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The Interpretation and Memory of Places for Segregated Education: A Comparative Analysis

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THE INTERPRETATION AND MEMORY OF PLACES FOR
SEGREGATED EDUCATION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University
and
the College of Charleston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science
Historic Preservation

by
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ABSTRACT

One of the greatest tasks before the United States at the end of the Civil War was to educate the freed slave. Even though efforts to educate African Americans existed long before the beginning of the war, those efforts were often clandestine and illegal in Southern states. After the war ended, this endeavor was undertaken by various religious denominations, philanthropic Northerners, and the newly created public schools systems within Southern states. Many schools were constructed to provide segregated education, often with one or two rooms for instruction, but sometimes including multi-building campuses. These buildings and campuses served as beacons in their communities, alongside places of worship, as a symbol of hope and opportunity—an emblem for change. As the racial climate in America changed and it became illegal to mandate segregated education, these buildings began to fade into the background, sometimes absorbed by school districts, converted into community centers or homes; however, they were usually, abandoned. Along with the memories of the teachers that taught generations of children and changed their lives, these buildings should be remembered, restored and returned to the prominence they once held in the African-American community.

Therefore, this thesis asks questions about how buildings and landscapes significant to the African-American experience, specifically segregated schools, are remembered in our society and whether preservation and interpretation are

effective tools to protect or reestablish memories. This thesis also examines the concept of social memory as it applies to the formation of group identity and cultural heritage. It also examines how the social memories of sites important to minority groups may not have survived or were altered because of social, political and economic forces that impact the development of cultural identity over time. The final aim of this thesis is to observe four schools and evaluate how they utilized principles of preservation and interpretation to reestablish and continue their memories. The case studies are: Lyles Consolidated School in Lyles Station, Indiana; Division Street School in New Albany, Indiana; Brainerd Institute in Chester, South Carolina, and Bettis Academy in Trenton, South Carolina.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my great grandmother, Bessie Lyles Feaster, a graduate of Brainerd Institute, whose commitment to education and unyielding love greatly shaped my life.

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I owe many thanks to my thesis advisor, Jennifer C. McStotts. Her endless support, guidance and understanding gave me the direction, structure and freedom I needed to complete this project.

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I would also like to thank the directors, organizers and volunteers at the many schools I visited, especially those that spent hours talking with me about the impact their schools had on their communities. You embody the spirit of those early teachers and principals that gave tirelessly. Without you, this thesis would not have been possible.

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The support of my family has been invaluable to my development and pursuit of a career that is my passion. There is no way to repay you, only offer my gratitude and love.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

It was a whole race trying to go to school. Few were too young, and none too old, to make the attempt to learn.¹

At the close of the Civil War, the United States had a very difficult task before it—to educate the freed slave. To the freed slave, receiving an education was the first step toward economic opportunity and most importantly personal empowerment. From the freedman’s perspective, education was “the next best thing to liberty,” as stated by a former slave from Mississippi when questioned about the importance of an education.² However, educating over four million freed slaves would be no easy task given that no active state-supported education system, compulsory or otherwise, existed in the Southern states, except for an underutilized system in North Carolina.³ Some of the efforts toward the education of this mass began prior to Reconstruction, though most were clandestine since it was illegal in most Southern states to educate African Americans, whether free or enslaved. Mainly, it was the effort of benevolent

¹ Booker T. Washington as quoted in: W. E. B. Dubois, Black Reconstruction in America: 1860-1880, 3rd ed. (New York: The Free P, 1992) 638-641.

² Eric Foner, Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877, (New York: Harper & Row, 1988) 88.

³ In 1811, a South Carolina law made provisions to create a state-wide educational system, but it was not compulsory, rather permissive aimed at providing education for orphans and the indigent. DuBois, Black Reconstruction 3. Edward F. Sweat, “Some Notes of the Role of Negroes in the Establishment of Public Schools in South Carolina,” Phylon 22.2 (1961): JSTOR, College of Charleston, 31 Jan. 2007, 162.

people—both black and white—who taught slaves and free people of color to read and write. Similarly, in states such as Indiana, where slavery was essentially outlawed, a similar struggle to educate the black population ensued and continued primarily within local communities even though there was a state supported system beginning in 1816, but African Americans were prevented from attending.⁴ Immediately after the Civil War ended, much of the governmental effort to provide education was undertaken by the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Land, which was created in 1865. However various religious organizations and philanthropic individuals, both black and white, also contributed time and financial resources to build schools for the new, free, black population in the south.⁵

In fact, during Reconstruction, so many schools for African Americans were constructed in conjunction with churches that it was natural to associate teachers with preachers, thereby resulting in an innate sense of reverence for the

⁴ “Indiana’s Public and Common and High Schools Multiple Property Documentation Form.” Indiana Department of Natural Resources. 11 Mar. 2007 <<http://www.in.gov/dnr/historic/>>.

⁵ The history of religious or private institutions creating schools for African Americans can be traced as far back as 1744 when the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel opened a school in Charleston, SC. Other religious organizations such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the American Missionary Association, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, Episcopalians, the Presbyterian Board of Missions, and Quakers have all contributed immensely to the advancement of education for African Americans. Loretta Funke, “The Negro in Education,” *The Journal of Negro History* 5.1 (1920): 1-21, JSTOR, College of Charleston, 19 Mar. 2007, 2-7. Various private foundations also contributed to the education of African Americans, including: the Peabody Fund, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the General Education Board, the Anna T. Jeanes Fund; the John F. Slater Fund, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the Duke brothers’ endowment, the Pierre S. DuPont Gift, and the Southern Education Board. While these foundations contributed millions of dollars to the educational advancement of African Americans, few spoke against the policies of racial segregation within the school systems, thus possibly being responsible for its perpetuation. N.C. Newbold, *Common Schools for Negroes in the South*, 211, 212, 219-221; Edgar B. Wesley, “Forty Acres and a Mule and a Speller,” *History of Education Journal* 8.4 (1957): JSTOR, College of Charleston, 19 Mar. 2007, 123; Louis R. Harlan, *Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States 1901-1015*, (New York: Atheneum, 1968) 254.

schools.⁶ Later, many schools were created within new, state-run public school systems which were a direct result of Reconstruction legislation. Many of the schools were constructed with one or two rooms for instruction in rural areas, yet some of the schools, those funded through private funds, would also include multi-building campuses that would also serve as boarding schools. These buildings and campuses represented beacons in their communities alongside places of worship, as symbols of hope and opportunity—an emblem for change. It is this basic tenet, the monumentality of these schools during Reconstruction and thereafter that helped formulate their place in memory. While these schools operated within dual and unequal social and legal systems, where even private schools felt the presence of inequality, their mere existence was critical to the success of African Americans.⁷

Over the next eighty-nine years, until segregation was outlawed in 1954, over 25,000 schools were created to serve African-American students in many communities in the country, and the majority of them were segregated.⁸ According to *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, by 1928, one in five schools created for African Americans was through the philanthropy of Julius Rosenwald, yet as the racial climate in America changed and it became illegal to

⁶ A. A. Taylor, “Religious Influences,” *The Journal of Negro History* 9.3 (1924): JSTOR, College of Charleston, 19 Mar. 2007 <<http://www.jstor.org>>.

⁷ John H. Best, “Education in the Forming of the American South,” *History of Education Quarterly* 36.1 (1996): JSTOR, College of Charleston, 19 Mar. 2007, 44-45.

⁸ On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously that the doctrine of “separate but equal” was unconstitutional. “Julius Rosenwald: the Great American Philanthropist Who Decided What Blacks Should Teach,” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 24 (1999): JSTOR, College of Charleston, 5 Oct. 2006, 54.

mandate segregated education, these buildings began to fade into the background.⁹ Many of these buildings were absorbed by school districts for other uses or converted into community centers or homes, but many were usually abandoned, losing their sense of monumentality and ultimately forgotten. Along with the memories of these buildings, the teachers should be remembered and their prominence within the community returned.¹⁰ The restoration and remembrance of these schools are important not only because they symbolize segregation, a dark dimension of American history that should not be forgotten, but primarily because they stand for triumph and community cohesion during a time when oppressive forces sought to restrict African Americans and their ascent to equality, which could be possible through education.

Examining the primary and secondary schools that were built for African Americans in the later part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries affords an opportunity to understand how social, political and economic forces impacted the development of cultural identity over time and to study how a culture's collective memory can erode with the loss of significant physical reminders. Therefore, this thesis asks questions about how buildings and landscapes

⁹ For an account on the preservation of two Rosenwald Schools see Elizabeth Wiedower, Examining the Issue of Diversity in Historic Preservation: a Case Study of Early African-American Efforts to Preserve Rosenwald Schools in the South, Noble Hill-Wheeler Memorial Center and Old Merritt Community Center, MA thesis, Univ. of South Carolina, 2005, (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2005); <http://www.rosenwaldschools.com>; and "Julius Rosenwald: the Great American Philanthropist Who Decided What Blacks Should Teach" 54.

¹⁰ The teachers were initially mostly white, female Northerners who were often threatened and intimidated while teaching the first generations of black children, but soon a host of African-American teachers was generated from the very schools where they learned—placing African-American teachers in the classrooms to teach African-American students. By 1869, the number of African-American teachers in American schools outnumbered the number of white teachers in the South. Foner 145.

significant to the African-American experience, specifically segregated schools, are remembered in society and whether preservation and interpretation are effective tools to protect and reestablish those memories.¹¹

The method of examination involves a comparative analysis of four schools that were built to educate African-American children. The case studies examine schools in two states, Indiana and South Carolina that were built at different times during an era where racial segregation was first only socially dictated but then became a legal institution. The case studies are: Lyles Consolidated School in Lyles Station, Indiana, built in 1919; Division Street School in New Albany, Indiana, built in 1870; Brainerd Institute in Chester, South Carolina, founded in 1865; and Bettis Academy in Trenton, South Carolina, founded in 1881. The school in Lyles Station, where the extant building was constructed later in relation to the others, provides an opportunity to consider the memory of a school that was created within a self-sufficient, predominantly African-American community founded in the mid-nineteenth century. The Division Street elementary school provides insight into the history and memory of schools that were created in a non-slave state that possessed a Southern social climate, yet within a public school system. Brainerd's history began at the close of the Civil War with the aid of the Freedman's Bureau; it represents many schools that were created with private funds and gained a level of prominence

¹¹ A complete survey of African-American schools nationwide or in the South is beyond the scope of this research. Much research has been completed, yet more is needed to fully understand the impact the disappearance of these schools has had on the African-American community. For an account of extant rural schools for African American in Richland County, South Carolina, see: David G. Blick, *Preservation and Interpretation of the Rural African-American Schoolhouses of Richland County, South Carolina, 1895-1954*, MA thesis. University of South Carolina, 1995, (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1995).

within its community for the opportunities it provided. Bettis Academy was founded by a freed slave that through his influence in his community and within the Baptist Church, was able to create an academy that taught generations of African-Americans as well as served as the location of religious conventions, thus further linking the connection of the school with religion.

The schools chosen for analysis each possess different interpretation methods as well as preservation approaches that began through grassroots efforts. Each site provides valuable insight into how its memory has been propagated as a result of its different history and through its different preservation treatments, current uses, and interpretive tools. While there are many schools that were created by various religious organizations, within public schools systems, by community and philanthropic collaborations, such as through the Julius Rosenwald Fund's grant program, that are extant and either have been preserved or are in need of restoration, they are excluded from the analysis as are institutions of higher education and other Reconstruction-era schools like Avery Institute and Penn Center in Charleston and St Helena, South Carolina respectively.¹² The preservation of these schools and their impact on the communities they serve is valuable to the continuation of their memory, yet to

¹² Both the Avery Institute and the Penn School were schools begun with initial efforts by the Freedman's Bureau. Avery Institute served as a college preparatory and normal school for the African-American community in Charleston until 1954 when the school was merged with another public school during integration. Edmund L. Drago, Charleston's Avery Center: From Education and Civil Rights to Preserving the African American Experience, ed. W. M. Dulaney, (Charleston: History P, 2006). Began as part of the Port Royal experiment in 1861 when white plantation owners abandoned their land at the beginning of the Civil War, the Penn School was the first and most successful school created to educate the freed slaves. Willie Lee Rose, Rehearsal for Reconstruction: the Port Royal Experiment, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1964).

consider them all is beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead, the four discussed above were chosen for their variation and for specific aspects of each school's history.

