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# Archaeological and Historic Preservation in Tampa, Florida

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Archaeological and Historic Preservation in Tampa, Florida

by

Dawn Michelle Hayes

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
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College of Arts and Sciences  
University of South Florida

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## **Dedication**

To my grandparents: Grandma D.D., Grandpa Cos, Grandma Virginia,  
Granddad, Nonnie, Topper, and Ralph.

## **Acknowledgments**

A tremendous thank-you to the members of the Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society and the Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association's Preservation Committee, who allowed me to work with them and learn from them for the past several years, not only participating in the research, but keeping it and my writing on track. Also to everyone who was willing to let me interview, survey, or otherwise gather ideas from them.

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## **Abstract**

For archaeological or historic preservation to occur, there must be public support for it. This research examines historic and archaeological preservation in the Tampa Bay area of Florida through the use of selected case studies. It analyses opinions about archaeology and preservation from members of the general public and members of two groups focused on historic preservation and archaeology. Data were collected from interviews, surveys, archival research, and participant observation, and analyzed to determine the public's definition of archaeology, possible origins of people's interest in preservation, and the extent to which people's interest in either archaeology or historic preservation extends to the other.

This research also looks at the context in which the study population is living. I look at the attempts at preservation in the area and the competing influences on those attempts, as well as the laws that affect the sites. I use the findings to make suggestions for increasing people's support of archaeology and preservation.

## **Chapter One:**

### **Introduction**

While reading the newspaper in early September, 2007, I was dismayed by the headline “‘Almost certainly’ arson - ‘Buildings don’t just burst into flame like that,’ Tavares fire Chief Richard Keith says” (Fretland 2007a). Apparently, arsonists had destroyed the house thought to be the oldest in Lake County, Florida. It had been built in the 1870s by the man credited with bringing the sweet orange to Central Florida, giving rise of one of our best known industries. The house originally stood in an orange grove, one of many acres of groves in Central Florida that would eventually be plowed under for development. The Woodlea had been the path of development for years, and just before it was to be demolished for a golf course, a collection of local, preservation-minded people organized to relocate and save the house.

Having grown up in Orlando, I was entirely too accustomed to hearing stories similar to the Woodlea’s recent history, but I was deeply saddened. It was yet another instance of the loss of one more piece of Florida’s past. In 1926, Orlando was described as a “thriving, busy metropolis” of 22,000 people in the Florida Midlands, a “land of level plains alternating the rolling hills sprinkled with fresh-water lakes, covered for the greater part with pine forests and citrus groves, liberally dotted with charming and rapidly growing towns and agricultural developments” (Stockbridge and Perry 1926:239). From 1970 to 2011, the population of Florida grew from approximately 6.7

million people (Forstall 1995) to 19.3 million in 2012 (United States Census Bureau 2013), and studies indicate that the Metropolitan Orlando area is one of the most densely populated regions in the state, and one of the fastest growing metropolitan areas in the country (Koebler 2013; Metro Orlando Economic Development Commission 2012). This rampant growth has often occurred at the expense of cultural resources, including archaeological sites. As an archaeologist who has lived most of my life in Central Florida, watching the destruction of the area's cultural resources, and listening to tourists and recent transplants lambast Florida for lacking history, I felt compelled to better understand the relationship between the public's perception of archaeological sites and preservation measures. Does a correlation exist between preservation and peoples' perception of archaeological sites? If so, to what degree?

As an applied anthropologist and an archaeologist, I feel it is vital for us to understand, not only the processes involved in heritage and archaeological resource management, but also the motivation(s) behind those processes. By examining the relationship between individuals' perceptions of sites and preservation measures, this study explores the various reasons and rationales people have for deciding to become active in the preservation of specific types of archaeological and historical sites. By determining what motivates people to value archaeological and historic sites, and the factors that influence preservation groups to take specific actions, archaeologists can gain insight into how and why some processes are likely to succeed, while others may fail. The findings in this study provide a venue whereby archaeologists can more effectively communicate with individuals and communities and collaborate with them in the development and implementation of preservation initiatives.

The problem I am ultimately trying to help solve is the destruction of archaeological and historical sites. It has been postulated that one way to do this is to increase people's support of archaeology and preservation (Cannon and Cannon 1996; Davis 1971; McGimsey 2003; McGuire and Walker 1999; Pokotylo 2002). In addition to looking at what the existing laws cover and how local governments implement them, I look at people's views of archaeology and historic preservation, and how those views are linked to support for preservation. While this study focuses mainly on people in two organizations in the greater Tampa area, the conclusions may be relevant to other metropolitan regions and at other scales.

With this research, I am contributing to the creation of a framework that can be used by archaeologists, historic preservationists, and others involved in heritage management to engage members of the public, or, possibly more accurately, members of "multiple publics with varying interests, perspectives, and needs" (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2010:144). This research contributes to anthropology by guiding attempts by archaeologists and historic preservationists in their efforts to understand what the various publics value and what they will support. The framework of this study can be used to assist professionals and members of interest groups in developing programs to more effectively collaborate with all available publics, especially previously socially, economically, or politically marginalized communities, and allow agencies, relevant local organizations, and interested individuals to interact more effectively.

Previous research has analyzed historic preservation efforts in various areas (Karamanski 2010; King et al. 1977; Little 2007; O'Bannon 2010; Powell 1962; Tyler 2000), investigated archaeological preservation (Barnes 1981; Baumann et al. 2008;

King 2002; King and Lyneis 1978), and measured people's opinions and perceptions of archaeology (Balme and Wilson 2004; Pokotylo and Guppy 1999; Ramos and Duganne 2000), but little seems to have been written about the ways in which they interplay (Kuhn 2002; Pokotylo 2002). This research is intended to look at specific examples of preservation and explore the views of people active in those preservation efforts, as well as the interest members of the public have in historic preservation and archaeology. I investigate how the preservation (or attempts at it) and public opinion have influenced each other, to determine ways to increase interest in preservation. This should give archaeologists and historic preservationists ideas about how to more precisely identify the audience they are trying to reach and identify concerns relevant to them. Ideally, this will allow agencies, relevant local organizations, and interested individuals to interact more effectively.

Governmental action should conform at least somewhat to the objectives of citizens (Kahn 1999; Lipe 1974; Stimson et al. 1994)). The study of representation must include a study of the substance of the representation, that is, what is often termed the will of the people (Prato 1993:174; Stimson et al. 1994). Anthropological methods can be used to study the will of the people as it relates to the use of and changes to preservation law (McCay 1993). Knowledge of citizens' opinions and preservation goals can be compared to the results of regulation to find the degree of correspondence (Cannon and Cannon 1996; Pokotylo 2002). A study of citizens' opinions can also possibly show what factors influence their interest in preservation or lack thereof (Pokotylo 2002; Pokotylo and Guppy 1999; Ramos and Duganne 2000). Although most preservation laws and regulations cover both archaeology and historic preservation,

some practitioners see the two fields as having diverged somewhat over time (Derr 2007; King and Lyneis 1978). Others have seen direct conflict between the two fields, saying, “at present far too many historians [in cultural resource management] view historic archaeologists as opportunists soaking up scarce cultural resources dollars, and far too many historic archaeologists view historians as hopelessly tied to unreliable and incomplete documentary evidence” (O’Bannon 1994). By exploring the origins of people’s interest in both, and the extent to which people interested in one support the other, I hope to offer specific suggestions for ways to further cooperation between the two fields.

The research is situated within the four field concept of American anthropology, of which archaeology is an integral part. As anthropologists, archaeologists should use an interdisciplinary approach to any and all research problems. Before any trowels touch dirt, archaeologists seek and collect as much information as they can about the site, its history, and its importance to any interested public. More important than trowels or shovels are the preliminary research tools that all archaeologists use, such as archival or other documentary sources and the skills of communicating with the local communities and descendant communities to determine what is important to them and what they define as significant. As an archaeologist, I approached this study from a multidisciplinary perspective, incorporating methodology from cultural anthropology.

In this study, I examine the laws that regulate historic and archaeological site preservation in Florida, the public’s views of sites and preservation, and the manner in which preservation is accomplished in selected cases within an area, specifically the greater Tampa Bay area of Florida. Development often leads to the destruction of

cultural sites (Davis 1971; Fitzpatrick 2010; King and Lyneis 1978; Kowalewski 2008), and Florida's sites have been particularly impacted by its rampant growth (Sassaman et al. 2003; Weisman 2003).

Because I grew up in Orlando, witnessing the impact of site destruction, I knew I wanted to focus on preservation in Florida, preferably Central Florida. Of Florida's counties, Hillsborough has been used as a model county by the Economic and Demographic Research Office, because it is an accurate reflection of statewide economic demographics (James Lacrosse, personal communication 2004). Hillsborough County also has a wide range of prehistoric and historic sites. As has happened throughout Florida, archaeological and historic sites in the Tampa Bay region are being destroyed by looting and development (Anderson 2011; Behrman 2012; Daniels 2012; Helfand 2012; Thorner 2000).

In Florida, historical archaeology is even more overlooked and threatened than prehistoric archaeology. "Urban archaeology in Florida has not advanced because the emphasis in academic training and research (both in the academic and CRM sectors) has been on the rich prehistoric record" (Weisman et al. 2004:3). Many of the middens in and near Tampa were destroyed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when their shell was used to create roads (Florida Department of State 1990). Other sites were destroyed during development of the city. Parts of Ybor City were leveled during various urban renewal projects during the 1960s and 70s (Greenbaum 1990; Pizzo 1985).



## **Origins of the Research**

I began this research intending to study archaeological and historic preservation activities in order to determine ways in which preservation efforts may be increased. Much preservation activity is conducted at the local level. With this research, I am focusing on the Tampa Bay area as the local context in which the impacts of development and destruction of cultural resources have been felt. This study attempts to contribute to the goals of anthropology and cultural resource management by developing a local understanding of the larger issue of preservation.

Laws often drive historic preservation and archaeological research. In researching the laws regulating archaeological preservation, it became evident that many of them assume a connection between archaeology and historic preservation, and possibly common goals or interests between people involved in both fields. Many of the laws are written in a way that suggests the lawmakers see the groups as overlapping. Although I saw archaeology and historic preservation as being closely linked, and often intertwined, often with similar goals, the wording of the laws and the reading of some literature led me to wonder how much overlap really exists between the fields and among people involved in the organizations.

Archaeology and historic preservation are two fields within cultural resource management. Each field has both professionals and local public interest groups working to advance their goals. Previous research suggested the gap between archaeology and historic preservation is widening, and that communication between the two could be improved to the advantage of both (Derr 2007; King and Lyneis 1978; O'Bannon 1994). This research characterizes two communities of interest groups within

the Tampa Bay area, self-defining as interested in either archaeology or historic preservation.

Previous studies also indicate that divergence is increasing not only between the fields of archaeology and historic preservation, but between professional archaeologists and the public (Sabloff 1998; 2008). Therefore, I became interested in trying to determine whether a gap exists, and if so, how archaeologists and preservationists might work to close it. As a lawyer and archaeologist, I began to wonder how a community's perception of archaeology and historic preservation influenced the preservation efforts accomplished at the local level. More specifically, I wondered how people in the Tampa area, both with and without a stated interest in historic preservation or archaeology, define archaeology, and the extent to which this concept is reflected in the actual archaeological and historic preservation accomplished in the area. How much did the views of people active in archaeology or historic preservation differ from those of people interested in the other, and from those of members of the public?

Because local governmental officials appear to be particularly responsive to public opinion (Percival et al. 2009), increased communication and cooperation among interest groups and between interest groups and the public can benefit all interested parties by increasing their voice in legislation. When a group is researching an area or deciding elements of an area to preserve, the more people and publics that are involved in the preservation efforts, the more they can contribute to the direction of research, thereby increasing the number of histories conveyed by an area. The aspects of the cultural heritage the public values and supports will then be recognized and publicized.

This, in turn, increases the number of people who see themselves in the area's history, and can increase their interest in preservation there and elsewhere.

This research was designed to examine both areas of divergence. It has been suggested that as archaeology has become more academic, communication with the public has declined (Gibb 2000; Sabloff 2008). Therefore, I needed to examine how well professionals convey the concept of archaeology to the public. I investigated what the public knows about archaeology, and how that compares to the information being conveyed about archaeology in the area. This basic knowledge is crucial to a fuller understanding of how professionals can communicate better. As has been noted, if archaeologists do not make their research accessible to the public, popular media will fill the gap (Sabloff 2008). The concept of interesting, publically accessible reporting is by no means new. Nearly 60 years ago, Sir Mortimer Wheeler (1954:v) wrote, "Archaeology is a science that must be lived, must be seasoned with humanity. Dead archaeology really is the driest dust that blows." By understanding where members of the public are obtaining their information about archaeology, and what information they are remembering, we can better select effective venues for future communication.

For purposes of this study, I concentrated on people with a stated interest in either archaeology or historic preservation. In order to identify people with an interest in one of the topics, I sought out people who were members of either a historic preservation or archaeological organizations, and, as such, could be considered to self-identify as being interested in either. Although people in these groups would likely have an interest strong enough to cause them to join, lack of membership does not necessarily indicate a lack of interest, but interested people outside organizations are

harder to locate. Two groups were selected for an in-depth case study. I also collected data from the community to better understand their knowledge of tangible heritage and archaeology. In this study, I compare the qualities of historic preservation and archaeological societies, looking at the characteristics of each group, and how individuals within each group compare to each other and to members of the general public.

Studying the groups of people not only enabled me to locate and identify people with a stated interest in historic preservation or archaeology, but it also allowed me to study the formation and history of the groups themselves as these groups represent an organized, ongoing presence in the area. They are also well-situated to engage other members of the public that may potentially be interested in the subject or geographical location, or may have been associated with it in some way in the past. Involving as many members of the public and as many different publics as possible enriches the research and the stories the research eventually tells. Additional members of the public can contribute to the body of information collected and conveyed by the groups, they can add differing perspectives, and direct the research in ways not originally considered. In this study, I investigated the groups' activities in preservation efforts, outreach, and conveyance of information to the public.

This study began in 2007, and the majority of the interviewing and surveying was done between March 2008 and December 2009. As is noted in more detail later in the dissertation, some events that occurred during and after the research could have affected the opinions of the people researched. For example, the Florida Public Archaeology Network was created in 2004, but the regional branches were not yet

established when I was creating the study protocol. Also, the research was conducted before the expansion of the Tampa Bay History Center and the development of the Green Artery initiative. These organizations have all been active in the geographic area I studied, and have had some connection with archaeology and/or history. Some of the influences from the events were mentioned in the participant observation and interviews, but were not reflected in the surveys. It is reasonable to imagine that answers to similar questions asked today would differ from the ones given five years ago. It is an intriguing subject for future research, but not within the limitations of this study.

### **The Value of Archaeology and Historic Preservation**

Archaeological and historic sites are finite, non-renewable resources (Atalay 2012; Davies 1987; Davis 1993; Gormley et al. 2009; King 1981; Lipe 1974). There are economic, educational, emotional, and environmental reasons to preserve sites and structures. Historic and archaeological preservation can increase tourism revenue and maintain or increase property values (McLendon et al. 2010). In many cases, archaeological investigations are the only source of information about a specific time period or community within a time period, and the incorporation of archaeologically recovered information into studies can bring to light the “absent present” (Buchli and Lucas 2001). In order to accomplish the incorporation, we must have the sites containing that recoverable, but not yet unearthed, information preserved and available.

Historic and archaeological sites are part of heritage, and their preservation can connect present-day people with the past. “Heritage is history with a purpose” (Meskell

and Preucell 2007:316). It “creates a usable past, and it generates a precedent that serves our present needs” (Shackel 2001:10). It can be tangible (structures, archaeological sites, or tombs), or intangible (language, kinship, or artisan skills) (Jackson 2012:23). The preservation of the tangible heritage can lead to discussion of intangible heritage by evoking questions to ask and acting as sensory memory prompts (Beck and Somerville 2005; Shackel 2011). The continued existence of historical and archaeological sites can give people a sense of community identity (Bernardini 2009; Mytum 2004) and make the neighborhood, city, or town culturally richer and more vibrant (Little 2009; Lowenthal 1996; Wenzel and George 2011).

### **Research Questions**

The overarching goal of this research is to propose ways of increasing preservation, both archaeological and historic. To this end, I studied groups and individuals within the Tampa area.

The research questions developed as a means to answer the overarching question by delineating the communities (members of the public interested in archaeology, ones interested in historic preservation, and members of the public with no known affiliation with either) and discerning their values and interests relating to preservation. I wanted to understand not only what people within the communities/interest groups understand archaeology to be, but also what image of archaeology professional archaeologists and the local media are conveying to the public. Also, because museums have been identified not only as sources of information about archaeology, but also as contributing to the value people place on archaeology,

one of the research questions was designed to investigate the role local museums have in influencing Tampa area residents' concepts of archaeology. The questions specifically ask about urban and historical archaeology because of their application and relevance to marginalized communities (Orser 2000; Sabloff 2008). Both types of archaeology are also used to study the origins and development of cities, which has the potential to interest people living in a metropolitan area.

This study was intended to answer the following questions:

- 1) **How does a public definition of "archaeology" affect preservation outcomes in that public's community?** The public's perception of archaeology guides the ways in which archaeologists attempt to communicate with and educate the public (Marwick 2010; McGeough 2006; Nichols 2006), which, in turn, may increase public support for archaeology and preservation (King 1981; Kuhn 2002; Pokotylo 2002).
- 2) **To what extent do archaeological groups and societies give value to historical archaeology?** Historical archaeology has been described as an "oddity" among anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians (Paynter 2000), yet it is particularly useful in remedying current social inequalities (Orser 1998; Shackel 2001). Floridian archaeologists have concentrated primarily on prehistoric archaeology (Weisman et al. 2004), and based on previous surveys, members of the public associate archaeology with the more distant past (Balme and Wilson 2004; Pokotylo 2002; Ramos and Duganne 2000). In the Tampa region, the Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society hosts several lectures a year, and engages in other public

outreach regarding archaeology. Any interest they have in historical archaeology is likely to be conveyed to the general public.

3) **To what extent do historic preservation groups give value to archaeology**

**within the city?** Archaeology can contribute much to our understanding of historic sites (Appler 2012; Kuhn 2002; Little 2007; Noble 2007; Pokotylo and Mason 1991; Sabloff 1998). Beginning from the standpoint that archaeology and historic preservation have diverged (Derr 2007; King and Lyneis 1978), and historic preservationists favor buildings (O'Bannon 2012), I examined the actions and statements of the Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association (OSHNA) Historic Preservation Committee members to determine the value they give local archaeological sites.

4) **How effective are local museums at connecting the viewer/visitor with a**

**knowledge of and value of urban history and archaeology?** Museum visitors have been identified as probable supporters of archaeology (Cannon and Cannon 1996), and more likely to have visited an archaeological site (Pokotylo 2002). Museums are seen as effective venues for connecting the public with information about archaeology (Cannon and Cannon 1996; Little 2007; McKee and Thomas 1998). The Ybor City Museum, which focuses on local urban history, gave me the opportunity to look at the understanding visitors received from the museum.



**5) Do members of neighborhood associations in historic districts extend what interest they have in preservation to other areas of the city, other time periods, or sites without standing structures?** It has been alleged that historic preservationists and historic preservation programs focus more, and possibly exclusively on the structures (Aylworth 2010; Pope et al. 2011). I enquired into other activities and interests of members of the historic preservation group to determine whether they limit their interests to their own neighborhood.

By answering these questions, I was able to determine some of the factors that influence people to actively preserve buildings and sites, whether through physically renovating a structure, excavating an archaeological site, applying for historic designation for a property, or writing to governmental officials in favor of preservation legislation. By determining what motivates people to preserve and learn from structures and archaeological sites, and what causes people in either an archaeological or historic preservation group to extend their interest to the subject of the other group, I suggest ways to foster collaboration between the historic preservationists and archaeologists.

A further goal of the study is to outline ideas about how archaeologists and preservationists can better convey to the public the importance and relevance of both, and engage members of the public in protecting our shared history. Additional research included exploring instances of preservation in the area and interviewing people who are involved with archaeology and preservation, whether through museum or archaeological outreach, local government, or through involvement with the preservation of specific sites (as opposed to preservation in general).

## **Organization of this Dissertation**

Chapters Two and Three outline the larger setting in which this study was conducted. Because archaeology is political, it is necessary to have an understanding of the broader socio-political world affecting the people and issues in the study.

Chapter Two gives a more comprehensive overview of previous studies and background literature regarding the various aspects of my study. The third chapter provides a brief synopsis of the laws that govern preservation in Florida at the federal, state, and local levels, and some of the more prevalent and acrimonious legal controversies affecting historic and archaeological preservation. Chapter Four sets forth the methodology used in the research.

Chapter Five presents two case studies of local informal, or ad-hoc, groups that have successfully preserved sites. Chapter Six discusses local formal groups, historic and archaeological, and their contributions to preservation and knowledge. Chapter Seven contains my analysis of the surveys and observations from the research of the groups and members of the general public. Chapter Eight describes some of the suggestions gathered from interviews, observations, and discussions about ideas for increasing interest and activity in historic and archaeological preservation. Chapter Nine revisits the research questions and provides conclusions.

## **Definition of Terms**

### *Community/local community*

Many types of communities exist, and any one person may be a member of several simultaneously. Each community is a “component of a larger system of interacting localities” (Rodriguez 2003). Community is not synonymous with neighborhood, but they can overlap (Weisman 2011b). In the context of archaeology and preservation, “community” has been defined as “those who live in close proximity to the archaeological site in question, including indigenous communities and other stakeholders” (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008:469).

### *Archaeological Site*

Archaeological site refers to the physical remains of human activity, and has been distinguished from other types of cultural heritage sites as lying underground (Noble 2007) or in ruin (Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation 2013). Although they often encompass buildings or other above-ground features, for the purposes of this study, I use the term archaeological site to differentiate the ruins and below-ground areas from other types of cultural heritage.

### *Cultural Resource*

In this study, cultural resource is defined broadly, meaning “all elements of the physical and social environment that are thought by anybody...to have cultural value” (King 2003:11).

### *Historical Archaeology*

Historical archaeology has been defined broadly as the archaeological investigation of a culture that had written documents, and more narrowly as the study of people of the recent past (Gilchrist 2005; ; Orser 2004; Shackel 2010). As a North American archaeologist, in this study I use the narrower definition, corresponding to post-contact era archaeology, that is, after 1492 (Gilchrist 2005; Orser 2004; Shackel 2010).

### *Historic Structure*

The National Register distinguishes buildings from other types of structures, yet uses a structure report for recording both (National Park Service 1997). Other governmental agencies (West Virginia Code §11-21-8g) and archaeologists (Colquette 2002:117; Faulkner 2002:3) include houses and other buildings as structures. In this study, the term historic structure includes constructed elements of our culture, such as buildings (residential or municipal), bridges, towers, viaducts, and canals.

### *Historic Preservation*

The State of Florida defines historic preservation as encompassing, among other things, the management, analysis, and protection of both historical buildings and archaeological sites 267.021(4). Due to the divergence between archaeological and historic preservation (Derr 2007; King and Lyneis 1978), and compartmentalization of disciplines within the heritage community (Williams 2000), they are differentiated in this

study, historic preservation being defined as the preservation and protection of the built environment (O'Bannon 2000).

### *Site*

The National Park Service defines site as a “location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure” (National Park Service 1997). Unless otherwise specified as archaeological or historic, in this study, “site” conforms to the NPS definition.

## **Chapter Two:**

### **Theory and Existing Literature**

Because this study evaluates several factors that interplay, the relevant existing literature and approaches come from multiple frameworks, fields, and subfields. In the United States, archaeology is a subfield of anthropology. Anthropology encompasses archaeology, cultural anthropology, linguistics, and biological anthropology. The study of archaeology encompasses not only artifacts and soil profiles, but also evidence of “the more dynamic relationships forged under the rubric of materiality” (Preucel and Meskel 2004:14). Archaeology contributes to an understanding of identity, the past, and heritage, by providing access to the material remains that allow a fuller interpretation or reinterpretation of the past (Buchli and Lucas 2001). As such, archaeology can fit within heritage and cultural resource management (Little 2007). Within archaeology is historical archaeology, the study of the material remains of cultures that also left written records. Historical archaeology is particularly important because it “has the unique ability, as no other field of inquiry has, to document the lives of men and women who were largely ignored by official history” (Orser 2000:158).

Public awareness and support of archaeology is necessary for historic and archaeological preservation and conservation to continue (Pokotylo and Mason 1991; Sabloff 1998; Kuhn 2002; Noble 2007; Appler 2012). Whether the support takes the form of seeking to preserve a single site, joining a local or national preservation or

archaeology group, seeking to influence the laws and ordinances affecting preservation, or being part of the legal system in instances of looting or site destruction, the public is crucial to ongoing preservation. A public educated about archaeological and historical sites is an invaluable ally for archaeologists (Milanich 1991; Sabloff 1998). “Only an informed public can be effective stewards of our built environment” (Hovey 1996:25).

In theory, laws reflect the will of the people. In her chapter in *Legal Perspectives on Cultural Resources*, Lynne Sebastian (2004) makes the point that the laws protecting archaeological sites are only as effective as the people implementing the laws and prosecuting violations of them, and she identifies education as the remedy for governmental reluctance to prosecute the crimes. “The most effective force for preservation of archaeological sites – and for all other kinds of historical property, for that matter – is the local ordinance” (Sebastian 2004:15). Exposure to and awareness of archaeology can increase support of it (Staski 2008). As Sabloff (2008, 1998) so perspicaciously notes, an educated public is more supportive of archaeology and of funding it.

In addition to the support for excavation and conservation, increased awareness of and respect for heritage, including archaeology, and descendant perspectives can result in decreased vandalism and looting (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999; Welch 2007). Archaeologists and historians “coexist...under the umbrella of cultural resource management (CRM) or...cultural heritage management” (Little 2007:10). They have both been part of preservation since its inception, and are often closely aligned in the laws, but the two began to diverge in the 1930s, with historians and architects concentrating largely on the built environment, and archaeologists furiously attempting

to excavate sites threatened by construction and the massive public works projects of the time (King and Lyneis 1978). These two directions of heritage preservation are often referred to as historic preservation and salvage archaeology, respectively (King and Lyneis 1978), and it is this conceptualization of historic preservation I use in this study, as differentiated from archaeology, whether in response to development or performed solely to answer a research question.

An understanding of the connection between the public's view of archaeology and the breadth of their interest in preservation should advance ideas for more effective ways of presenting archaeology. Powell (1962) notes the link between historic preservation and archaeology, saying that preservation of historic sites has increased interest in the use of archaeology to interpret those historic sites. He dates the trend as having begun in the 1930s, citing instances mentioned in previous descriptions of work accomplished by Colonial Williamsburg (Harrington 1955) and the National Park Service (Harrington 1955; Stauffer and Porter 1943). A more recent example of this link can be found in Minnesota. After the neighborhood of Old North St. Louis achieved inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, a multifaceted campaign developed to increase the desirability of the area (Baumann et al. 2008). The archaeology component of the program was intended to help provide a fuller understanding of the neighborhood's history, link residents to the past, and generally "nurture a greater appreciation for the built environment among current residents" (Baumann et al. 2008:73).

Surveys have been used to determine knowledge of and interest in archaeology. Previous surveys found that most respondents have some idea of what archaeologists do (Ramos and Duganne 2000; Pokotylo and Guppy 1999). However, one study found



that more of the respondents thought archaeologists studied dinosaurs than thought they studied the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Ramos and Duganne 2000). Part of the reason for this may be that the general public seems to conceptualize history as “something that has happened” rather than as part of a continuum that includes the present (Franco 1994).

David Lowenthal (1996:122) sums up the lack of connection between the past and present by saying, “history remains remote; personal immediacy is a heritage landmark.” Constructions of the past serve to provide people with a sense of place and identity (Bruner 1994). Even reproductions of the past, such as Colonial Williamsburg and New Salem, Illinois, which have been created for modern viewers, can, as representations of heritage and history, educate and attach people to the past (Bruner 1994).

History and heritage are two ways of knowing about the past. History can be seen as any one of a multitude of stories about the past (Jackson 2012), all of it “an interpretation of the past” (Ruffins 1992:509). Trouillot (1995:25) stresses the importance of the production of history, saying, “what history is changes with time and place or, better said, history reveals itself only through the production of specific narratives.” Heritage, both tangible and intangible, connects us, people in the present, with the past (Lowenthal 1996). It can be “anything a community, a nation, a stakeholder, or a family wants to save, make active, and continue in the present” (Jackson 2012:23).

