with their work. Many people experience these and other offerings of the museum, and although it is a major stop for tourists, locals make use of the museum as well. According to Museum Director Roger Lidman, as of the Spring of 2010, just under 45,000 people visited in a one-year period, and of those, 64% were local residents.³⁶

It is worth bringing one of the major differences between Pueblo Grande and the Alexandria Archaeology Museum into tighter focus, because they both represent different approaches to using archaeology as a community asset. The Alexandria Archaeology Museum contains only a handful of displays, and the primary “exhibits” relate to the practice of archaeology rather than the artifacts themselves. The Pueblo Grande Museum generally follows practices that are more widely embraced by natural history or art museums, in that there are definite exhibits and displays, and those exhibits change regularly in order to introduce the public to new information about the museum’s subject area. Regardless of the differences, they have both become highly valued presences in their communities.

Archaeological Sites as Public Parks

Archaeological sites have a long history of being protected for public use through reservation from sale, through outright purchase, or by way of other techniques that vest the local, state, or federal governments with ownership rights. In Alexandria, Fort Ward Park is the city’s most well-known public park, and the city’s archaeology program has played a fundamental role in the continued development and growth of that park into the modern era. In Phoenix, the city’s South Mountain Park provides different ways for the public to experience city assets that were either directly created as a result of archaeological protection efforts, or whose use is influenced by the presence and interpretation of archaeological sites.

Alexandria: Fort Ward Park

Fort Ward Park exists today because in the late 1950s and early 1960s, a group of dedicated citizens prodded the city of Alexandria into action, encouraging it to purchase the site, conduct archaeology, reconstruct the northwest bastion of the fort, and develop the park as a real, tangible community asset.³⁷ The forty-five-acre park provides modern visitors with an opportunity to see how a Union Civil War fort appeared when it was in operation. Visitors may walk through the reconstructed Northwest bastion and observe

36. Roger Lidman, e-mail message to author, May 5, 2010.

37. Walter Douglas, “Fort Ward Emerges from Decade of Restoration,” *Washington Post*, May 24, 1964.

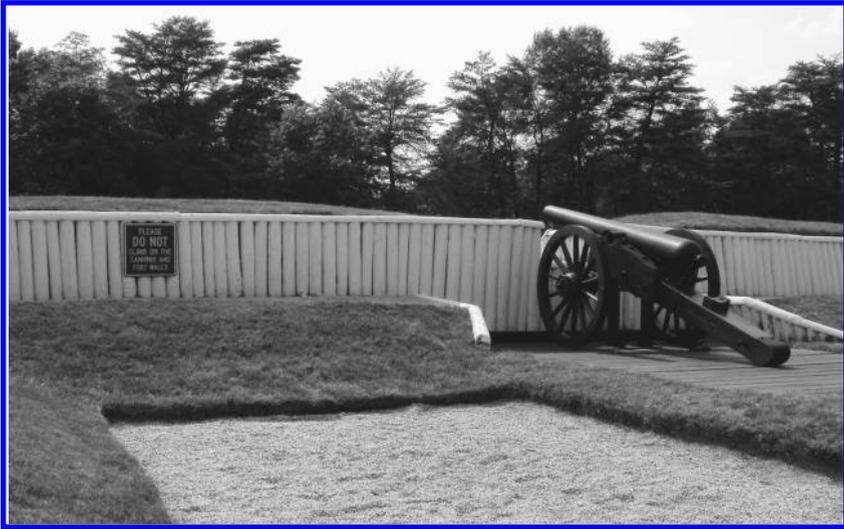


Figure 1. Segment of the reconstructed Northwest Bastion of Alexandria's Fort Ward, 2010. (Photo courtesy of the author)

the replica cannon, gates, officers' barracks, earthworks, and other features. They may also see the difference between the restored section of the fort and the nonrestored areas, allowing visitors to recognize some of the time-depth of the site, and to appreciate how quickly their city has changed. The park also includes the Fort Ward Museum, which interprets the site as a part of the Defenses of Washington and presents information about life during the Civil War. But while the reconstructed bastion is the park's central feature, it also provides space for more traditional "park" activities, including picnics, family reunions, and exercise. During the summer, it receives between 5,000 and 10,000 visitors per month, exclusive of those who attend special events such as the Music at Twilight series, the Jazz Festival, and historic reenactments (see Figure 1).³⁸