Chapter Two offers a discussion on the concept of social memory as it applies to the formation of group identity and how the social memory of sites important to minority groups may not have survived or were altered because of varying forces that cause amnesia of particular, even positive events. The discussion continues to address how the altered memory of these sites ultimately affects how the site can be interpreted; conversely, how the site is interpreted can affect how the site and associated events are entered into the future collective memory of the community. The interpretation of a site is impacted by the preservationists' vision, whether through preservation treatment or interpretive tools used, which can influence the memory of the site just as the passing of time alters personal memories, therefore Chapter Three focuses on principles of authenticity, interpretation and preservation and their importance in guiding the rehabilitation of a site.

The subsequent four chapters consist of the case studies which describe the building treatment, the current adaptive use, and the interpretive tools used. While these schools share a common thread of providing education for African Americans during a dark time in United States history, they each have different levels of engagement within the community, different interpretive styles, and different uses. How each site presents its respective histories and engages its modern audience affects the continuation of its legacy in varying ways. Even

though the interpretive programs of these schools tell different stories, each is a part of a greater story, one that connects the African-American memory to the collective memory of the nation. Each case study illustrates how people within the African-American community along with members of the local communities where these schools exist have chosen to remember the struggle for equality in education.

In the final chapter, each of these interpretive distinctions, buildings' and sites' preservation treatment and current uses are analyzed to determine how each of these characteristics affects forgotten memories. As the case studies are analyzed, particular attention is paid to assess whether the sites utilize certain principles to serve as an adequate link with the past, create a sense of place, and stimulate the visitor. Each site is integral to the social development of African Americans in this country and their rehabilitation vital to the remembrance of their story, therefore certain standards of authenticity, interpretation and preservation should apply, as they should for all sites that shape the nation's collective memory.

CHAPTER TWO

CULTURAL MEMORY AND IDENTITY

Theories on memory and its development can be traced to the early Greek philosopher Aristotle around 350 B.C.E. He postulated that memory is either perception or conception that has been conditioned by time which is relatively a mnemonic function whereby one recalls what has been experienced previously, whether facts, images, or things learned or perceived. He also drew a distinction between remembering and recollecting, arguing that recollecting is the reinstatement in consciousness of information which was remembered before but has been temporarily forgotten and recalled by a series of prompters.¹³ Centuries later, French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs postulated in his book *The Social Framework of Memory* that memory, even individual memory, is a social process that is formed by the groups to which the individual belongs.¹⁴ He presented theories on “collective” or “social” memory that resulted in a shift in the discussion of memory from that of a biological nature into a social or cultural one.¹⁵ While his theory has met with opposition, mostly arguing that people cannot share the same memories physically or psychologically, his treatise offers

¹³ Aristotle, “On Memory and Reminiscence,” *The Internet Classics Archive*, J.I. Beare, trans., Daniel C. Stevenson, comp., MIT, 11 Oct. 2006 <<http://classics.mit.edu/index.html>>.

¹⁴ Kirk Savage, “History, Memory, and Monuments: an Overview of the Scholarly Literature on Commemoration,” *National Park Service*, US Department of the Interior, 11 Oct. 2006 <<http://www.nps.gov/history/history/resedu/savage.htm>>.

¹⁵ Jan Assmann, and John Czaplicka, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” *New German Critique* 65 (1995): *JSTOR*, College of Charleston, 31 Jan. 2007, 133.

a framework that identifies commemorative rituals, shared experiences, and traditions as sources of group identity.¹⁶ His theory also fills in the missing aspects of history that are not present after a static, objective analysis. Also, many public historians are beginning to study further the meanings of symbols, rituals and imagery that create vernacular memories for the common man.¹⁷

Sociologist Jan Assman expounded upon the theory presented by Halbwachs by distinguishing three types of memory: collective, communicative, and scientific. He termed collective memory “cultural memory” and described it similarly to Halbwachs as a socialization of customs and norms, while communicative memory is an everyday memory that has a limited temporal horizon. The science of memory as he described it entails mnemonics and other psychological references that link to Aristotle’s narrow view of remembering and recollection. More completely, he described cultural memory as “a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behavior and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations repeated societal practice and initiation.”¹⁸

¹⁶ Kerwin L. Klein, “On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse,” Representations 69 (2000): JSTOR, College of Charleston, 1 Feb. 2007, 135.

¹⁷ The terms vernacular memory and vernacular cultural expression are introduced by Bodnar to indicate memories or expressions that are experienced by the common man. John E. Bodnar, Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century, (Princeton, N.J: Princeton UP, 1992) 13. David Glassberg, “Public History and the Study of Memory,” The Public Historian 18.2 (1996): JSTOR, College of Charleston, 2 Feb. 2007, 22.

¹⁸ Jan Assmann, and John Czaplicka, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” New German Critique 65 (1995): JSTOR, College of Charleston, 31 Jan. 2007, 126.

When this generational practice of repetition is disrupted, no matter the cause, it results in a form of cultural amnesia.¹⁹ While history is not erased, the important connection a person or group has to its past, traditions and commemoration is disrupted resulting in a loss of cultural identity that can arguably be partial or complete. However, memory together with history helps individuals and groups understand their relationship to the past. As David Lowenthal asserts, the chief motivator for our connection with the past “is not a quest for truth, but a search for identity, both individual and collective.”²⁰ In relation to having an identity, he also states that “we cannot function without familiar environments and links with a recognizable past, but we are paralyzed unless we transform or replace inherited relics.”²¹ While Lowenthal’s assertion of paralysis without inherited relics is an extreme view, without recognizable relics, shared memories and traditions, a culture evolves by assimilating with other cultures and forgets some of the qualities, traditions, and relics that once defined it.

Sigmund Freud believed that certain memories that are too painful are put away and will be replaced with less threatening, benign memories; however, by working through repressed memories, whether through mourning or remedial contemplation, a culture can be uplifted and empowered to engender change and

¹⁹ The term cultural amnesia is taken from: Stephen Bertman, Cultural Amnesia: America’s Future and the Crisis of Memory, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000).

²⁰ Susan P. Schoelwer, rev. of The Past is a Foreign Country, by David Lowenthal, Winterthur Portfolio 1989, 307.

²¹ David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985) 69.

growth.²² However, this repression can explain why some relics, traditions and memories have been forgotten. For example, Robert Weyeneth describes the difficulty in preserving the architecture of racial segregation because the imprint of such buildings and sites is a reminder of the legally supported system based on white supremacy and black inferiority, yet these buildings and their modifications represent a distinct architectural form.²³ A similar argument can be made for the preservation of American slave or German holocaust relics or places.

Even as personal memory is known to have the ability to be adapted, altered, and even erased, collective memory is subject to the same effects as it interacts with social and natural forces.²⁴ Social forces such as politics, economics, gender, education, or race can impact collective memory and result in reconstructing, altering, or erasing the past for some people, groups or nations. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger argued that collective memory could be manipulated by public authorities through inventing traditions that are aimed at ensuring social cohesion.²⁵ When such memories are invented in the form of tradition, commemoration and education, communities and even nations will undergo an altered identity, which could possibly lead them to repeat the past,

²² Patrick Hutton, "Recent Scholarship on Memory and History," The History Teacher 33 (2000): JSTOR, College of Charleston, 19 Mar. 2007, 539-540.

²³ Robert R. Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: the Challenges of Preserving the Problematic Past," The Public Historian 27.4 (2005) 11.

²⁴ Kirk Savage, "History, Memory, and Monuments: An Overview of the Scholarly Literature on Commemoration" <http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/resedu/savage.htm>, University of Pittsburgh.

²⁵ Eric J. Hobsbawm, "Introduction" and "Mass-producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," The Invention of Tradition, Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terrence O. Ranger, eds. (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1983) 1, 263.

whether good or bad. For example, the adoption of the kilt as an accepted badge of Scottish pride originated as a form of protest to the union of Scotland and England, yet to the Scottish aristocracy, the use of the kilt was a sign of barbarism associated with the Highlanders of Scotland.²⁶ Those that accept wearing the kilt as an ancient symbol of Scottish tradition are ignoring part of its classist history. Hobsbawm and Ranger postulate that invented traditions are a set of practices, whether ritual or symbolic in nature, and are typically governed by accepted rules, which seek to instill certain values and norms to maintain continuity with the past, promote social control or legitimize certain institutions.²⁷

The importance of cultural memory therefore lies in the idea that it is the foundation of cultural heritage along with other tangible and intangible artifacts, relics, beliefs, customs and traditions that are considered a part of heritage formation.²⁸ “Through cultural heritage a society becomes visible to itself and to others. Which past becomes evident in that heritage and which values emerge in its identificatory appropriation tells us much about the constitution and tendencies of a society.”²⁹ Also, understanding how certain values, memories and traditions emerged as part of a national identity can also impart valuable information about the society, and in the American culture, these values can be confirmed or create

²⁶Hugh Trevor-Roper, “The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland,” The Invention of Tradition, Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence O. Ranger, eds., 15-17.

²⁷ Hobsbawm 1, 9.

²⁸ Lowenthal 238-240.

²⁹ Assman 133.

by its laws, customs, and symbols and by what is preserved in the built environment.

According to John Bodnar, in the United States, there were cultural, patriotic and national symbols that existed in the nineteenth century that were celebrated and reinforced in the twentieth century by state and federal governments.³⁰ While vernacular and official cultures competed for cultural awareness, there was little governmental interference.³¹ Later, however, the federal government would take a more active role in determining how the public memory would stress “nationalism, patriotism, unity, and social order.”³² What resulted was a distortion of vernacular expression. While Bodnar goes on to discuss the cultural memories of immigrant Swedes in Illinois and Mennonites in Kansas, his analysis of the formation of the American national identity can be applied to almost any minority group that struggled to have their presence in the formation of the national identity acknowledged. However, Bodnar explains that by the mid-twentieth century, many ethnic groups were attempting, with some success, to preserve places, relics and memories that were important to them.³³ Interestingly, however, Bodnar does not concede that these successes were not experienced by all ethnic groups. In fact, in the case of the African-American

³⁰ Bodnar 41.

³¹ Bodnar 41.

³² Bodnar 41.

³³ Bodnar 41.

community, many successes in preserving cultural memory and heritage were not realized until after the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s.³⁴

As Bodnar suggests, an increase in federal governmental power early in the twentieth century accelerated the creation of a national identity that was based on symbols and memories from the previous century.³⁵ Interestingly, during this time of expanded federal power, President Woodrow Wilson signed a bill that created the National Park Service as a section of the Department of the Interior in 1917.³⁶ Over the course of its history, its duties would expand to include the protection and interpretation of national monuments, national cemeteries, and some federal buildings. Primarily, the National Park Service (NPS) was charged by Congress to protect and preserve the country's historic and natural resources, thus ultimately shaping the national identity.³⁷ As John Bodnar argues, according to Leary and Sholes,

³⁴ Paul A. Shackel, Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration and the Post-Bellum Landscape, (Walnut Creek: Altamira P, 2003) 14.

³⁵ Bodnar 18.

³⁶ Sara K. Blumenthal, Federal Historic Preservation Laws, (Washington, DC: Diane, 1993).

³⁷ The National Park Service was created as a separate agency inside of the Department of the Interior. Its mission is to set aside national parks, which consisted of natural and historic features of national interest for the benefit of the people and generations to come. The "national parks [were] established for the permanent preservation of areas and objects of national interest, are intended to exist forever." It is important for the park system to include areas that possess a variety of subjects of scenic, scientific, and historical importance, not necessarily implying a widespread interest, but appealing to many, however national interest is held supreme. Education and recreation are also important components of the parks system. The NPS also manages reservations, national monuments, national cemeteries, and some federal buildings. In the Historic Sites Act of 1955, the NPS was charged with "preserv[ing] for public use historic sites, buildings and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States." James F. Kieley, ed., "A Brief History of the National Park Service," National Park Service, 1940, US Department of the Interior, 16 Jan. 2007 <http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/kieley/index.htm>.

that for the greatest part of its existence, the National Park Service has rejected dealing with local, [vernacular] historical sites and themes, focusing instead on those arenas which enhance the process of developing a national ideology, ... [which] have led to the rejection of important local events that may [entail] a controversial or rough-hewn part of American history such as slavery, industrial discord, or class warfare.³⁸

As the National Park Service began to “rationalize and centralize the process of selecting historical landmarks and sites,” it met with resistance in the form of local organizations that wanted to advance their memories and views onto the national agenda.³⁹ Organizations like the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), United Confederate Veterans (UCV), and Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) represented views extended beyond local, vernacular interests. Their interests were resurfacing as part of a Southern identity that had tremendous influence, using commemorations, reenactments, educational materials, and political lobbying to advance their beliefs.⁴⁰ Coincidentally, according to Paul Shackel, by the fiftieth anniversary of the Civil War, Confederates were hailed as valiant warriors defending the Southern way of life largely due to the influence of these organizations.⁴¹ The National Park Service also, to some extent, fell under their influence as witnessed by those organizations’ involvement in directing the interpretation of some national monuments particularly those relating to the Civil War.

