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ABSTRACT

As it moved into the 21st century, the National Park Service embarked on an ambitious program of public involvement and civic engagement explicitly geared to the use of heritage sites to inform the public on contemporary issues. Meanwhile, although Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act mandates the recovery and dissemination of the information recovered from important archaeological sites in the name of public benefit, the contribution of the cultural resource management sector to the public or to civic engagement and education has not achieved its potential. This article explores some of the reasons behind this failure and provides two case studies showing how such an endeavor might work, along with suggestions for the future.

Heritage with a Capital *H*

We, the authors, got our archaeological wings in England, where English Heritage refers to a government agency of the same name that, at the time, largely concerned itself with castles and stately homes. We, in fact, worked for the now defunct Department of Ancient Monuments and excavated at places possessed of historicity (Adams 1977), such as Thornholme Priory, Conisborough Castle, and Hadrian's Wall. Over time, archaeologists and others have expanded the meaning of "heritage" to encompass an inclusive, multivocal, newer kind of heritage-with-a-conscience and a democratic vision of social justice and human rights. It might be described as heritage with a small *h*. It is the kind of heritage that, according to Paul Shackel (2008), "stresses the relationships between the uses of the past and local cultural expressions."

Both visions of heritage have their American roots in the National Park Service (NPS). While the planning process at federal, state, and local levels requires public involvement, these efforts are project driven and therefore generally of short duration. NPS, on the other hand, has taken a

long-term view of heritage "to keep national parks relevant to the American people, to transform these historic sites by making them active centers of democracy and citizen engagement" (Little 2007:5).

In 2006 the Belgium-based Ename Center for Public Archaeology and Heritage Presentation held a colloquium called "Who Owns the Past? Heritage Rights and Responsibilities in a Multicultural World." Themes included the impact of scholarship on public heritage; Is multivocality just a politically correct slogan or a legitimate research approach? Inclusive public interpretation; and "Sites of Conscience" (Ename Center 2008). Heritage managers see their role as encouraging insights and reflections into the past, developing untold stories and perspectives, and ultimately achieving common understandings and actions for a better future.

The "Sites of Conscience" theme has particular relevance to archaeologists because of its attachment to place. In 1999 nine organizations from around the world, including the Northeast Region of the NPS and the Lower East Side Tenement Museum, founded the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience. The coalition's purpose is to strengthen connections between the past and the present so that today's issues can be approached with a deeper awareness of alternative choices (Blatt 2002:12). According to the coalition website, Sites of Conscience are museums that "interpret history through historic sites; engage in programs that stimulate dialogue on pressing social issues; promote humanitarian and democratic values as a primary function; and share opportunities for public involvement in issues raised at the site" (International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience [ICHSC] 2008a:3).

Its fixed setting in time and place gives historical archaeology two strong avenues for making these connections and countering large-scale master narratives that obscure the individual's place in history. Historical archaeologists know that the discipline's strength is its access to powerful, personalized microhistories. Would anyone who has read *The Diary of Anne Frank* debate the power of the story of one individual caught up in huge events? Historical archaeologists

also have the ability to undermine politically sponsored mythologies by deconstructing the underpinnings that form their foundation. Archaeologists who apply critical theory have come up with some of the most impressive examples: Mark Leone (2005) has worked for decades in Annapolis to show the effects of capitalism on a town and its people; while the Ludlow Collective's investigation of the lives of mining families at the time of the Colorado Coalfield Strike showed how ordinary people responded to extraordinary conditions (Saitta 2007).

Heritage Archaeology and Cultural Resource Management

So who does own the past? It would be nice to believe that the people do. But from the trenches of cultural resource management (CRM) and within the academy, the past seems to be just another commodity owned by anyone who can pay for its creation and re-creation, by people with the power to enforce and reinforce their own views. This reality does not necessarily eliminate other views; it just makes getting them heard more difficult. Can multivocal alternative reconstructions of the past coexist with the officially approved master narratives, with what might be called "History with a capital H?"

These days, most archaeology in North America is public archaeology, done under the rubric of CRM. While the laws stress public benefit and require public involvement, there are few good examples of either in relation to the volume of CRM projects. Among the many hurdles to public-heritage archaeology in CRM are a seeming lack of interest by both the public and the managers. The public benefits have yet to be adequately articulated to the various publics, and public funds are increasingly contested and scarce. Good archaeology is expensive; good archaeology that engages the public along the way is even more so.