Distinctions can be made between types of heritage. Erve Chambers (2006) distinguishes between public and private heritage, private heritage encompassing that

which has been transmitted person-to-person, whether knowledge, traditions, or heirlooms, and public heritage being official, recorded information transmitted between people who do not necessarily have a personal connection or know each other. He notes that heritage professionals (among them, archaeologists) have “public-ized” previously private heritage (Chambers 2006:40). At times, when archaeologists make private heritage public, the temporal distance can reduce any uneasiness archaeologists might have with the process, but it can cause a loss of a sense of control on the part of the descendant community (Buchli and Lucas 2001).

People’s ideas about archaeology come from a variety of sources, including its portrayal in schools, media outlets, movies, museums, and books. The public’s concept of exactly what is studied by archaeologists seems to be slanted towards the distant in terms of both geography and time, with Egypt specifically being mentioned most often (Ramos and Duganne 2000). Gabriel DeCicco (1988) notes that the idea that archaeology is something occurring “over there” is reinforced by representations of archaeology in popular culture. When asked about sources of information about archaeology, most respondents (56 percent) said they got information from television (Ramos and Duganne 2000). Television programs focusing on the monetary aspects of antiquities can further confuse the distinction between archaeology and looting (Brittain and Clack 2007). News stories are often selected for their ability to capture readers’ or viewers’ interest, therefore, stories about archaeology tend to be the ones involving controversy (Spriggs 1990). Likewise, stories selected to shock and awe will show archaeology in that light. Gold and vast empires in exotic locations translate well into movies and have a tendency to capture people’s interest (Noble 2007). On the other

hand, archaeology is also seen, at least by some, as rational and scientific (Fagan and Feder 2005). Although newer forms of media are becoming more popular, as Brittain and Clack (2007) note, they are added to the older technologies and combine, leaving the older technologies still relevant. Archaeological documentaries, maps and photographs of excavations are viewable on the Internet. Ruth VanDyke (2006) lists several newer, relatively inexpensive technologies, and encourages archaeologists to use them to engage with the public and allow the public to develop a wider appreciation for archaeology.

### **Origins of Interest in History and Historic Preservation**

A sense of personal connection with the past can increase people's interest in the past. This interest can lead to support of historic and archaeological preservation. The connection can stem from a shared culture, ethnicity, or location, or from an admiration of a remnant of a prior group, such as a piece of artwork. It allows people to identify with past members of that group and see its relevance in their own lives (Karmanski 2010; DeLyser 1999). It can connect them to a location or time, and give them a sense of identity (Datel 1985).

The collective focus of early Americans was on the possibilities for the future, rather than the past (Shackel 2001). Early preservation interest stemmed from threats to historically and culturally significant structures. The country's oldest national preservation group, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, was established in 1853 to purchase and preserve Mount Vernon, which was falling into disrepair (Tyler 2000).

Cultural events can influence an interest in preservation. D'Ann Campbell and Richard Jensen (1977) link an increase in public interest in historic preservation to the United States bicentennial. Much of the interest naturally focused on Revolutionary War figures and places. Unfortunately, they do not mention whether the interest extended to archaeological or pre-colonial sites, and at the time of the writing, there was no way to determine if the effects would be long-term. Tyler (2000) uses the bicentennial as a benchmark in stating how much interest in historic preservation (of structures) has grown. He mentions that preservation has existed for at least a hundred years, but says that there has been an upswing in it since the 1970s, noting, "A society is matured when its primary focus shifts from the quantitative to the qualitative" (Tyler 2000:14).

David Glassberg (1987:958) defines historical consciousness as the "sense of belonging to a succession of past and future generations as well as to a present community and society." His historical consciousness is similar to heritage, characterized as involving "the construction of a story about the past that affects the present (Jackson 2012:24).

People's knowledge of their ancestors' origins can instill an interest in historic preservation. As Lowenthal (1985:41) states, "the past is integral to our sense of identity." A sense of identity can create a desire to preserve monuments and markers related to ancestors, and the preservation and understanding of the historic and heritage markers can develop identity. Identities are neither given (Bruner 2005) nor stagnant (Jackson 2004; 2011), but "are performed by people with agency who have choices" Bruner 2005:90). Individual identities may be constructed for short time periods or for particular occasions (Bruner 2005). Cultural identity can be asserted and

affirmed through performances, music, and interaction with other groups (Chambers 2010).

The publication of the book *Roots* stimulated many people's interest in genealogy, but Campbell and Jensen (1977) state that the interest may have initially been in family and community history, and could have been thus focused if people had been more aware of how to research those. Judith Smith (1992) relates support for the restoration of the Statue of Liberty and facilities at Ellis Island directly to knowledge of and interest in ethnic origins. In addition, these monuments have come to symbolize the broader ideas of immigration and freedom (Bodnar 1986). Some people have emotional ties with them even if their ancestors arrived at a point other than Ellis Island and never viewed the Statue of Liberty. This makes it hard to know how much of the emotion is related to ancestry and how much is related to symbolism.

Stories about specific members of a person's family can generate an interest in a particular time period or in history overall. In research into the importance of heritage (Jackson 2012), and in the comments generated by an article on the origins of the love of history (Chhaya 2012), people mentioned that they came to their interest through, among other things, hearing stories of older relatives' early lives, either directly from those relatives or from intermediaries. Likewise, surveys conducted in Australia and Canada (Conrad et al. 2009) revealed that family history (heritage) was found to be a more significant source of people's connection with the past than academic history.

Historic preservation can affect people's sense of place. Preucel and Meskell (2007:216) provide a concise differentiation of space and place, saying space "is a natural science concept, the physical setting within which everything occurs," while

places are, “the outcome of the social process of valuing space.” Jackson (2011:6) takes the conceptualization of space further, saying “space functions as an active domain in political discourse.” Place has also been defined as “an already plenary presence permeated with culturally constituted institutions and practices” (Casey 1996). Place is created, recreated, and developed in an ongoing process (Bruner 2005; Jackson 2011a; Kahn 1996). The creation of place can be seen in sites such as in the historic site of New Salem, Illinois, or tourist sites in Kenya showcasing Maasai dances, all having created places in time based largely on ideas of what day visitors and audiences expected to see (Bruner 2005). These constructed places can elicit attachment and a sense of identity in the visitors (Bruner 2005). A place “takes on the qualities of its occupants, reflecting these qualities in its own constitution and description and expressing them in its occurrence as an event: places not only *are*, they *happen*” (Casey 1996). This could help explain the importance people attach not only to buildings and locations associated with their own personal pasts, but to ones associated with significant historical events. People’s enjoyment of life is connected to their “ability to control and enjoy one’s own experience” (Gallagher 1993:11). Preserving is a way of, if not controlling, at least keeping something familiar. As Americans have become more urbanized, more people have felt the need to “get away” to nature, possibly in part because their connection with “larger systems of physical organization” (Gallagher 1993:20) becomes more evident there.

## **Representations of History, Archaeology, and the Past**

Our understanding of the past is limited by what has survived. Survivals can be recorded (written or oral) accounts of history, or part of the material culture, such as artifacts, buildings, or items in museums. The aspects that are presented to the public are selected from that group of survivals (Lowenthal 1985:215). The survivals can interact in the overall representation of the past. Accounts can be checked against other accounts and against the archaeological record, which themselves often tell only one part of the past. These parts overlap to varying degrees. Some may tell of the same event from similar perspectives, while others may tell of entirely different events occurring contemporaneously in the same area. Some authors and historians make this clear, as Ferdie Pancheco (1994) does, stating that his account may not accord with what others experienced, but that it is what he remembered.

Historical discourse is a form of power and property (Yelvington 2002; McGuire 2007). When preservation or interpretation occurs, a decision is made regarding which history to target, and *whose* history to showcase. David Hamer (1998) illustrates this by showing which aspects of their histories various cities have preserved. For example, New Bedford and Salem have focused on whaling and witch trials respectively. Locally, the citizens and city of Tampa have put a great deal of effort into protecting buildings and districts associated with the city's cigar manufacturing history. Paul Shackel (2003:xv) notes a similar tendency with national parks, saying it "became apparent that the enabling legislation for each park was created to support a particular social and/or political climate at a specific time." Trouillot (1995) characterizes the production of history as a process, and any time it is produced, silences are produced as well. If a

town concentrates exclusively on one period, or a set of artifacts from a period, the rest of its history may have a greater chance of being ignored, or silenced. Archaeological preservation becomes particularly important in the realm of silences. When something happens, traces and silences are left (Trouillot 1995). Some of the physical traces exist in the archaeological record. At times, the information recoverable through archaeology is one of the only sources available (Jackson 2012:86), and thus, is invaluable as far as its potential for correcting a silence (Little 1997). Archaeology can bring to light the history of people who have been “undervalued and overlooked” (Orser 2002:158).

Some of the first instances of historic preservation in the United States were the acquisition and restoration of buildings related to early American history by groups such as the Daughters of the American Revolution (Barthel 1989; King et al. 1977). They had both a personal interest in a particular era and the means to preserve buildings. These restorations presented a history that glorified the person or time associated with the building, and, by extension, the group funding the restoration that identified with that aspect of history (Bodnar 1986). They were also intended to promote a sense of national unity from a memory of a shared revolutionary struggle (Wallace 1986).

One criticism of some instances of historic preservation is that they present a narrow, one-sided, view of a mythic past, rather than history. Like the tendency referred to by Bodnar (1986:148) of past preservationists to create shrines from Revolutionary War heroes’ houses, many people and cities want to show what they consider to be their history in the best possible light. Writing about heritage tourism, Chambers (2010) states that representations of the heritage sites are often the interpretations favored by the interpreter. If it is true that “the past is the only dead thing that smells sweet”



(Thomas 1974:48), it is at least partially due to the representation of it by present people. A problem with only presenting the interpreter's favored interpretation is that it often excludes the history of large segments of the population and can alienate people not descended from the showcased ancestors. By the early twentieth century, early American architecture was used as a symbol identifying the possessors with a pre-immigrant, non-nouveau riche status (Wallace 1986). The combination of preservation by the wealthy, and the idea that preserved structures could foster acceptability eventually became twisted by some into the idea that the elite owned the past and preservation and interpretation were the elite's prerogative (Wallace 1986). When the represented history overlooks or excludes some interested parties (usually ones with less power), conflict can occur. Struggles over the interpretations among interested parties (such as governmental officials, consultants, various groups of residents, scholars, and tourists) can be reflective of a more general struggle among those parties at a town or national level (Chambers 2010; Yelvington 2002).

Some of these oversights may be an unconscious myopia or a desire to present a clean, linear past. There may be a lack of awareness that history from the perspective of non-white, migrant, or working-class people might not have been identical to the history that preservers are portraying (King et al. 1977). Portrayal of only the dominant culture or story, and removing "others" allows for a neater, more linear story (Shackel 2001:4). The reincorporation of "others" back into the story ruins the simple cohesiveness and is an excuse to avoid the reincorporation (Shackel 2001:4). However, the limited representation is static (Lowenthal 1985) and exclusionary. Regardless of the reasoning or intent for the narrow focus, the result can

be, and historically too often has been, to exclude entire groups of people and cause a detachment between them and the past. They, their history, and heritage become hidden from public view (Jackson 2012). This absence and detachment is harmful to an understanding of history, to the excluded descendant groups, and to the goals of preservation. Eric Wolf (1997:xxvi) explained the importance of historically overlooked groups to the historical record saying, “the common people were as much agents in the historical process as they were its victims and silent witnesses. We thus need to uncover the history of ‘the people without history’ – the active histories of ‘primitives,’ peasantries, laborers, immigrants, and besieged minorities.” Multiple representations enable the production of a fuller, more critically engaged presentation of the past (Jackson 2012; Pluckhahn 2010). The more people see themselves and the groups they identify with represented in an area’s history, the more likely they might be to support preservation in the area. The more the preservation of physical places related to people’s heritage occurs, the more they are able to explore their heritage, convey it to others, and develop their senses of identity in relation to that heritage.

Conveying knowledge of ways in which previously overlooked groups of people were actors in history, rather than simply recipients of action or background to the main actors, can change the way those groups and their descendants are viewed. The earlier tendency toward exclusion has been reversed to some extent, with conscious efforts by museums to facilitate civic engagement and public dialogue by visitors (Abram 2007). “Looking to the future, it will be the sharing of, and inclusion of a diversity of stories, images, and experiences about America’s history and heritage on a community level in public forums that will be most important in building bridges and

stimulating connections within and across communities” (Jackson 2010:85). After surveying museum visitors in Canada, Debbi and Aubrey Cannon (1996:37) found that “there is a need to contextualize the prehistoric past socially and temporally in ways that relate to the present and everyday lives of the consuming public

Community and civic engagement in heritage preservation and archaeology is crucial in instilling ownership, whether the local communities are descendant groups or not (Davis-Salazar et al. 2007). Community involvement contributes additional layers of symbolism and meaning of artifacts and archaeological sites, helping gain a fuller understanding, and contributing to community identity (Greer et al. 2002). In fact, “for many community projects, it is the process that matters more than the outcome” (Horning and Brannon 2012:14). The very act of collaboration with the local community can give them power in the archaeological process (Atalay 2012, 2006). When people are able to “own’ what they construe as ‘their’ history...that history gives their [identity] direction” (Yelvington 2002:370).

It is possible for multiple histories to be represented in an artifact, structure, or area. The same artifact can have different meanings, depending on its location. “Clearly, when we begin to analyze even the most commonplace artifacts in terms of race and class, we enter a fluid world where meanings, being temporally and even situationally mutable, defy easy interpretation” (Orser 1998:664).

One historic building or district can portray multiple periods or perspectives. The same location or artifact can represent different stories, histories, and meanings (Jackson 2011b, 2012). Although it centers exclusively on the lives of well-to-do families of European descent, the González-Alvarez House in St. Augustine is an

example of restorers showing several different time periods in one structure. Each room is decorated in a style reflecting a particular era of the house's history.

Admittedly, the González-Alvarez house may be unique in that it was added onto by distinctly different groups, but the restoration helps to illustrate the European history of the city and might work as well in a similarly situated building elsewhere. One option for districts is the use of tours or heritage trails to focus on aspects important to particular groups or eras (Brock 2011; Hamer 1998; Herman 2011). They can enable the conveyance of multiple perspectives within an area (Simpson 2011). Tours can intersect and run independent of each other or show where the various histories intersected (Riker 2011).

Just as a structure can have multiple meanings, so can its destruction, proposed destruction, or continued absence. In discussing the demolition of the Arcade complex in Sulphur Springs, Florida, a building seen by some as an iconic center of community recreation was seen by others as a painful reminder of segregation, and its destruction a positive event (Jackson 2010). In some cases, attempts to preserve factories are opposed by the people who worked in the buildings and their descendants, who see the effort as "an attempt to save a degrading phase of human history" (Shackel 2001:4). When World War II ended, the Manzanar internment camp in California was bulldozed (Dubel 2001). It later became a National Historic Site, then was transferred to the National Park Service. When plans were drawn to reconstruct some of the buildings, the NPS received multiple threats that the buildings would be destroyed. The antagonism toward the site's memorialization is largely based on a refusal to "accept that Japanese-Americans were deprived of their civil rights" (Dubel 2001).

An interesting aspect of historic preservation is the occasional claim to desirable ancestors and history (Lowenthal 1990). Susan Kane (2003) mentions the tendency of Westerners to associate pharonic Egypt with themselves more than with present-day Egyptians. In the United States, Brett Williams has argued that newcomers to Georgetown have taken the most desirable aspects of the history of others as their own (Hamer 1998:97). Restoration of an area can erase the time between the affluent era and gentrification (Hamer 1998). It can be used to effectively associate the post-gentrification residents with the desired past, often overlooking an economic decline in the area in the interim. Locally, some areas such as Ybor City are unique among historic districts, having descendants of the founders still living in the area. Preservation attempts must strive to not only prevent the descendants' displacement, but include their perspectives and goals for preservation (McAnny and Parks 2012; Welch 2007).

Museums are another conduit for the preservation of the past and have had a history similar to that of historic preservation. For much of museums' existence, curators have presented a very narrow slice of history. The presented aspects of history were overwhelmingly from the perspective of middle- to upper-class white men (Blakey 1990; Jones and Pay 1990). Decisions regarding which artifacts to display have reflected the value systems of museum personnel. For instance, items identified with objectivity and rationality, such as maps, charts, and written documents, were traditionally shown to the marginalization of items such as textiles (Franco 1994). When marginalized groups were included, they were often trivialized (Karp 1992). In response to critique, for the past three decades there has been a trend toward reevaluating exhibits and attempting to make the exhibits more inclusive by representing the history

of more than just that of upper or middle-class European descendants, and by anticipating visitors other than the traditional white middle class ones (MacDonald 1992; Ruffins 1992). One notable example is Colonial Williamsburg, which was widely criticized during the 1970s for its unnaturally clean, uniformly white representation of the past (Gable and Handler 2004; Wallace 1986). During the 1980s, it was revised to incorporate African-American interpreters and representations of use wear on buildings (Lowenthal 1985, 1996). With the changes in representations came an awareness on the part of museums of wider audiences (Ruffins 1992). The fuller, more inclusive representations of the past can improve cross-cultural understanding and advance social change (Baumann et al. 2011). They can serve to help make each “underrepresented story part of the public memory” (Shackel 2011:xvi).

Another way museums and other interpreters of heritage can connect visitors with the past is to involve them in the preservation activities, if only as onlookers. Lonnie Hovey (1996) describes how one museum was able to accommodate visitors during renovations and archaeological studies. The work being done at the museum became the exhibit, with work areas on display and signs and informational handouts allowing self-guided tours. Although the article does not focus on the project’s effectiveness at education, the majority of the responses from the public were favorable, and the incidence of repeat visitors might indicate some sense of ownership or proprietary interest. When members of the local community have a financial interest in the past, support may be increased. The inclusion of Maasai as shareholders in a tourist camp has resulted in an incentive to support the tourism and has decreased local poaching, thereby protecting national heritage (Bruner 2005). The involvement of

stakeholders in research, has been found to increase their use of the research (Berggren and Hodder 2003). Although they are already stakeholders, their stake in the project's success is increased, as is their sense of ownership.

This inclusion of visitors in “behind the scenes” tours or in excavations may help instill in them the sense of ownership that was in the past limited to the wealthy. Museum visitor logs can help gauge the effectiveness of a display. They can provide information about visitors' ideas of what an exhibit should be and a museum's role, as well as their impressions of the exhibit. Although comments in guest books are often brief, they sometimes relate more detailed thoughts about specific aspects of exhibits (Crane 1997).

In addition to interpretations of archaeology by museums, archaeologists themselves can, and many argue, must, present the public with information about their field (Appler 2012; Lees and King 2007; Little 2007). Information about the significance and importance of the archaeological findings, what the archaeological record tells us about the people who lived at, worked at, or visited the site can better connect viewers with heritage and further their understanding of the importance of archaeology. Discussing municipal archaeology programs, Douglas Appler (2012:43), an urban planner, writes that consultation with various groups of stakeholders is necessary to minimize or prevent conflict. Substantial community involvement has led to an increased focus on more recent history and on the community ascribing values to the excavated information, which contributes to the identity of the group (Greer et al. 2002). A program implemented at excavations in Annapolis has had success in teaching visitors about the interpretations given by archaeologists and historians, and how to

knowledgably critique those interpretations (Leone et al. 1987). It focused on the relevance of various artifacts in a site and their impact on the presenters' view of history, rather than on the mechanics of excavation. At the archaeological site of the historic town of New Philadelphia, there was considerable interest by the public and media, and media representations were well received, with the film documentation of a "Day of Discovery" (an event bringing together descendants of the town, historical information, visitors, and archaeology) being nominated for an Emmy (Shackel 2011; 179).

Museum curators have found it useful to explain the importance of the pieces presented. Curators have felt a tension between the goal of educating the public and the need to entertain and draw people into the exhibits (Franco 1994). Franco (1994) describes a shift from emphasis on expert knowledge (which may be drier and less accessible) to explanation and education. This has occurred because there has been an increase in the importance of conveying information to museum visitors.

### **Preservation and Gentrification**

In many cases, there is a link between historic preservation and gentrification (Barthel 1989:100; Karamanski 2010; Levy et al. 2007). One consequence of preserving and restoring a historic structure is that the restoration might increase the value of the property (Throne 1999), and thus, the value of surrounding properties, eventually making it too expensive for the pre-preservation residents to remain there. It is possible that newcomers may be more interested in designating a district as historic because they want to preserve the character that attracted them. They might also have



the means to rehabilitate the properties. On the other hand, as Byrne (2012), an attorney, notes, areas that allow new development will sometimes engage in exclusionary zoning, mandating large lots and single family homes, effectively excluding lower-income families. In such cases, historic preservation allows more affordable housing.

In some areas, gentrification has included some element of historic preservation (Karamanski 2010; Zukin 1987:133). In Tampa, when parts of Ybor City became a historic district, the areas with larger numbers of black residents and less palatable to developers were excluded (Greenbaum 1990). The boundaries were later expanded, but the more recent additions have a large number of buildings that are considered non-contributing to the district (Hillsborough County 2003). A more recent approach has been suggested, in which historic district boundaries are based on areas of historical significance, rather than on a particular style or time period of architecture (O'Bannon 2010).

The implementation of an early urban renewal project in Ybor City caused considerable negative sentiment among local residents. The Tampa City Council approved the Maryland Avenue Project<sup>1</sup> in 1960 (Baber 1998). According to one Ybor City resident, it received funding because of the significant amount of history in Ybor City, and had as one of its stated goals the revitalization of the city (Pizzo 1985). However, it resulted in the leveling of several blocks of the historic area, destruction of many of the historic buildings, and displacement of large groups of the residents (Pizzo

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<sup>1</sup> Also called the Model Cities Maryland Avenue Urban Renewal Project <http://www.hcplc.org/hcplc/locations/sau/> and the Maryland Avenue Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal Project (*Grubstein v. Urban Renewal Agency of City of Tampa*, 115 So. 2d 745, 751 [1959]).

1985). Although the project may have been presented to Pizzo and other residents as a way of preserving and redeveloping the historic area, in the case brought before the Florida Supreme Court to allow funding for the project, the primary purpose was said to be “the elimination of a slum condition, and prevention of the recurrence thereof” (*Grubstein v. Urban Renewal Agency of City of Tampa*, 115 So. 2d 745, 751 [1959]).

The connections between preservation and gentrification, whether unintentional or deliberate, can cause considerable and legitimate dissatisfaction among pre-preservation residents and descendants of the historic groups when presented with the idea of preservation. Cases like those just mentioned can instill a negative view of preservation. When faced with the possibility of their neighborhood becoming a historic district, residents are often quite reasonably afraid of their homes becoming too expensive for them to retain. Hamer (1998) notes the potential for the displacement of current residents due to preservation. While this is common, in some cases, such as the area around Central Avenue and the former Meacham School in Tampa, preservation has become the alternative to displacement (Butler 2007). It is the redevelopment that presents the risk of displacement.

Some cities have begun an effort to avoid the past tendencies toward gentrification. There are initiatives in Florida and elsewhere to create development without displacement. The community redevelopment agency of Delray Beach, Florida has attempted to prevent displacement of the pre-redevelopment residents by encouraging development projects to provide low and moderate income housing, and establishing a community land trust (Delray Beach Community Redevelopment Plan 2009). Community Land Trusts retain ownership of the land structures are built on, thus

reducing the initial purchase price and limiting owners in the amount they can receive upon resale, providing an incentive to remain in the home.

Near Tampa, in unincorporated Hillsborough County, the alumni of a historic school obtained landmark designation to protect it in the face of extensive development in the area. Alumni of the Citrus Park Colored School, a one-room schoolhouse, and the first school in the town open to African American children, were successful in convincing the Board of County Commissioners to grant the building county historic landmark designation in 1996 (Mohlman 1999). This effort was part of a long history of community involvement in the school, from its construction by local residents in 1924, to its eventual use as a church, then a church fellowship hall (Jackson 1996). The early twentieth century school for white children had been designated in 1970, and for some alumni, this designation was the second half of preservation of sites representing early Citrus Park education (Jackson 1996).

### **Ethnohistory, Community, and Preservation**

Ethnographies provide context to anthropological studies, situating the accounts within the larger system or structure (Bruner 2005:249). Researchers collect data directly from living people in the field through means of participant observation and interviews (Chambers 1989; Ingold 2008; Jackson 2006) with an awareness of cultural context (Chambers 1989). Ethnography can be used to locate sites to be preserved (King et al. 1977), explore connections between archaeological sites (Ryzewski 2011), and to provide a context for the findings of the excavations (Joseph 2004). There is an implication that descendant groups whose members are still in the area have

information about the groups' pasts. This knowledge may or may not equate with concern about the sites. Also, the knowledge may be viewed as private or not open to verification by scientists, and therefore not accessible by ethnographers (Atalay 2012).

Part of the collaboration with community groups has involved collecting oral histories, first-hand narratives of experience. Archaeologists have been relying more heavily on oral history since the 1970s (Jones and Russell 2012; Hamer 1998). It can be used to locate and identify heritage sites, and provides a fuller understanding of them (Clark 2010; Jones and Russell 2012; Lowenthal 1985; Merritt et al. 2012). "Oral narratives telescope, expand, and rearrange segments of the past in line with the significance attributed to them" (Lowenthal 1985:220). Consultation and collaboration with communities can allow surveys of archaeological and historic resources in an area to strengthen the identities of descendant groups "trying to reestablish their voice in the history of the area (Shackel 2001:5). In cases where communities, stakeholders, or residents have been excluded from the process and dispersed, anthropologists can illuminate the oversights by conducting multi-site studies to identify and locate the stakeholders (Jackson 2009, 2011a). In some cases, there has been an increased attempt to determine what landmarks are important to the community. Wesley Bernardini (2009) illustrates a successful collaboration between local communities and archaeologists. The Tutureni Petroglyph site is a singularly valuable resource for understanding Hopi clan symbols. It is the "largest, most significant concentration of Puebloan clan symbols to be found anywhere in the southwest, in any medium" (Bernardini 2009:2). It has also been heavily vandalized, and is threatened by further destruction. The preservation of the site and recording of its information was possible

through the collaboration between the “Hopi Tribe, Navajo Nation, and between academic archaeologists and descendant communities” (Bernardini 2009:3).

Ethnohistory is the anthropological examination of historical and cultural materials and records such as maps, audio recordings, manuscripts, artwork, language, and oral histories to form a more comprehensive understanding of a group of people. It can be used to incorporate “anthropology’s use of theory as a framework for organizing data and formulating analysis and historic method for collecting, verifying, and organizing the relevant material” (Jackson 2003:11). Archival material can be used to show a site’s relation to larger areas (Jackson 2003, 2006). It allows for the study of “a component of a common history suppressed or omitted from conventional studies for economic, political, or ideological reasons.” Wolf 1997). It can be used by the community to indicate where material remains might be located. A photograph or drawing might depict a building that has since been destroyed, or an old map might show the location of an otherwise unmarked cemetery. A group that is concerned with its history and places significant to that history would likely be more interested in protecting those places. This seems to be particularly true when members of the group perceive a strong link between their own lives and the past people and uses. The Hopi have shared relevant ethnohistorical information with their Cultural Preservation Office archaeologists to help avoid destruction of trails and sites significant to Hopi beliefs (Ferguson et al. 1995).

There has been some concern about the lack of attention paid to ethnic significance in archaeology. David Doyel (1982) argues that places that are significant to Navajo identity should be preserved. Although Doyel concentrates on places of

ethnic significance for native groups, specifically the Navajo, he notes that the protection should apply to any ethnic group. Unlike Ferguson, Doyel incorporates into his definition non-religious areas, including ones that should be preserved because they have played an economic role in the history of the culture. Both groups in their examples identify closely with past members, which may or may not be a closer identification than that of other groups. Aylworth (2010) calls for historic preservationists to study the cultural significance of commercial buildings and the motivations that led to their construction. She postulates that an anthropological and historic exploration of a building or historical district can show the social ideologies prevalent among the people who designed it, at that particular time.

Taking not only comments, but direction, from the local residents can prevent misunderstandings and conflicts between preservationists and people who may have a long history of having been ignored or overridden by a more dominant cultural group (Atalay 2012). Community narratives can assist in any governmental planning effort. To be most effective in benefitting the community, the planners must listen to the residents, rather than tell them what they need (Jackson 2011b). The importance of the insider perspective can be extended to historic preservation in a community. It is generally seen as overbearing when outsiders make decisions for a neighborhood or community with no local input<sup>2</sup>, but it has been suggested that it can also be or be seen as a form of racism and/or classism (McDavid 2007) and a continuation of historic power inequalities (Atalay 2012). Anthropology and archaeology can and should be

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<sup>2</sup> This is one of the reasons proposed rules by the federal government must go through a notice and comment period. "The rulemaking procedure performs important functions. It gives notice to an entire segment of society of those controls or regimentation that is forthcoming. It gives an opportunity for persons affected to be heard (Douglas 1969).

used to combat racism not only by including the perspectives of multiple diverse groups in the presentation of findings, but by involving multiple groups at all levels and stages of planning and presenting the past (McDavid 2007; Shackel 2011).