In recent years, the city's archaeology program has played a different role in the park, drawing attention to the historical events that took place at the site of the fort immediately after the war's end, when it became home to an African American community that existed on the site until the city purchased the land in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The city is now preparing to use the park to tell that second story as well. When the current research and interpretive efforts are complete, visitors will be able to experience the park both as a Civil War site and as the site of a community whose story came about as a result of the war, providing a way of learning about Alexandria's African American population from Reconstruction into the Civil Rights era.

38. Judy Guse-Noritake to Ellen Stanton, Chair, Historic Alexandria Resources Commission, July 26, 2009.

Phoenix: South Mountain Park

In contrast to Fort Ward Park, South Mountain Park in Phoenix should be included in the discussion of how archaeology can help to create community amenities in part because it was *not* created out of recognition of its value as an archaeological site. Instead, at South Mountain, archaeology only represents one facet of the park, and it is not necessarily the most commonly recognized. In this case the petroglyphs found throughout the park that were etched into stones centuries ago provide what is for many an unexpected feature among the better known natural characteristics of the park. The petroglyphs draw attention to the need to understand the park as a cultural landscape and as a place that has meaning and value beyond its widely publicized recreational potential.

Most of the nearly 17,000 acres of land that became South Mountain Park were purchased by the City of Phoenix in 1924 from the federal Bureau of Land Management for the purpose of creating a municipal park.³⁹ According to the Trust for Public Land, South Mountain Park is the largest city-owned park in the country.⁴⁰ It contains over 51 miles of hiking trails, permits horse-back riding, and is widely recognized as the city's major recreational amenity. It is visited by an estimated 3 million people annually.⁴¹

Although it may be easy to overlook the value of the petroglyphs, given the range of recreational options made possible by the park's thousands of acres of desert mountain wilderness, they are an important part of the park experience for many people, and they provide an opportunity for archaeological enthusiasts both to appreciate and sometimes even to contribute to developing the city's archaeological record.⁴² The South Mountain Rock Art Project is a collaborative project created by the Arizona State University School of Human Evolution and Social Change, the City of Phoenix Parks and Recreation Department and the nonprofit Center for Desert Archaeology.⁴³ Through this project, volunteers and avocational archaeologists have been able to participate in identifying and recording the petroglyphs found in the Park.⁴⁴

39. Todd W. Bostwick and Peter Krocek, *Landscape of the Spirits: Hohokam Rock Art at South Mountain Park*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), 14.

40. The Trust for Public Land, "The 150 Largest City Parks," The Trust for Public Land, <http://cloud.tpl.org/pubs/ccpe-largest-oldest-most-visited-parks-4-2011-update.pdf> (accessed June 4, 2011).

41. City of Phoenix, "Trails and Desert Preserves," Official Site of the City of Phoenix, <http://phoenix.gov/recreation/rec/parks/preserves/locations/south/index.html> (accessed January 26, 2011).

42. Joseph Ewan, Rebecca Fish Ewan, and James Burke, "Building Ecology into the Planning Curriculum: A Case Study of Desert Land Preservation in Phoenix, Arizona," *Landscape and Urban Planning* 68, no. 1 (2004): 53–75.

43. Steve Swanson and Todd W. Bostwick, "South Mountain Rock Art Project Field Manual: Recording Rock Art as Archaeology in the South Mountains," Arizona State University South Mountain Rock Art Project, http://archaeology.asu.edu/SMRAP%20/SMRAP_Recording_Manual_lo.pdf (accessed June 4, 2011).