Furthermore, not all those who fund and review CRM studies are big fans of multivocality or alternative histories. In the United States, a site's importance is gauged by its eligibility (or otherwise) for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). The phrasing of the NRHP "Criteria for Evaluation" gives doubters the opportunity to strike down these alternative research topics as not "important" in American history. The criteria

say, among other things, that sites are significant in history and culture if they are associated with events contributing to broad patterns, lives of significant persons, or have yielded or may yield important information (36 CFR 60.4). Government agency reviewers who get to decide whether a CRM project goes forward or not often use the most literal interpretation of these words to define the limits of supposedly legitimate research for projects that will supply brand new facts about the past not available elsewhere. This essentially canonizes existing written histories and curtails alternative perspectives. Archaeology is relegated to the role of history's little helper. It is separated from the writing of history and from interpretation of the present. This kind of archaeology is irrelevant and antiquated. Its contribution to heritage values is nil.

Sometimes when the CRM archaeologist tries to construct an alternative perspective, agency reviewers—scared that they may be accused of misusing public money—try to undermine it. Reviews of some of our own reports have included instructions to delete everything that connected the past with the present as having "no bearing on archaeology" and "too much political agenda." In this narrow view, archaeological findings should stand on their own with only description and minimal, safe interpretation; the contribution to knowledge is supposedly self-evident. Reviewers sometimes ask rhetorically naïve questions such as—What have we found out that we didn't know before?—as if the contribution of archaeology was in the trotting out of newly discovered historical factoids. Luckily, in our case, these comments were countered by reviewers with other views, giving the opportunity to ignore confining comments. In our view, good historical archaeology provides a new and different perspective by adding site structure and artifacts to the available written record for a specific, focused time and place. Whereas decontextualized archaeology is flat and uninteresting, with little to engage the public (or anyone else) other than excavated ephemera.

Cypress Freeway Replacement Project: An Example of Heritage Archaeology

In fairness to fellow practitioners of CRM, it should be noted that only the rare project provides data amenable to this kind of historical

critique. Of the 12 case studies in a recent edited volume, *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement* (Little and Shackel 2007), only one took its material from a CRM project: the California Department of Transportation's (Caltrans) Cypress Freeway Project in West Oakland, California (Praetzellis et al. 2007). The project involved the replacement of a section of freeway destroyed in the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake. This work did not start with public heritage or civic engagement in mind. We sensed an opportunity while the work was in process and developed a research design to work in this direction (Praetzellis 1994). The contextual presentation of West Oakland's history that emerged is inclusive and multivocal. It makes clear and explicit connections between the neighborhood's past and its present, creating a pathway for restorative justice.

The Cypress Archaeological Project, conducted for Caltrans by the Anthropological Studies Center (ASC) and its subconsultants, spanned over 13 years from the prefield sensitivity studies in 1992 to the completion of a popular monograph in 2005. The project involved professionals in many fields and resulted in dissertations, theses, published articles, dozens of papers at professional meetings, and many feet of technical, popular, and interpretative reports (Stewart and Praetzellis 1997; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004; Praetzellis 2005). The data continue to resonate as students, scholars, and local individuals discover and rework them. The Federal Highway Administration (2008) cites the project as a whole as an example of environmental justice.

The Cypress Project was not community archaeology in the civic engagement sense. People who lived there were not involved in constructing the research questions, they were not asked where the excavations should take place, or allowed to help dig the holes. For purely practical reasons, relationships were developed with official citywide and large-scale organizations at the expense of contacts with truly local organizations. Keeping the fieldwork ahead of construction on this emergency project was the highest priority and, frankly, overshadowed other important aspects of the project.

As project managers, we did involve local people in data collection and interpretation. Working with the director of the African American Museum and Library at Oakland, a public exhibit was codeveloped, called "Holding the Fort:

African American Historical Archaeology and Labor History in West Oakland," that combined archaeology and the history of the labor movement among black railroad workers. This was a natural combination of themes, as the excavations had uncovered many artifacts from Pullman porters and their families. This traveling exhibit was installed at 14 public venues from Oakland City Hall to the National Civil Rights Conference in Arizona.

To connect the archaeology with place, people, and the present, the focus was on oral history and the built environment. This brought dozens of families into the study, as oral historian Karana Hattersley-Drayton and folklorist Willie Collins interviewed 48 former residents and transcribed seven earlier interviews. These interviews went beyond the groups and occupations represented in the archaeological collections to include the range of ethnic groups that lived in the neighborhood into the 1920s and a wide range of occupations filled by African Americans—porters, railway car cleaners, barbers, hairdressers, manicurists, musicians, and dancers. Transcriptions of all these interviews are on file at the Oakland History Room and the ASC at Sonoma State University.

Beginning with three houses in the construction path, architectural historians Paul Groth and Marta Gutman recorded the built vernacular environment. They moved out into the wider neighborhood, recorded other residences, and developed a classificatory system for the plain, wooden, workers' houses that are found in West Oakland. They gave the same status to these houses that is generally reserved for high-style architecture and interpreted what these houses meant to the people who lived there once and to those who continue to do so.