Archaeologists can engage people by bringing their attention to societal and cultural issues such as racism, sexism, and other biases as they appear in the archaeological and historical record (Harrison 1998; Orser 1998; Shackel 2011).

Archaeology can show the origins and expressions of constructs such as class (Paynter 1989, 2000; Shackel 2010; Trigger 2007), race (Orser 2007; Shackel 2010), and gender (Gilchrist 2007; Meskell and Preucel 2007), and the social and power inequalities associated with them (Orser 1998; Pluckhahn 2010; Saitta 2010). As Shackel (2011:xvii) states, “I believe that making people more aware of the injustices that existed in the past and developing their connections to the present can make them more aware that they are part of communities and societies that are racialized and unequal. Perhaps those connections will provide the necessary tools to help us create change in communities by encouraging multivocality and inclusion.” Community-based archaeology can enable descendant groups to reclaim their heritage (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). Archaeology can also help alleviate societal problems by fostering discussion within a community and between communities (Fuller 1992). To an extent, this requires archaeologists to relinquish some amount of control and ownership. However, it allows archaeology to become more democratic and inclusive, and act as a force to represent and give power to previously marginalized groups (Atalay 2012; Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010; Saitta 2007).

The goals and concepts of Indigenous archaeology are applicable to archaeology in general, and Sonya Atalay (2008) would extend them to any archaeological work involving local populations. She notes that this inclusive approach “offers the potential of bringing to archaeology a more ethical and engaged practice, one that is more inclusive and rich without sacrificing the rigor and knowledge production capacity that make archaeology such a powerful tool for understanding past lifeways” (Atalay 2008:30). Without the inclusion of community groups and the descendant population, archaeologists risk missing the complete picture. “Descendants...form deeper, more complex meanings of and connections to plantations and challenge static characterizations” (Jackson 2011a:449). Atalay (2012) further distinguishes between the established practice of sharing results with the public and the need for bringing the public into the process of production of archaeological knowledge. Incorporating local communities into the entire process of archaeological investigation can enable them to better care for and manage their heritage (Atalay 2012).

While ethnic identification can foster an interest in preservation, the interest can also flow in the other direction. Preservation can lead to an increased awareness of ethnic identity. Open-air museums allow visitors to better relate to the past by physically entering it to some extent. They can elicit an emotional response and use it to stimulate the intellect (Blockley 2004). Castell Henllys, a reconstructed Iron Age community in Pembrokeshire, has been part of the recent resurgence of Welsh culture (Mytum 2004). It provides a tangible pre-English history that, with such efforts as the increased use of the Welsh language, encourages Welsh identity.



The land in a historic preservation district many not correspond with the mental maps of individuals. Archaeological features, architectural qualities, and natural formations are among the factors mentioned by Hamer (1998) that have been used to determine historic district boundaries. According to Larry Ford (Hamer 1998:154), locals' concepts of historic areas are often larger than the designated boundaries. The exact delineation varies by person.

There may be a disconnect between views of "integrity" as well. A structure or site can lack integrity from an architectural standpoint, but have it according to the community using it (King et al. 1977). In deciding whether the site should receive National Register designation, King et al. would use the community's definition. This is part of their general tendency to use the definitions and values of the groups seeking National Register designation. They also note that sites may well be important to a group for reasons that are not listed in the National Register criteria.

"Florida is a state rich in history, yet for so many residents and visitors alike, that history goes back no farther than the opening of Walt Disney World" (Revels 2011:4) Long-term residence in an area might affect the views of what is and is not historic. Although European history in Florida began earlier than any other state, we do not have a surplus of pre-Victorian buildings. A Floridian's concept of an old or historic building is probably considerably newer than that of a recent transplant from New England (Throne 1999). Therefore, a Floridian might be more inclined to see the value in a newer building, such as a 1920s Mediterranean-style house. On the other hand, recent transplants (of which there are many) might view Florida as being void of history, simply because they do not recognize the archaeological sites for what they are, and do not

consider twentieth century structures to be historic. The recognition of a site for what it is matters. Generally, people must be aware of a site in order to value it (Navrud and Ready 2002).

The connection between knowledge of ethnohistory and heritage preservation can be seen in Tampa and Ybor City and efforts to preserve aspects of them. In the 1980s, members of Ybor City's Martí-Maceo Society reached out to a professor in the University of South Florida's anthropology department for assistance in documenting their role in Ybor City's history (Greenbaum 2002). The Martí-Maceo Society was a mutual aid society founded in 1900 by Afro-Cubans who had been evicted from another mutual aid society by the white members. Their building had been demolished during urban renewal, and without a historic building or significant mention in the existing literature, they worried about being excluded from the process of Ybor City's becoming a historic district. After an extensive ethnohistorical project, the society's profile was raised and the newer building was incorporated into the historic district as a "building of historical significance" (Greenbaum 2002:319).

In addition to knowledge of ethnohistory leading to interest in preservation, interest in an area can stem from living there. It seems that it is the sense of place or identity that is a driving factor. In the late 1990s, there was a perception that the group Tampa Preservation, Inc. was possibly too focused on South Tampa, the area in which its leaders primarily lived (Danielson 1999). If true, it could be due to an interest in those members' home neighborhood or a desire to keep unwanted development out.

People's interest in the past can originate in many ways. Ethnic, cultural, and community origins all contribute to an interest in history and can make the past more

personal to present-day individuals who associate themselves in some way with the past groups.

### **Anthropologists and the Study of Law**

Anthropologists are well situated to study laws, their characteristics, presence, relation to other aspects of society, and the public perception of them (French 2005; Nader 1965). Anthropologists can look at the societal forces that have resulted in a particular law or set of laws. They can study the legal process, and how people in the society view and respond to it (Goodale 2006). They can also look for the origins of changes in the law due to societal influences over time (Goodale 2006; Nader 1965). Early ethnographies of law were largely descriptive and relatively isolated from other systems in a society (Nader 1965). Later researchers encouraged a more applied approach, suggesting that in situations where the law does not provide equality, anthropologists can provide ideas as to how groups might obtain it (Goodale 2005; Nader 1965).

Paul Kahn (1999) suggests that law be studied as any other culture would be, focusing on the culture of the rule of law rather than on law reform. The rule of law is the substance of a law and the concept that laws are not arbitrary and are applicable to each person. Law reform is the study of decisions to date on a particular topic and why future decisions should or should not change to some extent. Kahn accurately sums up most instances of legal scholarship, including law review articles, as critiques of particular decisions or regulations, with a history of prior law, and often with an explanation of why the current trend should or should not continue. They are not

analyses of a law's place in or effects on the culture. Kamari Clarke (2010) advocates a more engaged anthropology that would serve people who have or may be harmed by social inequalities. She suggests an ethnographic study of law, in which anthropologists engage with both sides of a dispute and document issues of disparities of power and inequality (Clarke 2010).

Kahn (1999) states that a person researching the law should begin with a Geertzian thick description (Geertz 1973) of the legal event from the perspective of the people affected by it, and continue by focusing on what the law does and its outcomes, not whether the researcher thinks the outcomes are good or bad. The researcher would be recording what the subjects believe about the law rather than the researcher's own beliefs. Knowledge about the law would be used to help the researcher understand the society. Information about the origins of the law and peoples' opinions of it, and its effects could provide further knowledge of the society. Any discussion about law reform would center on the origin of reform, the ways people and organizations attempt it, and how they view the results, not on whether it has become what the researcher believes it should be.

Using this view of legal research, the researchers would distance themselves to an extent that would make it possible to discover others' experiences without interjecting their own opinions of what should be occurring. Kahn (1999) does not say that the researcher should disregard the law's authority, or flout it in any way, nor does he say the researcher should not have an opinion about it, particularly if the researcher is a member of the society governed by the law. This approach could work for an

archaeologist who is attempting to discover people's opinions of historic preservation law.

Although Kahn (1999:8) wants a study of law that does not focus on whether or not it is effective, he also says that, "law should be a product of popular consent," and, "looking at law, we believe we are looking at the externalization of our will" (Kahn 1999:13). These two points can be reconciled if "effective" means "effective from the standpoint of the researcher." It is entirely possible that current historic preservation laws are palatable to most people. It is also possible that they preserve more or fewer sites than most people would like. Determining this would be acceptable under both Kahn's system and anthropology. If the laws do not correspond to public views, my solution would be to attempt to determine what would cause people to support more preservation and try to implement those ideas, rather than try to change the law directly. Changes in the law that do not have public support can result in a backlash such as Oregon's Measure 37 (Or. Rev. Stat. § 293.295 - 293.515 (2005)), a controversial law requiring the government to pay for any regulation that diminishes property value.

Anthropologists are particularly well-suited to this type of study of law. They can (and Kahn [1999] suggests should be inclined to) look at the discipline of law solely to see what it is and how it works rather than in an attempt to change it.

Ignatius La Rusic (1985) notes that anthropologists should not necessarily create public policy. He cites Julian Steward (1955) in saying that anthropologists can cause change in public policy by increasing awareness of what policy makers are doing and have done, and that the changes anthropologists would make must be ones the society

would find acceptable. It might be enough to determine what the society finds acceptable and if current policy diverges from that, show how.

More recent approaches see merit in the idea of anthropologists influencing policy, and are willing to accept a reduction in objectivity for an increase in relevance. Johnston (2010) sees advocacy as the distinction between working with a community and simply working in a community. It can also be seen as the factor that makes anthropology applied, rather than theoretical (González 2010).

Anthropology also becomes more relevant when it is used to advocate for the people the anthropologist is studying (Johnston 2010). It can be collaborative, empowering the people being studied, and impact them in a visible, positive way. It changes them from informants to collaborators (Lamphere 2009).

The Socratic Method is suggested as a way of examining the “conditions of belief that make possible our ordinary activities and norms” (Kahn 1999:33). Cultural anthropology is mentioned specifically as an example of a discipline that habitually uses aspects of this method. Kahn sees the suspension of judgment and inquiry into cultural practice common in anthropology as the necessary starting point for the questioning that would be part of a Socratic inquiry or the collection of information used to create thick description.

### **Public Perception of Law**

Laws are influenced by public views, at least to some extent (Kahn 1999; Pokotylo 2002). Laws begin as a codification of existing societal norms or ideas of what society should aspire to. The idea that laws reflect a society’s beliefs is retained long

after the laws are written down. In this country, for a law to be determined legitimate, a sufficient number of people have to be able to accept that its origin can be traced back to the people in some way. For instance, “a particular regulatory action may be authorized by a prior judicial decision, which may have interpreted a regulation, which was authorized by a statute, which in turn was authorized by the Constitution, the authority of which comes from the people” (Kahn 1999:49). Thus, the public’s view of a law and opinion of its validity is important to its continued existence. If a law moves too far in any direction, it risks being considered arbitrary and baseless. The public’s opinion of a particular law, though, is usually not known until there is either a public outcry or a conscious attempt at discovering the public opinion.

In her analysis of the public trust doctrine, Bonnie McCay (1993:85) notes that anthropologists largely have not used anthropology to explain the “set of symbolic constructs that makes up a particular body of law and that is used to underpin legal practice: concepts and doctrines and how they come about and change.” This goal can apply as well to preservation law as to environmental law. It would include the reasons for the law’s existence and its changes. The study of representation must include a study of the substance of the representation, that is, what is often termed the will of the people (Prato 1993:174). One reason for the changes would be pressure from society due to its changes in opinions and views.

### **Determining Public Opinion**

Referring to archaeology, Jerald Milanich (1991:114) states, “public interest, involvement, and support mean government support.” However, public opinion is a

difficult concept to track, and little anthropological research has been done to gauge public opinion as it relates to archaeology and preservation (Kuhn 2002). It is comprised of the opinions of individuals, which are sometimes hard to discern. People have different abilities and willingness to articulate their thoughts. Further, although “democracy, at the everyday level, requires that citizens have access to institutions and decision makers” (French 2005:958), people influence action to varying degrees. Some people are better able to influence others, or are in a societal position that allows them to more easily guide public action.

Previous efforts to gauge public will or public opinion have included some methods and ideas from fields outside anthropology, such as statistics (Agnone 2007; Pokotylo and Guppy 1999), sociology (Agnone 2007; Burstein 2003), political science (Stimson et al. 1994). Virginia Sedman (1932) opines that public opinion should be seen as a force, rather than as a mere average or sum total of thoughts. She characterizes it as being formed at least partially by feelings and sentiment and reinforced by newspapers in a potentially self-perpetuating cycle. In an effort to appeal to readers, editors of the newspapers (and conceivably, other forms of media today) tend to put forth ideas that they think agree with the public opinion. If these ideas, from a seemingly reputable source, coincide with or reinforce people’s feelings, they can help legitimize them.

The media can go further in their use of polls to discern and create public opinion. The tendency of news sources to create news through the use of polls is discussed by Albert Gollin (1980). He mentions instances of news organizations not only selecting the topics for the polls, but also framing the questions used in the polling,



thereby deciding what topics are newsworthy and influencing the outcome of the polls. It is difficult to know, though, the extent to which this or any other survey affects the public opinion. It is something a researcher needs to remain aware of and try to minimize. Part of the problem appears to be the lack of knowledge of and adherence to theories of social science that would cause the researcher to be more focused on deriving an accurate picture and less on creating interesting headlines.

Herbert Blumer (2000) defines public opinion as something even more amorphous and harder to capture. He sees it as the sentiment that reaches and influences the decision makers. These people will be influenced most by the opinions of the more powerful groups. Samples of individuals' opinions give equal weight to each respondent's views without adjusting for the person's power and influence. Random samples of individuals, therefore, do not provide a realistic indication of the public opinion that matters. They also fail to show the process that produces changes in opinion over time (Plowman 1962:333). Unfortunately, Blumer does not offer a better method to use to perceive the public opinion, saying:

“In human society, particularly in modern society, we are confronted with intricate complexes of moving relations which are roughly recognizable as systems, even though loose systems... Such a loose system is too complicated, too encumbered in detail and too fast moving to be described in any one of its given “cycles” of operation adequately and faithfully.”  
[Blumer 2000:160]

He goes on to say that a model for describing public opinion should begin with discerning which opinions contribute to action, and finding the sources of those opinions. However, it appears that this approach can become circular, looking for the extent to which political action (the outcomes of regulations) follows public opinion, and defining public opinion as that which causes action.

The above cautions and limitations may all be accurate, but they do not get us much further in finding a practical method of determining the views of the public on any particular matter. Public opinion is generally gauged through surveys and polls (Agnone 2007). Among policy makers, elected officials are usually more responsive than civil servants or people in appointed positions are to public opinion (Kuhn 2002). When it comes to the impact of public opinion upon policy and laws, “policy makers respond and anticipate the preferences and reactions of groups of people, not individuals” (Cohen 2006:4). Cohen (2006) goes on to suggest that both the opinions of individuals and the opinions of distinct groups of individuals (such as constituents) have a bearing on the study of public opinion and public policy. In trying to determine public views, therefore, the most feasible approach appears to be to sample both individuals and members of groups that have some influence over political decisions. It would be nearly impossible to know the amount of influence of any particular group or person at a given time.

People who join voluntary associations, have been shown to be more vocal politically than non-joiners (Baggetta 2009). This holds true whether the associations are political or civic. The act of being an active member of a civic association may make a person more aware of aspects of the political process by giving a person either managerial experience or experience with intra-group elections and representation (Baggetta 2009).

Public opinion can impact governmental decisions about cultural resource management archaeology (Kuhn 2002). Differing theories and models have predicted varying amounts of power individuals have, compared to that of interest groups when attempting to sway political decisions (Burstein 2003; Page and Shapiro 1983).

Economists' theories have postulated governmental policy to be highly responsive to voter opinion. However, Page and Shapiro (1983) note that those models may have overlooked the influence of interest groups. Several differing perspectives, and multiple stakeholders, compete in the area of preservation, and local government has a sufficient leeway to accommodate most of these at least to some extent.

Just as people's opinions are given different weights by those creating regulations, those who influence the public do not have equal weight (Gusfield 1981). Having the power to frame the question can go a long way toward swaying people. In any debate, the question can be argued from varying standpoints.

Heritage can represent for different stakeholders an asset with intrinsic value that should be preserved, an economic asset that should be developed, or an asset to be consumed by the public (often tourists) (Jackson 2012). In a debate about historic preservation, the power a government has to preserve structures and sites on private land would be seen in different lights depending on the way the issue is stated. Presenting it as preserving our common history, and arguing it on those grounds would give an advantage to preservationists, while characterizing it as an infringement on private property rights would give an advantage to developers. It is entirely possible that the same people answering in a survey that they think sites should be preserved would also say they should have the right to do what they want with their own property, turning preservation into a "Not in My Back Yard" situation, albeit a better-looking one than a power plant.

Even after deciding that some of an area's history should be preserved, it is necessary to decide which type and whose history will be preserved. Preserving

multiple histories can be seen as either a focus on all factors that went into the creation of a town or as allowing political correctness to override a focus on the town's "glory days." Ideally, the more people see several histories presented in an easily understandable way, the more interest they will have in the ways the different times or people influenced each other.

### **Applied Anthropology and the Wider Perspective**

As an archaeologist in an applied anthropology program, I approached this study with an understanding that these cases are not isolated from each other, and are certainly not isolated from the larger political world. After all, not only is applied community anthropology political (Rodriguez 2003; Weisman 2011b), but I set out to analyze an aspect of the legal system at the local level, which is very likely to have a political aspect (O'Bannon 2000). "Applied anthropologists...are keenly aware of the intensely political environment in which social behavior exists at all levels, from political to global" (Weisman 2011b:21). I had hypothesized that the current ideologies would impact the goals of the communities with which I was working, and might cause me to reevaluate my methodology. As I progressed through the research, I began to see how the political currents are pervasively affecting multiple aspects of preservation.

### **Chapter Three:**

#### **Laws Affecting Historic and Archaeological Preservation**

Archaeological and historic sites are a non-renewable resource (Atalay 2012; Davies 1987; Davis 1993; Gormley et al. 2009; Lipe 1974). There is a finite supply of many physical cultural resources, including historic and archaeological sites and buildings. Laws have been put in place at all levels of government to preserve them for the enjoyment and edification of future generations. Laws create the environment in which preservation takes place. The current laws, operating both as constraints and supports with regard to preservation, must be mentioned to provide an understanding of the larger system in which this study occurs. These laws stem from the idea that preservation of historical sites is a beneficial public use that the government has an interest in promoting. Several laws impact the case studies and illustrations in this study. To fully understand the attempts at preservation, a discussion of the applicable laws is needed. I will discuss federal and state preservation laws, the takings arguments that are often used against those laws, and the local preservation ordinances used in the Tampa area. With the local regulations are two recent instances of local attempts at historic preservation. The two cases were very visible in the local media at the time I was researching, and, as such, possibly influenced public opinion regarding laws and preservation (Kuhn 2002).

One of the first attempts by Congress to preserve a site was *United States v. Gettysburg Electric Railway Co.* (160 U.S. 668 [1896]). A joint resolution of Congress in 1894 allowed the Secretary of War to acquire, through purchase or condemnation, a parcel of land owned by the Gettysburg Electric Railway Company, and central to the Battle of Gettysburg. The railway company was planning to install a railroad through an important part of the battlefield. The railway company argued that preservation of the battlefield was not the sort of public use for which the government was entitled to condemn land. The Supreme Court decided that the preservation was a constitutionally allowable public use, stating, “any act of congress which plainly and directly tends to enhance the respect and love of the citizen for the institutions of his country, and to quicken and strengthen his motives to defend them, and which is germane to, and intimately connected with, and appropriate to, the exercise of some one or all of the powers granted by congress, must be valid.”

Preservation laws often appear to assist historic preservation, namely preservation of historic structures, more often than they do archaeological sites (Pope et al. 2011). One reason given for this is that the early laws were written by historic preservationists (King and Lyneis 1978:885). Another reason might be that structures are more visible and less conceptual than archaeological sites, which many people seem to see as mere holes in the ground or hills (in the case of mounds and middens). Still, the goals are often similar, and many of the laws apply to both.

## **Federal Laws**

### ***Antiquities Act of 1906***

Codified archaeological site preservation in this country began with the Antiquities Act of 1906 (16 U.S.C. §§431-433). It came about largely as a result of concerns about looting and unauthorized excavation in newly discovered sites like Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde (Squillace 2003:477). The Antiquities Act was intended to protect sites located on federal lands for their general benefit to society as a whole and to preserve them for future generations. It stated that the federal government has authority over all historic and prehistoric sites on federal land, established a permitting process for examining and excavating those sites, and prohibited people from doing so without the necessary permits. The Antiquities Act was largely superseded by later legislation, but it continues to provide the President with the authority to designate national monuments.

### ***Historic Sites Act of 1935***

The Historic Sites Act of 1935 (16 U.S.C. §§461-467) gives the Secretary of the Interior through the National Park Service, the duty to, among other things, secure, manage, investigate, preserve, and maintain historical and archaeological sites and buildings. It also allows the Secretary to acquire private property through sale or gift, from willing owners. The Historic Sites Act does not contain any enforcement sections.

## **AHPA**

The Archaeological and Historical Preservation Act (AHPA) (16 U.S.C. §469), originally known as Reservoir Salvage Act, was enacted in 1960 to further the goals of the Historic Sites Act. It requires federal agencies to take sites into account. Any time an action by the federal government or by a private entity receiving federal funds or license may disturb archaeological or historical data, the agency is required to fund an archaeological survey. If a site exists on potentially affected property, and the activity may cause destruction or irreparable damage to it, the Secretary of the Interior has the authority to arrange for salvage archaeology to be conducted on the site.

## **NHPA**

While the Historic Sites Act mentioned cooperation between the National Park Service and state and local governments, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) provides a procedure for cooperation between federal and state governments (16 U.S.C. §470). This statute acknowledges the importance of cultural sites. It governs actions related to federal projects and their potential impact on archaeological and historical sites, and lays out a process often referred to as Section 106 review<sup>3</sup>. This process requires that federal agencies and any entity undertaking a federal project identify any archaeological resources that may be affected by the project and take into account the potential effects (16 U.S.C. 470f).

The agency proposing the action must determine whether the action is the sort that could affect historic properties. If so, the agency is required to identify the historic

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<sup>3</sup> So called because the requirement is set out in Section 106 of the Act.



properties in the area in which the action is proposed, and whether any of the properties are included or would be eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. If so, the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) and/or the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO) must be consulted, and the agency must provide for public notice and comment. If an agreement is reached at this point outlining ways to mitigate the damages to the sites, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation must be given time to comment. If the agency and the SHPO/THPO do not reach an agreement, the agency must request the Council to participate in the consultation. Once a memorandum of agreement (MOA) is agreed upon and executed, the action may proceed. Much of the public CRM archaeology in the United States is accomplished through section 106 review (Gray 1999; Noble 2007), and it has contributed greatly to the analysis and preservation of historical archaeology sites (Little 2007).

## **NEPA**

The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) requires that an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) be prepared as part of preliminary consideration for any “major Federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment.” The EIS must take into account not only potential impacts to the natural environment, but also impacts to the cultural environment. The Eighth (*Minnesota Public Interest Research Group v. Butz*, 498 F.2d 1314 [1974]) and Ninth (*Oregon Natural Resources Council v. Bureau of Reclamation* 49 F.3d 1441 [1995]) Circuits have held “major federal action” to include not only actions receiving a large part of their

funding from federal sources, but also actions having a significant impact on the environment.

NEPA does not go as far as it might in preserving archaeological resources. It only requires that agencies produce an EIS; it does not require that agencies avoid any and all damage to the environment. It mandates that federal agencies “use all practicable means, consistent with other essential considerations of national policy, to improve and coordinate Federal plans, functions, programs, and resources to the end that the Nation may... preserve important historical, cultural, and natural aspects of our national heritage.” It merely requires that agencies take a “hard look” at the consequences. They can always determine that avoiding the harm to the site was not “practicable.”

## **ARPA**

The Archaeological Resource Protection Act (ARPA) (16 U.S.C. §470) was designed specifically to protect archaeological sites. It was enacted in 1979, mainly in response to the looting of sites. It allows for prosecution of individuals or entities involved in destruction of sites located on federal or tribal land. It imposes monetary penalties and provides felony and misdemeanor sanctions for damage to sites. Exceptions to ARPA include surface collecting in areas outside archaeological sites, artifacts under 100 years old, and paleontological resources that are not found within an archaeological context.

ARPA is a general intent statute, meaning that the government must show the accused knowingly acted, but not that the accused knew the site was on federal land.

The Ninth Circuit has stated the government must show that the accused knew or had reason to know that he or she was removing an archaeological resource (*United States v. Lynch*, 233 F.3d. 1139 [2000]). This reasoning could be applied to cases in which defendants were adversely impacting archaeological sites by other means, such as flooding or draining their own land adjacent to and affecting a site on federal land.

In addition to governmental prosecution, private citizens and citizen groups may be able to bring actions pursuant to ARPA. The United States Supreme Court decided that private citizens lack the required constitutional standing to bring actions under environmental statutes if they cannot show an injury in fact (*Lujan v. Defenders of Wildlife* (504 U.S. 555 [1992])). ARPA contains a reward provision providing up to \$500, but not more than one half of the fine collected (16 U.S.C. §470gg(a)). This could meet requirements to allow private citizens standing in ARPA actions. They would have standing for a qui tam action, thus preventing the problem with lack of standing found in *Lujan*.

ARPA can also cover artifacts illegally removed from private land if they are transported in interstate or foreign commerce. In *United States v. Gerber* (999 F.2d 1112 (7th Cir. [1993]), *cert. denied*, 510 U.S. 1071 (1994)), the Seventh Circuit upheld a conviction based on subsection (c), which states:

“no person may sell, purchase, exchange, transport, receive, or offer to sell, purchase, or exchange, in interstate or foreign commerce, any archaeological resource excavated, removed, sold, purchased, exchanged, transported, or received in violation of any provision, rule, regulation, ordinance, or permit in effect under State or local law.”

The fact that Gerber did not engage in the excavation himself and took nothing directly from tribal land did not negate his culpability.

## **NAGPRA**

The Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 (25 U.S.C. §3001 et seq.) is a piece of human rights legislation designed to redress past discriminatory practices regarding objects of Native American cultural patrimony (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2009; Murphy 2001). It provides a process for repatriating human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and items of cultural patrimony from any institution receiving federal funds to the appropriate tribe or Native Hawaiian organization. It also protects such items that are located on tribal or federal land. NAGPRA requires that agencies contact the appropriate tribe if an action on federal or tribal land is likely to or inadvertently does impact those cultural items. It requires that any activity inadvertently disturbing items must stop immediately, and gives the tribe thirty days after notification to protect the items. Excavation may take place only after permits are obtained through the process outlined in ARPA and consultation with or, if the site is located on tribal lands, permission from the appropriate tribe. Tribes retain the rights to cultural artifacts recovered from their or federal land. NAGPRA does not cover items in private museums or on private property. Unfortunately, a backlash against NAGPRA has occurred (McGuire 2007). There has been a general dissatisfaction among some members of the public regarding Native American rights, and NAGPRA has been used as another cause around which to coalesce (McGuire 2007).

## **Florida Laws**

The federal laws and regulations in the United States apply only to activities funded in part or entirely by federal money or occurring on federal land. Site destruction also occurs on state, municipal, and private land, often due to construction associated with urban sprawl. Many states, including Florida, have enacted laws prohibiting site destruction. Prosecution under both state and federal law for the same offense does not trigger double jeopardy because the two governmental entities are different sovereigns. The state of Florida has several statutes that directly and indirectly protect archaeological and historical sites. Some protect sites on state land and others allow local governments to enact preservation ordinances.

### ***Florida Historical Resources Act***

The earliest Florida legislation passed specifically with historic preservation in mind was the Florida Archives and History Act, later renamed the Florida Historical Resources Act (FLA. STAT. §267). According to the Florida Legislature's staff director at the time, the statute was "intended to elevate the consciousness of historic preservation within the state" (Jack Overstreet to Craig Meyer, letter, 13 March 1985, House Transportation and Economic Development Appropriation, Series 19, Florida Archives, Tallahassee, Florida). Chapter 267 of the Florida Statutes defines archaeological sites, provides for the protection of those on state land, and sets out the circumstances under which they can be excavated. It prohibits damage to archaeological sites on state land and any unauthorized removal of artifacts from them. Illegal excavation and sale of artifacts from such an excavation are third degree felonies, and can result in the

forfeiture of any equipment used in the violations, fines, imprisonment, and restitution sufficient to repair the damage. The effectiveness of this statute may be limited by disinclination of police to arrest, prosecutorial discretion, and judicial unawareness regarding the importance of archaeological sites.