44. South Mountain Rock Art Project, "South Mountain Rock Art Project—Volunteering," Arizona State University South Mountain Rock Art Project, <http://archaeology.asu.edu/SMRAP/index.html> (accessed January 26, 2011).

The rock art of South Mountain Park helps to illustrate how archaeology may play a valued role, even if it is not the primary one, in a city's recreational planning. Of course, not every community has rock art to record or thousands of acres of open space in which to find it, but there are certainly lessons from Phoenix that can be useful in other locations. One of the most apparent would be that when a park is made out of a landscape known to have been influenced by human forces, the interpretation of the site's cultural aspects should not necessarily be sacrificed for the promotion of its natural characteristics. Parks that are consciously developed as cultural landscapes allow visitors to value sites for both natural and historical reasons.

Archaeological Easements in Private Developments

One of the more creative ideas to have come out of the relationship between archaeology and the urban planning sphere is the idea that sensitive archaeological sites can become private archaeological "reserves" or "preserves" as an alternative to the destruction of a site through development or the outright purchase of the land by a government body. This approach uses a relatively sophisticated planning tool, the conservation easement, tailored to protect archaeological resources in an urban area. Conservation easements are more commonly encountered in the realm of open space protection or in the protection of ecologically sensitive lands. Façade easements have been a part of historic preservation planning for many years, as has the protection of archaeological sites through conservation easements in rural areas, but the use of archaeological easements within highly populated urban areas and within private developments represents a relatively new and somewhat unexplored twist on the idea.

There are significant downsides to the use of this tool, however. By remaining private property, these historic sites may or may not be made accessible to members of the general public. Another drawback to this approach is that while an archaeological reserve may be a desirable amenity in the eyes of the developer, this is in large part because he or she may increase the price of the housing units being offered. Thus, access to this aspect of the city's past becomes restricted to those with the means to purchase it. Still another hazard of this type of development is that it could encourage homeowners in the subdivision to think of the archaeological sites as "theirs" for the taking, encouraging looting or other destructive behavior. This attitude could be prevented through regular contact with the easement-holding organization, but the risk may still remain. Still another concern is the idea of a burial site being treated as an "amenity" from which a private developer might profit.

Although these concerns are certainly valid, the privately owned archaeological easement provides a noteworthy alternative to the destruction of archaeological sites through development, and depending upon the local context, it is entirely possible that an area thus protected could become a

community amenity. At the very least, this technique is something that more planners and archaeologists should be aware of when valuable land is found to contain sensitive archaeological sites that should best be left undisturbed.

St. Augustine: The Bonita Bay Subdivision

A recent example of an archaeological easement being used in an urban area is the Bonita Bay development in St. Augustine. Bonita Bay is a small, pleasant, expensive waterfront subdivision in St. Augustine, though the site could not always claim this peaceful character. In February of 2004, the city's archaeological protection ordinance required the investigation of the lot at 11 Tremerton St. when the lot's owner began developing his land.⁴⁵ As a result of the investigation, city archaeologist Carl Halbirt found the remains of ten individuals buried on the site.⁴⁶ Following continued investigation, it was learned that the site had been occupied by the Mission of Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta in the early to mid-eighteenth century, and that the remains of up to one hundred Christianized Yamasee Indians had been buried beneath the mission.⁴⁷

During much of 2004, an active discussion took place over how the site should be treated. Ultimately the St. Augustine Archaeological Association (SAAA), the small nonprofit group that first formed in 1985 to begin lobbying for a city archaeology ordinance, and which still supports the city archaeologist financially and by staffing his digs, worked with the city and with the developer to place an archaeological easement on the burial site.⁴⁸ Under the terms of the agreement, the SAAA became the easement holder for the section of the property containing the burial sites.⁴⁹ Julia Gatlin, President of the SAAA, describes the organization's initial response to the concept of the easement, and how they have handled those responsibilities as follows:

The discussion was . . . “how protected is this going to be, what are we going to do with this space.” We ended up . . . the lot where the site was found . . . extra dirt was put on it and we planted it and it's been made a green space. And we have a sign there explaining that it's a sacred burial site and to treat it with respect. Unfortunately it is inside the gated community, so the public can't look at it, but we do have a representative from SAAA that contacts the neighborhood association once a year, and says “here we are, do you have any questions about it, do you want someone to come talk to you about it . . . ?” We have a team, a committee . . . that can go in, they have keys and they can get in to mon-

45. Michael Reed, “Remains, Likely Indian, Found in Excavation,” *The St. Augustine Record*, February 19, 2004.

46. Michael Reed and Peter Willot, “Burial Concerns,” *The St. Augustine Record*, April 18, 2004.

47. *Ibid.*

48. Julia Gatlin, Interview by Douglas R. Appler, July 8, 2010.

49. *Ibid.*

itor it. . . [Responding to whether the SAAA charged any kind of fee to the developer:] No we just did this as a volunteer effort.⁵⁰

The historical significance of the site is explained to the public through an interpretive sign placed outside of the community's gates.

While the site does not receive the public exposure garnered by many other sites in St. Augustine, that kind of attention is not necessarily the goal of this particular project. The site is still private land, but it is also still intact and is now a known historical site. What makes this site so noteworthy is that if it had been located in almost any other community in the country, the graves likely would have been discovered by construction crews rather than archaeologists. Assuming that the backhoe operators were aware of the laws surrounding buried human remains and reported their find, the remains probably would have been disinterred, moved, and reburied in a different location. No one would have been available to identify the site as the former Mission of Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Punta, and no one would have known the history of the individuals buried on the site. Instead, a city with a history of progressive archaeology turned the situation into a positive development for the community and for the property owner. The remains were left largely undisturbed, the developer lost one lot but received a historic park in its place, and through the historical and preliminary research into the site, the city gained new knowledge about its Native American and Colonial pasts.

Incorporating Archaeological Information into New Buildings

When a new building is being constructed on top of an archaeological site, it is important to remember that the design chosen can offer opportunities for incorporating archaeological information, even when the archaeological site itself is destroyed by the new construction. Whether through interior paintings, interpretive videos playing on flat-screen monitors, or the shape of the building itself, new construction on an archaeological site does not necessarily require severing the link between the site's past and its present.

Phoenix: Phoenix Convention Center

As one of the largest cities in the United States, and the largest in the southwest, the city of Phoenix does a great deal to cater to the convention industry. The Phoenix Convention Center recently underwent an expansion which required archaeology on two blocks in the city's downtown. As part of the development of the center, that archaeology found its way into the fabric of the city's new buildings. Entering the east set of buildings of the Phoenix Convention Center, on the right hand side of the entrance, visitors are treated to

50. Ibid.



Figure 2. “Archaeology Wall” in the Phoenix Convention Center, 2010. Mural titled “Building the Future: Protecting the Past.” (Photo courtesy of the author)

a row of floor to ceiling murals depicting the archaeology that was carried out on the building site (see Figure 2).

Two themes are expressed on the murals in the Convention Center. The first that visitors see as they walk into the center is *Building the Future: Protecting the Past*. The mural includes giant photographs of artifacts found on site, photos of the archaeology taking place, and it includes a narrative that provides some perspective on how the convention center site has been used through time. The wall introduces visitors to how the site was used 1,500 years ago, and 150 years ago. The first provides information about the Hohokam farmstead that was found on the convention center site, including photographs of the excavation and of some of the pottery it unearthed. The second segment of the mural is titled *Transforming a Desert: From Country Farmers to Urban Life* and this mural includes information about how the site was used during a more recent period in the city’s history. It describes the Phoenix Ice Factory, built in 1878, the Phoenix Laundry, including a photograph of the laundry, as well as a video about the site’s archaeology. Todd Bostwick, the former city archaeologist, describes the city’s response to the idea of the project:

The City was more than willing to do it, because . . . they recognized that was a marketing advantage that they have that other cities don’t have. Because you get the impression Phoenix is a brand new city and then you come in and realize . . . we have archeology that goes back 6,000 years . . .⁵¹

51. Todd W. Bostwick, Interview by Douglas R. Appler, July 22, 2010.

The net result is an improvement in the visibility of the city's history, an illustrative example of the value of archaeology in the development process, and a unique feature that provides visitors with a new way of connecting with Phoenix that they would otherwise never have had.