³⁸ Thomas E. Leary, and Elizabeth C. Sholes, “Authenticity of Place and Voice: Examples of Industrial Heritage Preservation and Interpretations in the U.S. and Europe,” The Public Historian 22.3 (2000): JSTOR, College of Charleston, 19 Mar. 2007, 51-52.

³⁹ Bodnar 169.

⁴⁰ Shackel, Memory 39-41.

⁴¹ Shackel, Memory 39-41.

While the National Park Service is not completely responsible for the initial interpretations of these sites, it was charged to be a steward and protector of national history, and to that end, it is, self-admittedly, partially responsible for the narrow and biased interpretation of the sites within its system.⁴² This distortion of history is witnessed at sites such as: the Heyward Shepard Monument known as the “faithful slave” memorial;⁴³ the Little Bighorn National Monument where U.S. Cavalrymen were honored for battles with Native American tribes during American/Indian conflicts⁴⁴ and the Manzanar National Historic Site, once a Japanese interment camp, an apple orchard, and a site significant to Native American history.⁴⁵ These early interpretation were biased and exemplified the narrow treatment of sites that have multiple layers of history or that have significance from different vantages—particularly a minority view.

⁴² Barry Macintosh, “Interpretation in the National Park Service: a Historical Perspective,” National Park Service, 1986, US Department of the Interior, 16 Jan. 2007 <http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/mackintosh2/>.

⁴³ The Heyward Shepard Monument is known as the faithful slave memorial because Shepard, a black man was one of the first casualties in the John Brown raid at the federal arsenal in Harpers Ferry, VA in 1859. In 1931, the monument was erected by white supporters that wanted to commemorate the “faithfulness” of blacks—free or enslaved, to the Southern cause. This monument was viewed by many African Americans as offensive, as John Brown was instantly made a martyr for the abolitionist movement and his deeds proved to be a symbol of defiance throughout the Civil War. Shackel, Memory 77-112.

⁴⁴ The Little Bighorn National Monument was renamed in 1991 from Custer Battlefield National Monument to be more inclusive of the Native Americans that were fighting to “preserve and defend their homeland and their traditional way of living” in the American/Indian conflicts of the late nineteenth century. The story of the battle was told from the American, Anglo perspective and was subsequently known as Custer’s Last Stand, however, the interpretation of the battle site has been expanded to be more inclusive of both sides that were fighting, and even somewhat critical of the troops in the 7th Cavalry. “Indian Memorial at Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument,” National Park Service, May 2006, US Department of the Interior, 16 Jan. 2007 <<http://www.nps.gov/archive/libi/indmem.htm>>.

⁴⁵ Megan Venno, Interpreting Human Rights Tragedies: a Comparison of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Manzanar National Historic Site, MA thesis, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 2005, 12 Jan. 2007 <http://repository.upenn.edu/hp_theses/43> 61.

When sites that are important to a minority group are identified or have their interpretations challenged, a power struggle can ensue to control the way history will be viewed and ultimately remembered. According to Paul Shackel:

Competing groups battle ceaselessly to create and control the collective national memory of revered sacred sites and objects. Different group agendas often clash, causing the established collective memories to be continuously in flux. Some subordinate groups can subvert the dominant memory, other groups compromise and become part of a multi-vocal history while others fail completely to have their story remembered by the wider society.⁴⁶

Historically, the dominant memory, and thus the national memory, has been written and interpreted from a wealthy, patriotic, Anglo-centric vantage, which supports the notion that “collective memory [can be] constructed and that the key to its influence is political power.”⁴⁷

However, simply implying that a political or economic force is responsible for a distortion of history and resulting in cultural amnesia for some groups minimizes and ignores the stronger social current under which much of early American history was written. A mild, yet clear example of this social current, particularly as it relates to how African Americans were viewed, is provided by Richard Schein in his introduction to Race and Landscape in the United States. Schein begins with a discussion of a 1903 fire insurance map, a tool that is intended to provide information for insurance underwriters; however, it inadvertently provides valuable insight into the social climate which accelerated the censure of the African-American experience and their contribution to the

⁴⁶ Shackel, Memory 13-14.

⁴⁷ Patrick Hutton, “Recent Scholarship on Memory and History,” The History Teacher 33 (2000): JSTOR, College of Charleston, 19 Mar. 2007, 537.

United States. The map shows a portion of Midway, a small town in central Kentucky, with several dwellings labeled “D” (dwelling). The words “75’ to Negro Dwg” (Seventy-five feet to Negro dwelling) are in close proximity to one dwelling. The map does not actually include the Negro dwelling, but merely indicates its proximity to a seemingly more significant dwelling. According to Schein, the words “clearly mark the presence of race in the landscape” and thus in American society as a whole.⁴⁸ Since a minimal value was placed on the dwellings for African Americans in this neighborhood, arguably there was little value placed on the inhabitants of those dwellings. It is within this framework of social inequality that Shackel describes the social attitude toward African Americans within the American national identity. He writes:

Even though the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery, the Fourteenth Amendment gave those born in the United States citizenship, and the Fifteenth Amendment gave citizens (including black men) the right to vote, the conflict over racism and slavery has never really been resolved. In 1865, the Civil War was over and the issue of united states was settled. What the war did not accomplish was to change the racial ideologies that had developed in American culture over several centuries. The growth of social Darwinism in the late nineteenth century solidified ideas of race and racism—concepts that only helped to reinforce inequalities. These developments shaped how white Americans viewed and represented African Americans in the public memory and landscape.⁴⁹

The exclusion of blacks from the national consciousness was an active process that was reinforced through written symbols, material symbols, and commemoration. While all blacks were American citizens from the time of the Reconstruction Amendments, it was close to a hundred years

⁴⁸ Richard H. Schein, “Landscape and Race in the United States,” Landscape and Race in the United States, ed. Richard H. Schein, (New York: Routledge, 2006, 1-22) 1-5.

⁴⁹ Shackel, Memory 1.

before they could gain inclusion in the collective memory of the United States.⁵⁰

While African Americans continuously struggled to have their story told, it was not until the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s that they gained a more powerful voice of the social and political memory of our nation.⁵¹

To this end, it is no surprise that sites of significance to African Americans were overlooked.

While the historical political and racial climate may have served as a hindrance to inclusive interpretation within the United States early in the century, by the 1970s, the NPS sought change and designated thirteen sites significant to African Americans as National Historic Landmarks; later in 1977, the number increased to sixty-one.⁵² However, there are only thirty-three National Historic Sites, Monuments or Parks, out of nearly four hundred total sites that are interpreted to include significant contributions by African Americans, like the Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park, which also includes an interpretation of Paul Laurence Dunbar's home.⁵³ Through this effort, the NPS has shown that it has rethought many of its national parks, sites and monuments and attempted to be more inclusive in their interpretation. In more recent times, the NPS has further rethought its interpretation of sites significant to Native

⁵⁰ Shackel, Memory 14.

⁵¹ Shackel, Memory 1.

⁵² A National Historic Landmark is a nationally significant historic place designated by the Secretary of the Interior. There are over 2,400 such designated sites. Shackel, Memory 15.

⁵³ Paul Laurence Dunbar was a prolific African-American novelist, poet, and lyricist. "Dayton Aviation Heritage," National Park Service, 16 Jan. 2006 <http://www.nps.gov/archive/daav/exp_dunbar_story.htm>. "About Us," National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 16 Jan. 2007 <<http://www.nps.gov/aboutus/index.htm>>.

American history and women's history as well, as witnessed in its reinterpretation of the Little Bighorn National Monument (1991) and *The Woman Movement* statue at the U.S. Capitol (1998).⁵⁴

However, a greater paradigm shift is needed to challenge local deeply rooted culture that excludes other cultures as a justification for of its own existence. This shift must come from a top-down strategy led by an organization like the NPS, yet one of its most significant processes for denoting historically significant sites is initiated at the state and local levels for site identification and proceeds to state leadership for approval.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, local and state preservation leadership would not be viewed as being committed to an inclusive

⁵⁴ In 1920, to commemorate the enfranchisement of women with the passing of the Nineteenth Amendment, a monument was created depicting the movement's leaders, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucretia Mott. Even though the statue was unveiled before the Capitol in Washington D.C., it was quickly removed and placed in the basement. For over seventy-five years, the statue was hidden from public view. On four occasions (1928, 1932, 1950 and 1998) women's groups lobbied to have the statue relocated to the rotunda of the Capitol and were unsuccessful until their last attempt, which ironically was protested by the National Political Congress of Black Women. This group felt the statue was not an inclusive view of the women's suffrage movement and blocked contributions of African American women, specifically Sojourner Truth, a personal friend of Stanton's. Also viewed as an obstacle to the interpretation of the statue is its name change, first by the Capitol architect to *The Portrait Monument*, then it was informally known as *Three Ladies in a Bathtub* as a critique of the design, and also as *The Suffrage Statue* to pay homage to the leaders in the movement. Courtney Workman, "The Woman Movement: Memorial to Women's Rights Leaders and the Perceived Images of the Woman's Movement," Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape, Paul A. Shackel, ed., (Gainesville: University P of Florida, 2001) 47-66.

⁵⁵ The National Register of Historic Places is the Nation's official list of cultural resources worthy of preservation. Authorized under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the National Register is part of a national program to coordinate and support public and private efforts to identify, evaluate, and protect our historic and archeological resources. Properties listed in the Register include districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that are significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture. The National Register is administered by the National Park Service, which is part of the U.S. Department of the Interior. "National Register of Historic Places," National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 16 Jan. 2007 <<http://www.nps.gov/history/NR/>>.

history if they were judged by the number of African-American sites that have been listed on the National Register for Historic Places.

According to the National Register for Historic Places, there are 85,015 sites listed that represent cultural resources deemed worthy of preservation by state preservation offices, yet less than one percent of those are dedicated to African-American history.⁵⁶ Interestingly, nearly ten percent of the national sites, monuments or parks that are managed or designated by the NPS represent African-American history, yet less than one percent of historic sites are designated from the state level. While this comparison should not imply that state systems restrict African-American nominations, the data suggests that there are other social forces that have contributed to the low number of nominations, whether submitted by African Americans or not, that lead to designations. Interestingly, of the 830 sites distinctly listed for African-American contributions, roughly 115 of them pertain to education while 183 of the designations are for churches.⁵⁷ According to acclaimed historian and academician John Hope Franklin, “every generation has the opportunity to write its own history, and indeed it is obliged to do so” and as African Americans (and other minority groups) gain a more visible and powerful voice, they have an opportunity to share

⁵⁶ 2000 Census data reports that the US population was 12.3% according to: Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000,” U.S. Census Bureau, US Department of Commerce, 07 May 2007 <<http://factfinder.census.gov/home/>>.

⁵⁷ Information queried on the National Register Information System, “National Register of Historic Places,” National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 16 Jan. 2007 <<http://www.nps.gov/history/NR/>>.

their history so that it can become part of the national identity.⁵⁸ This opportunity also involves a responsibility to research and study history in an effort to reestablish the memories that may have been forgotten or never known. The people of West Africa believe the past can be reclaimed so that progress is possible; therefore, the responsibility to research and present a collective history also falls on all who record history, whether as traditional historians, preservationists, archeologists, social historians or geographers.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ John Hope Franklin, "On the Evolution of Scholarship in Afro-American History," State of Afro-American History: Past, Present, and Future, ed. Darlene Clark Hine, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State P, 1986) 13-22.

⁵⁹ Sankofa is an Akan word and principle used among the Akan-speaking people of Ghana, Togo and Cote d'Ivoire that literally means "it is not taboo to go back and fetch what you forgot," "The Meaning of the Symbolism of the Sankofa Bird," W.E.B. DuBois Learning Center, 3 Mar. 2007 <<http://www.duboislc.net/SankofaMeaning.html>>. Bertman 62.

CHAPTER THREE
AUTHENTICITY, INTERPRETATION AND PRESERVATION
STANDARDS

Whether memories become a part of the national identity is a function of prevailing social forces of the time; how those forces influence those memories, and whether the community as a whole validates and accepts those memories. Once the memory is reestablished, a part of its interpretation should also describe the process of memory loss and recovery. What is important, however, is reestablishing the memory in its original cultural context in such a way that will not violate standards of authenticity in its presentation and interpretation. When the interpretation allows for a discussion of the forces that impacted the memory as well as a discussion of the memory itself, it will hold true to the basic tenets of authenticity.