### ***Human Burials***

Chapter 872 of the Florida Statutes covers human burials, whether they are on public or private land. This chapter makes it illegal for unauthorized people to knowingly disturb marked or unmarked burials. Additionally, it establishes what must take place if an unmarked burial is discovered. If it is discovered under circumstances other than the course of an archaeological excavation, all activity that might disturb the burial must cease immediately and may not resume until allowed by either the state archaeologist or the district medical examiner.

### ***Preservation 2000/Florida Forever Act***

The Preservation 2000 program (FLA. STAT. §259.101) was enacted in 1990 to combat the negative effects of development (Brock 1997). Its successor, the Florida Forever Act (FLA. STAT. §259.105(3)(b)) was enacted in 1999, and has similar goals, but a slightly different distribution of money. Preservation 2000 provided funding to existing conservation programs such as the Conservation and Recreation Lands program (CARL) and Save Our Rivers, and to the newly formed Florida Communities Trust. From 1990 to 2008, the state set aside 300 million dollars annually to fund the programs, most of the money coming from annual bond sales, and payments for the

bonds from doc stamp revenue. Since Preservation 2000 was enacted, it and Florida Forever have preserved over 2.4 million acres of conservation land, and 576 archaeological sites have been acquired through Florida Forever since 2001 (State of Florida 2011).

Governmental agencies, individuals, and conservation organizations are all able to nominate a property for purchase. The program was not funded in 2009, but received \$15 million in 2010. In 2011, the legislature again cut Florida Forever's funding for the fiscal year 2011/2012, intending to replace the direct funding with money received from the sale of surplus state lands (Deslatte 2011). However, a gubernatorial veto eliminated that option (Kennedy 2011). The land selling option was revived in 2013, when \$20 was budgeted for the program, with up to \$50 million to come from the sale of "surplus" land bought through the program in past years (Pittman 2013).

### ***Emergency Archaeological Property Acquisition Act***

The Emergency Archaeological Property Acquisition Act of 1988 (FLA. STAT. §253.027) was created to allow for the protection of archaeological sites faced with imminent destruction. The language of the Act echoes language from the case history in *Gettysburg* that said, "there was imminent danger that portions of the battlefield might be irreparably defaced by the construction of a railroad over the same." The Act directs the state to reserve annually two million dollars within the Florida Forever Trust Fund, which can be used to buy land on private or public property, if the land contains an archaeological site of statewide significance. The money is set aside solely for preliminary research into whether the archaeological resources meet the statute's

requirements and for acquisition of property. Any funds not spent in a given year<sup>4</sup> may be used to acquire property under the Florida Forever Act.

### ***Florida Land and Water Management Act***

Within the Florida Environmental Land and Water Management Act of 1972 (FLA. STAT. §380) are two sections applicable to historical and archaeological site preservation. The first is a provision for areas of critical state concern (FLA. STAT. §380.05). It allows the state to purchase lands and guide their development if the land has significant historical or archaeological resources, and the development of that land would cause substantial deterioration of those resources. Once an area is designated an area of critical state concern, the state land planning agency may require any person damaging it illegally to restore or replace it (FLA. STAT. §380.11(2)(c)2).

Section 380.06 guides developments of regional impact. Changes to previously approved developments that might harm archaeological sites will trigger further review by the local government.

The Act encourages preservation by designating developments as Florida Quality Developments if there is a feature such as an archaeological site and the developer agrees to preserve it in perpetuity (FLA. STAT. §380.061). Florida Quality Developments receive expedited review and can use the designation in advertising.

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<sup>4</sup> Specifically, “by the end of the third quarter of the fiscal year.”



## ***Florida Comprehensive Plan***

The Local Government Comprehensive Planning and Land Development Regulation Act, also known as the Growth Management Act of 1985, or the Comp Plan, requires that local governments take historic resources into account in their development plans (FLA. STAT. §163.3177). The plans may, but do not have to, also include a preservation element specifically for historic or archaeological sites (FLA. STAT. §163.3177(7)(i)).

Florida's state comprehensive plan (FLA. STAT. § 186) also gives local governments the authority to create local comprehensive plans. These plans establish the ability of the local government to, among other things, regulate and otherwise influence historic and archaeological preservation. The local plans must adhere to the state comprehensive plan and to federal and state laws. Local governments can preserve sites through land use regulations such as historic overlay districts and controls on allowable density. However, individual local regulations are sometimes confronted with takings challenges. It is helpful to discuss the overall concept of takings before mentioning specific local laws and the possible takings arguments against them.

## **Takings**

One of the biggest controversies in preservation legislation is the argument that the government is regulating what the property owner can and cannot do with his or her property. Whether they are local, state, or federal laws, they are allowing or directing some governmental entity to either prevent people from doing things to their property or require people to do things to their property. Florida's statutes enable local

governments to pass ordinances to preserve historical and archaeological sites and structures. They preserve sites through land use regulations such as historic overlay districts. However, individual local regulations are sometimes confronted with takings challenges.

### ***Takings History***

The concept of takings derives from language in the Fifth Amendment that states, “nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation” (US CONST. AMEND. V). The government can regulate activities on private property if the regulation is a legitimate exercise of its authority and if the regulation leaves the property with some value.

Regulation under the Commerce Clause is a legitimate exercise, as is the regulation of a public nuisance. The government cannot however, take private land for a public benefit. If the federal government regulates an activity, it must be to avoid a public harm rather than promote a public benefit *Mugler v. Kansas*, 123 U.S. 623 [1887]). A regulation designed to avoid a public harm can be a regulatory taking if it removes all value from the property (*Lucas v. South Carolina Coastal Council*, 505 U.S. 1003 [1992]). In a regulatory taking, the government must compensate the owner for the loss or it is considered a taking without due process.

The concept of regulatory takings is commonly accepted as having begun with the U. S. Supreme Court case, *Pennsylvania Coal Co. v. Mahon* (260 U.S. 393 [1922]). The Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a statute prohibiting coal companies from mining underneath private dwellings and streets where the company otherwise had the

reserved right to the coal. Justice Holmes stated in dicta that governmental regulations of property can, if extended too far, become eminent domain requiring compensation. However, Holmes (260 U.S. 393 [1922]:413) also stated that “government could hardly go on if to some extent values incident to property could not be diminished without paying for every such change in the general law. As long recognized, some values are enjoyed under an implied limitation and must yield to the police power.”

Mahon was upheld and clarified in *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. City of New York* (438 U.S. 104 [1978]). In it, the Supreme Court set out factors to be considered when deciding whether a taking occurred. It looked at the regulation’s economic impact on the owner, the extent to which the property owners could receive a reasonable return on their investments, and the character of the action. It also denied the claim for conceptual severance.

*Nollan v. California Coastal Commission* (483 U.S. 825 [1987]) established that there must be a nexus between the government’s action and the end advanced by the action. *Dolan v. City of Tigard* (512 U.S. 687 [1994]) created a test for finding a taking that included *Nollan*’s nexus. *Dolan* extended Holmes’ dictum to define as a taking a regulation that would prohibit construction on a parcel of land located in a flood zone. The Supreme Court relied on the trial court’s finding that the prohibition would render the property valueless and equated loss of economic value (only one of many possible values, and one that often disregards cultural and historical value) with loss of use of property. This impacts site and historic preservation because the preservation often necessarily limits, to at least some extent, what the owner can do with the property.

Currently, courts use the ad-hoc approach from *Penn Central* in finding whether a taking occurred. One article suggests that the fairness of this approach can be determined by the rate of success by property owners who allege takings (Hubbard et al. 2003:122). This is entirely nonsensical. Without an analysis of the merits of each case, there is nothing to support the idea that the unsuccessful claims should have ever been brought to court, much less succeeded. Trevarthen (2004) gives a better method of determining success. He points out that an analysis of each specific case is necessary to determine the effect of regulation on a particular piece of property.

Eric Claeys (2003) outlines many arguments against preservation. In trying to find an alternative to *Penn Central*, he suggests a two-pronged inquiry to decide whether compensation for a historic preservation law is necessary. He would first ask whether the law “directly and reasonably controls some nuisance like a health threat or pollution problem” (Claeys 2003:1557). He would then ask “whether such a law enlarges affected owners' remaining property rights in ways that compensate them for the use and development rights it strips from them.” Disregarding studies finding that preservation increases value (Dowling 2000; Facca and Aldrich 2011; McLendon et al. 2010), he has decided the answer to both in historic preservation cases, as represented by *Penn Central*, is “no.”

This casual categorization of historic preservation as a taking completely ignores not only established case law, but also situations in which a historic site on part of the property would increase values of the rest of the property or where value of a property increases due to its historic significance or the nearby greenspace of an archaeological site as suggested by Bartochowski (2002:171). Within Florida, historic preservation has

been used successfully as a tool to revitalize neighborhoods (McLendon et al. 2006). However, the mere asking of the question might open the door to use of such research.

Claeys (2003) argument that the idea that courts did not recognize regulatory takings before *Pennsylvania Coal* is a mistaken idea caused partly by changes in the meaning of the word “regulation” over time. He states that regulations were, by definition, laws that made property use orderly and regular, equalizing landowners’ use rights (Claeys 2003:1554). This is an interesting argument, and if true, might give regulatory takings a better foothold in precedent. As a former law clerk for Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist, and a former legislative assistant to Congressman Ronald C. Packard (R. California), (Claeys 2003) Claeys’ interest in strengthening regulatory takings compensation claims is understandable.

However, in trying to extend the concept of regulatory takings back through the nineteenth century, Claeys (2003:1573) uses an example of James Madison’s concerning a law intended to assist wool makers by outlawing linen shrouds. He thus equates a governmental regulation designed to unjustly enrich one industry at the expense of another, and having no expressed or implied public purpose, with generally applicable, facially neutral governmental regulations. Many of the other examples fail to uphold Claeys’ premise, but since organizations wishing to root regulatory takings law more firmly in past cases would probably propose these examples or rely on writings like his, people attempting to further preservation should have some familiarity with them.

There is a philosophical disagreement between advocates and opponents of regulation. One view sees property owners as part of society, with an obligation to use

land in such a way that will preserve opportunity for later generations (Murphy 1996). This group would be more likely to see the concept of the use or destruction of limited resources, both environmental and historic, as a public harm.

The other group takes a more limited (some might say shortsighted) and economic view of responsibility and harm. They would consider a regulation as being within the police power only if the proscribed use had an immediate detrimental effect on health or safety. Anything else would itself be harmful to society. "Takings law must draw principled distinctions among regulations that abate abuses of property rights, those that provide implicit in-kind compensation, and those that reduce social welfare because they do neither" (Claeys 2003:1559-1560). Timothy Dowling (2000:886) takes the more insightful approach by identifying many of the upheld takings cases as judicial activism on the part of conservative judges, adding that the promoters of takings arguments, "are candid in their call for judges to go beyond the written law by creating new law that furthers natural rights and conservative social policies."

There has been a tension between proponents of environmental, growth management, and historic preservation regulations and property rights advocates for the past twenty years. Murphy (1996) pinpoints the recent property rights movement as having begun in western states the early 1980s. Rural landowners hostile to federal management of public lands called for state, rather than federal, oversight of those lands. That particular attempt failed, but various groups have continued the push towards the protection of private property rights, often to the detriment of governmental regulatory ability. Many of these groups are backed by large industries and conservative political groups (Murphy 1996:301).

### ***Takings and Archaeology***

Norbert Bartochowski (2002), an archaeologist and lawyer, provides a clear, thorough overview of the interaction between archaeological activities and takings law. He discusses cases in which property owners alleged takings when archaeological sites or artifacts were found on property. He states that it is relatively difficult for a landowner to succeed in a takings claim for alleged reduction in value from the presence of archaeological remains. The cases cited tend to support this statement.

For instance, in a case in which the landowners had submitted only one potential use (gravel mining), the court held that it was not a taking because there were other economically viable options open to the landowners, such as the agricultural and residential use they had been realizing. Another case cited by Bartochowski is that of *Hunziker v. State* (519 N.W.2d 367, 370 [1994]), in which the Iowa Supreme Court held that the landowners did not have the right to develop on a burial mound on their property or to disinter the remains. As noted by Bartochowski (2002:145), the court reasoned that if the owners of the property never had a certain right, because the regulation was in place before they bought the property, they can not recover for its absence.

The landowners in *Hunziker* were on notice that they did not have the right to disinter bodies from the mound on their property. Bartochowski (2002:153) suggests that buyers have an archaeological survey performed before buying property. This would give them notice of potential archaeological impediments to contemplated development. This makes sense, but by an extension of that reasoning, the presence

of an historic structure on a piece of property should put buyers on notice that it might be significant or receive such a designation at some point in the future.

In *HUMER v DNR*, in finding that a taking did not occur, the Indiana Supreme Court looked to the investment-backed expectations of the owners at the time the property was purchased:

It cannot be said, therefore, that the designation of Beehunter [the archaeological site] has interfered with [landowner] HUMER's distinct and reasonable investment-backed expectations since there was no expectation of coal mining at the time investment in the property was made [Department of Natural Resources 1989].

A valuable piece of the Indiana Supreme Court's holding for archaeologists is its answer to the question of whether the regulation advanced a legitimate state interest. Protecting artifacts on the site was found to be a legitimate interest (Bartochowski 2002:158-159). This offsets somewhat the focus by courts on economic use of land.

Zahra Karinshak (1997:879) notes that if NAGPRA extended to private land, landowners would have an incentive to destroy Native American sites. This thought can be extended to archaeological sites in general; some landowners might be less inclined to preserve artifacts that could eventually not only become someone else's property, but could also cause more extensive excavation on the property. The association of archaeological sites with the hindering of development can also cause landowners to fail to report the site (Bartochowski 2002:155). These are not reasons to avoid attempting to preserve sites, but give archaeologists and preservationists additional incentive to publicize findings such as the University of Florida's (McLendon et al. 2006) and help make people aware of what can be learned from archaeology.



## ***Takings Legislation***

After the decision from *Lucas*, property rights groups began trying to push takings legislation through state and federal legislatures. In the early and mid-1990s, a spate of takings legislation was introduced in Congress that would have made it easier for landowners to receive compensation for values lost due to governmental regulation. They were dissatisfied with courts' refusal to find takings in many instances, and realized direct votes on the issue would not succeed.

By 1997, voters in Washington, Arizona, and Rhode Island rejected takings referenda (Sugameli 1997). The best chance for takings compensation regulations to be passed was to push them through various legislatures. From 1992 to early 1993, twenty six states had takings legislation presented (Lavelle 1993). Much of this proposed legislation played on voters' emotions with bill names referencing private property and suggesting governmental infringement on peoples' ability to use their own land as they see fit (Trevvarthen 2004; Goldman and Rossi 1993).

The takings legislation was backed by various business and conservative groups, with Robert Dole introducing one of the main bills of 1995 in the Senate (Skolnik and Goldman 1995). Opponents noted this legislation would make it harder for the government to regulate everything from environmental laws to laws protecting the disabled (Skolnik and Goldman 1995).

A telling point is brought up by Sugameli (1997), who notes that an amendment to apply a portion of the 1995 bill to private homes was defeated. Although homeowners were the ones portrayed as needing the legislation, the actual bills gave developers greater rights regarding recovery for diminution in property value (Sugameli

1997:535). The 1995 and 1996 bills died in Congress, partly due to a lack of votes because of a public outcry by various groups, including advocates for children, mental health, and the environment.

Glenn Sugameli (1997) provides a comprehensive analysis of takings regulation and its potential effects on existing laws. As an attorney for the National Wildlife Federation, at the time he wrote the article, he was part of the opposition to takings bills. He characterizes the regulations these bills would impede as laws that exist because the nuisance laws were unable to prevent certain harms to people and property.

According to Sugameli, takings bills attempt to compensate landowners for things that would not be considered takings by courts. Florida's Harris Act (FLA. STAT. § 70), discussed in more detail later, expressly states that "This section provides a cause of action for governmental actions that may not rise to the level of a taking under the State Constitution or the United States Constitution." They extend takings to include even actions that have specifically been held to *not* be takings by allowing partition of property (a concept denied in *Penn Central*) and considering temporary loss of value a taking. They revitalize conceptual severance by requiring compensation if the economic value of any part of the property is reduced. Sugameli writes that the bills were designed not to protect private property rights, but to restrict enforcement of laws that the industries and corporations supporting the bills did not want. He states:

[T]akings bills are back-door attacks on protections for protections for property and people that are too popular to modify or repeal on the merits. The real purpose and effect of these bills is not to assess or plan for takings liability but to increase profits by delaying or blocking needed protections [Sugameli 1997:573].

From the legislation enacted, it appears that whether the government buys property with governmental funds or requires preservation without comment, there will be a backlash from some property rights advocates. The alternative to these would be to either offer enough non-monetary incentives to the landowners to make them voluntarily preserve sites, or to limit regulation (which appears to be the ultimate goal of those funding the property rights movement).

### ***Florida's Harris Act***

An effect of the widespread takings regulations around the country was the passing of the Bert J. Harris, Jr., Private Property Rights Protection Act (Harris Act) in Florida (FLA. STAT. § 70). It went into effect on October 1, 1995, and provides property owners with another cause of action when a governmental regulation “has inordinately burdened an existing use of real property or a vested right to a specific use of real property” (FLA. STAT. § 70.001(2)). Most of the literature on the Act conveys the authors’ worries about its potential reach. However, it has been claimed that a landowner covered under this could have a cause of action under some other law anyway, so it does not create new rights (Powell et al. 1995).

Legislation had been introduced in 1993 that would have required compensation for regulations. In 1994, the Tax Cap Committee attempted to get a constitutional amendment on the ballot that would have had a similar effect. The 1995 legislation was seen by then Governor Lawton Chiles as a potential compromise to avoid another attempt at introducing such ideas into the constitution (Murphy 1996). As of 1996, however, the Tax Cap Committee was not satisfied, intending to place another

amendment on the ballot in 1998. No such amendment has been enacted to date. Two years after the Act was enacted, the Pacific Legal Foundation, a conservative property rights group from California, established a branch in Florida to take cases designed to create precedent for getting landowners more money under takings claims and the Harris Act (Baertlein 1997).

It is unclear when a case brought under the Harris Act becomes ripe for review. It might not apply to ordinances until the developer attempts to use the land in a way inconsistent with that ordinance (Trevvarthen 2004). It could be difficult for actions brought under the act by individuals to succeed. If they choose the Dispute Resolution Act, landowners must exhaust all local government administrative appeals that do not exceed four months before being able to go before a Special Magistrate to have the case settled. If the case is brought to court, the Act has a provision for the losing party to recover legal fees incurred during the proceeding. Either of these provisions could cause a landowner to decide the costs of pursuing the administrative appeals or the risks of paying the government's legal fees are not worth the potential recovery. A large corporation is much less likely to be deterred by these costs than most homeowners would be.

The settlement provisions in the Act can work against the government's ability to regulate. The actions for recovery might decrease in number if the Act became clearer. By using the dispute resolution act settlement provision, though, the parties avoid courts, whose decisions would help clarify the Act (Trevvarthen 2004).

The Harris Act does not apply to any regulation in effect before May 11, 1995. However, it does apply to those regulations if they are amended after that date. As

Murphy (1996) notes, this would likely hinder the ability of local and state governments to keep growth management law relevant to current conditions. Murphy states that the comprehensive plan and growth management law were intended to change and be amended as needed. Growth and land use are not stagnant, so the laws governing them should not be. Also, in the realm of historic preservation, things become historic. A 150-year-old building did not start out that old. As properties and areas reach a level of significance worth preserving, the historic designations and historic overlays must be able to reflect those changes.

One reason for the *Hunziker* court's decision was that the law took effect several years before the landowners bought the property (1994:371). The Harris Act could make this holding less applicable in Florida by negating the reasoning in cases where similar laws are amended after 1995.

One (probably intended) effect of the Harris Act will likely be to continue to hinder growth management. Murphy (1996) expected the Harris Act to have a chilling effect on the enactment and enforcement of regulations, a fear that seems to have been valid. Sugameli (1997:579) states that in the first two years of its existence, the Act did precisely that.

Among the criticisms of the Harris Act is the claim that it causes taxpayers to subsidize the risks taken by corporations and developers by requiring the government to pay for the effects of regulations (Harvard Law Review 1995). The theory is that this minimized risk could cause overinvestment in speculative enterprises with a lessened risk of costs if regulations limit the intended activities.

There is no analysis yet of whether or how the Harris Act specifically has affected local governments' abilities to preserve historic and archaeological sites. However, if it has had a chilling effect on preservation, that might be hard to see, even after over a decade, because it would likely result in an absence of legislation, which can also be caused by other factors, such as changes in local or state political leaders.

### **Non-monetary Compensation**

Preservation efforts are described as cooperative, with the government, for the most part, encouraging preservation rather than requiring it, thereby avoiding takings arguments. In addition, the Harris Act supports some forms of non-monetary compensation to landowners. Transferable development rights (TDRs) are one incentive the government has used to compensate property owners for a loss of use on one parcel (*Penn Central*). Many states, including Florida, give local governments the power to issue TDRs to guide development, land use, growth management, and preservation.

Exchange of developmental rights was suggested by Karinshak (1997:905) as a way of encouraging site preservation. A landowner would be granted the ability to develop another piece of property beyond the use currently allowed in exchange for not developing on the site. However, another suggestion she makes would have a state excavating, and then paying the landowner for the artifacts. Not only is this disturbing in the sense that it might encourage people to value artifacts monetarily, but it does not take into account other valuable aspects of a site, such as features or soils, or its part in intangible heritage. TDRs have been used successfully in historic preservation, one

notable example being the central branch of Los Angeles Public Library. The library effectively sold its TDRs to a developer, which was then permitted to construct an office building on a piece of land adjacent to the library.

### **Preservation by Tampa and Hillsborough County**

The City of Tampa and Hillsborough County have both used the Florida laws to further the goals of preservation. The state allows up to ten years of ad valorem tax exemptions (FLA. STAT. §196.1997) for up to 100 percent of the increase in property value due to renovations to historic property as long as the improvements are on the historic structure (it would not be applicable to an addition) and adhere to the historic character of the building. This exemption applies only to taxes levied by the local government creating the exemption. Hillsborough County allows landowners to take advantage of this for the full ten years. While it is an incentive for property owners to restore historic buildings, and archaeological sites are mentioned in the county code, it has done little to preserve archaeological sites. This incentive would be very difficult, if not impossible to apply to an archaeological site that was not on the same parcel of land as an historic structure. Even then, the preservation would be incidental. The only time an archaeological site would be impacted would be if it already had a historic structure on the same property, and that structure could be renovated. As written, it would not apply to a building constructed to shelter an archaeological site or to an attempt to shore up an eroding mound.

The Hillsborough County Historic Resources Review Board was created pursuant to Florida's Comprehensive Plan (Hillsborough 2004). As of March 2008, it

had designated twenty seven properties as historic landmarks, and its Historic Resources Inventory has over 200 historic buildings and sites located in unincorporated Hillsborough County. The county has implemented the Hillsborough County Historic Preservation Matching Grant Program, to assist owners in making approved exterior preservation and renovations (Hillsborough 2008).

Hillsborough County created a newer matching grant program in December 2011, the Hillsborough County Historic Preservation Challenge Grant Program (Hillsborough County 2011). It covers projects throughout Hillsborough County, and its purpose is broader than that of the Matching Grant Program, funding not only historic preservation, but also heritage tourism and “related economic development within Hillsborough County” (Hillsborough County 2013). The Challenge Grant Committee, the group that recommends projects for funding, has funded several projects, including the restoration and expansion of a historical tree grove in northern Hillsborough County (McKenzie 2013), the construction of a series of bronze statues along downtown Tampa’s Riverwalk to memorialize historical figures important to the city or county (Danielson 2012), and the restoration and relocation of a bat tower built in 1924, and partially burned by an arsonist in 1979. The bat tower was one of several built in Florida in the 1920s as part of an effort to control the mosquito population during an early land and tourism boom. After the Challenge Grant Committee approved funding for the bat tower, residents began objecting to the site proposed for its relocation, so city councilmembers moved the planned site to a nature preserve south of the site originally proposed (Knight 2013).



The city of Tampa is allowed to designate a property as historic without the owner's consent, an ability that has caused some controversy. The city tries to persuade the owners to agree to the designation, and many have come to the city asking for designation, but the ability to designate without consent exists. After a battle over the designation of five local cigar factories, with some of the property owners vocally complaining about takings, the Tampa City Council amended the historic preservation law (Zink 2006b). It now requires the council to consider the wishes of the property owner in deciding whether to designate it as historic, but the council is not required to have the owner's consent (Zink 2006a). It is a fine distinction, but one that allows the city to reserve the right to preserve a structure if the city deems it significant enough to risk potential public outcry. Although the designation has been used for standing buildings, Annie Hart (interview May 21, 2008) has said that, "under the HPC, a site could be designated with or without a building on it," indicating it could be used to designate archaeological sites. There is also a hardship provision in the city code that allows the owner to avoid historic guidelines. Economic hardship was claimed the one time the city designated an individual property against the owner's wishes and the owner was allowed to demolish the buildings (Zink 2006b).

Hillsborough County is contemplating that ability and looking at Tampa and other local governments that have it to see how they use it and how well it works for them. The current rules of the Historic Resources Review Board state that the Board must notify landowners if it is intending to adopt historic guidelines for that property. Once a piece of property has been designated (become a landmark), Hillsborough County's historic guidelines require that the owner receive a Certificate of Appropriateness from

the board before commencing certain alterations to the property. The benefits conferred by Hillsborough County to owners of a designated property are mainly economic. Owners are eligible for the Hillsborough County Historic Preservation Ad Valorem Tax Exemption Program, and may be eligible for Transferable Development Rights. An owner of a designated not-for-profit building can apply to the county for a matching grant of between \$1500 and \$25,000 to assist with external preservation or restorations.

The rules are silent on whether the Board must obtain consent or may designate without it. In this respect, such a rule would give the local governments more authority than the National Register of Historic Places has. A property cannot be on the National Register as long as the property owner has an objection on file (Karinshak 1997:889).

In the Tampa area, it appears that the public perception that regulatory action is needed increases dramatically when isolated, well-known structures are threatened with demolition. In the past twenty years there seem to have been few calls for more preservation as an abstract, general concept, but threats to several popular buildings have caused public outcries. They evoke an immediate, emotional response. For instance, efforts to demolish the Swann House (England 1997) and the Belleview Biltmore Resort (Moncada 2005) generated newspaper articles and letters to the editor, caused preservation groups to attempt to save them, and, in the case of the Belleview Biltmore (Figure 1), led to the creation of the Historic Preservation Task Force in Pinellas County in 2005 (Reeves 2007) and a historic preservation ordinance for the town of Belleair (Helfand 2005). Many people became aware of the proposed

demolition through local newspaper reporting (Helfand interview December 9, 2011). According to Helfand (interview December 9, 2011), the story began as a relatively routine write-up, and led to a public outcry and thus to legislation.



**Figure 1. Belleview Biltmore before renovations. Photo by author (2009).**

The hotel was built by Henry Plant as a winter destination resort for his railroad line. It opened in 1897, and visitors could travel in their private railroad cars directly to the hotel. Among the notable hotel guests were Presidents Ford and Carter, Joe DiMaggio, Margaret Thatcher, Babe Ruth, and the Duke of Windsor (Long 2004). Because of its size and location on the Gulf of Mexico, it was requisitioned by the Army Air Force during World War II and was used as barracks for roughly 3000 troops (Long 2004). During this time, the windows, including the Tiffany glass in the ballroom ceiling

were painted black, metal from the nearby railroad line was sent to the war effort and many of the hotel's original furnishings were sold.

In 1947 it was sold to Bernard and Mary Powell, Nora Peabody, and Roger Stevens. The group renovated it and reopened it in 1947. Over the years, additions were made, including wings of rooms and an indoor swimming pool, resulting in its being considered the largest occupied wooden structure in the world. In an effort to attract a younger demographic, the management opened it year-round in 1986 and added a European-style spa (Greiff 1987).

In 2004 it was reported that a development group was considering buying the hotel and developing condominiums on the property (Moncada 2004). The news was quickly met with public protest. Newspaper articles noted that although the hotel was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1979, there were no protections against its demolition (Sharockman 2004). One local resident equated it with Pennsylvania Station in its importance to history and local historic preservation (MacDonald 2004). Preservationists and others in the community began putting pressure on local governmental officials to deny approval to the changes requested by developers. Potential developers argued that the roof had been damaged by hurricanes in 2004 and the hotel had considerable wood rot and termites. Locals countered with the information that the structure was built of heart pine, and was thus resistant, if not nearly immune to both. In 2005, a commissioner alleged the town manager had not told the commission of a meeting between the town attorney and a potential developer of the site (Helfand 2005). The town hired an attorney to draft a historic preservation ordinance that would cover the Biltmore and similar situations. The town commission

meeting debating the ordinance drew about 250 residents, many of whom supported the ordinance. It was adopted the following month by unanimous approval by the commission (Fenske 2005).