Archaeological Features Exposed In Situ

In some fortunate circumstances, a city might be presented with an opportunity to locate and expose to view an archaeological feature that has been buried for centuries (or more, or less). These features can capture the imagination of the public, demonstrating that history is present everywhere, even under the streets and buildings that they encounter every day. Although precautions obviously need to be taken in order to protect the features from weather and abuse, with forethought and planning, they can easily become visible parts of the modern urban landscape.

Alexandria: Gadsby's Tavern Ice Well

Pedestrians who find themselves at the intersection of Cameron and Royal Streets in Alexandria may notice a large ring of dark colored bricks on the sidewalk. Directly beside Gadsby's Tavern, a historic building where Washington, Jefferson, and other founding fathers once dined, pedestrians may also see a set of stairs leading down below the sidewalk. At the bottom of the stairs is a Plexiglas viewing window that allows the curious to look into an ice well constructed by the tavern's owner in 1792. The steps and viewing window were installed shortly before the Bicentennial celebrations of 1976, following archaeological investigation, and have remained a sidewalk feature ever since. The site is explained through interpretive signage, giving pedestrians a different perspective from which to view the city's history (see Figure 3).

Because this feature has been present since 1976, it is, admittedly, beginning to show its age, and the city began the process of raising funds to restore the display and bring it in line with modern interpretive ideas in 2008.⁵² The city identified the site as a "transportation enhancement project" in order to apply for federal funds made available through the terms of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA).⁵³ ISTEA, and its successor legislation, allows federal transportation funds to be used for projects that "en-

52. James K. Hartmann, *Memorandum, RE: Consideration of a Grant Application and Resolution to the Virginia Department of Transportation, for the Transportation Enhancement Program, to Partially Fund the Restoration of the Gadsby's Tavern Museum Ice Well*, October 28, 2008.

53. *Ibid.*



Figure 3. Circle of dark bricks indicating limits of the ice well in Gadsby’s Tavern, Alexandria, 2010. Viewing window is below grade, on the right-hand side of the image. (Photo courtesy of the author)

hance” transportation infrastructure, and the restoration of historic structures, or the interpretation of archaeological sites, are frequently funded by way of their value as “enhancement projects.” With luck, the ice well will continue to enhance the city’s streetscape for decades to come.

Reconstructed and Interpretive Landscape Features

Archaeological features are often too fragile to expose to the elements, and it is always possible that what little remains on a site from its historic occupants may simply be ineffective in communicating the site’s significance to the modern era. Stone scatter or bits of coal, for example, may not capture the public’s interest as readily as an intact subterranean masonry vault. Because of this, it is sometimes more appropriate to generate something that is wholly modern in construction, but historical in intent. Reconstructions, memorial sculptures, and other forms of interpretation may ultimately be more effective at drawing attention to a site’s past, and may also provide modern occupants of the landscape with a better way of expressing the meaning that a site holds to them than simply exposing what remains below ground.



Figure 4. Statue of the Edmonson Sisters by Eric Blome, at 1701 Duke St., Alexandria, Virginia, 2010. (Photo courtesy of the author)

Alexandria: The Edmonson Sisters Statue

In 1848, two sisters, fifteen-year-old Mary Edmonson and thirteen-year-old Emily, participated in the Underground Railroad's single largest slave escape attempt, fleeing from the Alexandria-based slave trading firm of Bruin and Hill.⁵⁴ Harriet Beecher Stowe identified the story of the Edmonson sisters as having contributed to the inspiration for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* when she published *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1853. Alexandria's role in this story does not paint a pretty picture of the town in the 1840s, but that is, of course, one of the reasons why it is so important to recognize the events that took place in the city prior to the Civil War.