Guidelines for determining authenticity have been greatly debated and discussed as they relate to the preservation of sites of historical significance and cultural heritages. An international forum sponsored by ICOMOS presented the *Nara Document on Authenticity* as a guide to determine whether a heritage, relic, artifact or site is presented authentically. The authors proposed that authenticity not be strictly defined or standardized, yet be outlined through a series of

principles in order to take into account varying aspects of heritage diversity. For example, the definition of a credible source can vary from culture to culture, so the international document stresses the need to maintain the highest level of credibility possible for information sources versus dictating a particular standard for verifying sources. In addition to using materials, function, and setting as a means for determining authenticity, intangible attributes are also important like the sense of place, rituals and norms, and social functions, to name a few.⁶⁰

In many instances, authenticity is called into question in preservation efforts, and probably the most notable example is the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's recreation of colonial Williamsburg, Virginia. From its inception, the goal of the organization has been to maintain the highest levels of authenticity, though many visitors are not convinced that the site is not a theme park, staged for their enjoyment instead of witnessing true colonial life.⁶¹ Those critiques are generally misguided, primarily because the site is historic as an early colonial capital, yet it is also a modern interpretation of a colonial city, a recreation based upon scholarly research, not a colonial village that has survived untouched since the eighteenth century. If Colonial Williamsburg is scrutinized using the principles outlined in the Nara Document, then it, as an organization whose goal it is to conserve cultural heritage through its presentation and interpretation, has

⁶⁰ "The Nara Document on Authenticity was drafted by the 45 participants at the Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention, held at Nara, Japan, from 1-6 November 1994, at the invitation of the Agency for Cultural Affairs (Government of Japan) and the Nara Prefecture. The Agency organized the Nara Conference in cooperation with UNESCO, ICCROM and ICOMOS." Raymond Lemaire and Herb Stovel, eds., "The Nara Document on Authenticity," ICOMOS, 15 Mar. 2007 <http://www.international.icomos.org/naradoc_eng.htm>.

⁶¹ Richard Handler, and Eric Gable, The New History in an Old Museum Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg, (Durham: Duke UP, 1997) 6, 29.

redeeming qualities as well as areas of opportunity. However, the document also cautions about judging the credibility of sources or the values that are preserved.⁶² Preserving the built environment and being authentic to the spirit of the site, as well as interpreting the site in a way that also pays homage to the many layers of history and allows for an inclusive story to be told. To that end, Colonial Williamsburg is successful, and it is with this dedication and commitment to authenticity that preservationists and other recorders of history must approach the telling of histories of all who shaped the national identity. Yet, as B. Floyd Flickinger, the National Park Service's first park historian would argue preservation is but the first step.

If no other activities were ever contemplated or attempted, our first obligation, in accepting the custody of an historic site, is preservation. However, our program considers preservation as only a means to an end. The second phase is physical development, which seeks a rehabilitation of the site or area by means of restorations and reconstructions. The third and most important phase is interpretation, and preservation and development are valuable in proportion to their contribution to this phase.⁶³

The principles of interpreting sites in the United States have for the most part been guided by the leadership of such organizations as Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, and the National Park Service.⁶⁴ The standards of interpretation have been the topic of many symposia, books and lectures. However, in relation to creating cultural

⁶² Lemarie The Nara Document.

⁶³ Macintosh.

⁶⁴ The Mount Vernon Ladies Association is the oldest historic preservation organization in the country, leading the preservation movement with the restoration of George Washington's home. George Washington's Mount Vernon Estate & Gardens, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, 21 May 2007 <<http://www.mountvernon.org/>>.

memories, Halbwachs “maintained that individuals required testimony and evidence of other people to validate their interpretations of their own experiences, to provide independent confirmation (or refutation) of the context of their memories and thus confidence in their accuracy.”⁶⁵ If this is true, a site is successful only if it is able to validate what an individual believes to be true of his own cultural identity, yet when aspects of a group’s or individual’s identity are distorted or unknown to them, the site must also inform and encourage further contemplation. Therefore, it is with a high level of scholarship and responsibility that sites must present their histories and interpretations.

In early studies of historic sites and national parks, it was thought that it was the interpreter’s role to facilitate this validation process. In 1957, Freeman Tilden, in his highly regarded book entitled Interpreting Our Heritage, directed his writing mainly to the interpreter, outlining six principles to guide his efforts in bringing history to life for an audience. He viewed interpretation as an art aimed at engaging the visitor, and served as a general guide to distinguish information from interpretation. His six principles are:

- Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.
- Information, as such, is not Interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.
- Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical, or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.
- The chief aim of Interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.

⁶⁵ Shackel, Myth 1.

- Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part, and must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase.
- Interpretation addressed to children should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults, but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best it will require a separate program.⁶⁶

Tilden’s work is significant because it is one of the earliest attempts to define the profession of interpretation as extending beyond teaching to something he called the “work of revealing”—going beyond the facts of an object, to project its soul.⁶⁷

Because Tilden’s principles do not allow for a comprehensive approach to a site’s interpretive plan, many professionals have grappled with the meaning of interpretation and how best to tell history as a story.⁶⁸ So far, the most comprehensive and thorough guidelines were created by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) originally as the Ename Charter; revised by the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (ICIP); and now presented as “The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites.” The document will be put forth for formal adoption in 2008. According to ICIP, the need for this Charter arose because heritage sites often have debatable histories—histories that can be interpreted differently from varying cultural vantages. The members of ICIP recognized that work toward site interpretation

⁶⁶ Freeman Tilden, Interpreting Our Heritage, 3rd ed., (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina P, 1977) 9.

⁶⁷ Tilden 3, 5.

⁶⁸ Tilden 26.

oftentimes was done in isolation, without a set of standards for guidance.⁶⁹ Therefore, the charter's purpose is to "define the basic objectives and principles of site interpretation in relation to authenticity, intellectual integrity, social responsibility, and respect for cultural significance and context."⁷⁰ Hopefully the final version will continue with the same vein of inclusiveness and understanding as its latest version.

Within this document are seven principles that guide the professional interpretation and presentation of heritage sites, and while the principles are geared toward establishing a professional code of conduct like the Tilden principles, the Charter's principles are focused on the site more so than the interpreter, requiring that each site have a distinctive *sense of place*. The principles are:

- Access and Understanding. Interpretation and presentation programs, in whatever form deemed appropriate and sustainable, should facilitate physical and intellectual access by the public to cultural heritage sites.
- Information Sources. Interpretation and Presentation should be based on evidence gathered through accepted scientific and scholarly methods as well as from living cultural traditions.
- Context and Setting. The Interpretation and Presentation of cultural heritage sites should relate to their wider social, cultural, historical, and natural contexts and settings.
- Authenticity. The Interpretation and Presentation of cultural heritage sites must respect the basic tenets of authenticity in the spirit of the Nara Document (1994).
- Sustainability. The interpretive plan for a cultural heritage site must be sensitive to its natural and cultural environment, with social, financial, and environmental sustainability among its central goals.

⁶⁹ "The Initiative," ICOMOS Ename Charter: for the Interpretation of Cultural Heritage Sites, ICOMOS, 2 Apr. 2007 <http://www.enamecharter.org/initiative_0.html>.

⁷⁰ "The Initiative."

- Inclusiveness. The Interpretation and Presentation of cultural heritage sites must be the result of meaningful collaboration between heritage professionals, host and associated communities, and other stakeholders.
- Research Evaluation and Training. Continuing research, training, and evaluation are essential components of the interpretation of a cultural heritage site.⁷¹

The Charter also lists fostering public understanding and appreciation of heritage sites as one of its goals, providing a common link between its goals and those of Tilden’s earlier principles. Through engaging its audience, whether a defined community or any visitor that cares to enter a site seeking an understanding, the interpretation will not only shape the memory of the visitor, but will also help him to “negotiate [the] cultural meaning” of other sites.⁷² Another vital way to engage the visitor is by using the highest standards in preserving part of the built environment associated with historical events.

The standard for the treatment of historic properties in the United States is set by the Secretary of the Interior which created Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation of which *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties, 1995* is a part.⁷³ This subsection describes four physical treatments deemed

⁷¹ “Downloads,” ICOMOS Ename Charter for the Interpretation of Cultural Heritage Sites, ICOMOS, 21 May 2007 <<http://www.enamecharter.org/downloads.html>> March 16, 2006 Draft.

⁷² Venno 11. As quoted by David Uzzell, “Interpreting our Heritage: A Theoretical Interpretation” in Contemporary Issues in Heritage and Environmental Interpretation, ed. David Uzzell and Roy Ballantyne (London: The Stationary Office, 1998) 16.

⁷³ The Secretary of Interior Standards for Rehabilitation is a section of “The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties, 1995” that was originally written in 1977 and revised in 1990 as part of Department of Interior regulations (36 CFR Part 67) and are used to advise agencies on listing properties to the National Register of Historic Places as well as determining eligibility for tax credits. These standards are also generally used as criteria for state and local programs as well. “Archeology and Historic Preservation: Secretary of the Interior's

appropriate in the treatment of historic properties and in the order of preference are: preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction.⁷⁴ While choosing preservation—retaining historic fabric through material conservation, maintenance or repair—is the preferred treatment, many factors, such as cost, safety, or knowledge of material, may make it an unlikely choice, making rehabilitation a more likely one. However, any choice beyond preservation can call into question the building’s authenticity, which will directly relate to how a building and the activities that took place there are interpreted. Similar to the mixed feelings associated with the reconstruction and interpretation of Colonial Williamsburg, the choice of treatments may effect how a building and associated events are remembered. If a building is to represent a building of an earlier period, the stark newness of a reconstructed area can create a sensory overload that the visitor has to overcome that can detract from the main objective of the site, to present a place for appropriate interpretation of historical events.

Standards and Guidelines,” National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 21 May 2007 <http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/arch_stnds_8_2.htm>.

⁷⁴ The four treatment approaches are Preservation, Rehabilitation, Restoration, and Reconstruction, outlined below in hierarchical order. The first treatment, preservation, places a high premium on the retention of all historic fabric through conservation, maintenance and repair. It reflects a building's continuum over time, through successive occupancies, and the respectful changes and alterations that are made. Rehabilitation, the second treatment, emphasizes the retention and repair of historic materials, but more latitude is provided for replacement because it is assumed the property is more deteriorated prior to work. (Both preservation and rehabilitation standards focus attention on the preservation of those materials, features, finishes, spaces, and spatial relationships that, together, give a property its historic character.) Restoration, the third treatment, focuses on the retention of materials from the most significant time in a property's history, while permitting the removal of materials from other periods. Reconstruction, the fourth treatment, establishes limited opportunities to re-create a non-surviving site, landscape, building, structure, or object in all new materials. “Archeology and Historic Preservation: Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines.”

This sense of place provides a social, intangible value, yet many sites struggle with the issues surrounding authenticity of the built environment, when creating this sense of place. Thomas Leary argues that “all historical preservation and presentation are inherently inauthentic; we may only approximate past events and experiences whether they be steel mills or Gettysburg,” internment camps or segregated schools.⁷⁵ Yet some sites, such as Colonial Williamsburg, have been somewhat successful in recreating part of the American national identity even though all of their buildings have been reconstructed. In the case of the George Washington Birthplace National Monument, a conjectural reconstruction of a structure that was believed to be his birthplace was accepted as such for over 150 years, even though there was more data refuting its location than supporting it.⁷⁶ However, as Freeman Tilden extolled, “the house [a visitor] enters is not the house where George Washington was born, but the spirit of our great whole man is there; and in these lovely and provoking surroundings, the staunch character of our hero comes to the imagination.”⁷⁷ Here, Tilden experienced the sense of place and felt an intangible essence associated with a historic figure even though it was in a location that lacked authenticity.

By claiming to maintain a high standard of research and dedication to the past, the preservationists at Washington’s birthplace purportedly provided an

⁷⁵ Leary 49-66, 50.

⁷⁶ Joy Beasley, “The Birthplace of a Chief: Archeology and Meaning at George Washington Birthplace National Monument,” Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape, ed. Paul A. Shackel, (Gainesville: University P of Florida, 2001) 197-220, 199, 203, 210-211.