Video footage was also part of the oral history program. It focused on women's history and the reenactment of work within Pullman sleeper cars. Three women—African American, Greek, and Chinese American—who grew up in the project area spoke separately about their family histories and then had a group discussion about life in West Oakland. The railroad men were interviewed amid the vintage railroad cars at the California State Railroad Museum. On camera, they acted out the process of making-down a berth from day to night use and vice versa, described working conditions, and talked about the culture of Pullman porters and their interactions with the traveling public.

The interviews, video, and architectural studies touched dozens of families. The program dignified and recorded lives of labor that may have seemed mundane even to the people who lived them. The Cypress study reconnected the neighborhood to its past through artifacts, buildings, documents, and individual histories. These objects and forgotten histories would come to be woven into stories about the families who once lived there, highlighting the struggles, successes, and failures of these people. In a sense, the study is a memorial to their lives.

While heritage managers may find this fairly admirable, a lead agency reviewer did not—and this is quite revealing about the plight of small-scale heritage: “The goal,” wrote an agency official, “is to answer questions important IN HISTORY. You need to show why reconstructing life in this place is important.” The team felt that the answer to this was self-evident. In the reviewer’s view, however, important research issues are questions with definitive answers, and they revolve around History with a capital *H*. The microlevel, lowercase-*h* histories of the scores of families, past and present, that were touched by the Cypress study apparently did not meet this criterion. Luckily, there were other reviewers with contrary opinions.

San Jose Heinlenville Project: Civic Engagement and Community Archaeology

In 2007 the ASC began a project in San Jose, California, hoping to apply what was learned in West Oakland. The city has plans to redevelop a 5 ac. parcel that, until the mid-20th century, housed both the local Chinese and Japanese communities. The surrounding neighborhood, now called Japantown, still flourishes with an ethnically diverse population of largely Asian descent.

From the perspective of History with a capital *H*, both groups have grim pasts in America—stories of prejudice, violence, and legal discrimination. The anti-Chinese rioting of the 1880s cost many people their jobs and homes, and some their lives. Throughout the West, “anti-coolie leagues” forced an untold number of Chinese out of town, burning their homes and businesses and killing scores (Pfaelzer 2007). The story of Japanese Americans and their children being rounded up and shipped off to camps in World War II is equally well known. Again, lives were

disrupted, homes and businesses lost. These are shocking but familiar stories of discrimination, and History with a capital *H* ensures that they will not be forgotten—the camp at Manzanar, for example, is a unit of the National Park Service, and the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles is listed as a Site of Conscience.

No group’s history should be defined only by the awful aspects of its past, however historic-tious the group is, however deeply rooted in History with a capital *H*. If the scale is taken down a notch to the neighborhood or family level (as archaeology does so well), other stories can be found—life-affirming stories of how sometimes in the midst of what seems to be national craziness, individuals step forward and quietly work for good. This is the story of the site in San Jose.

San Jose was a major California city in the late 19th century, serving as the commercial center of a large agricultural region. The Chinese provided the seasonal labor force that drove this economy. Anti-Chinese sentiment raged through California from the early 1850s when miners realized the limited nature of the gold deposits and the legislature passed the Foreign Miners Tax. It continued, spawning the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. As the Chinese appeared to thrive despite these legislations, anti-Chinese movements, many provoking riots, spread through the western states.

San Jose, with its large local and regional Chinese population, participated in the political debate on the “Chinese Question” and the social struggles surrounding it. The town’s earlier Market Street Chinatown was destroyed by arson in May 1887 at the height of the anti-Chinese mania. The people who had lived there were destitute, and the city newspaper proudly announced: “Chinatown is dead. It is dead forever” (Yu 2001:30). The proclamation was premature; German immigrant John Heinlen came up with a plan to help: he would build a new Chinatown, and he would build it of brick so as to avoid the fate of the earlier district. Heinlen was a local businessman whose livelihood depended on the trust and goodwill of his business associates. He took a huge risk, for this was a time when a businessman who was anything but vehemently anti-Chinese would invite boycott and social ostracism. It is hard to believe that in the face of death threats and the probability of losing money, Heinlen took up the venture for

any other reason than simple humanity. The local newspapers mockingly referred to this local hero as “Ah Heinlen” (Yu 2001:31).

The new neighborhood was called Heinlenville.

It prospered and expanded as Japanese immigrants settled the southern portion of the site, which became known as Nihonmachi or Japantown in the early 20th century (Figure 1). All



FIGURE 1. Yamato Bath House, 1911 (later known as the Minato-Yu Bath House), on Sixth Street. The bathhouse included pool tables and had rooms upstairs for boarders. (Courtesy of Kanemoto Collection, California History Center Archives.)

available data indicate that relations between the two groups were amicable, even friendly. It seems that even the Sino-Japanese War of the 1890s was largely forgotten, and people just got along, engaging in common pastimes such as gambling and baseball. When Japan invaded China in 1937, the groups continued their usual business and cordial relationships. It was understood that “it was their ancestral nations, not San Jose neighbors, who were at war” (Yu 2001:121).