In 2007, the Alexandria City Council approved a proposal by Carr Properties for a new, 117,000 square foot LEED certified development at 1701 Duke St., the site that was once occupied by the Bruin slave pen where the sisters were held.⁵⁵ The developer hired Louis Berger and Associates to carry out the archaeology required by the city's Archaeological Protection Code.

54. Mary Kay Ricks, "A Passage to Freedom: During Washington's era of rampant slave trading, two sisters embarked upon a remarkable journey and became a cause celebre for the abolitionist movement," *The Washington Post*, February 17, 2002.

55. Carr Properties. "Carr Properties' Edmonson Plaza Receives City Council Approval," 1701 Duke Street, <http://www.1701dukestreet.com/> (accessed January 31, 2011).

The documentary and archaeological information gathered during that investigation helped to provide greater details of the lives of the people who had been held at the Bruin slave pen, and of the Edmonson sisters in particular.⁵⁶ The project became known as Edmonson Plaza in the sisters' honor.⁵⁷ In addition to the name of the plaza, Carr paid to construct a ten-foot-tall bronze statue of the two sisters, made by sculptor Erik Blome, that draws attention to the story of the young women and their place in Alexandria's history.⁵⁸ Louis Berger and Associates was given the 2009 Ben Brenman award for extraordinary efforts in archaeology by the Alexandria Archaeology Commission, and the statue is easily visible to pedestrians from the street (see Figure 4).⁵⁹

St. Augustine: Cubo Line Reconstructions

When it served as a military post for the Spanish and the British in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, much of what is now the historic center of St. Augustine was surrounded by a defensive work called the Cubo Line (St. Augustine had served as a military post since its founding in 1565, the Cubo Line dates to 1706).⁶⁰ The largest portion of the Cubo Line to have been reconstructed can be found on land owned by the National Park Service. In 1964, in conjunction with the city's larger quadricentennial celebration efforts, the Park Service reconstructed a 250 ft. portion of the line that stretched from the Castillo de San Marcos to the city gates, although the line was interrupted to allow vehicular traffic to enter the city.⁶¹ Rather than reconstructing the line from the original material, palm logs, the Park Service opted to instead build their reconstruction from concrete "logs" for ease of maintenance.⁶²

The City of St. Augustine would take inspiration from the Park Service's 1964 reconstruction when, beginning in the late 1990s, a group known as the Presidio Commission began planning for the reconstruction of the Santo

56. Alexandria Archaeology, "Ben Brenman Award for Archaeology," City of Alexandria, Virginia, <http://alexandriava.gov/historic/archaeology/default.aspx?id=28180> (accessed January 11, 2011).

57. *Ibid.*

58. City of Alexandria, "Communications and Public Information: FYI Alexandria," City of Alexandria, Virginia, <http://www1.alexandriava.gov/communications/info/default.aspx?id=35612#sisters> (accessed January 31, 2011).

59. Alexandria Archaeology, "Ben Brenman Award for Archaeology," City of Alexandria, Virginia, <http://alexandriava.gov/historic/archaeology/default.aspx?id=28180> (retrieved January 11, 2011). The Alexandria Archaeological Commission is the city commission charged with establishing archaeological policy for the City of Alexandria. Ben Brenman was an early chairman of the AAC, who, along with the city's archaeology staff, was instrumental in establishing the public orientation of Alexandria's archaeology program.

60. Verne E. Chatelain, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida: 1565 to 1763* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1941), 82.