The furor caused by the proposed destruction of the resort also led the owner to sell it in 2007 to Legg Mason Real Estate Investors (now Latitude Management Real Estate Investors), a development company that proposed to restore it (Helfand 2009). However, restoration was delayed due to lawsuits, and there has been increasing worry that the building might become a victim of demolition by neglect (Helfand 2010a; Helfand 2010b). The worry did not diminish when Latitude sold the property to a Miami-based investor in December of 2010. The new owner, KAWA Capital Management, has stated that its interest is in the associated golf course, and not the hotel (Weikle 2010). Because of the delays in renovations and continued code violations from the leaking roof, the town hired a consulting firm to determine if demolition by neglect has been occurring, and based on the findings, the town attorney said it has (Weikle 2011).

There appears to be considerable interest in preservation when a noted structure or site is in peril. In the interim, preservation groups still exist, but are not so much in the forefront of people's minds.

The context in which the groups I am studying are operating is one of disagreement between preservation and property rights. They are situated between a threat of loss, and a political culture in which the concept of property rights has become a cause around which conservative groups can coalesce (McGuire 2007). The same arguments put forth to try to prevent preservation of cigar factories and the Belview Biltmore are echoed in the opposition facing OSHNA's historic preservation committee.

These have been some of the prominent issues and controversies affecting local historic preservation during this study.

As outlined in this chapter, there is a myriad of laws regulating the uses of archaeological and historical sites. Federal and state laws are concerned largely with cultural resources on public property. Many of the laws protecting sites on private property are drafted and implemented at the local level, and are often the targets of attacks by people and organizations advocating property rights. How do people in the Tampa area regard sites and the laws? How has preservation been accomplished within this system locally? The following chapter describes the methodology used in this study to investigate people's opinions of sites and laws and their activities in the realm of preservation.

## **Chapter Four:**

### **Methodology**

For this study, I used a mixed methods approach, which included survey questions, ethnography, and archival research (Yin 2010). Working from the standpoint that people influence public policy both as individuals and groups (Cohen 2006), I studied people who were in what Moffatt (1992:201) calls, “relevant groups or collectives of some sort,” members of a local preservation or archaeological group, and people from the general public, about whom I had no prior information regarding their membership, if any, in such a group. To answer the research questions enumerated in Chapter One, the goal was to find people who self-identified as being interested in either historic or archaeological preservation, and a sampling of those who did not necessarily so self-identify. Working from the standpoint that multi-site ethnographies are an effective method of studying an issue (Benson 2009; Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002; Wolf 1990), multiple groups within the Tampa area were selected. The data collection was designed to allow me to determine the extent to which their actions help shape the preservation that occurs in their areas, and the extent to which their views differ from each other and from the views of members of the public who are not necessarily associated with a particular preservation group.

## **Scope and Limitations of Study**

As outlined in Chapter One, I proposed to answer five questions: 1) How does a public definition of "archaeology" affect preservation outcomes in that public's community? 2) To what extent do archaeological groups and societies give value to historical archaeology? 3) To what extent do historic preservation groups give value to archaeology within the city? 4) How effective are local museums at connecting the viewer/visitor with a knowledge of and value of urban history and archaeology? 5) Do members of neighborhood associations in historic districts extend what interest they have in preservation to other areas of the city, other time periods, or sites without standing structures?

To answer the questions, I began my research in late 2007, by selecting three established groups in the Tampa area. Because I wanted to look at the extent to which archaeology and historic preservation groups overlap and share interests, I wanted to study each type. I also needed a museum to enable me to see what people find significant about their visits and what information impacts them.

The locations of the groups helped determine the geographic setting for the rest of the study. In looking for potential respondents who were members of the general public, I sought people who were likely to have some sort of connection with areas of Tampa similar to the ones represented by the groups. Meanwhile, I was also looking at some of the large-scale preservation events or issues generating headlines. I sought events that were relatively local, and therefore the ones that any of my respondents might see in their morning paper or hear about on the radio.



## **Selection of Groups**

The Tampa area has one main archaeological society, the Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society (CGCAS), so it was clearly my best option for studying people who have enough interest in archaeology to commit some of their free time to learning more about it. Membership is open to anyone interested in understanding and preserving the cultural heritage of Florida and willing to abide by CGCAS' code of ethics. Because I met the requirements, I became a member.

When the research was begun, six neighborhoods within the city of Tampa were on the National Register (Dunham et al. 2003). Of these, Hyde Park and Old Seminole Heights had active neighborhood associations. The Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association's (OSHNA) historic preservation group focuses mainly on historic preservation from a neighborhood standpoint. I chose OSHNA because at the time, it was very active, with regular meetings and occasional events, and members had repeatedly worked to achieve historic designations and influence preservation ordinances.

The third group, the Ybor City Museum Society (YCMS), is a citizen support organization for a state-run museum, and focuses largely on the preservation of structures and their associated culture. The Ybor City Museum is part of the state park system, and between the efforts of the park employees and the YCMS, it has become an active participant in the preservation of Ybor City. The three groups partially overlap both geographically and in regard to members. Both Old Seminole Heights and Ybor City are located within the City of Tampa, and CGCAS serves the greater Tampa Bay area (including the cities of Tampa, St. Petersburg, and Clearwater). At least three

members of CGCAS are also members of OSHNA or have familial connections to people in it.

I was not looking specifically for people living within the boundaries of each area, but for people with some connection to it. I used maps and census data to construct the locations from which I would select respondents from the general public. I located the 2000 United States Census districts that coincide with the boundaries of Ybor City and Old Seminole Heights. Using a city map, I identified the public libraries closest to the two neighborhoods, and within at least one of the census districts for each. The creation of an original list from which a random sample could be drawn would be prohibitive for me as far as time, effort, and cost, if it were even possible. I rejected the method of creating a sampling frame from a telephone book (Bernard 1994:84), because it reaches only people with a traditional listed land line phone, a segment that is dwindling with the increase in mobile phones (Blumberg and Luke 2012). Also, adults in certain demographic categories are more likely to live in wireless-only households. People who are under 35 years old, Hispanic or Latino, or renters would be far more likely to be underrepresented in a telephone book sample (Blumberg and Luke 2012). The northern part of Ybor City was listed as one of the top five census tracts in Tampa as far as households without telephones, at 15 percent without (City of Tampa 2005).

### **Surveying**

Interviewing and the application of questionnaires are suggested components of ethnographic observation (King et al. 1977). Surveys have been particularly useful in determining people's ideas about archaeology, and their knowledge of it (Ramos and

Duganne 2000; Pokotylo 2002; Pokotylo and Guppy 1999). I decided that cluster sampling would be the most effective method of selecting people to survey. Cluster sampling is based on the premise that, “people act out their lives in more or less natural groups, or ‘clusters’ (Bernard 1994:89),” and “even if there are no lists of people whom you want to study, you can sample areas or institutions and locate a sample within those clusters (Bernard 1994:89).” It would not limit me to people living in the geographic areas, but would target people who had some link to or association with them. For my clusters, I selected a public library corresponding geographically to each of the established groups. The survey questionnaires were designed so they could be self-administered, to keep the questions consistent. However, I personally handed them to the respondents, received the completed ones, and was available to answer questions and read the questionnaire aloud, as happened in one case. By being available, I was hoping to minimize some disadvantages of self-administered questionnaires, such as uncertainty as to who answered them and their shortcomings in studying illiterate respondents (Bernard 1994:262). I pre-tested the questionnaires by sending them to friends and acquaintances, none of whom were later respondents, with instructions to complete them and inform me of any aspects that seemed confusing or ambiguous. I then adjusted the questionnaires accordingly.

Because this study involved human subjects, it was subject to review by the University of South Florida’s Institutional Review Board. After receiving the appropriate IRB review, I began surveying and interviewing. I administered 15 surveys to members of the public at each of the three libraries. I sent surveys to the members of each group and received six back from each group. This provided a total of 57 surveys (12 from

group members and 45 from non-group members). A copy of the surveys can be found in Appendix II. Some questions were selected to compare these respondents with those of the earlier surveys in British Columbia (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999) and by Ramos and Duganne (2000). Other questions are specific to Florida and its mix of residents from here and elsewhere, to see if an interest in preservation and local archaeology is constant, regardless of where the respondent currently resides. The sample size in this study is not as robust as I had originally intended, but from the similarity of results to those of larger studies, my population seems reflective of, and supported by, surveys of larger populations (Nichols 2006).

For the Ybor museum society, I selected the Robert W. Saunders, Sr. Public Library, and for the Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association, I used the Seminole Heights Branch Library. For the archaeological society, I used the John F. Germany Public Library because the archaeological society serves the entire city of Tampa, and that is the main library for the city. Limiting myself to smaller geographical areas rather than the entire city or county would probably give me a more accurate result because I would be more likely to stay in a building or district's "market" (Pollicino and Maddison 2002). No matter how important a site is locally, if it is unknown outside its town, the town is its market.

Once the surveys were completed, I analyzed them using SAS/ASSIST. Previous studies used descriptive statistics in their analyses, so I began with basic descriptive statistics as well. I determined percentages of people professing an interest in archaeology and/or historical preservation. I originally intended to use discriminant function analysis to find differences between the groups and the non-group respondents

and the other groups, but the frequency distributions are not normally distributed (after running a Shapiro-Wilk test, for most variables,  $p < .05$ ). In the end, I used a combination of principal components analysis, correlation matrices, and exploratory data analysis to find factors that are likely to influence interest and preservation.

## **Interviews**

Ethnographic research customarily makes use of interviews (Coreil 1989; DeWalt and DeWalt 1989; Gilbert 1989; Moffatt 1992). Interviews can be done with people in the target groups and with people in the general population to acquire a community perspective (Greer et al. 2002). It can range from conversations to questionnaires (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002; Yin 2010). My original intent was to conduct interviews with five members of each group. However, due to the relatively small number of regularly active members of each, and the fact that participation was voluntary, this was not possible. In the end, I engaged in semi-structured interviews five key informants: three members of the historic preservation group and two members of the archaeological group, and ongoing informal interviews with them and with other members of the groups. My interview guides for the semi-structured interview questions are included in Appendix III.

The interviews were designed to help determine how the interviewees became interested in preservation or archaeology, their knowledge of it, and how far that interest extends. Because I also gave them the survey, I did not duplicate questions asked in it, but built upon some of the ideas in it. When possible, I informally interviewed the key informants during field trips, dinners, lab or field work (in the case of the archaeologists)

or before or after meetings (in the case of the historic preservationists). Answers to interview questions were coded to allow me to look for recurring themes in the answers to determine whether the group members had similar reasons for their interest in preservation and whether an interest in one type of preservation (archaeological, cultural, or historic) is associated with or leads to an interest in other types.

Because I was unable to interview as many members of established groups as I had intended, I decided to interview public figures with a connection to preservation as key informants. I interviewed people who are involved with archaeology and preservation, whether through museum or archaeological outreach, local government, or through involvement with the preservation of specific sites (as opposed to preservation in general).

### **Participant Observation**

While statistics can show possible correlations between variables, information from participant observation can show if some variables have a causal relationship, at least in the cases of some informants (Boone 1989). Participant observation is a central method in anthropological ethnographies, and can be done in numerous settings (Barger and Reza 1989; Gilbert 1989; Kendall 1989; Moffatt 1992; Peregrine et al. 2012). Peter Harries-Jones (1985:84) suggests that participant observation be used in the advocacy context, saying it is the “appropriate and necessary [method] in all cases where information is involved.” The relinquishment of the idea of being detached and objective in favor of introducing one’s self into the process or study allows for a more engaged, applied anthropology (Rosaldo 1993). According to Renato Rosaldo

(1993:181), “dismantling objectivism...enables the social analyst to become a social critic.”

As an archaeologist and member of the Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society, I was able to be a participant observer while engaging in their activities such as excavation, artifact sorting, public outreach, and lectures. During the course of the study, other members approached me about becoming a board member. It was couched in terms of “you’re studying [receiving a benefit from] us, and we need board members [so reciprocate].” Because I did not want to appear as though the research was official or officially sanctioned (Yin 2010), I waited until after I had completed my surveying and semi-formal interviews of members, but did become a board member in 2010, and vice president in 2011. Board meetings are open to all members, so with the exception of some emails among board members, the positions did not allow me access to any records or data I would not otherwise have had.

Because I do not live in a historic district, I cannot become a true resident-member of any local neighborhood group. However, members of the Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association’s historic preservation committee is not composed solely of current residents, and they were kind enough to allow me interview and observe them, and participate in their meetings and activities, provided I volunteer my time with their activities and endeavors, which I was happy to do. With both groups, I was clear that I was there as a researcher (Yin 2010), and judging from their good-natured tendency to remind me that I was researching them and therefore owed them work of some sort (lab work, coding video recordings, and similar tasks) (a sentiment expressed far more frequently by the CGCAS members), they did not forget my “original

motive for being in the field” (Yin 2010:118). The interactions I had with members of the groups in these settings and via email greatly enhanced my understanding of their purpose and their historic preservation activities. The in-depth study allowed me to look for instances of archaeological activities by the preservation group and references to historical archaeology by the archaeological group that might have not come to people’s minds when I was interviewing them.

### **Archival Research**

Archival research has been a valuable methodological component of anthropology, historical preservation, and research into communities (Baumann et al. 2008; Jackson 2008; Waite et al. 1997; Yin 2010). It has been used to enrich the knowledge about the archaeological record (Thiel 2002) and about historic structures (Waite et al. 1997). There are multiple ways that an interest in preservation can be seen by a researcher. The practice of joining preservation-oriented groups is one. Others include attempting to influence the preservation of a particular site, writing letters to governmental officials, and writing letters to the editor about recent preservation issues seen in the news.

I conducted archival research to trace the history of preservation efforts in the selected locales. Newspaper articles and letters to the editor provided information on preservation efforts that have been controversial and the outcomes of those efforts. They gave me information not only on issues in which my groups were involved, but also other instances of controversy over preservation that elicited the input of people not associated with the groups I was studying. For the groups I was able to interview, the



documents gave me more data sources that could become points to use to attempt to triangulate for verification (Yin 2010). Museum visitor logs provided useful information about exhibits and concepts that impacted people, and gave insight into the effectiveness of the museum in educating visitors about urban history and archaeology.

Agendas, minutes, and captioning from meetings of the Hillsborough County Board of County Commissioners (Appendix IV) gave information about the proposed preservation that came before the Commission, recommendations of the Historic Resources Review Board, and the final decisions regarding the sites' preservation. During the course of my research, amendments to the City of Tampa's historic preservation ordinances were proposed, and one of the groups, the Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association, was extremely active in commenting on those proposed amendments. By comparing the city council's captioning with the stated goals of the Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association, I was able to see where they attempted to influence the preservation and the extent of their success. I used old bulletins, scrapbooks, past issues of newsletters and other publications from the historical and archaeological societies to see the origins of the societies and the direction in which they have been moving (Appendix IV). Both groups have websites, so I was able to follow their activities electronically as well.

While doing research for this dissertation, I was looking in the news for active preservation issues near Tampa could influence the views of Tampa residents. As I found each one, I began archival research into its history and background. I also used the archival research to identify people to interview regarding particular instances of attempts at preservation.

I used past issues of newsletters and newspapers to find information that has contributed to a public definition of archaeology as presented in the Tampa area. Newspaper articles about archaeology can factor into the way a person defines and conceptualizes the subject. Newsletters gave me information about lectures and presentations given by archaeologically oriented groups. These presentations can broaden people's idea of archaeology, and the topics as listed in the archival research gave me an idea of the subjects being presented.

## **Chapter Five:**

### **Preservation Attempted and Accomplished by Ad-Hoc Groups**

When one is researching the interplay between opinions, preservation, and the law, preservation in an area, local instances of attempted preservation are relevant. However, a researcher cannot predict when they might occur, and cannot control for them. Therefore, while it was not part of my original, formal research plan, I was watching for them. I found two instances of threats to sites being countered by local people outside formal preservation groups that are directly relevant to my dissertation. They seemed unique in that neither appeared to be the pet project of an established historical or archaeological preservation group. Although some of the individuals were members of groups that were involved to some extent with history, the preservation efforts did not appear to be coordinated in either instance by a formal group, but rather by a semi-permanent or ad-hoc group of interested parties. I had two reasons for following these events. First, they could illustrate how legislation and public opinion influence (or fail to influence) preservation efforts. Second, they were relatively local events occurring in the public eye, that may have influenced some of the people I was studying. Thus, before I describe the results of my study, it is important to interrogate these two projects.

One site, the Woodlea, was a historic structure and the other, the Pillsbury Mound, is a precontact<sup>5</sup> platform mound<sup>6</sup>. I followed the actions of the public and the entities controlling the sites to see what the outcomes would be. They provided me with an opportunity to observe attempts at the preservation of two distinct types of sites.

In both cases, I was able to identify the threats to the sites, some of the major actors, the processes used to attempt to save the sites, and opinions of some other members of the public regarding the threats and preservation attempts. In the case of the Woodlea, some members of a local historical society became involved in its preservation, but the house remained in the control of the city and most of the preservation efforts were driven by individuals and local governments. In the case of the Pillsbury Mound, the museum charged with its preservation was the entity trying to sell it, and those involved in its preservation were local governments and residents, including an archaeologist, a lawyer, and descendants of the man who originally donated it to the museum.

### **The Woodlea**

The Woodlea was a wooden house in Tavares built in 1871 by the man credited with bringing the sweet orange to Central Florida. It was abandoned, largely forgotten, and after a tremendous amount of work by many people in the area to secure funds for its preservation, it was destroyed in an act of unmitigated idiocy. Those who worked to preserve had to make do with trying to replicate it.

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<sup>5</sup> Precontact refers to any time before the arrival of Europeans in the Americas.

<sup>6</sup> A platform mound is an elevated, flat-topped structure, usually composed of soil, that sometimes held a structure on top.

As of 2006, the Woodlea was believed to have been the oldest house in Lake County (Smith 2007). It was built in 1871 by Melton Haynes, a Civil War captain and early homesteader who is credited with having created Lake County's, and likely Central Florida's, first grove of sweet oranges (Ritchie 2007). He acquired the land through the Homestead Act of 1862, and built the house of pine, cedar, and cypress. The property was bought in 1890 by Amos Wakelin, a Philadelphian insurance broker. Wakelin and his family continued operating the orange groves on the property until the freeze of 1985, which killed most of its trees (Grenier 2003). At some point, the house was vacated and the house and land were sold to the Bucher family.

Efforts by several people converged to generate sufficient support for the house's preservation. By 1996, the Bucher family was developing the property surrounding the Woodlea into The Peninsula, a large community of lakefront homes and a golf course. A Bucher family member, Thomas Line, was in charge of the development and was considering possible uses for a preserved Woodlea (Weber 1996). The house was located on property slated for a golf course, but among Line's ideas was the possibility of moving it and eventually turning it into either a pro shop for the golf course or into a small museum. He was quoted in the *Orlando Sentinel* as saying, "somebody has got to preserve these old homes or they are gone" (Weber 1996). Line planned to keep the house where it was until he needed the land for development, then relocate the house. To this end, he made minor repairs to keep the house from deteriorating and developed around it for the next eight years.

Eventually, development caught up with the Woodlea. The rehabilitation of the house by Line did not materialize, but he sought out groups that might be interested in

preserving it. By 2003, Line had not been able to donate Woodlea to anyone who would relocate it and could no longer postpone construction of the golf course (Perrera 2004).

Robert Grenier first saw the Woodlea in 2001. As construction loomed, Grenier and a group of other community members researched the history of the house and spoke about it at historical society meetings and events related to Civil War history. So far, his extensive research has resulted not only in two books (Grenier 2003; Grenier 2008), but also in a great deal of interest in the house, the man who built it, and the history of the area.

While Grenier was busy researching the history of the house and Captain Haynes, Tavares city administrator Dottie Keedy saw a watercolor picture of the Woodlea and was intrigued (Perera 2004). She went to the house, noticed the development, telephoned Tom Line, and found that he was trying to donate it. Keedy then went to the Tavares City Council, which, with the Lake County Commission and the Rotary Club of Tavares, arranged for the house's relocation to city property. The city moved it to a spot near the Woodlea Sports complex where it was hoped the house would get exposure and generate interest.

After relocation, the next step was to rehabilitate and preserve the house. The Tavares City Council voted in August of 2007 to spend \$12,500 on plans to restore the house as a museum (Fretland et al. 2007). The city also applied for a \$280,000 grant from the state to use for restoring it (Hudak 2007). The goal was to turn it into a living museum in a setting similar the one it originally had (Smith 2007).

Shortly after the house was moved, the city put a fence around it, but several instances of vandalism occurred. The night of September 2, 2007, the day before construction was to begin on the parking lot for the Woodlea, two young men broke into the fenced area and set fire to the house. Being an old wooden structure, it burned too quickly for firefighters to save it (Fretland 2007c). The arsonists were soon found (due in part to tips from local residents) and claimed they set the fire because they thought the house was haunted (Fretland 2007e). In April of 2008, one arsonist was sentenced to three years' probation, and on June 6, 2008, the other received a year in jail, minus the nine months he served prior to sentencing (Hudak 2008) (the remaining three months was cut to less than two weeks shortly after sentencing (Ritchie 2008)). They were also ordered to pay \$39,435 in restitution to Tavares and the company insuring the house (Hudak 2008).

Within a week of the destruction, people instrumental in preserving the Woodlea were making plans to reconstruct it. On September 8<sup>th</sup>, a group of avocational archaeologists salvaged what artifacts they could from the rubble (Hudak 2007). The chimney, foundation, metal hardware, and some timbers could be recovered from the devastation (Fretland 2007d). By the end of the month, Grenier was trying to obtain a grant to fund the house's replication (Fretland 2007b). He had ideas of using the land for a replicated Woodlea and possibly a place to relocate other historic buildings threatened by development. The Tavares City Council agreed to pursue state grants, either for restoration or, if too much had been lost for restoration, for replication (Fretland 2007e). The city eventually had a replica of the house built, and uses it as a

ship store at the Tavares Seaplane Base/Marina in Wootton Park (Fuggetta 2010; Cole 2010).

### **The Pillsbury Mound Site**

The Pillsbury Mound Archaeological Site (8Ma31) (Figure 2) is located in Bradenton, Florida, south of the Manatee River, just west of the De Soto National Memorial park. It is part of a Late Weedon Island/Safety Harbor Archaeological Culture Period (A.D.700-1700) temple/platform mound and burial mound complex, and one of the few surviving platform mounds in the Bay area (Lim 2007g). Although there were once possibly thousands of shell middens in the southeast, many of the mounds and middens in Florida were destroyed in the first part of the twentieth century, either through development or to provide fill for roadbeds. It is a burial mound, and as such, is subject to both NAGPRA and Florida laws regulating human burials. As a mound, it is also subject to the Florida Historical Resources Act.

The mound's 1984 proposal for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places recommends preservation in part because of the mound's potential to answer questions about the use(s) of structures on mounds and questions related to demographics, disease, and nutrition (Bettini et al. 1984). It is possible that because it is a burial mound, it will not answer these types of questions through excavation, but, as the report notes, the intrinsic value would be sufficient reason to preserve it. It was once thought that the Pillsbury site might contain evidence from the De Soto expedition (Schwadron 1998), but no such remains have been recovered (Almy et al. 2007).

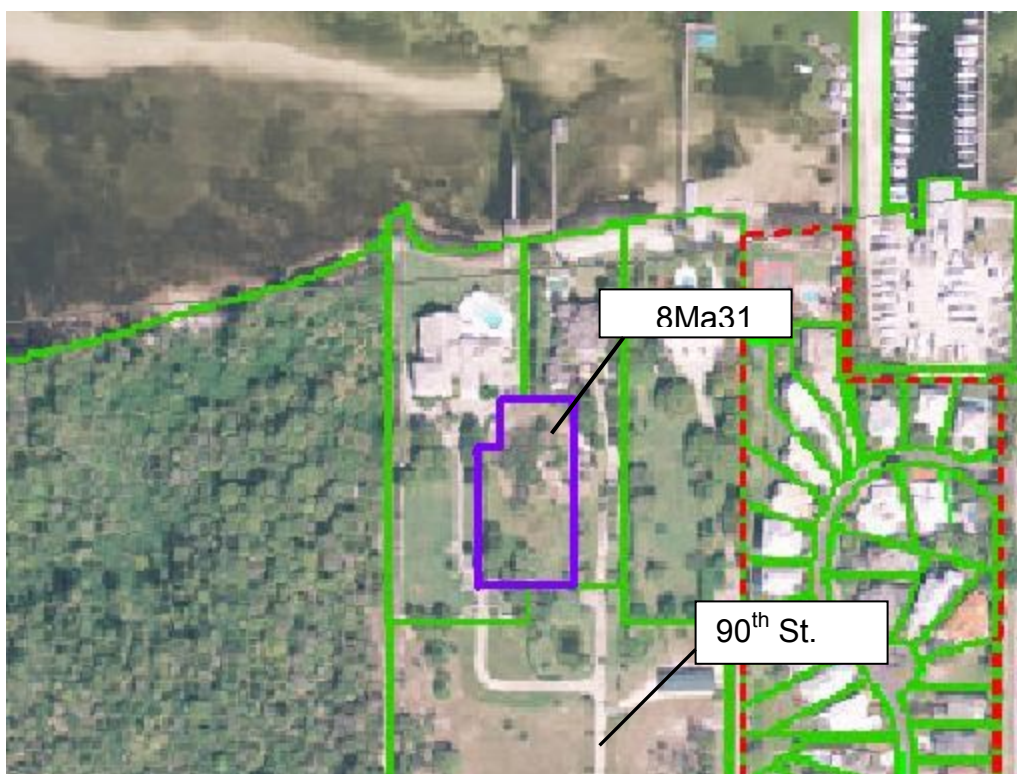




**Figure 2. Remains of the Asa Pillsbury Mound at Palma Sola.  
Courtesy of Manatee County Public Library Historical Image Digital  
Collection.**

The land on which the mound sits was once owned by Asa Pillsbury Jr., a member of an early homesteading family. After living most of his life in the area, Pillsbury and his wife built a house just north of the mound. Pillsbury deeded the parcel of land on which the mound sits (just under an acre total) (Fig. 3) to the South Florida Museum in 1974, to ensure its preservation (Lim 2007g).

The Pillsbury Mound Site has a somewhat confusing excavation history. The mound was first recorded by the local collector/avocational archaeologist Montague Tallant in the 1930s. Matthew Stirling, the chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, from 1928 to 1958, mentions a mound “west of Palma Sola,” which could be part of the Pillsbury site (Luer and Almy 1981, citing Stirling 1930). Both



**Figure 3. Location of Pillsbury Mound Site. Map courtesy of Google Earth.**

requested and were denied permission to excavate the mounds by Mr. Pillsbury (Burger nd). The platform mound most likely has not been professionally excavated. It is close to the remains of the associated burial mound (8Ma30), which is now mostly excavated. Both the platform mound (8Ma31) and the burial mound (8Ma30) are described in the site report for the platform mound. The site report for the burial mound exists, but consists solely of the word “dug.” In addition to the platform and burial mounds, Almy (2007) includes a borrow pit in the Pillsbury Mound complex. There is also an unnamed site consisting of a shell ridge (8Ma28) extending from near the Pillsbury mounds to Shaw’s Point, that could once have been a causeway connecting the two areas (Schwadron 1998). The Bonilla habitation site (8Ma1030) is located about a hundred meters southwest of the platform mound and might also have been associated with the

Pillsbury Mound. Very little investigation has been done at the Bonilla site, but a surface survey found shell scatter including clam and whelk/conch remains (Burger 1998).

Pillsbury prevented excavations of the burial mound for over thirty years, and it was not excavated by professional archaeologists until 1963 (although at least one instance of digging by local residents occurred at some point prior to 1978 (Bettini et al. 1984)). In 1963, Ripley Bullen performed an excavation of a ramp on the east side of what he identified as the burial mound, that Pillsbury thought might be a ramp leading toward Shaw's Point (8Ma27). However, it has been suggested that it was actually the burial mound Bullen was excavating (Mitchem 1989). Some literature places the mounds adjacent to each other (FMSF), while other writings put the burial mound half a mile south of the platform mound (Almy et al. 2007).