⁷⁷ “George Washington Birthplace,” National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, 23 Mar. 2007 <<http://www.nps.gov/gewa/index.htm>>.

accurate portrayal of historic and interrelated events resulting in a feeling associated with authenticity. Even though, the facts were incorrect, the preservationists there maintained a dedication to learning the truth, and once it was uncovered, made every effort to correct the mistake in their presentation and interpretation of the building conjecturally built to represent Washington's birthplace. In all cases, an interesting dichotomy exists between determining authenticity based primarily on the built environment and portraying the feeling of the site through interpretation. On one hand, to accomplish this, the site must trick the visitor into believing that what he sees is real while at the same time, presenting something, based on high levels of scholarship, could have been real.

The dichotomy experienced between reconstruction, whether conjectural or factual, and the sense of place created and experienced by visitors is similar to the dual meaning of authenticity as defined by Leary. He states that within the field of heritage planning and development, "in one sense, authenticity refers to the subjective quality of visitors' experiences ... [and] the second meaning denotes the degree of congruity between heritage presentations and current knowledge about the past."⁷⁸ Each of these definitions relate to the principles and goals outlined by the Nara Document, Tilden and ICOMOS, yet the Secretary of Interior's standards still focus strictly on the built environment. While original building fabric is important to the telling of a complete and accurate story, it should not be the only criterion that is applied when determining a site's success. In the United States, this success, to some extent, is determined by being

⁷⁸ Leary 50-51.

designated or eligible for designation on the National Register—a designation that can also influence a site’s success financially. What is most important and should determine the success of a site is a visitor feeling a sense of place or a level of connectedness to a site as a result of the site presenting a story that is based on a high level of scholarship.

CHAPTER FOUR

LYLES CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL

Indiana was admitted into the union in 1816 under the anti-slavery provisions of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.⁷⁹ Its state constitution required that slavery be outlawed, yet slavery existed illegally in the state until around 1851.⁸⁰ Indiana was settled by many Southerners who carried prevailing Southern views on slavery with them to the new territory, and since the anti-slavery provisions existed, the settlers looked for other ways of controlling the black residents of the state. As a result, Indiana adopted Virginia's slave codes *in toto*, which also included provisions to restrict the education of blacks.⁸¹ Even though these codes existed, many freed and runaway slaves still sought refuge in Indiana and its bordering free states and formed settlements similar to Lyles Station in the mid to late nineteenth century.⁸² During this time, a large portion of the educational advancement of African Americans was due in part to the philanthropy of white individuals, notably Quakers and Baptists, but was primarily due to their own efforts since it was not until 1869 that an act was

⁷⁹ The Northwest Ordinance also encouraged education. J. C. Carroll, "The Beginnings of Public Education for Negroes in Indiana," The Journal of Negro Education 8 (1939): JSTOR, College of Charleston, 19 Mar. 2007, 649.

⁸⁰ Du Bois, Black Reconstruction 8. Carroll 649.

⁸¹ Carroll .649

⁸² "Legacy of Lyles Station," Lyles Station: Celebrating Freedom, Knowledge and Success in Indiana, 12 July 2006 <<http://www.lylesstation.org/index.html>>.

passed that provided public funding for the education of African-American children in Indiana.⁸³

The present school at Lyles Station was constructed within a settlement of African Americans that was begun in the early 1840s by freed slaves from Tennessee: Joshua and Sanford Lyles.⁸⁴ The settlement quickly became a self-sufficient town of 800 residents with a post office, a church, several schools, and a train station early in its history. The town experienced peak years beginning in 1880, but a major flood in 1913 destroyed most of the farmland and marked the beginning of the town's decline. It was most likely due to this condition that the Lyles Consolidated School was built, accommodating the many residents that remained and continued the farming tradition.⁸⁵ The remaining historic fabric of the community consists of the Wayman African Methodist Episcopal church, the school, and a grain silo.

In 1997, the Lyles Station Preservation Corporation was created to focus on the continuation of the community's values, which centered on the preservation of the greatly deteriorated school.⁸⁶ An extremely large structure sitting far back from the road, the school, stands as the most prominent feature of the community.⁸⁷ The board members of the corporation, which gained

⁸³ Carroll 651, 657.

⁸⁴ "Legacy of Lyles Station."

⁸⁵ "Legacy of Lyles Station."

⁸⁶ "Legacy of Lyles Station."

⁸⁷ "Legacy of Lyles Station."

ownership of the school in 1999, made the decision to demolish and reconstruct the building on its existing foundation as the most ideal preservation treatment after an assessment uncovered defects that rendered the school structurally unsound [Figure 1]. The new building presents to its audience a pristine version of the school that had not existed for at least eighty years and may possibly have never existed [Figure 2].⁸⁸ The upper portion of the building was demolished, leaving the foundation walls, which also extend several feet below grade, allowing the group to save some original fabric that included the interior auditorium space, the auditorium's stage and a kitchen space. Since the reconstruction followed the original dimensions and features of the school, the reconstruction of site should not call into question the authenticity of the site. While it is not the original surviving building, as a reconstruction, it can stand as an artifact that can responsibly convey the truth.

The two-story frame building, constructed in 1919, sits on a brick foundation, which extends about 3.5 feet above ground, and has wood siding and a flat roof. The eaves overhang and have a simple boxed cornice, and there is a band around the building about one foot below the roof along the top edge of the windows. An internal chimney is located on the right side of the building, nearly one-third back from the front. The front façade is divided into five bays with the center bay consisting of a protruding front entry and a triple window with 2/2 lights above. The entry has two central doors with eight lights on the upper half and recessed panels on the lower half of each door. The doors are flanked by side

⁸⁸ Document created by Lyles Station Historic Preservation Corporation, Mary Madison, [History of Lyles Station Historic Preservation Corporation and Residents Council](#).

lights and recessed panels arranged to match those on the doors while a thirty-light transom window extends across both doors and side lights. Completing the door surround are two large brick piers supporting a simple entablature and flat roof that make up the projected entry. Flanking the center bay are large 2/2 sash windows on the main level and smaller 2/2 sash windows on the basement level that extend the full height of the exposed foundation. The sides each have a series of windows on both levels, with the upper level having seven on the right (north) side (five are together toward the rear third of the building) and five on the left (south) side. The bank of five windows on the main level marks the position of the classrooms on each side while the windows are roughly evenly spaced on the left side of the lower level and irregular on the right side to accommodate a door two-thirds from the front.

With the completion of the school's reconstruction in 2003, the Corporation embarked on creating several programs that have helped reestablish the school's prominence within the community. The annual "New Beginnings Celebration," is a day-long festival that helps bring awareness to the site and community through learning, fellowshiping, and celebration. Fundraising is also another major aspect of the day as it is kicked off with a sponsored 5k run/walk event. Other annual programs at the site include the Christmas Day Open House and the Juneteenth Celebration, a Midwestern tradition celebrating the abolition of slavery. Other activities that are not annual in nature include exhibiting art, hosting speakers of topics related to the mission and spirit of Lyles Station, renting space for corporate conferences and training, and sponsoring tours of the

area.⁸⁹ One particular tour provides visitors with the experience of following a route that could have been taken by runaway slaves on their journey north to freedom.⁹⁰

The interpretation of the Lyles Consolidated School is multi-faceted, focusing on: early education in an African-American, segregated school; sustainable, agricultural communities; and the role that Indiana and its residents played in the success of the Underground Railroad. While these three areas are altogether different and worthy of individual attention, they each represent an aspect of the daily life someone living in Lyles Station would encounter. Even though the National Register lists the school's period of significance as roughly being 1900–1949, the programming at the school focuses on the school's and community's entire history in its interpretation, including the present day since the community is still primarily agriculturally based.⁹¹

Lyles Station is considered to be a heritage school and museum by the organization that is responsible for its programming. Its main exhibit rooms display artifacts that are native to the community, depicting life in a historic, rural, agricultural community. The exhibit room also includes pictures of former

⁸⁹ The mission of Lyles Station Historic Preservation Corporation is “the preservation of the oral, written and physical history, artifacts, building and land which identifies and/or describes events, activities and life experiences of the people and the community known as Lyles Station in Gibson County, Indiana incorporated in 1886.” “Legacy of Lyles Station.”

⁹⁰ The author visited Lyles Station in the summer of 2006 and talked with many residents including Mary Madison and her husband, Stanley Madison, Chairman of the Board of Directors for the Corporation. Much of what is written about in this section was gathered from their online sites, touring the site, and personal pictures taken of exhibits and exhibited material.

⁹¹ “Indiana, Gibson County,” National Register for Historic Places, National Park Service, 23 July 2006 <<http://www.nationalregisterofhistoricplaces.com/IN/Gibson/state.html>>.

residents, historical farming equipment, historical furnishings, artifacts relating to the Underground Railroad, and most importantly artifacts relating the education of former students at Lyles Consolidated School [Figure 3]. The representative classroom contains desks that are replicated from an original desk taken from the school before its demolition [Figure 4]. One original desk is on display in the exhibit room. In the classroom, the heritage of Lyles Station is shared, in addition to an established curriculum for elementary-aged students that focus on how classes were taught in the historic rural school in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries [Figure 5].

The visitor experience at the school involves a guided tour of the school beginning with the lower level. The hallways and other storage areas are used as exhibit spaces, showing assorted historical, farm equipment, guns for hunting, and other historical artifacts dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On the main level, the old principal's office is used by the staff of the Corporation and other storage rooms are used to display story boards about families, individual resident accomplishments, photographs from previous festivals and other artifacts not able to be displayed in the larger exhibit area, which is in a former classroom. The former auditorium contains several computers which are used in learning opportunities and after school programs with local children; however, the majority of the auditorium space continues in the same vein of its original function, being rented to local corporations like Toyota for various training exercises, particularly diversity and sensitivity training. The Corporation is also committed to teaching about the agrarian way of life in Lyles Station by

sponsoring programs to teach about agricultural production, including honey making, an active cooking garden, and other activities that help define a historic rural way of life.



Figure 1: Lyles Consolidated School before reconstruction. Photograph from the Lyles Station Historic Preservation Corporation.



Figure 2: Lyles Consolidated School, 2006. Photograph by Sandi Feaster.



Figure 3: Exhibit space, Lyles Consolidated School, June 2006. The artifacts in the exhibit room were collected from members of the community. Photograph by Sandi Feaster.



Figure 4: Reconstructed classroom, June 2006. Photograph by Sandi Feaster



Figure 5: Heritage classroom instruction. Photograph from Lyles Station Historic Preservation Corporation.

CHAPTER FIVE

DIVISION STREET SCHOOL

The school board in New Albany, Indiana issued a resolution in 1831 that stated that African-American children would not be admitted into its schools.⁹² This resolution was institutionalized as segregation in the public school system became a state law in 1843 when the General Assembly not only mandated segregation but outlawed African-American children from attending public schools.⁹³ Even though African Americans were banned from attending public schools, they supported the public school system by paying property taxes.⁹⁴ At the time this law was repealed in 1869, the issue was not only access to public education for African Americans, but also taxation for services not received.⁹⁵ In 1870, the New Albany School Board (Floyd County) authorized new schools to accommodate the growing number of African-American students in accordance with the state law mandating such. Until this time, the African-American children in New Albany were being educated privately in local churches, where the school

⁹² Facts and Sources: Division Street School, New Albany, Floyd County, Indiana, Friends of Division Street School, 10.

⁹³ "Division Street School, New Albany, Floyd County, Indiana," Indiana Historical Bureau, Indiana State Library, 23 July 2006
<<http://www.statelib.lib.in.us/WWW/ihb/markers/numbered/2220051.html>>.

⁹⁴ Carroll 657.

⁹⁵ An article in the Indianapolis Journal Nov. 10, 1866 reported that fifteen counties reported property owned by African Americans which was taxed to support the public school system. Facts and Sources: Division Street School, New Albany, Floyd County, Indiana, Friends of Division Street School, 10.

board opened its first school, in the Colored Baptist Church.⁹⁶ Later in 1870, the school board purchased land to build a new school for African Americans and over the next fifteen years, seven schools were opened for black students as the population grew, including the Division Street School and Scribner High School, the first secondary school for blacks in New Albany.⁹⁷ The Division Street School was opened January 1, 1885 to teach grades one through six on the east side of New Albany.⁹⁸ The Division Street School closed after the 1945-46 school year and its children were transferred to another segregated school in anticipation of integration. Even though racial segregation in Indiana schools ended legally in 1949, New Albany would not fully integrate its schools until 1952.⁹⁹

After the school closed, the building was used for two years by the Veterans Administration as a vocational training facility. It then stood empty until 1959 when the school district began using it as a maintenance facility which continued until a new maintenance facility was constructed for the school district in 1999. Even though the Division Street School is still owned by the school district that originally built the school, the Friends of Division Street School, Inc. leases it and now provides the leadership in determining how the building will be maintained and interpreted.