61. C. E. Wright, "A Facelift for St. Augustine's Famous Old Fort," *The New York Times*, October 25, 1964.

62. *Ibid.*



Figure 5. Reconstructed Santo Domingo Redoubt, 2010. (Photo courtesy of the author)

Domingo redoubt.⁶³ The redoubt was essentially an armed “point” along the Cubo line, which once protruded beyond the line and allowed soldiers to shoot both along the wall and away from it. In 1995, Carl Halbirt and his crew of volunteers began excavating the site, working different sections as time and resources allowed.⁶⁴ In 2000 the city received a \$300,000 grant from the Florida Department of State to reconstruct the redoubt, and it was opened to the public in 2003 (see Figure 5).⁶⁵

It is now possible to stand at the Castillo de San Marcos and look westward, seeing the Cubo line, the City Gates, and the first of what would have been many redoubts, all more or less as they would have appeared when the Cubo line was last rebuilt in 1808.

Phoenix: Hohokam Rock Art on Highway Overpasses

Another example of a city using archaeological information to construct an interpretive landscape feature is found in the City of Phoenix. It has transformed the traditionally utilitarian structures associated with highway overpasses and sound barriers into spaces that showcase the city’s archaeological

63. Peter Guinta, “Cubo Line Project to Begin,” *The St. Augustine Record*, March 1, 2001; Brian L. Thompson, “New Finds at Cubo Line Dig,” *The St. Augustine Record*, December 30, 1998.

64. Peter Guinta, “Part of the Old Fortification Uncovered in Excavation,” *The St. Augustine Record*, December 9, 2000.

65. Ken Lewis, “Redoubt Reconstruction Nearing Finish,” *The St. Augustine Record*, September 3, 2003.



Figure 6. Hohokam rock art designs applied to highway overpass, 2010. (Photo courtesy of the author)

history. In most parts of the country these structures are undecorated gray concrete, but in the Phoenix area they are not only dyed to match the colors of the surrounding desert landscape, but are also imprinted with various designs that mirror those found in the ancient rock art of the city's South Mountain Park (see Figure 6).

Many of these designs were made available to the Department of Transportation through the work of the Pueblo Grande Museum and the city archaeologist. Museum Director Roger Lidman recalled that the city archaeologist, Todd Bostwick, worked closely with the Arizona Department of Transportation in carrying out that project.⁶⁶ Bostwick, museum staff, and Department of Transportation officials selected designs that would be appropriate for that purpose.

The city has also incorporated similar designs into the lamp posts that line North Central Avenue in Phoenix, in the section of the city that houses the Heard Museum and the Phoenix Museum of Modern Art. The effect, again, is to communicate that while the city of Phoenix is almost entirely modern in its construction, it does have much older roots than may be apparent.

Walks, Paths, and Trails

One amenity which may have less to do with a community's archaeological sites themselves than with how they are presented and used by the public is the concept of the heritage trail, history walk, greenway, bike trail, or other type of "path" that connects different historical or archaeological sites. At a

66. Roger Lidman, Interview by Douglas R. Appler, July 28, 2010.

local level, these paths may exist in the form of dedicated nonmotorized routes, paved or unpaved, or they may be part of a more loosely defined trail system that is essentially defined by the points of interest—a path that may only be a path to those with the map. Regardless of the form it takes, combining archaeological interpretation with opportunities for walking, exercise, and contemplation repeats the pattern of municipal archaeology programs contributing to the experience available in a given space, helping the city to appeal to the public on a variety of levels.

Alexandria: Alexandria Heritage Trail

The Alexandria Heritage Trail (AHT) is a significant community asset for many reasons, not the least of which is the role that the city's archaeology program played in its development. Fifty-six stops are identified on the map, and although not every stop included is an archaeological site, the trail does illustrate some of the fruits of the more than fifty years of archaeological protection, preservation, and research by the city's professional and avocational archaeologists.⁶⁷ The largest segment of the AHT is the twenty-three-mile loop that takes cyclists and pedestrians through Old Town Alexandria and into the city's West End, returning eventually to Old Town.⁶⁸ Major sites accessed along the loop include the prehistoric Native American site protected as the Stonegate archaeological reserve, Fort Ward Park, and the colonial era Cameron Run.⁶⁹ Along with the loop, which is geared more for bicycle use than pedestrian use, are ten shorter thematic walks ranging from less than a mile to roughly three and a half miles in length.⁷⁰ The shorter trails include the "Canal Trail" which highlights the reconstructed Alexandria Canal, the "Hayti Trail" which features several sites related to the free African-American neighborhood of Hayti, and the "Campaign Trail" which features as a highlight the former homes of Gerald Ford and Richard Nixon.⁷¹