Bullen's 1963 excavation recovered remains from 147 burials and a considerable amount of mostly Weedon Island pottery, with a minor Safety Harbor component (Mitchem 1989). The pottery and remains from 134 of the burials are in state collections at the Florida Museum of Natural History in Gainesville (FSM Catalog #s 98050-98282; Taylor 2009). According to the National Register nomination proposal, there could well be more burials in the mound. Because the platform mound has not been professionally excavated, it is unknown whether it is solely a platform mound or was also a burial mound at some point. Local archaeologist William Burger suggests it may have once been a burial mound that was later covered with the white sand, creating a platform mound (Lim 2007g).

In February of 2007, it was reported in the *Bradenton Herald* that the South Florida Museum had offered the parcel on which the mound sits for sale. The museum stated that the mound did not fit with the museum's educational goals (Lim 2007g). It was deemed difficult to exhibit, but the decision was not unanimous. At least one board member noted the importance of the site to the museum's history, saying that artifacts from the Pillsbury Complex provided the basis for the museum's collections. Also noted in the paper was the fact that one of the board members (officially instated in January of 2007 (Florida Department of State)) was the real estate agent listing the property (Lim 2007g).

The offer to sell coincided with a proposal by a local developer, Bill Manfull, to build fourteen houses on land adjacent to the Pillsbury site. The developer made an offer of \$100,000 for the mound property, but was turned down (Cormier 2007a, Lim 2007c). News of the offer and development proposal reached the local newspapers on February 10th, and there was an uproar from local residents, archaeologists, preservationists, and representatives of native groups (Blue 2007; Lim 2007f). The diligent, continuing newspaper reporting became an important factor in the mound's future. It kept the issue in the public's attention throughout the process and the editor of the *Bradenton Herald* later credited reporter Sylvia Lim's articles as being part of the reason the mound received support from the state government (Krauter and Smith 2008).

Descendants of the Pillsbury family were quick to comment on the mound's importance to them and to the area (Mayotte 2007), influencing further public support for its continued existence. The first round of letters to the editor regarding the

proposed sale expressed a solid desire to see the mound preserved, whether by the museum or by other organizations. Within two weeks of the first newspaper article, a neighbor of the mound, attorney Scott Bassett, began organizing community members to plan ways to preserve it and begin the search for governmental funds (Cormier 2007c; Lim 2007e). Several of the people involved in generating funds and governmental and public support for the Pillsbury Mound had been active years before in preserving other mounds in the area when they were threatened by development (Holly Mayotte, personal communication, February 6, 2008).

At the end of February, the museum decided to put the sale on hold and give parties interested in preservation sixty days to come up with an offer for the property. At that time, Manatee County and another entity, an “unidentified foundation,” were interested in obtaining it to preserve it (Cormier 2007b), but the county wanted to explore potential funding sources. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of April, when the sixty-day period ended, the museum board postponed the scheduled board meeting to allow the county more time to prepare for requesting state funds. The county was hoping to receive an Emergency Archaeological Property Acquisition grant, which would not require the county to provide matching funds. Such grants are available only for sites of major statewide significance that are in imminent danger of being destroyed (FLA. STAT. §253.027).

The museum board met on May 30, intending to vote on the sale of the mound, but was one member short of the 40 percent needed for a binding vote (Lim 2007f). At that time, Manatee County was the only known entity likely to buy the mound, but in order to apply for the state grant, needed written documentation from the museum

stating that it was for sale. Three weeks later, the museum board had its necessary quorum and voted to be open to selling the site (Blue 2007).

On December 14, 2007 Florida's Acquisition and Restoration Council added the Pillsbury mound to the list of Florida Forever projects. According to the Florida Department of Environmental Protection (2007), Manatee County's Conservation Lands Management Department is expected to manage the site, a wooden fence will be constructed around it, and vegetation will be controlled in such a way as to protect the site and prevent erosion. Access to the site will be limited, but there will be educational signage nearby. The next step was an appraisal and negotiations between the state Department of Environmental Protection and the South Florida Museum for the mound's purchase (Lim 2008). The appraisal value was \$170,000 and the Cabinet and Governor Charlie Crist agreed in May of 2009 to purchase it for \$149,000 with Florida Forever funds (Taylor 2009). Currently, the only contentious issue seems to be the continuing question of access. The neighbor and developer, Bill Manfull, owns the piece of land between the mound and the road, and has stated that he will not allow public access to the mound (Lim 2007d; Lim 2008). This is probably nothing more than a minor detail, though, since there should be access either from a former deed (Lim 2007d) or a statutory easement (FLA. STAT. §704.01).

These preservation projects were in the public eye during the time I was researching the issue in the Tampa Bay area. They help to illustrate the preservation environment in Central Florida existing at the time of the research. Members of CGCAS were aware of the Pillsbury Mound issue. At least one had excavated in the area of the Woodlea house, and was aware of it.

The Woodlea and Pillsbury Mound projects were relatively high-profile preservation efforts by members of the public. The people involved worked together when historic resources were threatened, but did not form into permanent local groups. The media played a valuable role in the efforts, notifying people who would eventually act to preserve the resources, through relocation in the case of the Woodlea, or through public pressure on museum and governmental officials in the case of the Pillsbury Mound. In the next chapter, I will examine how established archaeological or preservation groups operate to preserve cultural resources.

## **Chapter Six:**

### **Activities of Formal Preservation Groups**

It has been postulated that people in organized civic groups influence governmental action more effectively than individuals (Baggetta 2009; Cohen 2006; Moffatt 1992; Page and Shapiro 1983). I also wanted to examine the differences, if any, in the motivations and interests between an organized group of historic preservationists and one of volunteer archaeologists. I received permission to study two civic groups in the greater Tampa Bay area. One, the preservation committee of the Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association, is dedicated to historical preservation and the other, the Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society, to archaeological investigation and preservation. Below, I have outlined each group's history, accomplishments, and goals. Between the time I initially received permission to survey a third formal group, the Ybor City Museum Society, and the time I received IRB approval, the procedure for seeking permission changed and permission was rescinded. The Tampa Bay History Center was closed during most of 2008, so it was not a feasible alternative. I decided to rely instead on museum visitor logs from the Ybor City Museum, and interviews with museum personnel.

I chose these groups, because I wanted to study people who identified as being interested in preservation, and ideally I wanted groups with a record of influencing governmental decisions about preservation. All three had this history.



The Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association and Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society are both non-profit corporations operating in the greater Tampa Bay area. Both OSHNA's historic preservation committee and CGCAS are, to varying degrees, segments of larger entities. The historic preservation committee is one of several committees within OSHNA, and operates pursuant to its bylaws. CGCAS is a chapter of the Florida Anthropological Society, reporting to it, and operating under its auspices. CGCAS has considerably more members than OSHNA's preservation committee (approximately 90 to 40, respectively), but each had about 20 to 25 active members<sup>7</sup> during the time of this study.

### **Ybor City**

Ybor City is an area of present-day Tampa, lying just northeast of downtown Tampa. It was founded in 1886, when cigar manufacturers including Vicente Martinez Ybor established cigar factories there. It grew quickly over the following forty years, then began to decline as the demand for cigars slowed. Its buildings, archaeology, and oral histories have provided information about a unique community, and the preservation that has occurred in the area is largely the result of this singularity.

### ***History***

Florida's cigar industry stemmed from Cuba's. Several cigar manufacturers moved their factories from Havana to Key West after Cuba's Ten Years' War. Vicente Martinez Ybor was born in Spain, but moved to Cuba at fourteen to avoid military

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<sup>7</sup> The number of active members is based on the number of individuals who regularly attend general meetings and activities.

service in North Africa (Hawes 1985). By 1853 he was manufacturing cigars (Hawes 1985). His opposition to the high tariffs imposed by the Spanish government on his cigars led him to become involved with the Cuban separatist movement in Cuba's Ten Years' War (1868-1878) (Hawes 1985). He relocated to Key West, where he established a cigar factory in 1872. In 1885, after a union strike at his Key West factory, he bought forty acres of land near Tampa and opened a branch factory. When the Key West fire of 1886 destroyed the factory there, he relocated the entire company to Tampa. In October of 1886, he, his son, Edward Ybor, and Edward Manara established the Ybor City Land and Improvement Company to create a planned community for the factory workers. The company hired carpenters to build houses, known as casitas, for the workers. The casitas could be rented for \$1.50 to \$2.00 a week, or purchased in installments for \$750 (just over one year's salary for the average worker at Ybor's factory) (Mormino and Pozzetta 1998:235).

Early in 1884, the Tampa extension to Henry Plant's railroad was completed, connecting the area with the rest of the eastern coastal region. This opened new markets in the Midwest and sped shipping to existing ones. The Ybor City cigar manufacturers still continued to utilize the Tampa-Havana-Key West trade route that had been in existence since the 1850s. By the end of the nineteenth century, Tampa was known as the Cigar Capital of the World (Steele 2011).

Workers came from Latin America and Europe to work in the cigar factories and nearby farms (Beebe 1992). Other people arrived and opened shops near the newly-created neighborhoods. German lithographers came to create artwork for the cigar packaging, and a small number of Jewish storekeepers set up shop (Mormino and

Pozzetta 1998). As the immigrant groups arrived and established themselves, members of some of the ethnic groups formed mutual aid societies. These societies functioned as social clubs and insurance organizations. For a relatively small fee, workers could join and receive health care.

Through its history, Ybor City has hosted such notable people as Clara Barton, Cab Calloway, Theodore Roosevelt, and Jose Marti. Ybor City's residents and visitors played a pivotal role in the Spanish American War.

### ***Decline***

A city as dependent on one industry as Ybor City was is tied to the success of that industry. Ybor City's decline followed that of the cigar industry as a whole. In addition to the general economic problems of the Great Depression, it caused a decline in the consumption of luxury goods like hand rolled cigars, as people turned to cheaper machine-made cigarettes. This combined with a cigar makers' strike in 1931 to lead to an exodus of (mostly younger) residents. In the case of the Marti-Maceo mutual aid society, the resulting decline in membership occurred at the same time as an increase in the percentage of members collecting benefits, which further imperiled the club's solvency (Greenbaum 2002). The post-World War II era saw another rise in the popularity of cigarettes at the expense of cigars (Westfall 1984). During the 1950s, businesses that had relied on cigar worker residents were leaving Ybor City, and the area was not attracting sufficient new businesses and tourists. Increased availability of insurance helped make the mutual aid societies redundant, and participation in the once-thriving societies dwindled (Girardi 2000).

By the mid-1950s members of the community were considering the possibility of revitalizing the city and marketing its history and singular origins to attract tourism (Lastra 2006; 208). Tony Pizzo, a native of Ybor City, developed an interest in its history, particularly in the role it played in Cuban independence. During the 1950s, he and others worked with various Cuban individuals and businesses to attempt to preserve the boarding house once run by Pauline Pedrosa, in which José Martí, a leader in the movement of Cuban independence from Spain, stayed and wrote some of his speeches. Although the house was not saved, the effort produced considerable interest both in Tampa and in Cuba, with President Batista convening a special session of Cuba's congress to provide funds for the project (Pizzo 1980). Years later, Pizzo was one of the founders of the Tampa Historical Society, which also included descendants of early residents of Tampa. The Barrio Latino Commission was created in 1959 and immediately began planning remodeling and revitalization of part of Ybor City to create a Latin Quarter, modeled on New Orleans' French Quarter. While the Barrio Latino Commission was outlining its projects, two other forces were converging on the city: the Urban Renewal Agency of the City of Tampa and the creation of Interstate 4.

The urban renewal projects affecting Ybor City were part of the larger trend around the country. In Ybor City, it proposed to relocate inner city residents, level their existing residences, and move the displaced people to more modern, updated homes. Six hundred sixty buildings were destroyed in the urban renewal of the 1960s (Ybor City Museum 1989; Adams 1992), but funds dried up before new structures were built (Lastra 2006; 229). In all, urban renewal officials decided to raze almost ninety percent

of the remaining historic structures in the area (Lastra 2006), yet the promised rebuilding and renewal of Ybor City did not occur (Adams 1992).

Construction for Interstate 4 began in 1962. The interstate was routed through Ybor City, severing the north part of the city from downtown Ybor. Between the displaced residents and lack of easy access to downtown Ybor, the city spiraled into further economic decline. As people left, membership in the mutual aid societies also declined even further (Lastra 2006).

### ***Renewal***

Much of the active renewal of Ybor City occurred in the 1970s, and was linked both to dismay over Ybor's decline and the general resurgence of interest in history due to the nation's Bicentennial celebrations. In 1971, Cesar Gonzmart, Jr., acting director of Hillsborough Junior College's development and urban studies program asked the City Demonstration Agency to determine the historical significance of the old Ybor City Fire Station Number 4 (Lastra 2006). Established in 1897, it was located at 1801 Ninth Avenue (Lastra 2006:53), the corner of Ninth Avenue and Eighteenth Street. It was determined to have historic significance, as were several other buildings in the area (Lastra 2006). He requested that several buildings in Ybor City be added to Florida's Bicentennial Trail. Gonzmart also caused Ybor City to be included in the Historic American Buildings Survey that was completed in 1973 (Lastra 2006). This led to Ybor City's being nominated for listing on the National Register of Historic Places in October of 1973 (Lastra 2006), and receiving the designation in 1974 (Sanchez 1991; <http://www.nationalregisterofhistoricplaces.com/FL/Hillsborough/districts.html>).

Unfortunately, the fire station did not survive. People associated with the college and Ybor City had been arguing over control of seventeen buildings that would have comprised a historic district. The college wanted to raze the building and develop the land (Martin 1974a). Various people, including the wife of then-mayor Dick Greco, were actively trying to preserve the building (Allen 1974). Tampa's local branch of the US Metropolitan Development Agency requested a demolition order for the building from the Tampa City Council (Martin 1974c). People trying to preserve the building had asked the city council to delay signing the order until September, by which time they hoped to have funds to restore it (Martin 1974c). However, the city council passed the demolition resolution on February 12, 1974 (Martin 1974c). The mayor, who was out of town, did not sign a contract for demolition. The demolition contract was instead issued by Howard Kutzner, a US Housing and Urban Development renewal specialist assigned to Tampa's Metropolitan Development Agency, who did not have authority to do so, and demolition was begun on February 14, 1974 (Martin 1974b).<sup>8</sup>

Before the demolition, it was hoped that the old fire station could be turned into an Ybor City museum, and that would open in 1976, making it part of the bicentennial celebrations (Brennan 1992). That did not happen, but another nearby historic structure would prove ideal. The Ybor City Museum was eventually established in the Ferlita Bakery building (8Hi949) (Figure 4). The blond brick bakery was built in 1923, to replace the original 1896 wooden building that burned in 1922 (O'Connell 1989). The

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<sup>8</sup> Although this is the contemporaneous account of events, reporter Tom Brennan attributed the demolition to the Hillsborough Community College (Brennan 1992). I found no other evidence that the college was involved.

brick ovens from the original bakery survived the fire, and the new bakery was built around them (8Hi949; Ybor City Museum Society newsletter Fall 1996).

The bakery closed in 1973, and Florida's Division of Archives and History offered a matching grant for half of the cost of restoration of the building, providing Tampa could provide the other half (Lastra 2006). The museum opened in 1980, as a state museum. The Ybor City Museum Society was founded to support the museum (Brennan and Cabrera 1992) and filed articles of incorporation in 1982 (<http://www.sunbiz.org/pdf/60613696.pdf>). The structure was rehabilitated in 1985



**Figure 4. Ybor City Museum. Photo by author (2009).**

by the Florida Department of Natural Resources<sup>9</sup>.

In 1977, it was decided that the brick roads in Ybor City would be preserved (Lastra 2006). 1977 also saw the formation of the Tampa Rough Rider organization. Their goal was to commemorate Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders' stay in Tampa prior to their famous activities in the Spanish American War, furthering interest in Ybor City's past.

Even after preservation of Ybor City passed the initial hurdles, it has not always gone smoothly. In 1986, one Tampa ordinance, intended to beautify the city, did not contain an exemption for neon signs in front of Ybor businesses, some dating to the 1920s (Dunlop 1987). There has also been an ongoing problem with demolition by neglect. Demolition by neglect occurs when the owner of a building destroys it by failing to maintain it. While some instances involve elderly owners, or owners who simply lack the necessary funds, a more distressing trend has developed. Some owners, unable or unwilling to obtain permission to tear down a historic structure, will intentionally allow demolition by neglect, then remove the collapsed or condemned building and develop the property.

The practice had occurred in Tampa before, but an instance in Ybor prompted the city council to enact an ordinance to help prevent future demolition by neglect. The building commonly known as the Gary School was built in 1913, and existed as the Gary Elementary School from 1914 to 1979, when it became the Gary Adult High School (Zink and Zayas 2008; Steele 2008b). The school board closed the school in 2005 because of roof leaks (Zink and Zayas 2008). In 2006, the condition of the school

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<sup>9</sup> The Department of Natural Resources was combined with the Department of Environmental Regulation in 1993 to become the Department of Environmental Protection.



prompted the city council to vote to stop exempting county property from city code enforcement (Froelich 2006), but that conflicts with state law (Steele 2008a). Later that year, Hillsborough County spent \$20,000 for tarps for the school's roof, but it continued to deteriorate (Steele 2008d). It sat vacant for two years before a developer bought it (Steele 2008a; Zayas 2008a). Once bought, the building remained vacant and decaying for another year until the roof collapsed (Nipps 2008; Steele 2008d). Five weeks after the roof collapsed, the city ordered the rest of the building demolished to prevent safety issues (Steele 2008b).

### ***Ybor Centennial***

Ybor's centennial in 1986 afforded an opportunity to generate interest in the city's preservation and restoration. The director of the Ybor City Centennial Committee, Joan Jennewein, stated, "The time is right for Ybor City and this is just one more tool" (Taylor 1985). In August of 1985, work began on what was to become Ybor's Centennial Park. The city met its goal of completing the park by January of 1986, and the park was dedicated on January 18, 1986, during the Liberty Carnivale that marked the official beginning of the centennial celebrations (Martin 1986). The Carnivale was attended by approximately 30,000 people, and included parade led by Governor Bob Martinez, that began at Ybor Square, traveled along 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue to 21<sup>st</sup> Street, and ended at the Ybor Museum (Dunn 1986). Preservation Park's grand opening was later in the year. It opened to a festival intended to recreate a turn-of-the-century fair, complete with cloggers, jugglers, a brass band, and an ice cream social in the patio of the Ybor City Museum (Strickland 1986).

In another effort to improve the character of Ybor, the Ybor City Centennial Committee established a matching grant project with \$25,000 designed to help property owners restore or renovate their balconies (Garrison 1986). A maximum of \$2500 (or \$5000 for corner buildings with balconies on two sides) was offered. Owners could restore existing balconies or recreate them from photographs, as Alan Kahana, the owner of El Buen Gusto Restaurant, was planning to do (Garrison 1986).

Also in 1986, the Tampa/Hillsborough County Preservation Board applied for a federal grant to help fund the surveying of historic structures in Ybor City, but was rejected (Stengle 1988). Two years later, a \$4000 federal grant was approved, and the Board agreed to match the amount. The money financed the surveying and mapping of cigar factories and cigar workers' homes in the area (Stengle 1988). The National Park Service designated Ybor City a National Historic Landmark District in 1990 (Garlington 1994). This status is bestowed only on sites, structures, objects, or areas that the Secretary of the Interior has determined to be "nationally significant in American history and culture" (<http://www.nps.gov/history/nhl/QA.htm>).

### ***Ybor City Museum Society***

Most of the museum's exhibits have focused on the history of Ybor City, relating the history through photographs (Long 2002), artifacts, (Behnken 2002), and cigar box art (Loft 2004). In an effort to reflect the area's unique history, the museum created a series of exhibits to relate the experiences of the various ethnic groups that comprised early Ybor City (Woodward 1999). The series began with "Cornerstones of the Community: the Jewish Presence in Ybor City," and later depicted Sicilian, German,

Cuban (both white- and afro-Cuban), and Spanish immigrants. A 1996 exhibit, “Cigar Boxes and Labels of Tampa’s Cigar Industry,” illuminated the significance of German lithography in creating cigar box labels (YCMS newsletter spring 1996). The disastrous urban renewal of Ybor City itself became a museum exhibit subject in 2006 (Loft 2006). The goal was to inform people about the effects of development and preservation, and how the urban renewal shaped Ybor City (Loft 2006).

In conjunction with the Centro Asturiano, the museum society began holding an annual event, Taste of Ybor City in May of 1991 (Clary 1991). It offers food from local restaurants and crafts and artwork from local artisans. It moved from the Centro Asturiano to the Centennial Park in 1995, allowing for significantly larger attendance (Clary 1995). At various times through the museum’s history, walking tours have been offered (Jackson 1999).

Because of the links between Ybor City and the Spanish American War, the museum society was heavily involved in events commemorating its centennial. In 1997, the Ybor City Museum Society collaborated with the Florida Humanities Council, the University of South Florida, Centro Asturiano de Tampa, the Arts Council of Hillsborough County, Spain’s Ministry of Culture, and the Tampa Tribune collaborated in the commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the beginning of the Spanish Civil War . The museum society offered to catalogue its relevant documents to provide archival resources to the other entities (YCMS Fall 1997). Around this time, the museum society was also the local sponsor of an archaeological excavation funded by the Florida Department of State, performed in Ybor City attempting to locate the encampments of the buffalo soldiers during their stay in Tampa (Hawes 1997; Weisman 2011a). In early

1998, the museum and society hosted a Spanish American War centennial celebration with a parade, an acted narrative, military re-enactors, and a display highlighting the Buffalo Soldiers excavation (YCMS Fall 1997). The museum displayed a special exhibit, "Weapons of the Spanish American War," showcasing artifacts on loan from the First United States Volunteer Cavalry Regiment Rough Riders, Inc. (YCMS spring 1998 newsletter).

In 1992, the museum was threatened with being shut down due to lack of state funds (Brennan and Cabrera 1992). At the time, state parks were overseen by the Department of Natural Resources. Roughly forty percent of the fund from which the DNR drew to support state parks was supplied by park admission fees and about sixty percent came from the documentary stamp tax (Hanson 1992; Chick 1992). Both sources generated less money than usual in 1992, leading to a seven million dollar shortfall in the DNR's budget. The DNR deemed it necessary to close nearly one-third of its parks. Despite attracting over 22,000 visitors the previous year, the museum was one of the ones slated to close on January 1, 1993 (Hanson 1992). Local residents, museum directors, and museum society members embarked on a lobbying campaign to persuade the legislature to provide more funds to the DNR or, alternately, to cause the DNR to close a different site (Hanson 1992). In December of 1992, the legislature gave the state park system over a million dollars from sales tax revenue, which was higher because of the post-Hurricane Andrew rebuilding in south Florida (Willon 1992). Although the money kept the museum open, officials began considering other ways of increasing revenue, such as an increase in admission fees (Brennan and Cabrera 1992).

Updates to the museum, including audio interpretations of exhibits were made in 1995 (Cabrera 1995). The gift shop was expanded in 1995, increasing revenue (McCormick 1996). In 1996, the museum began collecting and storing oral histories of the area (Clary 1996).

### ***Casitas***

One of the more extensive projects the Ybor City Museum Society has undertaken was the relocation and restoration of several casitas originally used by cigar factory workers (Figure 5). After urban renewal, as Interstates 4 and 275 were expanded, more casitas were in danger of being destroyed, and the Ybor City Museum continued to step in. Six casitas had been moved to property near the museum in 1985 (Taylor 1985). In 1996, the idea was broached to relocate seven casitas (YCMS newsletter spring 1996). In 1997, Mary Alvarez, then-president of the Museum Society, began an effort to move five or six casitas to a piece of land adjacent to the Centennial Park. The original goal was to restore the casitas, use one as part of the museum and lease the others as shops and cafes, thereby evoking the sense of a village on the museum grounds (YCMS minutes June 1996). The plan would ideally preserve the casitas, improve the historic character of the area, and promote small local businesses (VanPelt 1997).

Five years after the project began, the first casita of that group was moved to a piece of land at 19<sup>th</sup> Street and 8<sup>th</sup> Avenue (Ackerman 2002). Much of the delay occurred because the move and rehabilitation required the coordination of several levels of government. As Pressman and Wildavsky (1984:xxi) state, “implementation,



**Figure 5. Front view of three restored casitas adjacent to the museum. The interior of the one on the far left is a recreation of a cigar factory worker's home and is part of the museum tour. Photo by author (2009).**

under the best of circumstances, is exceedingly difficult.” The casitas project was no exception. With no precedent to work from, the museum society members and other interested local residents succeeded in arranging with state and federal road agencies to acquire the buildings, receiving land on which to relocate them from the county, and involving the city in the process. Because it involved county land, state and federal agencies, and the city government, the people organizing the casitas project would have had to contend with the laws of all levels of government. The museum society had to obtain approval from the State Department of Historical Resources to relocate them to property near the museum (YCMS board meeting June 1999). Objections occurred

at the national level because the planned use of some of the casitas was commercial (YCMS board meeting Sept. 1999). Four casitas were to be moved to the property along 19<sup>th</sup> Street, and a fifth was to be moved next to the Ybor City Museum and used to house exhibits while the museum underwent renovations (Ackerman 2002).

The casitas project eventually grew to involve the relocation of sixty-four structures (Peck 2010). Many of the first thirty have been sold to individuals as residences, but in 2007, the museum society planned to relocate more of the casitas to the area around the museum. (<http://www.hynca.com/archives/category/new-development/>) As of this writing, the project has relocated fifty-two casitas. Another twelve are slated to be relocated soon (Peck 2010).

### **Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association**

This was the string of 'Bad Credit? No Problem' used car lots with barbed wire and a clientele of recent graduates from the bus stop. Also, used-furniture stores. Used appliance stores. One place just sold used doors. Another rented TVs and wrote bail bonds. They occupied the ruins of undesignated historic buildings falling down around the middle of a previously thriving garden district sliced open by the interstate... The neighborhood's only professionals were the good doctors practicing out of the psychiatric center, which rented the second floor of an art deco movie house on Florida Avenue. The main theater downstairs was the meeting hall for a high-turnover lineup of inspirational seminars, multilevel marketing scams, narcotics support groups and itinerant congregations featuring rousing choirs and bass guitars [Dorsey 2007:164].

Dorsey describes a persistent image of Seminole Heights, and one that the members of the Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association have been trying to combat for over 30 years. Seen from the main thoroughfares, the neighborhood is a mix of Gothic Revival, car lots, unique, independent shops and restaurants. However,

the tree-lined side roads contain an abundance of Sears houses, bungalows, Mediterranean Revival, Florida Vernacular, and Craftsman style houses.

Seminole Heights is located about three miles north of downtown Tampa. Its approximate boundaries are 22<sup>nd</sup> street to the east, the Hillsborough River to the north and west, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard to the south (<http://www.seminoleheights.com/news.php?viewStory=16>). Sections of the neighborhood were platted at various times, from 1886 to the 1920s. Within the neighborhood known as Seminole Heights are two established historic districts: the Seminole Heights Residential District and the Hampton Terrace Historic District (NPS website). Due to the potential for confusion with the larger neighborhood and a smaller area both being named Seminole Heights, I will use the terminology normally seen in articles. Seminole Heights neighborhood refers to the larger area, Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association (OSHNA) refers to the association of residents from that larger area, and the Seminole Heights historic district refers to the smaller area within the neighborhood that has received federal and local designation.

The early part of the Seminole Heights historic district was platted in 1911 by T. Roy Young (Danielson and Bourgeois 1992). The area was situated on the trolley line that connected downtown Tampa with the neighborhood and popular resort and swimming area of Sulphur Springs. Residents were able to commute easily to work in one direction and to recreation in the other.

Seminole Heights was a thriving neighborhood for several decades, with a variety of shops along the main streets and bungalow houses on the side streets (Figures 4 and 5). The neighborhood was bisected by the construction of Interstate 275



in the 1960s, whereupon it began to decline (Murphey 1988b). It entered a resurgence beginning in the mid-1980s (Robertson 1990). Just when Seminole Heights was becoming a more desirable place to live, the idea of widening Hillsborough Avenue from four lanes to six was proposed in 1984 (Murphey 1988b). In early 1987, the Florida Department of Transportation was studying the feasibility of widening I-275, I-75, Florida Avenue, Hanna Avenue, Nebraska Avenue, and Hillsborough Avenue (Plott 1987, Smoot 1992). By October of 1987, the Tampa Urban Area Metropolitan Planning Organization (MPO)<sup>10</sup> designated \$10 million for a new Hillsborough Bridge, and adding two more lanes to Hillsborough Avenue was certain.



**Figure 6. Seminole Heights bungalow. Photo by author (2011).**

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<sup>10</sup> Now the Hillsborough County Metropolitan Planning Organization, it is the local MPO established by the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1962 (23 CFR 450). It is a federally funded board of elected officials and transportation professionals who plan transportation projects and allocate the relevant federal funds.