⁹⁶ “Division Street School, New Albany, Floyd County, Indiana.”

⁹⁷ “Division Street School, New Albany, Floyd County, Indiana.”

⁹⁸ Facts and Sources 12.

⁹⁹ Dwight W. Culver, “Racial Desegregation in Education in Indiana,” The Journal of Negro Education 23.3 (1954): JSTOR, College of Charleston, 19 Mar. 2007, 296. Facts and Sources 12.

The school is located at the corner of Division and Conservative Streets on the east side of New Albany. It is a simple, one-story, rectangular, frame building on a brick foundation. The front and rear façades have five bays, a center double door with a twelve-light transom window and four 6/6 sash windows. The double doors each have large 2/2 panes in the upper half of the door, while the lower half has raised panels. The door surround is simple as are the lintels over the windows which are positioned close to the roofline. There are two 6/6 sash windows on each side façade along with doors entering the brick foundation for basement access. A chimney is off-center on the ridge of the hipped roof which has moderately overhanging eaves. The front entry is close to grade, while the rear extends several feet above allowing for a basement. The exterior is wood siding and the roof is a green metal. The restored building is painted in a modern scheme of white with burgundy windows and shutters and charcoal gray steps and landing.

Friends of Division Street School began its efforts to bring the school back to life in 1999 and wanted to retain as much of the original fabric of the building as possible. While this was a noble endeavor, the reality of it being used as a maintenance shop meant that while still intact, some of the fabric had been marred [Figure 6]. In some areas, the preservationists decided to leave the marks associated with paint and machinery used by the schools in an effort to show the layers of history in the building. Many of the windows were boarded and the original window frames were intact, but the doors had been changed to a heavy-duty door to accommodate the maintenance facility. Foundation work consisted

of brick re-pointing and paint removal where needed and leveling and excavating the ground to create a second access to the basement.¹⁰⁰ The asphalt shingles were removed and replaced with a standing seam metal roof. The wood siding was repaired and replaced where needed and then repainted. New doors were installed. The windows were repaired and new shutters installed [Figure 7]. While used as a maintenance facility, the interior was stripped of its chalkboards and desks, but the original paneling remained in the hall.

The floor plan of the school consists of a central hall with access at both ends, two identical classrooms on either side of the hall, two rear interior stairs leading to the basement and bathroom facilities. Restoration of the interior included repairing the floors and paneling, installing new electrical, mechanical and plumbing systems, updating and expanding the basement bathroom facilities, and finishing the basement conference rooms. Finally, the interior was completely restored as well as outfitted with period desks and slateboards. One room depicts a period classroom with desks, slateboards on all wall space, and a teacher's desk in the front of the classroom [Figure 8]. The second classroom is used as an exhibit space with two permanent exhibits, one installed on the walls and the other freestanding, with changing exhibits within freestanding display cases. Also within the second classroom is a display case with information on the school and local tourism, crafts and other merchandise [Figures 9]. The open gallery space also provides an area for changing exhibits.

¹⁰⁰ In 1922, the building was moved 30 feet west and a basement was added along with running water, electricity and a furnace. [Facts and Sources](#) 5.

The building is currently being used as a heritage school, depicting how Division Street School would have looked and operated in the early to mid twentieth century with a period flag, a picture of George Washington, and other date-specific details dispersed through the room. In addition to using the site as a heritage school, Friends of Division Street School wanted the site to be an educational and interpretive center focusing on the history of the school, the school's impact on the community, and leaders within the community both current and historical. The interpretive tools used by the school are primarily geared toward elementary students, particularly fourth graders, and follow a curriculum developed by the school district for use within the school.

As part of the school's interpretation, a series of plaques were made that discuss the history of segregation within the school system, with a focus on New Albany. The eight plaques are colorful and line two adjacent walls in the rear of the room. The first panel reads:

They Were Just Like You...

For sixty-one years, from 1885 to 1946, the walls that surround you today set the boundaries of daily life for thousands of African-American children.

The children who attended the Division Street School from first through sixth grades were just like you. They loved to read and practice their arithmetic so they raced here from home each morning.

A few others poked along because they would rather have spent the day outside playing ball or jumping rope. The children of Division Street School shared secrets with their friends... and dreamed about tomorrow.

However there is one way in which the children who attended this school were quite different from you. They lived in a time when the color of a person's skin determined the school they would attend.

The children who were assigned to the Division Street School were sent here because they were black.¹⁰¹

The display is provocative, yet factual in its presentation. Figures 10 and 11 depict two additional panels from the exhibit. The second permanent exhibit is entitled “Voices: African-American Women who encouraged children to succeed and gave them tools to do so” and consists of biographical information, quotes, poems and photographs of several women within the community [Figure 12]. Along with the items within the display cases, the exhibits highlight community life in New Albany. After the students have visited the exhibits, they are given a quiz to test their memory of the information presented in the exhibit.

¹⁰¹ Panel one of permanent exhibit at the Division Street School, New Albany, Indiana, June 2006.



Figure 6: Division Street School before restoration. Photograph courtesy of Friends of Division Street School.



Figure 7: Division Street School after restoration, June 2006. Photograph by Sandi Feaster.



Figure 8: Reconstructed classroom, June 2006, Division Street School. Photograph taken by the author.



Figure 9: Exhibit space, Division Street School, June 2006. Photograph by Sandi Feaster.

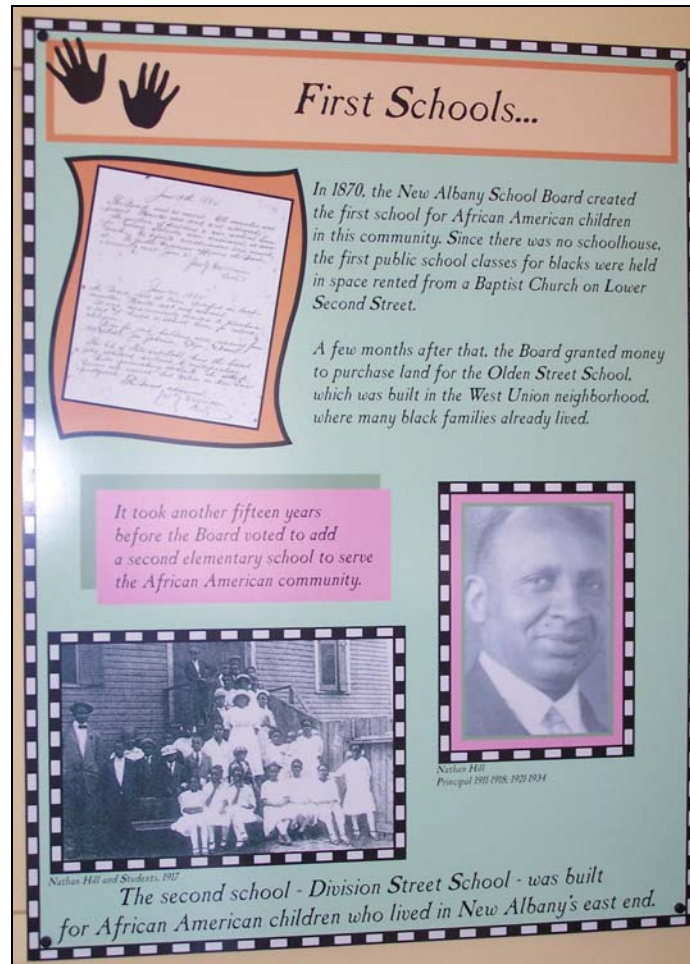


Figure 10: Panel from permanent exhibit on segregation in Indiana and the United States, June 2006. The panel describes how the first schools in New Albany were created. Photograph by Sandi Feaster.

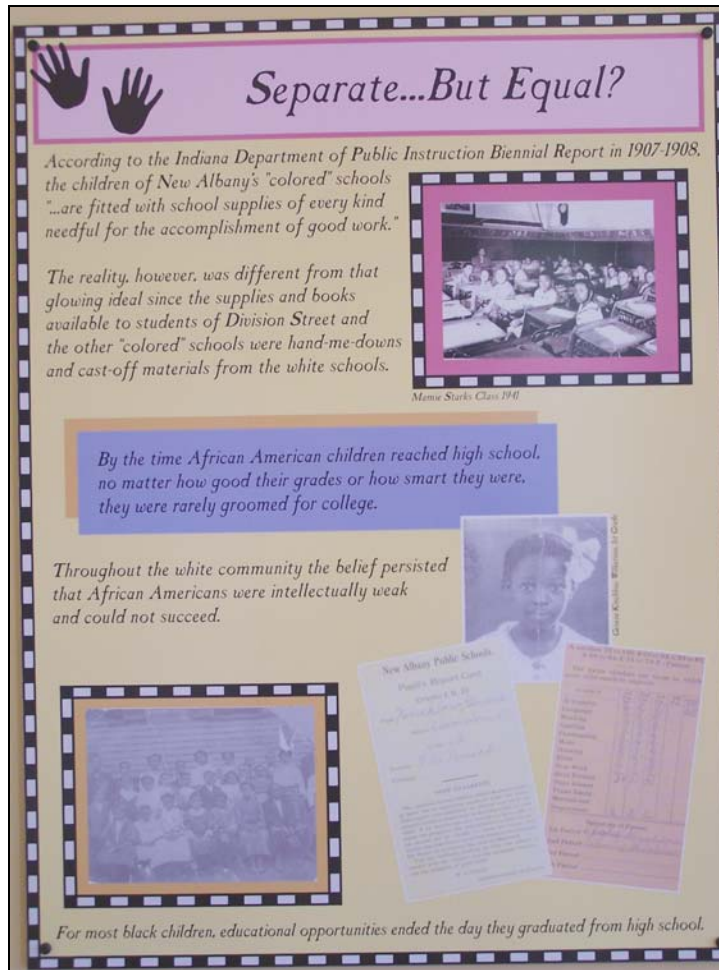


Figure 11: Panel from permanent exhibit on segregation in Indiana and the United States, June 2006. This panel discusses the fallacy of “separate but equal” as it relates to school segregation. Photograph by Sandi Feaster.

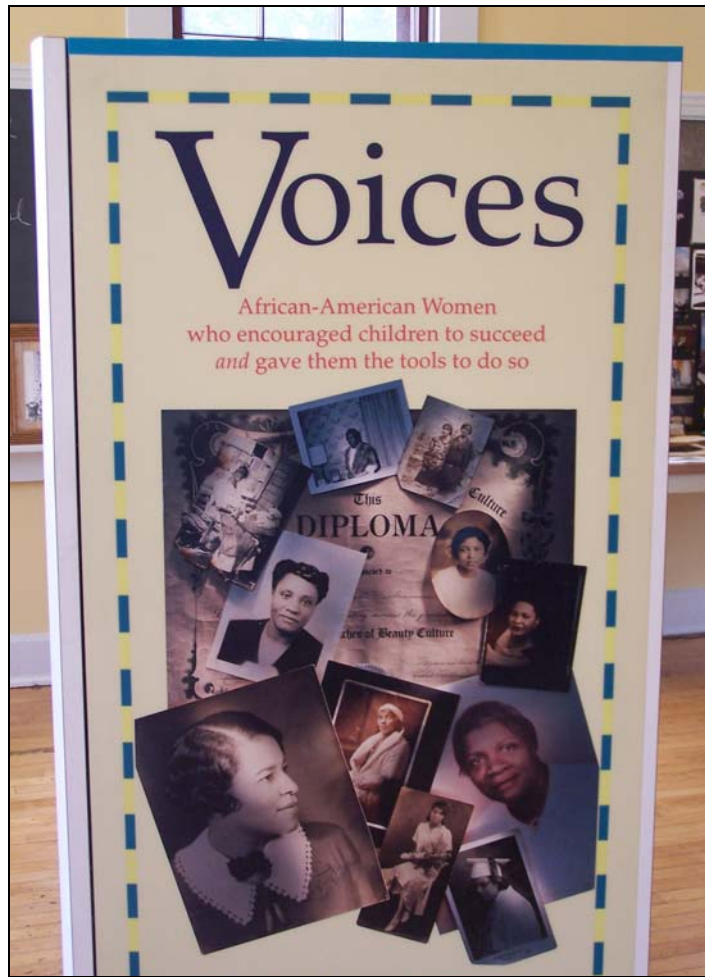


Figure 12: Front panel of freestanding exhibit on women in New Albany, Indiana, June 2006. Photograph by Sandi Feaster.