By the 1950s both the Chinatown and Japantown within Heinlerville had been torn down and replaced by the City Corporation Yard, which stood until 2008. Yet even after all these years and with no physical symbol on the landscape to remind them, Heinlerville’s descendants still honor John Heinlen’s name. Heinlerville is a heritage site with a small *h*. It is one of those rare places of conscience in which a good person stepped up during bad times, did a courageous thing, and generations were the better for it. John Heinlen created the place, and the people who resided within it created a community. The former residents and their descendants maintain a close connection to this place and the small histories that unfolded within its protective fence.

The Heinlerville site is still in the middle of the San Jose’s Asian district, and the Chinese and Japanese American communities are very interested in what will become of it. San Jose Redevelopment Agency’s planners understood from the beginning that their project would generate public interest, and they made community involvement an important part of the development process. Heinlerville probably contains the last surviving archaeological remains associated with San Jose’s three known historic Chinatowns. When the Market Street Chinatown burned to the ground in 1887, many of its residents moved to Woolen Mills or Heinlerville, which were both built as replacements. Caltrans had sponsored an archaeological excavation at the Woolen Mills site in 2000 led by Rebecca Allen (Allen et al. 2002), and the agency and its cultural resource consultants did an excellent job of involving the community in the Woolen Mills investigation. The Heinlerville work would build on working relationships developed for that project.

Archaeologists excavated the Market Street Chinatown in 1985–1986. The report on this work never materialized, and students at Stanford University under the direction of Barbara Voss

are presently studying this “orphan” collection (Voss and Williams 2007). The archaeological discovery of the remains of this “lost Chinatown” did, however, energize the local Chinese community by giving time depth and legitimacy to their role in the historical development of the region. It inspired local Chinese historians to dig further within the record and to bring to light San Jose’s shocking treatment of Chinese pioneers.

The City of San Jose Redevelopment Agency circulated a “Request for Qualifications” in 2007 for a consultant to undertake archaeological services for the Corporation Yard project. Three firms interviewed including ASC partnered with Julia Costello. The selection committee included a member of the community along with city planners, and interview questions covered interpretive possibilities as well as logistics and cost. ASC won the award and the city asked that local historian Connie Young Yu be added to the team. Yu’s father was born in Heinlerville where his parents owned a store. Yu has written a book—*Chinatown San Jose, USA*; and her daughter has made an award-winning video—*Homebase: A Chinatown Called Heinlerville* (Figure 2). Yu was and is an invaluable addition to the team.

The project kickoff meeting with city planners included members of the Chinese and Japanese communities. The team discussed its plans for the site, where testing was being considered, and the questions that were of interest. The community representatives provided additional information and suggestions about what they would like to learn. The test locations were subsequently adjusted to include the sake factory and community garden, and the research effort was refocused. Our standard anthropologically oriented research themes—material culture studies, cultural boundary maintenance, culture change/complexity—were expanded to enhance a more general understanding of the history and contributions of Heinlerville/Nihonmachi residents and their descendants and to renew focus on the location. Research questions included:

What was life like in Heinlerville? How was it different from life in the Woolen Mills and Market Street communities? How did the reality of Heinlerville compare with historic accounts? What was the relationship like between the Chinese and Japanese residents? How did Heinlerville evolve from Heinlen’s formal plan into the lived spaces created by its residents? How did Heinlerville residents make this place their own?



FIGURE 2. Mr. and Mrs. Young Soong Quong and their sons, Ming (George) and Jun (John). (Courtesy of Connie Young Yu, 1915.)

What can archaeology tell us about the complexity of Heinlenville's population (ASC 2007a:71)?

The Heinlenville-Nihonmachi site provides a unique opportunity to study neighboring, overlapping Japanese and Chinese urban sites and the complex roles that these places play for immigrant communities. Community members and the city both reviewed the prefield draft reports (ASC 2007a, 2007b), and a town hall-type meeting was held to discuss the project prior to the field effort.

Project historians Connie Young Yu and Charlene Duval provided a wealth of already-existing material and developed new angles, including potential oral history informants. Oral historian Elaine-Maryse Solari interviewed, on video, a group of six former residents of Nihonmachi. ASC entered the field well-prepared in March 2008.

To keep the local communities informed of the progress of the archaeological excavation, ASC "embedded" representatives from the Japanese American and Chinese American communities. They worked alongside the ASC crew and filed reports on the project blog attached to the ASC webpage that also featured a "History of Heinlenville and Nihonmachi." Chinese American community representative Dr. Rod Lum (2008) reported on Day 1:

Enthusiasm is high for finding more significant pieces/features as the dig moves on. However, everyone has been slowed by the significant press coverage. Three of the major TV stations sent reporters out for several hours interviewing the archaeology teams and also Japantown community representatives Leslie Masunaga and myself, plus historian Connie Young Yu whose family store will be explored here. Additionally three of the Chinese newspapers, plus Chinese language TV's KTSF were also out on site. We have been in contact with these folks for weeks before the digging started, so I am happy to see that they are finding this so very "newsworthy."