**Figure 7. Seminole Heights bungalow. Photo by author (2011).**

The Old Seminole Heights Preservation Committee (OSPCH) (later the Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association) was created in response to the threat posed by the Hillsborough Avenue widening (M.A. interview, June 25, 2008; P.S. interview, January 22, 2009). It was formed in August of 1987 (Brackman 1987). Early activities included organizing cleanups around the intersection of I-275 and Hillsborough Avenue (Brackman 1987), and attempting to encourage homeowners to maintain their yards and remove lawn trash (Dolan 1988). From the first year, the Seminole Heights organization worked to improve the neighborhood and preserve the historical structures that make it unique.

The first major battle for OSHPC was over the widening of Hillsborough Avenue. In June of 1988, OSHPC members attended a public hearing concerning the Florida

Department of Transportation's plans to widen the street. In the eyes of many Seminole Heights residents, the plans caused two problems. The widening of the road would effectively quarter the reviving neighborhood (after the bisecting by I-275), and the work would cause the destruction of several historic buildings along Hillsborough Avenue. Widening the street would have caused the demolition or removal of five to eight historic houses in the Seminole Heights area. Residents submitted a request that DOT alter the plans and not widen the section of the street running through Seminole Heights (Murphey 1988b). The project manager rejected the request, saying it would cause a bottleneck effect on traffic flow. The rationale was later repeated by a DOT official (Murphey 1988a).

Over the summer of 1988, the DOT delayed the project for two months because of objections from residents (Washington 1988b). At the request of the OSHPC, the Tampa City Commission passed a resolution asking the DOT to revise the plans and keep the section four lanes (Washington 1988b). The controversy over the widening of Hillsborough continued for two years (Anderson 1990). In the midst of the debate about widening Hillsborough Avenue, OSHPC members discovered that the City of Tampa had decided to spend \$1.9 million to buy land around the intersection of Florida and Hillsborough to facilitate widening it (Stanley 1993b).

Members of the OSHPC had a couple of successes or, maybe more accurately, mitigations of adverse effects, during the years of debate. They were able to get an agreement for spatial buffering and an 8-foot wall to reduce noise from traffic (Lemus 1991a). By 1994, there were plans to relocate eight of the historic houses that would have otherwise been demolished for the widening (Stanley 1994b). Two were donated

by the DOT to the City of Tampa, which gave them to Tampa United Methodist Centers, which would then move, rehabilitate and sell the houses.

A direct result of the controversy over the Hillsborough Avenue widening was the introduction of the neighborhood element in the city's comprehensive plan. In 1994, members of the OSHPC asked for a neighborhood policy to be added that would give local residents more say in projects that would affect their areas (Drayton 1994). The idea was taken up by commissioner Joe Chillura in 1996 (Brennan 1996).

After six years of controversy, the Metropolitan Planning Organization agreed to reevaluate whether six lanes were truly necessary for smoother traffic flow on Hillsborough Avenue (Brennan 1994). This change in position quickly led to a power struggle between it and the Florida DOT. The DOT claimed that if the widening failed to commence as originally decided, money for the entire project could be redistributed elsewhere, a statement similar to one made in 1988 by a DOT official to OSHPC members (Washington 1988b). The situation happened at a time when the MPO was seeking greater authority over transportation planning and funding in the county, and the Hillsborough Avenue widening issue became a test case for this authority (Brennan 1994). The DOT reevaluated its plans, and Hillsborough Avenue remains four lanes. It was during the extensive struggles that, as one of the OSHNA preservation committee members phrased it, "OSHNA got teeth" (M.A. interview, June 25, 2008).

In late 1988, the OSHPC extended its goals to improve the business element of the neighborhood (Dukess 1989). The goal was to make traffic from local car lots less hazardous (Dukess 1989) and find ways to attract new businesses that were not used car lots (Stanley 1994a). Ongoing attempts at attracting more aesthetically pleasing

businesses have had some successes. One success with an existing business involved the marble and glass façade on the local Publix (Brennan 1993b). The store opened in 1954, with a post art deco or art moderne façade (Brennan 1993b). In 1993, the company received permission to tear it down and replace it with a store almost twice the size. The most admired elements of the façade were replicated in design of new store, satisfying the wishes of residents who had been vocal about the demolition (Brennan 1993a).

Also in 1993, the OSHPC attempted to prevent the Hillsborough County School District from razing three houses and using the land for a parking lot for Hillsborough High School (Stanley 1993a). The OSHPC went to the city council after the school district officials tried, but failed, to find alternatives (Stanley 1993e). Despite sympathy from the school board and a petition in support of the houses from students (Stanley 1994e), the property became a parking lot.

In late 1993 four of the nine trustees of the OSHPC decided to step down (Orsi 1993). They had been in their positions for the previous six years, since the group was formed, and needed a rest (Orsi 1993). Although this was the sort of thing that had caused groups with less neighborhood involvement to disband, other residents stepped into the vacancies and the OSHPC continued.

Shortly thereafter, the OSHPC changed its name to the Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association (OSHNA), partly to reflect the fact that they included all of the Old Seminole Heights area rather than just the residences in the historic district (Stanley 1994(d)). About this time, a separate preservation committee was formed, which is the particular part of the neighborhood association I am studying. Under both

names, the group was concerned with historic preservation. "The idea was that this was a group of people who were interested in community preservation,' said trustee Steve Gluckman, 'Historic preservation was important but it was the preservation of the whole community -- the neighborhood'" (Stanley 1994(d)).

In its current form, OSHNA is run by a board consisting of four officers (president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer) and five trustees. The term of office for board members is one year, or until the election of a successor. OSHNA has a membership of approximately 450 people, the vast majority of whom are individual, voting members. Non-voting memberships are available for people who live outside the neighborhood, and there is also a voting business membership category.

OSHNA is a 501(c)(4) entity, meaning donations to it are not tax-deductible, and it is characterized as a social welfare group. Since its inception, OSHNA members had been considering becoming a 501(c)(3) corporation, but in 2009, decided instead to form a separate 501(c)(3) entity, the Old Seminole Heights Preservation Consortium, and have OSHNA remain as it has been. As a 501(c)(4) organization, OSHNA's goals must be connected primarily to the advancement of social welfare. It is allowed to engage in activities designed to influence historic preservation laws, such as distributing information about regulations and engaging in letter writing campaigns, so long as it does not engage in direct political campaigning, advocating for or against candidates, or similar activities (Chick and Henchey n.d.).

The historic preservation committee is one of 16 committees in OSHNA. The committees work on their own or in conjunction with other committees, depending on the projects in question. During the time of my involvement, the preservation committee



has had approximately 30 to 40 members, with eight to 15 present at any given committee meeting. A person is not required to be a member of OSHNA to be on the preservation committee, but the chair must be a voting member of OSHNA, per OSHNA bylaws.

### ***Neighborhood Historic Designations***

Inclusion in the National Register gives buildings added protection from development, requiring state and federal governments to “exhaust other alternatives” in cases of road widening (Li 1993b). It also allows the owners of investment-producing listed buildings to apply for a twenty percent investment tax credit for rehabilitation certified as consistent with the historic character. Owners of any property can receive a reduction in county property taxes if value is added by restoration (Stanley 1993a). Members of the OSHPC led the effort to obtain local and national designation for the Seminole Heights historic district, national designation for Hampton Terrace, and from 2006 to 2009, were working on local designation for Hampton Terrace.

A previous study Seminole Heights residents’ views regarding preservation found that 12 of 15 of the researcher’s informants identified heritage with historical architecture (Spillane 2007). This finding aligns with the emphasis the group has historically put on preserving the built environment. Their efforts to achieve historic designation began in 1990. OSHPC members contacted neighborhood residents, provided information about the history of the area and benefits of living in a designated district, and worked to increase support for designation (Williams 1993). In 1990, the Tampa City Council agreed to authorize the Historic Tampa/Hillsborough County

Preservation Board to apply for a \$14,000 federal grant to pay for research and an application for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places (Brackman 1990). The research would include a survey of the homes in the Seminole Heights area to determine possible historic district boundaries. They were awarded a \$7,000 grant, and the Historic Tampa/Hillsborough County Preservation Board agreed to match that with services (Lemus 1991b). Staff from the Preservation Board and volunteers from the neighborhood surveyed the houses and applied to the State for nomination.

The State nominated the district in February of 1993, upon which, the nomination went to the federal committee (Li 1993a). The district received federal designation on August 5, 1993 (Stanley 1993a). The original historic district contained 438 structures, of which 325 were considered historically significant (Stanley 1993a). Once the district earned federal recognition, the OSHPC began the final application process for receiving historic designation from the city. The process was lengthened by additional neighborhood meetings requested by the mayor and by lack of funding (Stanley 1994c). Part of the process is the compilation of standards and guidelines that will apply to the historic district that is seeking designation. The preservation board estimated that the compilation and administration would cost about \$17,000, which had not been budgeted (Stanley 1994c). The district received local designation in 1995 (VanPelt 1995). The Seminole Heights district is roughly bounded on the south by Osborne Avenue, on the east by Cherokee Avenue, on the west by an alley east of Florida Avenue, and on the north by Hanna Avenue ([http://www.nr.nps.gov/iwisapi/explorer.dll?IWS\\_SCHEMA=NRIS1&IWS\\_LOGIN=1&IWS\\_REPORT=100000042](http://www.nr.nps.gov/iwisapi/explorer.dll?IWS_SCHEMA=NRIS1&IWS_LOGIN=1&IWS_REPORT=100000042)).



In the summer of 1995, OSHNA members contemplated extending the boundaries of the local historic district. In August of that year, they sought a grant for \$9500 to study structures outside of the established historic district and prepare a National Register proposal (VanPelt 1995).

In Seminole Heights, to the east of the Seminole Heights historic district, is the Hampton Terrace National Historic District. Its approximate boundaries are Hanna Avenue on the north, Hillsborough Avenue on the south, Nebraska Avenue on the west, and 15<sup>th</sup> Street on the east (NPS website [http://www.nr.nps.gov/iwisapi/explorer.dll?IWS\\_SCHEMA=NRIS1&IWS\\_LOGIN=1&IWS\\_REPORT=100000042](http://www.nr.nps.gov/iwisapi/explorer.dll?IWS_SCHEMA=NRIS1&IWS_LOGIN=1&IWS_REPORT=100000042)). Hampton Terrace is slightly newer, built mostly between the late teens and 1940s (Drayton 1998). It contains structures of about fifteen different historic architectural styles (Steele 2006), a fact that probably helped it achieve designation (Lengell 1999). Residents of Hampton Terrace, including some members of OSHNA began working on attaining historic designation in the mid-1990s (Lengell 1999). It received National Register designation in 1999 (Huettel 1999; Lengell 1999).

There is currently some disagreement about whether Hampton Terrace should seek local historical designation. There is also disagreement about how much actual dissent there is. After a meeting to gauge interest (Spillane 2007), Tampa's Historic Preservation Commission began a survey of the neighborhood in 2004, with the intent to create a proposal to send to the city council (Steele 2006). Approval from the city council would allow the residents to get recommendations from the Architectural Review Commission and the Hillsborough Planning Commission. Residents met in September of 2006 to determine how much support there was for continuing the local designation

process (Canning 2006). Members of the Hampton Terrace Local District committee began researching the history and architectural styles of the district in 2006 (Steele 2008c). In 2007, members of OSHNA's historic preservation committee were collaborating with the Hampton Terrace residents in the research into Hampton Terrace's history. They were meeting in Tampa's main public library to research the neighborhood using Sanborn Fire Insurance maps and city directories. When done with the research, they were planning to present their findings to the rest of the neighborhood for a decision on whether to continue with seeking the designation. During the process, a group of Hampton Terrace residents and property owners began expressing disagreement with attempts to seek designation. University of South Florida graduate student Courtney Spillane was tasked with interviewing opponents of the designation to determine their views. The people she spoke with said they were not opposed to historic preservation in general, but just to designating their neighborhood as a Local Historic District (Spillane 2007). In newspaper interviews, people opposed to the district have used the "property rights" argument prevalent in other preservation disputes (Parker 2010).

Those opposing local designation want the designation process stopped (Steele 2008). It has been postponed for now. Meanwhile, the controversy is playing out in the local media and on websites.

Residents of another area of Seminole Heights have considered seeking historic designation. The Josiah Richardson Center Hill subdivision was created in the 1920s by the same man who turned Sulphur Springs into a tourist destination (Lengell 2002). It is located to the northwest of the Seminole Heights district and contains many

bungalows similar to those in the Seminole Heights district (Lengell 2002). The residents later decided not to apply for national designation.

### ***Education and Research***

OSHNA's historic preservation committee, in conjunction with Tampa Preservation Inc.<sup>11</sup>, has been holding workshops to teach about preservation and give owners of historic properties ideas and guidance on restoring their buildings (Steele 2005). The most recent such workshop was the Renew Tampa conference in April of 2008 at the Berriman-Morgan Cigar Factory, which is in the process of being restored (Girona 2008). The two organizations also sponsored a tour of kitchens in historical Hyde Park to raise funds for a series of video documentaries about the history of the area (Hammer 2004).

My first contact with the preservation committee occurred on November 14, 2006 during one of their educational presentations. The focus of the presentation was a large collection of Burgert Brothers<sup>12</sup> photographs taken during the development and early decades of the Seminole Heights neighborhood. The slide show was narrated by the then-president, Dr. Steve Gluckman. In the presentation were photos illustrating a conflict between historic practices and current regulations in that window boxes (Spillane 2007) and chain link fences were evident in historic photos but are now against code.

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<sup>11</sup> Tampa Preservation Inc.'s mission is to educate the public about the area's history. Among other endeavors, it trains teachers to teach students about historic preservation and Tampa history.

<sup>12</sup> The Burgert Brothers Commercial Photography Studio began in 1899 as S.P. Burgert and Son. By the time it was dissolved in 1963 the family had taken over 80,000 photographs, of which nearly 15,000 have been archived in library collections.

The Seminole Heights Garden Center sits at 5810 North Central Avenue. It was first envisioned in 1932, and completed in 1939 as a Works Progress Administration project (Davis 1974; Steele 2007b), and is now owned by the City of Tampa. In 2007, the city began a 1.4 million dollar rehabilitation of the garden center building and property. Over the years, Dr. Gluckman had heard from several people that the property once had a sunken rock garden, which was likely buried under a dirt parking lot. It was described by longtime Seminole Heights resident Jim Stancil as being approximately 10 feet deep, and having stone steps with, "all kinds of plants around edge of the garden and kind of a wall, maybe of stone, around it and it may have had a small pond in the center with tadpoles and perhaps goldfish" (Steven Gluckman personal communication 2007).

With the possibility of damage from the construction looming, the committee decided it was an opportune time to look for the rock garden. Before the rehabilitation was set to begin, the committee received permission from the city to investigate whether any part of the garden remained, and if so, where. The president of a local geo-physics company volunteered to survey the site (Steven Gluckman e-mail to author, August 9, 2007). On August 12, 2007, several residents, members of the preservation committee, and a filmmaker turned out to watch him survey the area with ground penetrating radar (Steele 2007b). He found what is believed to be the rock garden, a circular area approximately 40 feet in diameter (Steele 2007b). Money had not been set aside for it, so the rock garden was not restored during the rehabilitation, but the knowledge of its probable location allowed the city to avoid disturbing it, and it should be available for restoration at some future date if possible (Steele 2009a).

In 2007, OSHNA preservation committee members became involved with creating a documentary about Seminole Heights during the first half of the twentieth century. Rather than holding a lecture or other short-lived event, they wanted a more permanent vehicle to use to convey the area's history (Zayas 2007). The documentary was a joint effort between residents and Cigar City Pictures which had earlier made a documentary about Ybor City. The collaboration came about because, "the owners of Cigar City Pictures, they live here in Seminole Heights, and were very eager to do another documentary about Seminole Heights" (P.S. interview January 22, 2009).

Members joined students and a professor from the Heritage Research and Resource Lab at the University of South Florida to increase heritage preservation and awareness in Seminole Heights. The University of South Florida team began working in the nearby neighborhoods of Sulphur Springs and Spring Hill, creating an ethnographic and ethnohistorical profile of the communities and compiling a database of oral histories of residents and past residents (University of South Florida Heritage Resource Lab 2011). They were contacted by the then-president of the preservation committee, Dr. Gluckman, about the possibility of collaborating on heritage preservation projects in the Seminole Heights area, and the team began collecting oral histories. During 2007 and 2008, a team consisting largely of OSHNA historic preservation members researched the area, collecting oral histories of long-time residents, historic plat maps, newspaper clippings, and copies of photographs (Zayas 2007). The documentary made its premiere, appropriately, at the Tampa Theatre in April. To the surprise of many, it sold out the 1445-seat theater, with over 100 still outside, unable to get in (Zayas 2008b). They held another showing of the documentary in October, during the homecoming

events at Hillsborough High School, and copies of it are available at a neighborhood diner and the Tampa Bay History Center. After the success with the documentary, members considered creating another movie and publishing a book about Seminole Heights. They logged and indexed the existing oral histories, and discussed beginning collecting more, from people they were not able to interview in the first round.

### ***Interactions with Government***

The members of OSHNA's preservation committee, individually and collectively, have interacted with all levels of government in their preservation efforts. As mentioned earlier, their organization originated from a conflict with the state government. Thus, the members have experience and knowledge in the area of influencing governmental policy. During the time I was involved with them, the City of Tampa proposed changes to its Historic Preservation Code (HPC) and Architectural Review Commission (ARC). As of 2006, Tampa's City Code allowed the City to give historical landmark designation to property without the consent of the owner. Although it was very infrequently used, it was viewed by people in the City Council and Historic Preservation Board as a useful tool for persuading owners toward listing (Annie Hart, interview, May 21, 2008).

After the City designated five cigar factories without the consent of the owners, public complaint led the City Council to vote to change the HPC to include an owner opt-out provision. When members of the preservation committee heard of this, they became a counter-force against the cigar factory owners and for the City's ability to designate structures without the owners' consent. After many meetings between city officials and local supporters of preservation, the revised HPC was changed to read that

the Historic Preservation Committee and City Council, in determining whether to list a property, shall consider, “whether the owner(s) supports the designation” (Tampa City Code §27-231.4). Thus, it provides that the owner’s support be taken into account, but still allows landmark designation without consent.

The preservation committee also worked to assist a member in her attempt to get her house (Figure 8) listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Although county deed records state the house was built in 1900, newspaper articles report it as having stood in 1899, and oral history and other documents date it to the 1870s (Deborah Rowland personal communication 2008; Steele 2009b). It was built by William (Captain Bill) Jackson, the son of early Tampa pioneers, and a steamship captain. The house is thought by some to possibly be the oldest home in Tampa still being used as a residence. It was featured in the 2009 Old Seminole Heights Home Tour, during which time archaeologists from University of South Florida excavated in the back yard. The excavation allowed people on the tour to get close to historical archaeology and the archaeologists provided visitors with a short fact sheet explaining backyard archaeology and its role in informing people about historic events.

Beginning in April of 2009, members of the preservation committee researched the house and surrounding area, collected documentation about its age and architectural style, and completed and submitted the nomination paperwork. As a participant observer in the group, my contribution to the nomination paperwork was editing the references. On September 14, 2010, the Florida National Register Review Board unanimously recommended that the house be nominated to the National



**Figure 8. Capt. Bill Jackson's house, looking north. Photo by author (2009).**

Register. The house was added to the National Register on April 8, 2011 (National Park Service 2011).

Once the paperwork for the Captain Jackson House nomination was complete, the preservation committee began focusing its efforts on helping a nearby neighborhood achieve National Register listing. The East Seminole Heights segment of the Seminole Heights Historic District received local designation in 1995 and later decided to seek National designation. With the process so fresh in many members' minds, they agreed.



## ***Green Artery***

Members of OSHNA and residents of Ybor City have been among the participants in a recently-formed (2010) group called the Green Artery. I include it with OSHNA because one of Green Artery's founders, Myron Griffin, is also a chair of two committees in OSHNA (Greenspace and Highways & Bi-ways), and I have recognized other OSHNA members at Green Artery meetings. The concept began around 2000 as Tampa Greenways. The idea behind it is to reconnect neighborhoods that had been partitioned and isolated by road construction and other urban development activities. They have been working with members of the Hillsborough County Planning Commission, the University of South Florida, and local urban planners to implement their ideas. Members are planning to incorporate greenways, blue space (waterways, such as the Hillsborough River), bicycling paths, and sidewalks (including the downtown Riverwalk mentioned in Chapter Three) into the plan. The concept evolved from a plan to install bike paths to the current goal of building community, starting from within communities.

The group began as a discussion between two local residents, one (Myron Griffin) living in Seminole Heights, and the other (Lena Young-Green) in Tampa Heights (the neighborhood that borders Seminole Heights to the south), exchanging ideas about ways to connect their neighborhoods (Steele 2011). As adjacent neighborhoods asked to join, it grew. It now includes 20 neighborhoods and the meetings rotate among the neighborhoods, with each one hosting in turn. Members from all neighborhoods (and interested outsiders, such as me) are invited to attend any or all of the meetings. In

2013, they held four community engagement workshops as well, designed to allow neighborhoods to collaborate in smaller groups (five neighborhoods per workshop).

Members are currently identifying green spaces and assets they want to connect and possible paths they can use to do so. In meetings, cards are handed out and all attendees are asked to write down suggestions for action on the topics discussed in that particular meeting. For example, at the point where the group was trying to identify the community assets it could connect (with paths) and showcase, attendees were asked to write down all physical locations in their neighborhoods they would like to see while they were walking or biking along a path. These could be structures (ones that appeal to the attendee for historic or architectural reasons), parks, shady sidewalks, views of a shoreline, or businesses they would like to visit while on foot. Particularly interesting to preservationists is the emphasis some members, including facilitator Terry Cullen, are putting on historic and archaeological sites they believe will display Tampa's beauty and history.

### **Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society**

Hester Davis (1991) refers to organized groups of avocational<sup>13</sup> archaeologists as “a secret weapon for site protection,” due to their potential to influence politicians and the general public, and possibly reform pothunters. The Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society (CGCAS) is a local chapter of the Florida Anthropological Society, the state's organization for anthropology and archaeology. It was founded in 1977 and serves the Tampa Bay area (Luer 1997). Membership is open to vocational

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<sup>13</sup> Defined as people who are not professional archaeologists, but “consider sites and artifacts as sources of information” and so are not looters or artifact dealers (Davis 1991:175).

and avocational archaeologists and anyone with an interest in archaeology, providing they agree to the code of ethics. CGCAS is a 501(c)(3) charitable organization, meeting the Internal Revenue Service's qualification as an organization operating for the advancement of education or science (Internal Revenue Code §501(c)(3)). As such, it is allowed to attempt to influence legislation, but the attempt cannot be a substantial part of its activities.

CGCAS is the local chapter of the Florida Anthropological Society, and makes quarterly reports to it. It is required to have at least 10 members who are also members of FAS. As a chapter of FAS, it contributes to FAS's newsletter (published semiannually since 2011, quarterly before that), and hosts the annual meeting in turn with other chapters.

My first contact with CGCAS was in March of 2006 at the Florida Archaeology Month event at the Science Center of Pinellas County. Most of my participant observation was done in the context of excavating, sorting artifacts, attending lectures, and attending and participating in board meetings, book club meetings, and Florida Archaeology Month events. I also participated in the more social events such as field trips, picnics, and holiday parties. Most of my informal interviewing was done during while excavating and sorting artifacts.

CGCAS' governing board is composed of four officers (president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer) and six directors. All are elected to one-year terms by a majority vote of the general membership. The elections are traditionally held at the annual picnic, in May or June. The only requirement for office is that the candidate must have been a member in good standing for the previous three months. Board

meetings are held monthly, usually as separate events, but sometimes before a book club meeting or picnic. Membership numbers vary, but during the time I have been associated with CGCAS, there have been approximately 75 to 120 members in any given year, with an active core of 20-30. Although board meetings are open to all CGCAS members, few non-board members attend; most board meetings are attended by about 10 people. Lectures generally have audiences of 40 to 70 people, but many of the attendees are members of the general public, and not necessarily CGCAS members.

CGCAS members have held positions outside the CGCAS that further the goals of archaeology. Past president, Shanna Drwiega, currently holds the archaeologist position on the City of Tampa's Historic Preservation Commission. One member of the CGCAS, professional archaeologist Robert Austin, has been credited with advancing archaeological preservation at the state level (Green 2004). During his time as president of the Florida Archaeological Council, he led the organized opposition of archaeologists to the proposed merger of Florida's Department of State and Department of Community Affairs (SB 2528, HB 1687). Oversight of historic and cultural resources would have been part of the Community Assistance Grants division, along with libraries, community development, and recreational developments (Coven 2003). Archaeologists feared the merger would lead to a lack of oversight of archaeological and historic resources, and, with conservationists, librarians, and others, they succeeded in causing the bill to die.

## ***Education***

Members have worked to educate the public about archaeology, both on their own and with other groups. In 1995, the then-president expressed an interest in coalition-building with other historically inclined groups and organizations (Miller 1996). To further people's knowledge of archaeology, the CGCAS has joined with other groups to hold lectures on a variety of topics. They brought Dr. Glen Doran to the Tampa Bay History Center in May of 1995 (Hawes 1995), during his work at the Windover site (8Br246). With University of South Florida's University Lecture Series and anthropology club, CGCAS sponsored a lecture by Roy Larick in April of 1996 (University of South Florida 1996). In November of 1999, they held a lecture at the Science Center of Pinellas County on slave dwellings at Monticello (Hawes 1999). For the past few years, they have been hosting monthly lectures from September to April at the Weedon Island Preserve. These have covered topics from pre-contact sites in Puerto Rico (November 2007) to the history of Weedon Island itself (February 2007).

Other activities designed to increase knowledge of archaeology have involved publications and educational kits. In 1979, the group published a guide to projectile points of the Central Gulf Coast (Luer 1997). In association with the Tampa Bay History Center, they designed archaeology education kits for elementary school-age children (Szeglowski 1995).

The Florida Anthropological Society coordinates Florida Archaeology Month every March. It was developed to educate Floridians and visitors about the state's archaeology, history, and preservation, and events such as tours, hikes, demonstrations, lectures, and reenactments are held. As part of the 2001 Florida

Archaeology Month events, CGCAS constructed an Indian village (Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society 2001). The village was also used for events in 2002 (Reinan 2002) and 2003. CGCAS cancelled the scheduled Florida Archaeology Month event in 2007 because of a decision by the Science Center of Pinellas County to charge a fee for admission (Burns 2007). Instead, they participated in the Archaeology Month events at Weedon Island, where they returned the following year (Burns 2008), and were still active in the lectures and workshops as of the 2013 events.

CGCAS has joined with other local organizations to hold educational events, often with a relatively new organization, the Florida Public Archaeology Network. FPAN was created in 2004 and exists to promote understanding of archaeology and interest in it. Members and employees go to schools and other venues to educate the public. According to the director of the West Central Region office, they have had their largest successes with middle school students, partly because that is when students learn about world history and the Civil War, both of which can tie in nicely with archaeology (Jeff Moates, interview August 28, 2009). Future research into long-term influences of the groups on students might provide interesting insights into education and public perception of preservation.

In 2012, CGCAS joined with FPAN to hold an archaeology summer camp for schoolchildren. The two groups also coordinate Florida Archaeology Month events, and some of their more extensive archaeological work.

## ***Excavations***

Since its formation, CGCAS has been active in the Tampa and St. Petersburg communities. It has been involved in several excavations in the area, both historic and prehistoric. In early 1994, CGCAS members recovered remains of the Bayshore Hotel, which burned down in 1908. The hotel's exact location was lost until artifacts were uncovered in 1989. The hotel was on the site of the current parking lot for the Safety Harbor Museum, which was scheduled to be paved later that year (Safety Harbor 1994). The excavation was open to the public to view, to educate the public about archaeology. Artifacts from the dig are still on display at the museum.

Members of the CGCAS excavated at the Narvaez/Anderson site (8Pi54), part of the Jungle Prada Complex, from 1994 to 1997 to gather information to use in a National Register nomination (Luer 1997; Bardsley 2001). The owners of the property on which the mound is located had preserved the site for years and sought the designation to protect the mound in case they later sold the land (Froelich 1999). The excavation recovered pieces of Spanish olive jar, European glass beads, iron (Luer 1997), and some late prehistoric-protohistoric microliths<sup>14</sup> that indicate the possible presence of a shell, bone, or shark tooth drilling workshop (Austin et al. 2007).