CHAPTER SIX

BRAINERD INSTITUTE

The school that would eventually become Brainerd Institute began with the aid of the Freedman's Bureau and a few benevolent Northerners around 1866 on a small farm outside of Chester, South Carolina. Within two years, the school relocated inside the city limits, and later that year, the Bureau announced plans to close the school. Around the time of this announcement, the Board of Home Missions of the New York Presbyterian Church announced its intention to open schools for freedmen and sent the Reverend and Mrs. Samuel Loomis to find locations for potential schools.¹⁰² The Reverend chose Chester as an ideal location to begin the Board of Mission's work and urged the Board to support the work begun at the school there. In 1882, Brainerd relocated to its present location, a 21-acre farmstead owned by the DeGraffenreid family, containing a main house and several dependent buildings. The campus later grew to include

¹⁰² At the height of the school program by the Board of Missions, there were over seventy-eight schools in South Carolina, the greatest of any Southern state by Presbyterian efforts. Some of the schools included Wallingford Academy, Charleston, South Carolina; Larimer High School, Edisto Island; Goodwill Parochial School, Mayesville; Fairfield Institute, Winnsboro; Coulter Memorial Academy, Cheraw, Bluffton Institute, Beaufort; Immanuel Institute, Aiken; and Harbison College, Irmo. Inez M. Parker, The Rise and Decline of the Program of Education for the Black Presbyterians of the United Presbyterian Church USA, 1865-1970, (San Antonio: Trinity UP, 1977) 139-186.

several other buildings, including male and female dormitories, an administration and classrooms building and other ancillary buildings.¹⁰³

Brainerd Institute is significant because it was the first institution to provide education for African-American children in Chester County and was the only secondary school there until 1920. At the time of its closing in 1939, it was one of only a few secondary schools in South Carolina with origins dating to the Reconstruction era. Another area of significance is that even though Brainerd was mainly a high school, because of its high standards, it was certified by the state to provide teachers for the public school system, which was segregated until the early 1960s.¹⁰⁴

After years of abandonment, the property which was reduced to twelve acres was purchased in 1998 by Phylcia Ayers Allen Rashad, in honor of her mother, Vivian Ayers Allen, a member of one of the last graduating classes at Brainerd. Together, they created the Brainerd Heritage Fund, a non-profit organization whose mission is to restore Kumler Hall, and embarked on a restoration campaign to return the buildings and campus to an earlier state of glory. However, the building remained in a state of accelerated disrepair until around 2006 when stabilization and renovation work began. Today only one building, Kumler Hall, built around 1916, remains on the campus as the only physical reminder of the site's significance.

¹⁰³ "Kumler Hall-Brainerd Institute, Chester County," National Register Properties in South Carolina, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1 Oct. 2006 <<http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov/chester/S10817712013/index.htm>>.

¹⁰⁴ Toward the end of its life, Brainerd attained junior college status. "Brainerd Institute," Chester County Chamber of Commerce, 30 May 2006 <http://www.chesterchamber.com/history_of_the_brainerd_institut.htm>.

Kumler Hall is a two-story, brick veneer building with a brick foundation, hipped roof with asphalt shingles, and two internal chimneys located two-fifths distance from the rear on the right (east) side and two-fifths distance from the front of the left (west) side [Figures 13, 14, and 15]. The front, three-bay façade faces south and has a double porch (ground and main levels) with a low, metal, hipped, roof and four brick piers connecting the two levels. The western third of the porch on the main level and two-thirds of the ground level were enclosed before the building was vacated.¹⁰⁵ The north, rear façade has a single level stoop landing also with a low, metal, hipped roof and side entry stairs (possibly not original orientation) leading up to the main level. The east and west façades have five bays with 2/2 windows on the main and top levels and double (side-by-side) windows on the ground, basement level. A twelve inch concrete belt course separates the foundation from the main level.

Since Kumler Hall was a boys' dormitory, it has small room divisions to accommodate small groups of students and possibly young unmarried teachers. The original floor plan consists of a central hall on all three levels with a staircase on the eastern side of the hall. A similar linear, five-room configuration is on either side of the hall on the main and top levels. On the west side of the building, on the main and top levels, between the second and third rooms is a bathroom. The rooms can be accessed linearly by doors joining each room as well as through doors into the hallway. On the ground level, the central hall separates a boiler room with a coal storage bin on the east from a series of service rooms including a

¹⁰⁵ It appears that the ground level porch was intended to be fully enclosed, but the work was never completed, leaving only two-thirds of the space enclosed.

community bathroom and shower room on the west. The rear two-thirds of the ground level floor plan is an open space with four wood posts providing support in the middle of the floor. There is an exterior door on the western wall.¹⁰⁶ The interior is very simple, with plaster walls and ceilings in most of the rooms except for pressed tin ceilings in rooms with more public or formal use like the entry foyer, main level hallway, lower level hallway, and bathrooms. There are also simple molding profiles around the doors and windows. Minor changes to the floor plan before the building was vacated include partitioning of the hall to create an enclosed foyer at the north, rear end of the main, entry level and an identical space on the top level.

Years of exposure to the weather on the eastern side of the building has had a detrimental effect on the entire building. At the time of investigation, structural reinforcement was in progress and consisted of repairing the roof and removing rotted wood from the framing and the flooring systems on the eastern side of the building. Since the building has a brick veneer exterior, it was very important to stabilize the framing that keys into the thin brick skin of the building. Before the stabilization work was finished, all of the windows were replaced, removing the wooden, double hung sashes in favor of modern vinyl windows. The enclosure on the main level of the front porch was also removed.

Since Brainerd, unlike the other three schools, has not completed its restoration process; its progress thus far is worth noting since its physical

¹⁰⁶ The physical description of Kumler Hall was taken from “Conservation of the Wooden Windows on Kumler Hall, Brainerd Institute, Chester, SC” by Sandi Feaster for HP810, Conservation Lab, Clemson University, Professors Ford and Marks 12/06/06.

treatment is important to the site's overall interpretation. Whether the owners will choose to fully reconfigure the interior space, rebuild the original windows, or tear down the building and reconstruct it using modern materials, is still to be determined. However, whichever route is taken, the building must retain enough physical, historic accuracy to aid in the process of connecting its audience with the story to be told and ultimately remembered. Arguably, the use of the campus can be seen as an interpretation in and of itself—whether a building is restored, how it is restored, and how the grounds around it are used can be viewed as an interpretive act just as much as exhibits, plaques, interior furnishings, or restoring features to a period of significance can be.

In an attempt to create awareness for the school, a series of outdoor festivals has taken place on the campus grounds that are free to the public. The mission of the festivals is to “restore the environment of Brainerd Institute to its once characteristic aura by reintroducing the liveliness of children onto the campus.”¹⁰⁷ These festivals are also intended to highlight Brainerd's campus, interact with the residents of Chester, particularly those in the neighborhood adjacent to the school, highlight local arts and crafts vendors, and encourage self-expression [Figure 16]. While these festivals are not considered traditional interpretive tools, the owners of the property have chosen to honor the site by opening the grounds to the public as well as creating a focus on children, which is very much associated with the past use of the grounds. Its current use is also important in the reestablishment of the memory of Brainerd and the position it

¹⁰⁷ Letter from Vivian Ayers-Allen, Founding Director, to festival volunteers, Summer 2006.

once held in the community and in the lives of those families that were able to benefit from receiving an education there.



Figure 13: Front façade of Kumler Hall, July 2006. Photograph by Sandi Feaster.



Figure 14: Rear of Kumler Hall, July 2006. Photograph by Sandi Feaster.



Figure 15: Left, front oblique, Kumler Hall, September 2006. Photograph by Sandi Feaster.



Figure 16: "Open Fields" at Brainerd, September 2006. Photograph by Sandi Feaster.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BETTIS ACADEMY

Bettis Academy was founded in 1881 and opened its doors on January 1, 1882 under the leadership of the Reverend Alexander Bettis, one of the most prominent and influential leaders in Edgefield County, South Carolina.¹⁰⁸ The Rev. Bettis, born a slave, never learned to write, yet became a Baptist minister and founded several churches, including the first African-American Baptist Association in South Carolina.¹⁰⁹ Through his leadership and later that of the Academy's principal from 1900 - 1945, Alfred W. Nicholson, the campus of Bettis Academy, which began on a 27-acre tract, grew to consist of over 350 acres and fourteen buildings, including dormitories for boarding students, workshops, and a library.¹¹⁰ Under Principal Nicholson's leadership, the academy also achieved accreditation as a junior college in 1933 and changed its name to Bettis

¹⁰⁸ Alfred W. Nicholson, Brief Sketch of the Life and Labors of Rev. Alexander Bettis, Also an Account of the Founding and Development of the Bettis Academy, (Trenton, SC, 1913) 27-28.

¹⁰⁹ Nicholson 26, 33.

¹¹⁰ "Bettis Academy and Junior College, Edgefield County," National Register Properties in South Carolina, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 16 June 2007 <<http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov/edgefield/S10817719001/index.htm>> 7.

Academy and Junior College.¹¹¹ As a privately funded school, Bettis Academy ceased to exist in 1952.¹¹²

Today, the school, belonging to the Mt. Canaan Baptist Association, consists of three historically significant buildings: the Alexander Bettis Community Library built in 1938; a classroom building built in 1935; and Biddle Hall built in 1942. Also significant on the campus is the Bettis Academy and Junior College Park, which includes monuments to the school's three presidents. The earliest buildings at the academy dated to the school's inception, but none are surviving [Figures 17, 18, 19]. These early buildings were two-story, wood frame, while the buildings that were added to the campus later tended to be brick or stone faced. Brick buildings were being built on the campus early in the 1920s.¹¹³ Of the three historically significant buildings, only Biddle Hall has been restored while the classroom building is vacant and in disrepair.

The Bettis Library is a one-story building clad with imitation stone blocks with a rock face finish and a metal hipped roof that is positioned with the triangular pitch forming the front façade.¹¹⁴ It has a strikingly low porch roof-line

¹¹¹ "Bettis Academy and Junior College, Edgefield County." "Bettis Academy: Restoration, Preservation, Heritage Museum and Tourist Project," Local Legacies, Library of Congress, 20 June 2006 <<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cocoon/legacies/SC/200003514.html>>.

¹¹² "Bettis Academy and Junior College: Former Private Institution for Blacks, Trenton, SC," Mount Canaan Association, Inc. 21 June 2007 <<http://mtcanaanassociation.org/bahistory.html>>.

¹¹³ Evidence of the buildings on the Bettis Academy campus can be seen through the photography of Jackson Davis. His collection of photographs depicts Southern life and particularly African-American life in the early part of the twentieth century. His collection can be seen at the University of Virginia.

¹¹⁴ Rock face is a stone finish accomplished chipping around the stone block leaving a protruding surface that is rough. The description of the building is supported by a personal inspection of the

reminiscent of a bungalow type-akin to the Arts and Crafts building style [Figure 20]. The porch is supported by five trapezoidal pedestals on imitation stone-block piers and it extends the length of the front façade. The entry door is off-center, between the second and third piers, and is flanked by two 6/6 sash windows.

The classroom is a stuccoed, rectangular masonry building with a metal hipped roof with gabled roof sections on the front and side stoops supported by knee braces. The roof has overhanging eaves with exposed rafters and two small chimney stacks rising from the lower front area. The front façade consists of a double entry door with a transom window and a series of symmetrically placed windows about the doors. The windows closest to the front entry are 6/6 sash windows while the set farthest way are tripartite and are similar to the windows flanking the side stoops. The windows begin immediately under the eaves and are currently boarded which prevents a more complete description [Figure 21].¹¹⁵

Biddle Hall, originally built to house the home economics classes, was constructed in much the same manner as the other extant buildings, having imitation rock face stone exteriors, except it is a more reminiscent of typical rural school in size, especially those designed and constructed through the Rosenwald Fund [Figure 22].¹¹⁶ The floor plan is a modified H-shape with the front legs of the plan extending slightly beyond the center creating the cross-gabled roof

building as well as the description included in the National Register nomination form. “Bettis Academy and Junior College, Edgefield County.”

¹¹⁵ Description is aided by the description of the windows in the National Register Nomination form. “Bettis Academy and Junior College, Edgefield County” 5.