The community's belief that the story of Heinlenville/Nihonmachi is not just local, but national and international in importance proved to be well founded. Enthusiasm for the project continued. Japanese American community representative Leslie Masunaga (2008) reported on the second day:

We're getting down and dirty and finding not only the buried Chinatown and Japantown structural beginnings

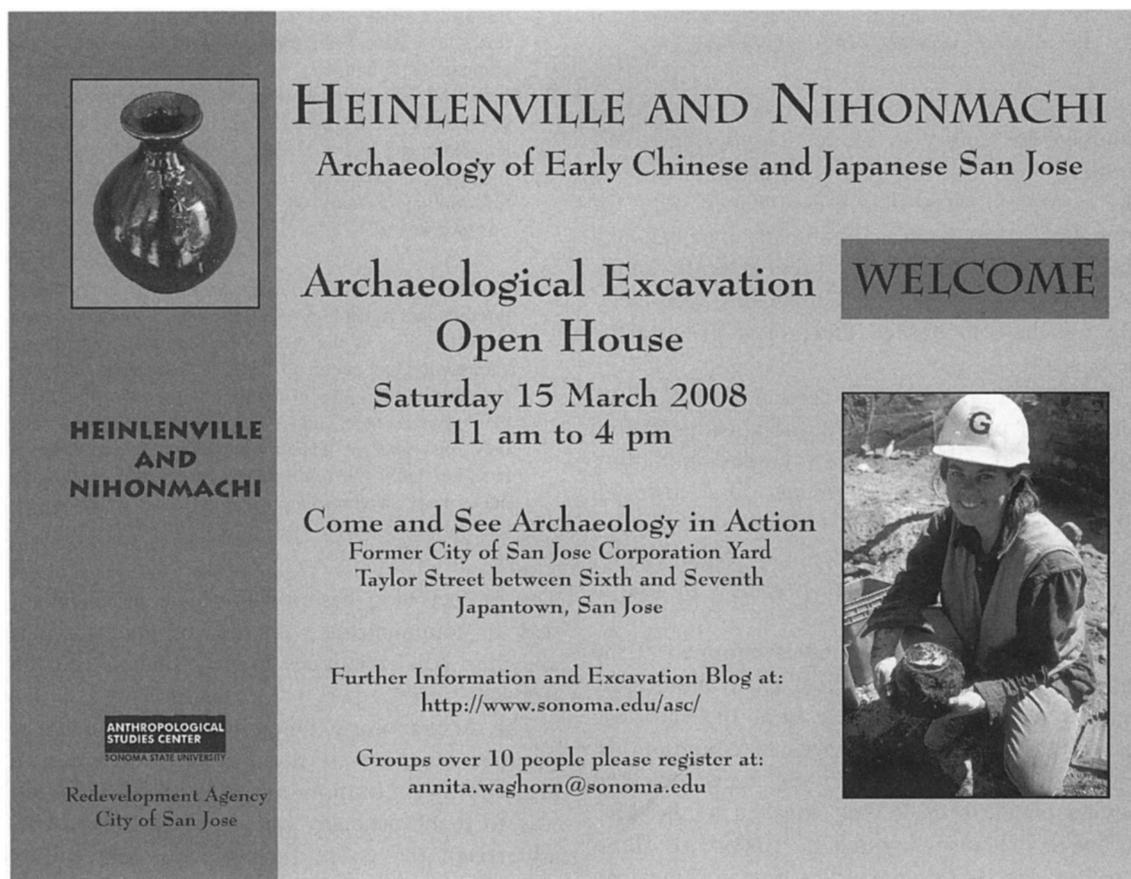
but also a sense of the communities once so vibrant on this site. I have been entrusted with being one of the community volunteers "embedded" with the archeologists and historians working on this project. Though unschooled in the procedures, I'm learning from the archaeologists how a project is approached, what careful steps are required in handling the material, how information is analyzed, and ... how very hard it is on your knees.

This is a great project for the community for not only through the archeology are the physical remains being unearthed, but as the project has continued, the living community has begun to unearth their personal histories. Individuals are bringing photographs and other materials to share and conveying the stories of what they remember or what their parents or grandparents recalled. Truly the re-discovery of the history through these many layers will make our forgotten communities become alive.

The project blog has proven to be an excellent way to communicate with the community—near and afar. ASC continues to post findings on the website.

The Archaeology Open House was another important aspect of the project's community archaeology component, the goal of which was to reach as many people as possible. ASC advertised the event through a poster on its webpage, on the site fence, and to local historical and archaeological organizations (Figure 3). Annita Waghorn developed a public access plan outlining the activities that would be provided, crowd control, and public safety measures. Visitor control began by keeping the site gates locked until opening time, separating the visitor activity areas from the excavations, and keeping tour groups to a manageable number that could be escorted from place to place. Archaeologists cordoned off open trenches and excavation areas with caution tape and barricades. Everyone signed a liability waiver before entering; this also helped to keep track of the number of visitors.