The Alexandria Heritage Trail is also significant because it takes advantage of the region's surrounding recreational infrastructure, linking to the Mount Vernon segment of the Potomac Heritage National Scenic Trail System (PHNSTS). The AHT is highlighted on the National Park Service's PHNSTS website, and the full details of the AHT, including the content of the interpretive signs placed throughout the trail network, can be found on the Alexandria Archaeology Museum website.⁷²

67. Pamela J. Cressey, *Walk and Bike the Alexandria Heritage Trail* (Sterling, VA: Capital Books, 2002).

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.*

71. *Ibid.*, 62, 63.

72. National Park Service, "Potomac Heritage National Scenic Trail," National Park Service website, <http://www.nps.gov/pohe/index.htm> (accessed February 4, 2011); Alexandria Archaeology, "Alexandria Archaeology Museum: Walk and Bike the Alexandria Heritage Trail," City of

Conclusion

There are many ways in which archaeology may play a role in developing community assets and amenities, and situating archaeology offices within local government greatly facilitates this use of archaeological information. The local orientation of their research agendas, the longevity of the programs, their community ties and fundamental reliance on volunteers, and their access to the mechanisms of local government have all allowed the cities discussed here to become innovators in the field of cultural resource management.

The idea of a municipal archaeology program is, of course, not appropriate for every community. Many parts of the country are not home to substantial archaeological resources, and the use of limited government funds to support archaeology in those areas may not be the wisest allocation of local tax revenue. And of those cities that do contain significant archaeological sites, extensive publicity and interpretation of those sites may not be what local residents want. There are many archaeological sites that should not be treated as amenities, either in order to protect the sites from vandals and looters, or simply out of respect to the different local stakeholder groups whose beliefs may not permit heavy use in the different fashions suggested above. Additionally, local governments should enter into this idea with eyes wide open; not all potential supporters of archaeology are aware of the costs it incurs, not only in terms of excavation, but for processing, analysis, and curation as well.

A word of caution is also necessary when focusing so heavily on the relationship between municipal archaeology programs and community assets and amenities, as this article has. Although the programs have made significant contributions in developing these assets, the main reason for the existence of the programs is to recover information about the people who once lived within the city. Although these programs may make their respective cities more appealing to visitors and tourists, the ability of the archaeologists to recover or protect information about the past must not be sacrificed for the sake of generating tourist revenue. The many successes of these programs have come about because of long-term, community-oriented work, not because they have been focused on squeezing more people through the turnstiles.

But in an era when others, both within archaeology and in allied fields, are increasingly pushed to demonstrate the value of their work and justify its expense, being able to point to amenities whose benefits clearly reach beyond those with primarily academic interests is a significant accomplishment for these programs. Archaeologists working in the municipal environment have an opportunity, if not a mandate, to connect with the public in a way that few others in their field can. That connection, and the public's familiarity with archaeology, allows archaeological interpretation to head in unanticipated directions. As archaeologists contemplate the future of their relationship with

the public, these cities and the handful of others like them should be seen as having created a much needed blueprint for how the public and its archaeological past may become better acquainted with one another.

DOUGLAS R. APPLER currently holds the Helen Edwards Abell Endowed Chair in the Department of Historic Preservation at the University of Kentucky. He recently completed his doctoral dissertation, "Understanding the Community Benefits of Municipal Archaeology Programs," at Cornell University. He is a former county planning and zoning director, and is a member of the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP). He received a master's degree in urban and regional planning and a bachelor's degree in history and political science from Virginia Tech.