¹¹⁶ “Bettis Academy and Junior College, Edgefield County” 5.

sections on each side. Each of the front projections has a recessed and hidden entry. The form of the side projections are the same except the right (southeast) wing has two windows and a recessed entry equally spaced under the gable, is completely clad with the imitation stone and has a boxed cornice and returns. The opposite wing's façade (northeast) has an imitation stone façade with a wood siding pediment surrounded by a boxed cornice and an extended interior roof-line to allow an additional recessed entry which was most likely added at a later date.¹¹⁷ Today, only the right entrance is used, and it is feasible to remove the appearance of the additional entry if it is not original to the building. Between the gabled wings in the center section are three double windows, each with 6/6 sashes and a three light transom window above. The right wing has a bay on its side (south façade) with a double window and a gabled roof with similar cornice and returns as the front. This façade also has two windows to the left of the bay (east) and a single window to the left (west) of the bay. There are three chimneys extending from the roof-line, two in the center section at the ridge and a larger one off-center on the right wing.¹¹⁸

Currently, the restoration efforts at Bettis have been aimed at Biddle Hall, with plans for the restoration of the classroom projected for the near future. Biddle Hall's restoration [Figure 23] consisted of exterior as well as interior work to accommodate a museum. The interior rehabilitation included updated

¹¹⁷ Through a conversation with Willa Lanham, it was learned that Biddle Hall was used as a duplex in the 1960s which could explain the addition of the second entry and the asymmetry of the front façade. Willa J. Lanham, personal interview, 22 June 2007.

¹¹⁸ "Bettis Academy and Junior College, Edgefield County" 5.

electrical, mechanical and plumbing systems, reconstructed interior walls, and restored flooring. The floor plan was slightly modified to accommodate updated facilities, but the original footprint of the building is used and the exhibits and displays are designed around it.

The interpretation of Bettis Academy is focused on the history of the school including its founder, subsequent leaders, campus development, and student activities and achievement. Upon entering the museum, the visitor is greeted in an area staged to represent the principal's office complete with desk and chair, a picture of Rev. Bettis over an original fireplace, books, a lamp, and placards offering an explanation of the items found on the desk. The desk is partially surrounded by a display board that tells the story of the Revered Bettis and offers an anecdotal story of his encounters with the Ku Klux Klan describing his commitment to Christian values.¹¹⁹ The displays continue and provide the history of the school's development, sketches of the three prominent leaders of the academy, depictions of student life and achievement and artifacts and materials used in the school. Several freestanding display boards and wall mounted plaques recount quotes from prominent figures related to Bettis Academy as well as Bettis alumni. The rear section has a reconstructed church pulpit and pews, desks and slate board, as well as display boards highlighting alumni and their achievements.

¹¹⁹ This story of Rev. Bettis' attitude toward nonviolence is found in the biographical sketch by Nicholson. Nicholson 46-47.

While the museum provides an interpretation of the site, events held on the campus are also in keeping with the school's tradition of two annual celebrations highlighting its founding and dedication anniversaries. These large celebrations took place on the campus in the summer and winter, July 4 and January 1, and were highly anticipated and attended events. Today's events are organized by the Bettis Academy Heritage Team and usually function as fundraisers. The events are the "March for Parks" festival, held in conjunction with the National Earth Day celebration in April, and "Arts at the Academy: An Evening of Culture" which is an evening event held in December highlighting a performing artist.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Willa J. Lanham, personal interview, 22 June 2007.



Figure 17: Main School building, chapel and recitation rooms, Bettis Academy. Photograph from *Documenting the South*, UNC.



Figure 18: Martha Hall, boy's dormitory, Bettis Academy. Photograph from *Documenting the South*, UNC



Figure 19: Rebecca Hall, girl's dormitory, Bettis Academy. Photograph from *Documenting the South*, UNC.



Figure 20: Alexander Bettis Community Library. Photograph from National Register Application. Photograph from South Carolina Department of Archives and History.



Figure 21: Classroom building, June 2007. Photograph by Sandi Feaster.



Figure 22: Biddle Hall before restoration. Photograph from South Carolina Department of Archives and History.



Figure 23: Biddle Hall after restoration. Photograph from South Carolina Department of Archives and History.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

Every generation has the opportunity to write its own history, and indeed it is obliged to do so.¹²¹

Preserving an historic structure can affect how the site is remembered, either by strengthening or weakening the memory of associated events, thus giving significant power and responsibility to the preservationist. When an historic site is presented as a museum, how the site and its story are presented will greatly influence the experience of the visitor and shape the memory of the site. Since the onset of the preservation movement, many historic events and lives of historic people have been captured and retold for the public through the creation of the house or historic site museum. However, there is a disproportionate number of sites associated with the events and contributions of minorities, some of which involve revisiting parts of a dark, painful and shameful history. What if, as a whole, Americans have chosen to forget places and memories that are reminders of a past involving segregation, genocide, restrictions and oppression—all potentially painful and shameful memories worthy of forgetting? Yet, through sites such as Manzanar National Historic Site, the Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Sixth Floor Museum at Dealy Plaza, and the National Civil Rights Museum, these memories can be processed and productive conclusions drawn. When such

¹²¹ John Hope Franklin, "On the Evolution of Scholarship in Afro-American History," Darlene Clarke Hine, ed., The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present, and Future (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986) 13-22.

sites represent hurtful or dark chapters in history, special care must be given to create a message that is truthful and thought provoking as well as sensitive to those who experienced the event and others visiting the site. Several techniques may be employed to present exhibits and tell the story that ultimately creates a sense of place within the site. While the subjects of this thesis each share the common thread of being segregated schools, each site's preservationists approached the preservation and interpretation of their site differently, and each is successful in strengthening the memory of the sites.

According to the Nara Document, one of the main objectives achieved through the expansion of the definition of authenticity is to “clarify and illuminate the collective memory of humanity.”¹²² By preserving these schools, a successful link is created between the visitor and the past, and depending on the preservation treatment, current use and interpretive tools used, the level of success can vary. By understanding the broad scope of the principles outlined by the Ename Charter and Tilden, a site can achieve greater levels of success—creating a sense of place, stimulating the visitor, and creating an understanding of the past. Other important variables determining the success of a site are its visibility, which preservation treatment is a large part; community involvement in its development, presentation and operation; and sustainability of the site including its financial security and social benefit.

The Secretary of the Interior's standards were created for the purpose of providing guidelines for the repair of physical structures for federal and state

¹²² Lemaire, The Nara Document, Preamble.

listings and designations and to administer tax credits. The standards ignore a more contextual, social value that is present within a cultural and historic site.

The school at Lyles Station has undergone considerable reconstruction efforts and it tells an authentic story that is validated through the experiences of the visitors, which are usually holders of the particular cultural memory, as in the case of Washington’s birthplace. Therefore “heritage properties should be judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong.”¹²³ Yet, the preservers of the Lyles Consolidated School made a difficult decision to partially reconstruct the school; a choice that would better convey the social context of the school. It was a decision that, for other sites, could have far reaching implications, including affecting a National Register designation or receiving grants or tax credits that require adherence to criteria set by the Secretary of the Interior. Because the Corporation sought and received the designation prior to the demolition of the majority of the building’s original fabric, its designation could be at risk.¹²⁴ However, since a portion of the original building remained, what was rebuilt was not based on conjecture, spatial relationships remained, and the new materials look new, thus creating a distinction from what is old; it should not share the same criticism of sites or buildings that are pure reconstructions—Colonial Williamsburg or Washington’s Birthplace for example. The decision to

¹²³ Lemaire, The Nara Document.

¹²⁴ National Register designations can be made for sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials workmanship, feeling, and association, and that are associated with a significant event, person, design or construction method or that may provide information about prehistory. National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, (Washington, DC 1997) 2.

reconstruct was also made because of the physical deterioration of the main level, and proved to be the most logical recourse for saving a significant monument within the community. Lyles Station has embraced their new building as being a vital part in telling an authentic story.

The Division Street School and Bettis Academy buildings have maintained significant parts of their original exterior fabric and much of any remaining interior fabric. The extant building at Brainerd is undergoing a process that will undoubtedly affect its presence within the community, and like the school at Lyles Station, it has structural damage that will affect the preservation of the building. However, as seen in Lyles Station, a treatment as severe as reconstruction might not negatively affect the monumentality of the site within the community. While this should not be the first treatment attempted, partial reconstruction is a solution when it comes to saving sites of significance within the community that are not able to be preserved due to limitations including financial restrictions, safety, and accessibility.

Some rehabilitation work within a minority community may not be achieved according to prescribed standards due to a lack of knowledge or understanding of the values of preserving original material or understand the available alternatives, or preserving the old may not be a cultural trait that lends to the strict adherence to the Secretary of Interior Standards. In many cultures, and even subcultures within the United States, edifying norms may inherently be in opposition to the Standards, which is why the principles outlined in the Nara

Document are important to the profession of preservation—to provide a more inclusive understanding and treatment of sites that are a part of many cultures.

In addition to preserving these schools, the organizations responsible for them have also chosen to interpret each site through varying museum-like displays, story boards, exhibits, public activities and informative pamphlets. Lyles Consolidated School and Division Street School each have decided to create a heritage school as part of their interpretive program. Not only have they set aside space for the reconstruction of the historic classrooms within their respective sites, but they have also created a curriculum and target audience for their school program. They each partner with local schools to pass on the stories associated with their heritage school thus strengthening the memory of the school by teaching its presence and significance to a new generation of children. As a part of its interpretation plan, Bettis Academy joins these two schools in exhibiting artifacts relating to the school and to people significant to the school and community, specifically its founder and principals. Bettis also chooses to highlight its history as a school through small vignettes and storyboards.

Another element to a site's interpretation is its interaction with the community, one of the seven principles of the Ename Charter. Hosting festivals or activities that are targeted at the community at large is another way to strengthen the site's memory and is a vital part of the site's interpretive plan. Lyles Consolidated, Bettis Academy and Brainerd each have programs that bring members of the community together and create the opportunity to teach about the school. While the program at Brainerd is not directly focused on the history or

activities associated with the school's history, it is successful in bringing people to the campus where they can experience the building and its history indirectly.

The future interpretive plan for the building at Brainerd is unknown, and even though those responsible for that plan have a great responsibility to educate the community of the history of Brainerd, its focus does not have to be limited to the school. For example, the mission at Brainerd could parallel that of the restored Avery Institute, which also functions as a repository and research facility, exhibiting and preserving the history of African-American culture in the South Carolina Lowcountry.¹²⁵ Many opportunities exist for the site and its future interpretation; regardless of the organization's focus, it should remain true to the spirit and memory of Brainerd.

While each site offers some level of success in strengthening the memory of their school's existence, only the Division Street School tackles the subject of segregation and its social implications nationally and within the community. The other schools' interpreters have in fact chosen to focus on the strength of its academics, the successes of its students and the schools' impact on their community. In order to avoid an injustice to the memory of the literal service the schools provided within their communities, the subject should not be ignored. The subject of segregation should be embraced in order to tell the complete history associated with the site, and offer a level of understanding for future generations so that the past is not repeated. When levels of provocation are

¹²⁵ The Avery Normal Institute, whose origins date to the Reconstruction Era, was created by missionaries of the Congregationalist Church.

reached, according to Tilden, site are remembered “but not with mere recitation of facts... but by exposing the souls of things—those truths that lie behind what you are showing your visitor.”¹²⁶

It appears that some level of a “double consciousness” exists in relation to the preservation of sites related to the African-American experience, specifically slavery and segregation.¹²⁷ The dichotomy prevails because of dual attitudes toward their preservation. On one hand, it can be argued that these sites are preserved because they represent the strife of the past, presenting a constant reminder of the shame those institutions represent, while another view supports their preservation because they represent the best of the African-American culture during that difficult time, the ability to endure and thrive even within a system of de jure and de facto segregation. In the context of preservation, should these sites be preserved because they are significant to Americans or to African Americans? Many would argue that the erasure of these schools stands for equality, in education and society as a whole, yet these schools also represented a community that made sacrifices to receive an education and do not just represent the limitations placed on them by outside forces.

As more African Americans and minorities enter the field of preservation and public history, will efforts to preserve the built environment and preserve heritage be viewed as preserving American heritage or a heritage that is African-

¹²⁶ Tilden 38.

¹²⁷ The phrase “double consciousness” is taken from “Of Our Spiritual Strivings” in the anthology The Souls of Black Folk published in 1903 by W. E. B. DuBois. It is a familiar phrase to African-American studies scholars which means that African Americans have to be aware and bear the burden of viewing ourselves through two sets of eyes or wearing two faces, that of an American and of an African American.

American? According to the Nara Document, “diversity of cultures and heritage in our world is an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind. The protection and enhancement of cultural and heritage diversity in our world should be actively promoted as an essential aspect of human development.”¹²⁸ The Nara Document thus requires that all preservationists should actively seek to present multiple layers of history, seek to understand cultural influences on a site, and acknowledge a broader cultural context in their work if one exists.

¹²⁸ Lemaire, The Nara Document.

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