Activity areas and exhibits were arranged to entertain visitors waiting for tours inside the site perimeter fence, but outside the cordoned-off excavations. Activity areas included a history station, an artifact station, a site-developer's station with project maps and diagrams, and an artifact-screening station. Staff spray-painted the outlines of streets and buildings, as shown on the Sanborn maps, onto the ground to give visitors a sense of scale and position. Six tours



HEINLENVILLE AND NIHONMACHI

Archaeology of Early Chinese and Japanese San Jose

Archaeological Excavation

Open House

Saturday 15 March 2008
11 am to 4 pm

Come and See Archaeology in Action
Former City of San Jose Corporation Yard
Taylor Street between Sixth and Seventh
Japantown, San Jose

Further Information and Excavation Blog at:
<http://www.sonoma.edu/asc/>

Groups over 10 people please register at:
annita.waghorn@sonoma.edu

WELCOME

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES CENTER
SONOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

Redevelopment Agency
City of San Jose

FIGURE 3. Poster advertising the Archaeology Open House. (Courtesy ASC, Rohnert Park, California, 2008.)

ran concurrently, led by project archaeologists. Lasting about 25 minutes, each tour stopped at five excavation areas staffed by experienced excavators who explained the archaeological features in their trench and a specific aspect of the excavation process.

Meteorologists forecasted stormy weather for the Archaeology Open House. Inquiries prior to the event and requests for group tours had already indicated a large public interest. Some of the team actually felt the weather alert might be a good thing and keep visitors within a manageable range. In the end, the weather ran the gamut—with a brief torrential hail, lots of wind, and lovely sunshine; and if it kept people away no one noticed, for at least 540 attended the event. In her contribution to the blog, ASC lab director Erica Gibson (2008) wrote of the weather and of the interest of the visitors in the things from their past:

I felt quite smug that morning when I set up an “Easy-Up” to provide shelter from the rain for the artifacts and, just as importantly, myself. I soon recognized the folly of my ways. Only a few passing showers appeared and I was left shivering in the shade as the wind picked up throughout the day. By the final hour I was literally holding onto the shelter to keep it from blowing away into the Porto-lets located just behind me.

Those scattered showers and high winds did nothing to curb the public in their interest in archaeology [Figure 4]. Among the finds from the project was a grinding stone with a wonderfully smooth surface over which the kids liked to run their fingers. Several visitors spent some time explaining to me exactly how the stone was used; one gentleman went into great detail as he had toiled many an hour as a youngster using the same type of grinding stone in his mother’s kitchen. His family would soak soybeans overnight and then feed them into the hole on the top of the stone. As he used a sturdy stick to turn the stone and grind the beans, soy milk would be caught in a lower, wider grooved stone while soy paste would be



FIGURE 4. Children sorting screens at the Archaeology Open House. (Courtesy ASC, Rohnert Park, California, 2008.)

held in the stone. He informed me that product was “very nutritious.”

Down the street from the site of her grandfather’s store, Connie Young Yu (2008) had charge of the site of the Ng Shing Gung Temple (Figure 5), center of the Chinese community and heart of its culture:

There at the corner of Taylor and 6th I had the expansive view of Cleveland Avenue and people walking towards me. The clouds had scattered and the sky was big and bright. This is the same *fung swei* my ancestors felt in 1887. When the visitors gathered around, I was inspired to tell them of the scene my father described: how on the eve of every feast day, the Lunar New Year or *Dai Jui*, people would come out of their stores with pots and bowls to go to the *mui* (temple) for their share of the “*jai*” prepared by the caretaker and blessed by two Taoist priests. I even gave the recipe, which I learned through oral history to me from my grandparents. People seemed fully engaged in the tour and impressed by the significance of what they saw.

I guided two elderly men, Ed and Vince Chin, cousins who met up for the first time in ten years—at this Open House—to the site of my grandfather’s store. I pointed to the photos and asked questions and learned more than I expected. Ed Chin used to live on 6th street and knew my grandparents and dad. Vince lived at his family store next to my grandfather’s. He walked silently and slowly with a cane, but the place evoked his memories. He suddenly told of how he used to peek through the wooden cracks of the walls and watch my Grandmother. I asked cautiously, what was she doing? He responded vigorously, “Making whiskey!”

Archaeologist Mark Walker (2008) summed up his afternoon and the meaning of the event to himself and others:

I talked about the process of exposing feature stains, excavating sections to identify and date them, and I talked about the nature of backyards in the late 19th and early 20th century. I talked about sewer hookups and privies and trash disposal. I talked non-stop for 5 hours. At the end of the day my jaw ached and



FIGURE 5. *Left*, Ng Shing Gung Temple historically, and *right*, as excavated by Julia Costello. (Courtesy History San Jose and ASC, Rohnert Park, California, 2008.)

my lips were numb. I was hungry because I didn't get lunch AT ALL. Did I mention I only got one potty break? ... The number of people was far more than we anticipated. Far more. It was gratifying and a bit unexpected to see that level of public interest in the archaeology and in the history of Heinlerville and Nihonmachi. I was near the end of the tour, and people still seemed alert and interested. Given that each tour was about 40 minutes and I was waxing eloquent on the significance of sewer pipes and trash pick-up, the visitors may have just been unusually polite. Or maybe they had used our on-site porta-johns and really understood the utility of a fully functioning sewer line. But I think it was more than that.

Sewer lines, porcelain bowls and spoons, a discarded reel of movie film—these are all incredibly mundane. But it is because they are so mundane that they have power. Archaeology is not about great events, famous people, and great architecture and art. It is about regular people getting by the best that they can, often under difficult circumstances. These are things with which most people can empathize. The importance of this site lies not only in the decency of John Heinlen, but in the lives the inhabitants of Heinlerville and Nihonmachi managed to create for themselves, even amidst the looming threat of mob violence and legislative repression.

The first field season was just a test excavation. The artifact-filled pits hoped for were not found; the neighborhood had wooden-lined sewers from 1887, and the community's dump was adjacent to the site. Remains of the Ng Shing Gung Temple were found, as well as the original sewer system and a later replacement, building foundations, and sheet refuse in Heinlerville; and an artifact-rich feature in Nihonmachi.

Intensive archaeological excavation will likely focus on the temple, sewer system, foundations, and on the Japanese portion of the site. Public interpretive options are in the design phase at the time of writing, but include various educational and public-art options that have been suggested by the community: organizing teaching/traveling collections of artifacts to augment the Asian curriculum in San Jose elementary schools; developing a website on findings; integrating artifacts into architectural elements of the development; mounting historical photographs in public places; creating a display for the development's plaza; and commemorating historic space within Heinlerville.

These are all excellent suggestions for a public interpretive component and will eventually be discussed at meetings between the city and local residents. The Japanese and Chinese communities in San Jose have very strong attachments to Heinlerville-Nihonmachi, as does the Filipino community, which had ties there in the 20th century. That these ties remain so strong for a place that has had no physical marker for well over 50 years is a resounding statement of their importance. The descendants of Heinlerville and Nihonmachi can trace their San Jose heritage back generations and are as responsible for the success of the area as are the new arrivals to what is now called Silicon Valley (Figure 6).

Sites of Conscience

There were 17 accredited Sites of Conscience in 2009; one of the six in the United States is the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles. A map of the world links to pages about each site describing: “What happened

here? How is it remembered? Museum programs and Dialogues for democracy.” The issues of conscience are broken down into nine areas: “Children as victims of war, Displacement, Genocide, Human trafficking and slavery, Poverty and welfare, Racism, State terrorism, Sweatshops, and Totalitarianism.” “Where is this an issue today?” lists the issues for each site and provides links to current examples (ICHSC 2008a).

Heinlerville qualifies as a Site of Conscience under both displacement and racism themes. While the abuses of Japanese Americans during World War II are covered by the Japanese American National Museum listing, the treatment of Chinese Americans from the California Gold Rush onwards is not. A Heinlerville entry could cover both groups, highlighting the plight of Chinese Americans from the Foreign Miners Tax through the Exclusion Act and beyond. It could also bring to light the role of an individual, John Heinlen, who set an example of a good neighbor stepping up to do the right thing, and of the families and individuals who created a future

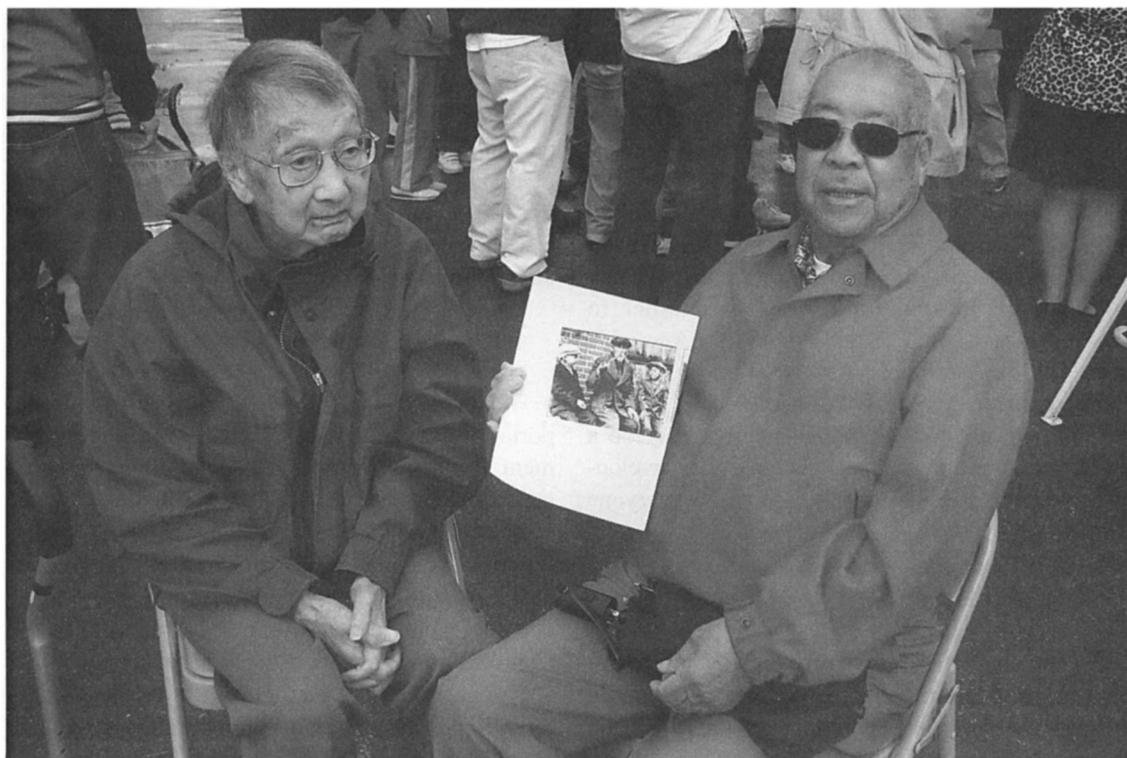


FIGURE 6. Edward Chin and Vincent Chan at the Archaeology Open House holding an historic photo of themselves as boys in Heinlerville. (Courtesy ASC, Rohnert Park, California, 2008.)

for themselves and their descendants within the fenced town he built for them.

Before the Ng Shing Gung Temple was demolished in 1949, the altar, ceremonial furnishings, and exterior carved panels were removed. They remained in storage for decades. In 1976 the Chinese American Women's Club began fundraising to recreate the temple on the San Jose Historical Museum grounds. This effort took many years and gave birth to the Chinese Historical and Cultural Project. Finally, in September 1991 the temple was dedicated (Lee 2001). It belongs to the city of San Jose; the lower floor houses a Chinese American museum telling the stories of the early Chinese pioneers in the Santa Clara Valley. The second floor showcases the original 1888 gilded altar and the five gods. The Chinese Historical and Cultural Project in partnership with History San Jose develop traveling exhibits, curriculum, and other educational material.

While there are only 17 accredited Sites of Conscience—places that have met all the criteria and have committed to participating in learning exchanges—there are dozens of institutional members from around the world. These museums, foundations, universities, and government-agency institutions have made a commitment to “interpret history through sites; engage in programs that stimulate dialogue on pressing social issues and promote humanitarian and democratic values; and share opportunities for public involvement in issues raised at the site” (Ševčenko 2004:1). Institutional membership enables these organizations to participate in learning exchanges, to use resources developed by the coalition, and to link with the coalition website in order to achieve those goals (ICHSC 2008b). Accrediting San Jose's Chinese-American Museum and Heinlenville as a Site of Conscience or linking the museum as an institutional member may be a fitting way to mitigate the effects of the development project, and one that would make everyone involved proud.

CRM and Heritage Matters

The public benefits that drive CRM archaeology are rooted in heritage matters. How might this promise be realized? Some officials in many parts of the United States, even at the federal level, do not recognize historical archaeology as a legitimate mode of enquiry. In these areas,

it is hard enough getting support and funding for any historical archaeology at all, much less with a community base and heritage focus. The National Register criteria focus on “History” is problematic for historical archaeology, and many local agencies take a “common sense” approach to the criteria that does not recognize historical archaeology as a distinct discipline and expert field. National Register bulletins that operationalize the law (Shrimpton 2002) are often ignored or narrowly interpreted. Agency reviewers should defer guidance on archaeology matters to experts and apply existing guidelines.

In addition to enforcing current protocol, heritage matters could be brought into focus by a couple of actions on the part of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation that could develop guidelines to alert agencies when and at what scale to consider community engagement. Useful criteria might involve a combination of (1) project impact, (2) available funds, (3) the site's importance, and (4) its importance to the descendant community. The council could also develop a program to recognize and reward agencies that successfully engage the affected community. Recognition could occur annually and be as simple as a certificate and website listing. In this way, regulators would see the rewards as well as the risks in making the extra effort that is involved in community engagement. While heritage matters with both an upper- and lowercase *h* may appear to be the domain of organizations like NPS and grant-funded academics, there is also a role for CRM practitioners if they stay alert to the possibilities their sites present.

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