In 2002, CGCAS members were again involved with the Jungle Prada area, helping to halt the installation of a sewer line until archaeologists could supervise the procedure (Hirsch 2002). The parks operations manager overseeing the project had told workers to avoid the nearby burial mound, but had not told them that much of the non-mound area was also archaeologically sensitive, nor had he arranged to have

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<sup>14</sup> Tiny flakes of stone that are the byproducts of the manufacturing of lithic tools such as projectile points, scrapers, and blades.

archaeologists monitor the work. This may be an example of people not seeing beyond the footprint of the above-ground portion of a site.

In 1999, CGCAS did shovel testing at the oldest house in Pass-a-Grille (Hartzell 1999). They were hoping to recover eighteenth or nineteenth century artifacts to give more evidence of the history of the area. The area has a colorful history, including Tocabaga settlements, British and Spanish cartographers surveying there, and so-called pirate, John Gomez, but there had not been much archaeology on the island. The owners of the property, Margaret and Kenneth Herman, have since restored the house (Borns 2007).

The longest, most extensive excavation CGCAS has headed to date has been the Bayshore Homes project. The CGCAS has been excavating at the Bayshore Homes site (8Pi41) (Figure 9) in the Parque Narvaez subdivision since 1998. The site was first excavated in the mid 1950s by William Sears, in advance of development of the subdivision. He recorded three mounds and a midden on the site. The ceramics he recovered from the midden were located in a stratigraphic sequence opposite that found in other sites in the area. At the Bayshore Homes site, Pinellas Plain sherds were located under sand-tempered plain, with a lens of white sand between them (Austin et al. 2007). Also, the shape of Mound A indicated that the site postdated the Weeden Island period.





**Figure 9. Bayshore Homes Site. Photo by author (2010).**

CGCAS began investigations of the site with the goal of recovering specimens suitable for radiocarbon analysis (Austin et al. 2007). Radiocarbon dates suggest the site was occupied after the Weeden Island period. To get a better idea of the extent and layout of the site, CGCAS began shovel testing in the subdivision in 2006. They plan on continuing investigating the site through the near future (Austin et al. 2007).

In 2007, a storm partially uncovered a dugout canoe in the Weeden Island preserve. After initial analysis, it was found to be the longest precontact canoe in the southeast, and so far is the only one recovered from intertidal waters (others have been found in freshwater bodies such as lakes, rivers, and springs). The Friends of Weeden Island contributed a grant of \$30,000, and CGCAS, FPAN, and AWAIRES collaborated to

excavate the canoe in 2011. It is currently in a tank undergoing conservation in the AWAIRE research station.

### ***Interactions with Government***

There were not many situations that were immediately relevant to CGCAS that necessitated their involvement with various levels of government. An email listserv was created in late 2009. In its short existence, it has provided members with an effective means of communication for the main governmentally related issue they have had. Due to recent economic pressures, Pinellas County proposed closing two county parks, including Weedon Island. The president of CGCAS used the listserv to notify the rest of the group, and members used it to announce public meetings on the issue, suggest recipients for persuasive letters, and advise others on how to submit their suggestions electronically to the county.

The email list was used in 2008 to notify members of proposed revisions to the Division of Historical Resources' rules regarding salvage and exploration of underwater shipwreck sites. It encouraged members to contact the legislature and tell the state to tighten regulations on shipwreck treasure hunting or end it altogether. Meanwhile, message boards and websites devoted to treasure hunting were displaying posts encouraging their members to write against the regulations. Among their reasons were comments like, "We're the ones spending our time, money and sweat to go out and search for our history and maybe a dream or two! Who in the hell gives these people the right to tell us we can't explore!" and, "this will also bleed over to land treasures...So get to cracking [on letter writing] peeps, if you wish to keep detecting. After all, coins

minted before 1956, are archaeologically classified thingies and so you are committing a crime by digging one up.” (TreasureNet 2008). After the period for commenting ended, in October 2008, the Department of State changed the rules to better reflect the importance of the archaeological value of shipwreck sites. The rules that went into effect in 2009 removed mention of salvage and salvors, and limited permits to groups headed by an archaeologist, thus ending the state-issued treasure hunting permit in Florida (Fla. Admin. Code R. 1A-31).

The Ybor City Museum Society, OSHNA’s historic preservation committee, and CGCAS all have a long history of working to further the goals of historic and archaeological preservation. They have contributed to local knowledge of preservation and the value of historic and archaeological sites not only through formal educational venues such as lectures, but by demonstrating through example how historic preservation can work, and how archaeology can be used to recover information about past people living in the area. The following chapter examines the differences between the people in these groups and members of the public in terms of valuation of sites, importance of sites, and views of relevant laws.

## **Chapter Seven:**

### **Analysis**

The overall goal of my research was to explore the connections between the public's definition of archaeology, the extent to which they value it and historic preservation, and the preservation that gets accomplished in an area. I am also interested in the degree to which an interest in either archaeology or historic preservation leads to an interest in the other.

My original goal was to administer 15 surveys at one historical group, one archaeological group, and one neighborhood group, and 15 surveys to members of the public at a public library in Hillsborough County corresponding as close as possible geographically to each group. For example, for the Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association, I surveyed at the Seminole Heights Branch Library, and I surveyed at the Robert W. Saunders, Sr. Public Library to correspond with the Ybor City Museum Society. For the archaeological society, I used the John F. Germany Public Library, because the archaeological society serves the entire city of Tampa, and Germany is the main library for the city. When possible, I limited myself to smaller areas, rather than the entire city or county, on the premise that it would give me a more accurate result because I would be more likely to stay in a building or district's "market" (Pollicino and Maddison 2002).

The survey (Appendix A) contained questions intended to elicit information about what people think archaeology is, the extent to which they value archaeology and preservation, and how relevant they find both. I included some questions similar to ones from previous surveys by other researchers to determine how similar my respondents were to theirs as far as demographics, education, a basic definition of “archaeology,” and sources from which people get information about archaeology. All surveys were anonymous.

I initially contacted members of the groups in 2005 and 2006 to determine whether people within the groups would be willing to speak to and be surveyed by me. After receiving approval from the university’s IRB, I sought formal permission to research at each library and group. All three libraries gave me permission on the condition that the surveys were voluntary (they were) and that I not block the walkways (I did not). I conducted my surveys from March 2008 to June 2008 outside the three public libraries. I collected 15 surveys at each location, for a total of 45 surveys of library patrons. Beginning in February of 2008, I surveyed members of the Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society and the historic preservation committee of the Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Association, and obtained six surveys from each group. In one case, that of the Ybor City Museum Society, the museum director I initially spoke to (and received permission from to survey people and explore the archives) left before I received the IRB approval. The new director could not get permission from the board of directors for me to study the museum society. Interestingly, I was told approval was denied primarily because they did not think a survey with so many questions about archaeology would be applicable to their

members. By the time the museum board made a final decision, I had completed surveying at the corresponding library. Those data were compared to responses from the other locations and from the groups as a whole. I continued with all other research of the museum itself, leaving out only the study of the museum society members.

The method of surveying differed slightly between that done outside libraries and that done in the groups. This was due largely to the nature of the entities. At a public place with a continuous stream of potential respondents, a researcher can stand around asking people for their opinions until the quota is met. In established groups, there is usually a set number of members, some of whom are more active than others, who may or may not all convene at set intervals. Even when they do meet, circumstances may not be conducive to filling out surveys. In the case of the CGCAS, members generally only meet at lectures and to excavate or work in the lab. OSHNA preservation committee members have meetings roughly every month, but only a handful of members shows up at any given meeting. In the cases of both groups, members are actively pursuing some goal (or several goals at once), not just idling away time with nothing better to do than fill out surveys. I found email attachments and newsletters to be effective alternatives to handing out surveys at meetings or events. With both groups, when they met, I explained my research and asked people if they would mind filling out surveys and interview, and had paper copies with me if they wanted one, but most preferred the email route. There is, of course, the possibility that people can look things up while they answer surveys if they have the surveys out of the researcher's sight, but it does not appear to have skewed the data. No one returned a survey with answers that seemed too precise, as though the person had looked up, for example,

specific statutes. Also, because of the temperatures and general nuisance of writing while standing up, I was giving the library respondents the option to take their surveys into the libraries to fill out. Therefore, all respondents had the opportunity to research the subjects if they were so inclined, but it looks as though none did.

At the libraries, I stood outside and asked people if they would mind giving me their opinions about archaeology and historic preservation. Per instructions from the libraries, I stayed out of the walkways and tried to ask people only once if they would fill out the survey. I did not ask people who were otherwise occupied with crying children, on cell phones, running, or who appeared to be under 18. At each library, I surveyed on multiple days, at different times of day, in an effort to obtain a sample of both people who work during the day and those who do not. I stopped surveying once I received fifteen surveys. Some people did not answer all of the questions, and in some instances skipped a page or answered “I don’t know” for most of the questions. These have been included with the rest of the responses in my analysis. The branch libraries I chose are not the most highly frequented in the county. After talking to librarians at those libraries, I decided to survey at the beginning of the week (Monday through Wednesday), when library usage was higher. I averaged about one survey an hour, and had several respondents helpfully suggest other libraries that have higher patronage (usually after asking, “Why are you surveying at *this* library?”).

The branch libraries I chose have only one public entrance, so that was where I stood. The main library for Tampa has both a main entrance, facing Ashley Drive, and a back entrance, with a corridor to the parking garage. I surveyed one day at each entrance to get responses from different segments of the population. The days I was

there, the Ashley entrance was mainly used by pedestrians, some of whom appeared to be using the library during their lunch breaks, and some of whom may or may not have had permanent residences, and used the library as a gathering place. The lunch break crowd was largely in a hurry and did not fill out surveys. The garage entrance serves people who use the city parking garage south of the library. The west side of the library also houses the genealogy section, a point mentioned by a few of the people I spoke to.

One oddity of my surveying, for which I have only a partial explanation, was that 13 of the 15 respondents at the main library were male. In two cases, a man and woman went to the library together, and the women deferred to the men, not electing to fill out surveys of their own. The majority of the people who passed by were male, and while I was surveying by the front entrance (the east side), the overwhelming majority was. I have no concrete data regarding respondents' socioeconomic scales (no one came up to me, said they were homeless and asked for a dollar). On the other hand, there is some circumstantial evidence on the matter. While I was talking to a few of the people passing by the front of the library (some who completed surveys, and some who did not), another man walked up with two bags of groceries. From the following conversation, it emerged that one of the men I was talking to had been giving the other (the one with the groceries) advice on local food banks and charity organizations to help sustain him until he could resolve a problem he had been having with Social Security payments. From this and other conversations, it appeared that at least two of my respondents were near the lower end of the socioeconomic scale and may or may not have had a fixed address. However, they seemed to be well-read, and knowledgeable



about archaeology. One was very interested in local history, and the other in his family's history.

In addition to collecting the surveys, I planned to conduct interviews with five members of each group. I had a list of questions to guide me (Appendix B), but the respondents' answers directed the content of later questions. The interviews were designed to help determine how the interviewees became interested in preservation or archaeology, their knowledge of it, and how far that interest extends. Because I also surveyed the interviewees, I did not duplicate questions asked in the survey. Although I know the people I interviewed, I have decided not to use their names in my dissertation. This decision was made partially because some of them may have a more public presence than the average person does, and I would rather not have something they say to me affect that. Also, I am not interested in their responses as individuals as much as their responses as the part of the population they represent.

While I was surveying, I also was a participant observer in the groups. Although I do not live in the Old Seminole Heights area, both the neighborhood association and preservation committee are open to non-residents. The Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society accepts anyone with an interest in archaeology who will abide by their ethical standards. In both cases, one of my main goals was to see what, if anything, members of the groups did to further preservation or awareness of archaeology and historic preservation. I attended meetings and events, followed email and web log discussions, consulted old documents such as newsletters whenever possible, and spoke to individual members.

In surveying and in interviewing, the mere fact that it is an archaeologist asking the questions likely swayed some of the responses. A few of the survey takers commented that they didn't want to get answers "wrong" or worried that they did not care enough about archaeology. I tried to be clear in saying that a stated lack of interest is just as useful to me as an interest is, and that part of what I want to find out is how well archaeology is being portrayed to people who don't actively study it. If my being an archaeologist did alter some of the responses, the potential effects were consistent throughout the surveying in the sense that I did all the surveying myself, rather than finding another archaeologist or a non-archaeologist to do some of it. I could have lied and said I was being paid to survey for someone else, but not only would that have been unethical, but I probably would have missed out on several interesting conversations with the survey-takers. In the semi-structured interviewing, it is possible that some of the people I spoke to were more open with me than they would have been with someone who did not share many, if not most, of their preservation goals. This possibility influenced my decision to keep those interviewees anonymous.

One unexpected outcome of my interviewing group members and surveying was that my respondents did not mention unmarked local heritage sites or alternate views of marked sites. Previous research has shown that a demolished historical site in a neighborhood adjacent to Seminole Heights had different meaning for different groups, largely based on peoples' relation to it in the context of segregation (Spillane 2007). It is reasonable to think that sites in Seminole Heights would also evoke dissimilar memories. However, the subject did not come up in my conversations. Because I am focusing on the preservation of tangible heritage, the scope of this study was limited to

marked or unmarked sites, but not their association with any specific community such as Native American, Cuban, or African American, although all those communities are represented in Tampa. I was concentrating on residents' views on preservation in general, and did not want to ask leading questions or draw them outside the scope of my study. However, it was a noticeable silence, possibly indicative of a lack of dialogue, and something that should be addressed in future research.

### **Previous Surveys and Their Influences on My Questions**

Two extensive surveys about people's perceptions of archaeology were completed not long before I began my research. A survey by Maria Ramos and David Duganne (2000) was used to look at many of the same things I wanted to know. They found that most of the respondents had at least some idea of what archaeologists do. However, a study of British Columbia residents separated out the respondents who confused archaeology with paleontology, leaving just over 80 percent of respondents with an accurate view of archaeology (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999). While 99 percent in Ramos and Duganne's study correctly thought archaeologists study ancient civilizations, 85 percent answered that archaeologists study dinosaurs. The differences in responses between the two studies are likely the result of different questioning methods, possibly the difference between a "check one" type of answer and a "check all that apply" type. The 85 percent figure is disturbing to me when compared with the finding that only 83 percent thought archaeologists study the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

## **Results**

The percentages shown indicate the number of people who gave that response, divided by the number of people who answered the question(s) involved. I did not include lack of answers in my calculations. All of the questions with scaled answers were on a 1-10 scale, with 1 being either “strongly disagree” or “least important,” and 10 being either “strongly agree” or “very important.” Some of the questions had prompts, and some people stayed within the prompts, while others listed things I had not even thought of.

### ***Knowledge of Archaeology***

Previous surveys listed only descriptive statistics about the respondents; they did not look for differences or correlations. Therefore, to see how my respondents compare to those of previous studies, I begin with similar statistics. Taking the respondents of my surveys outside libraries as a sample of the general public of Tampa, it appears that the general public of the Tampa area has a definite interest in archaeology, and a solid idea of what archaeology is, and what archaeologists do. When asked what archaeologists study, the majority of respondents (89.1 percent of all respondents, 86 percent of people from libraries) listed at least one accurate topic, such as the past, artifacts, past civilizations, bones, and remnants of human history. As previous studies have found, I saw some confusion between archaeology and other fields involving digging, namely paleontology and geology, or as Pokotylo and Guppy (1999:402) term it, “earth sciences.” Among the people outside libraries I surveyed, 11.6 percent gave me lists composed solely of “earth science” things like fossils and dinosaurs.

Interestingly, my population differed from that of a previous study (Ramos and Duganne 2000) in that not only did fewer of the Tampa members of the public mention dinosaurs (seven percent as opposed to 10 percent), but there was no correlation among my respondents between listing dinosaurs and having had less formal education. My respondents were precisely the opposite, with only one of the people who said archaeologists study dinosaurs having less than a college education (eighth grade), two having a Bachelor's degree, and one having a Master's. However, most (62.5 percent) of the people who said archaeologists study rocks and/or fossils had a lower level of formal education (less than a Bachelor's degree). The lower percentage of people listing dinosaurs may be explained by contemporaneous events in popular culture. Ramos and Duganne conducted their study in June of 1999, two years after the release of the second Jurassic Park movie. The movie may have brought dinosaurs to the forefront of peoples' minds. On the other hand, I surveyed people during the release of an Indiana Jones movie, which may have caused them to think of an image that, if not entirely accurate, did not involve dinosaurs.

The percentage of people who had a decent idea of where archaeologists work was similarly high. Eighty two percent of Ramos and Duganne's (2000) respondents said archaeologists work all over the world, with fourteen percent mentioning Egypt. When asked where archaeologists work, nine of my general public respondents (20 percent) listed specific non-field locations such as labs, museums, universities, and governmental offices, showing an understanding that not all archaeology is excavation in exotic locales. Only one person said archaeologists work in "remote places." Unlike Ramos and Duganne's results, no respondents mentioned specific countries. There is a

possibility that “all over” and “everywhere” responses may mean “all sorts of exotic locations,” but this should not be inferred. My responses were similar to those of Ramos and Duganne in the sense that underwater archaeology was underrepresented. Only one percent of their respondents mentioned it (Ramos and Duganne 2000:15) and none of mine did.

A majority (83.7 percent) of the general public I surveyed strongly agreed that archaeology should be taught at some point in primary or secondary school. The responses to these questions were highly correlated with the importance of archaeology to the respondent individually. Every person who reported a high level of relevance of archaeology to his or her own life agreed that it should be taught at some point in primary or secondary school.

A considerably higher percentage of people in my study population of the general public (47.7 percent) reported having visited an archaeological site than in Ramos and Duganne’s population (37 percent). As might be expected, site visits can have a great impact on knowledge of archaeology. Of the eleven people who said archaeologists study dinosaurs, fossils, rocks, or sap, only one (9 percent) had visited an archaeological site. Among my general population, people with a higher level of formal education (71.4 percent) were more likely to have visited a site than those without (30.8 percent), and women (56.3 percent) were more likely to have visited a site than were men (42.3 percent). The link between education and site visits might be at least partially explained by access to anthropology and archaeology classes, especially in universities that have a cross-cultural or multi-cultural class requirement. People who visited a site (65 percent) were more likely to strongly agree that archaeology is

important to the economy than those who had not (41 percent). Oddly, people who had visited a site were less likely to strongly agree that laws should exist to protect archaeological sites (86 percent vs. 100 percent of those who had not visited one). However, when the question became one of preventing construction of buildings on archaeological sites on public land, those who had visited a site (90 percent) were more likely to agree that laws should exist to prevent that than those who had not visited one (68 percent).

One of the strongest differences between respondents who had visited a site and those who had not can be seen in their awareness of laws that exist to protect archaeological sites. Among those who had visited a site, 65 percent were aware of archaeological laws, while 35 percent were not. The percentages were almost reversed among people who had not visited a site, with 33.3 percent aware of the existence of the laws and 66.7 percent unaware. The difference may be the result of a general heightened awareness of archaeological matters.

### ***Ancestry and Time in Florida***

Two of the survey questions asked about the respondents' ancestry as it relates to sites; one asked whether they were descended from a group represented by an archaeological site, and the other whether they were descended from a group represented by a historical site (Table 1 and Table 2). The focus of this study is on tangible aspects of heritage, whether they are above or below ground, but I did not specify that the site need be a marked or officially recognized site, because my interest was in whether they felt a familial connection to what they termed a site. Like most of

the other questions, I could not verify the accuracy of the responses, which was acceptable because I was interested more in whether the respondents identified as a descendant or potential descendant of a group represented by any type of site than whether they could trace their ancestry to a specific person who definitely contributed to a site. Therefore, I included the answers of “possibly” and “probably” with the absolute yeses. As one respondent said, “I am not individually represented at an archaeological site, but since the archaeological record is technically everyone’s story – I am part of that human collective.”

In general, descendants of groups represented by archaeological sites were more likely than non-descendants to strongly agree that archaeology is important in shaping society’s values (79 percent to 53 percent, respectively). They were also more likely (63 percent) than non-descendants (47 percent) to strongly agree that archaeology was important to their own lives.

The respondents who were descended from groups represented by historic sites were very consistent in their agreement about whether there should be laws to protect historic buildings, prehistoric sites, and archaeological sites (88 percent) strongly agreed with each).

Twelve (30 percent) of the people I surveyed outside libraries have lived in Florida for less than five years, and three (25 percent) of the people I surveyed from groups have. Half of them said they had been active in an organization outside Tampa that was related to history or archaeology, and five (41.7 percent) said they had been members of an archaeological or historical society at some point. They were less likely (58.3 percent) to have visited a site than the rest of the general public (75 percent), but



66.7 percent reported being aware of local history and events, and 41.7 percent had visited a local museum. All twelve of them strongly agreed that laws should exist to protect archaeological sites and historic buildings. They were slightly less likely (91.7

**Table 1. Responses to demographic questions in survey.**

	<b>Seminole Heights Library</b>		<b>Saunders Library</b>		<b>Main Library</b>		<b>OSHNA</b>		<b>CGCAS</b>	
	<b>Mean/%</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b>Mean/%</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b>Mean/%</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b>Mean/%</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b>Mean/%</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>
<b>Age (years)</b>	45.8	14	43.3	10	43.2	14	51.5	6	62.7	6
<b>Sex (percent answering male)</b>	40	15	58.3	12	86.7	15	33.3	6	50	6
<b>Education (percent answering they have attended a post-secondary institution)</b>	78.6	14	41.7	12	57.1	14	83.3	6	100	6
<b>Time in Florida (years)</b>	22.3	14	26.5	11	21	15	32.3	6	38.7	6
<b>Family in Florida (years)</b>	34.9	9	45.2	10	27.4	14	54	6	43	6
<b>Time in Tampa (years)</b>	18	14	24.2	10	16.4	14	23.3	6	28.3	6
<b>Descended from Group Represented by Archaeological Site (percent answering yes)</b>	38.5	13	45.5	11	64.3	14	0	6	16.7	6
<b>Descended from Group Represented by Historic Site (percent answering yes)</b>	38.5	13	36.4	11	61.6	13	0	6	33.3	6
<b>Visited an Archaeological Site (percent answering yes)</b>	60	15	33.3	15	50	14	66.7	6	100	6

***N* = total number of respondents from each site answering the question.**

percent) to strongly agree that laws should prevent building on archaeological sites on public land, and only 63.6 percent strongly agreed that laws should exist to protect a

**Table 2. Interviewees' responses to demographic questions in survey.**

	Interviewees	
	Mean/%	<i>n</i>
Age (years)	56.8	5
Sex (percent answering male)	40	5
Education (percent answering they have attended a post-secondary institution)	80	5
Time in Florida (years)	32	5
Family in Florida (years)	49.6	5
Time in Tampa (years)	25.4	5
Descended from Group Represented by Archaeological Site (percent answering yes)	20	5
Descended from Group Represented by Historic Site (percent answering yes)	20	5
Visited an Archaeological Site (percent answering yes)	80	5

*N* = total number of respondents answering each question.

\*Interviewees were also represented in the CGCAS and OSHNA columns in Table 1.

colonial village. Likewise, a OSHNA member who moved to Tampa only five years previously essentially switched her membership from preservation-related groups elsewhere to similar local organizations, “I was a member of [her local] historical society, and my neighborhood association’s preservation committee. I’m currently a member of the National Trust, the Florida Trust, and OSHNA’s preservation committee” (P.S. interview January 22, 2008).

### ***Sources of Information about Archaeology***

Respondents in previous surveys listed lectures last both as a source from which they obtained information about archaeology, and as their preferred source (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999; Ramos and Duganne 2000). One of the groups I studied, CGCAS, arranges for a series of lectures each year, and it should come as no surprise that all of the respondents from that group reported getting information about archaeology from lectures. However, 18 percent of the people outside libraries said they received information from lectures. This may be explained by the abundance of lectures available in the Tampa Bay area, with CGCAS, the Tampa Bay History Center, the universities, and FPAN (hosting lectures since 2007 (Farlow 2007)).

Among the general public respondents, the most commonly listed sources of information about archaeology were television (82 percent of respondents), museums (42 percent), books (38 percent), movies (36 percent), and magazines (33 percent). The group members differed somewhat, with museums being the most frequently mentioned source (83 percent), followed by books (67 percent), magazines (67 percent), lectures (56 percent), television (41 percent), and movies (25 percent).

Another of Ramos and Duganne's findings was that people would rather (7 percent) learn about archaeology through hands-on experiences, such as excavation and lab work, than through local historical and archaeological societies (1 percent). Due to differences in survey structure, a direct comparison cannot be made between it and Pokotylo and Guppy's (1999) survey, but Pokotylo and Guppy's survey also showed a relatively high number of people reporting a desire to learn from hands-on experience. Although I did not include a survey question about preferred methods of

learning about archaeology, my interviews, both semi-structured and informal, indicate that hands-on archaeological experiences have a significant impact on people. Both of the CGCAS people I interviewed mentioned the allure of excavation. Several of the people I surveyed at libraries were eager to talk about their experiences excavating. Some of these were not under the auspices of a professional archaeologist, but were rather collecting as children or teenagers in construction sites, but they still tended to lead to a desire to learn about the artifacts and the area, and an increased interest in archaeology. There is probably less of a separation between hands-on experiences and local societies here in Tampa than elsewhere, with CGCAS's ongoing excavations and lab work, and the participation of Time Sifters' (an archaeological society in Sarasota) members in local excavations. People may not be aware, though, that the local societies can provide these opportunities. On the other hand, other CGCAS members have mentioned people who seem excited to have the opportunity to excavate, but then either did not return after one visit to the site, or did not appear at all. It is possible that the idea of excavation is more appealing than the actual work.

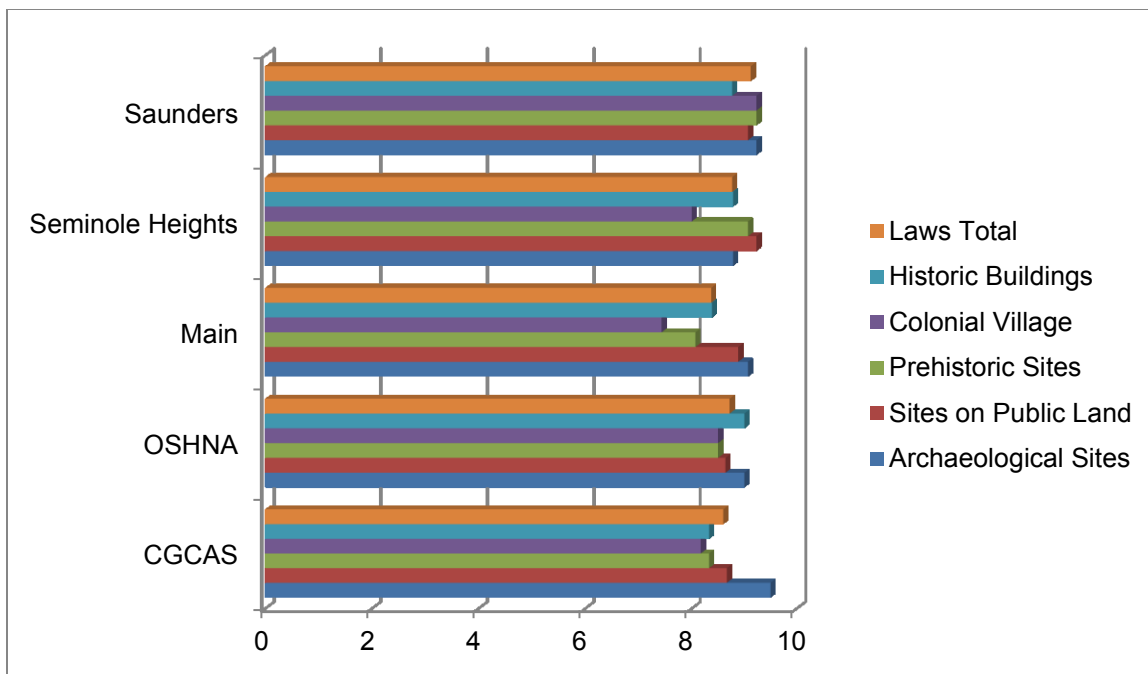
### ***Support for Preservation Laws***

One purpose of the survey was to find factors that might correlate with support of laws protecting archaeological and historical sites. The majority of respondents from the general public (68.3 percent) and from the groups (91.7 percent) strongly agreed with all of the statements that laws should exist to protect the various types of sites. Nearly all of the general public respondents (95.5 percent) and all of the group members strongly agreed that there should be laws to protect archaeological sites. This

is one of the most uniformly favorable responses from the survey and might be one of the more likely to have been influenced by being surveyed by an archaeologist. Only one person strongly disagreed that laws should protect archaeological sites. She characterized archaeology as being of low importance across the board, and disagreed that it should be taught in primary or secondary school.

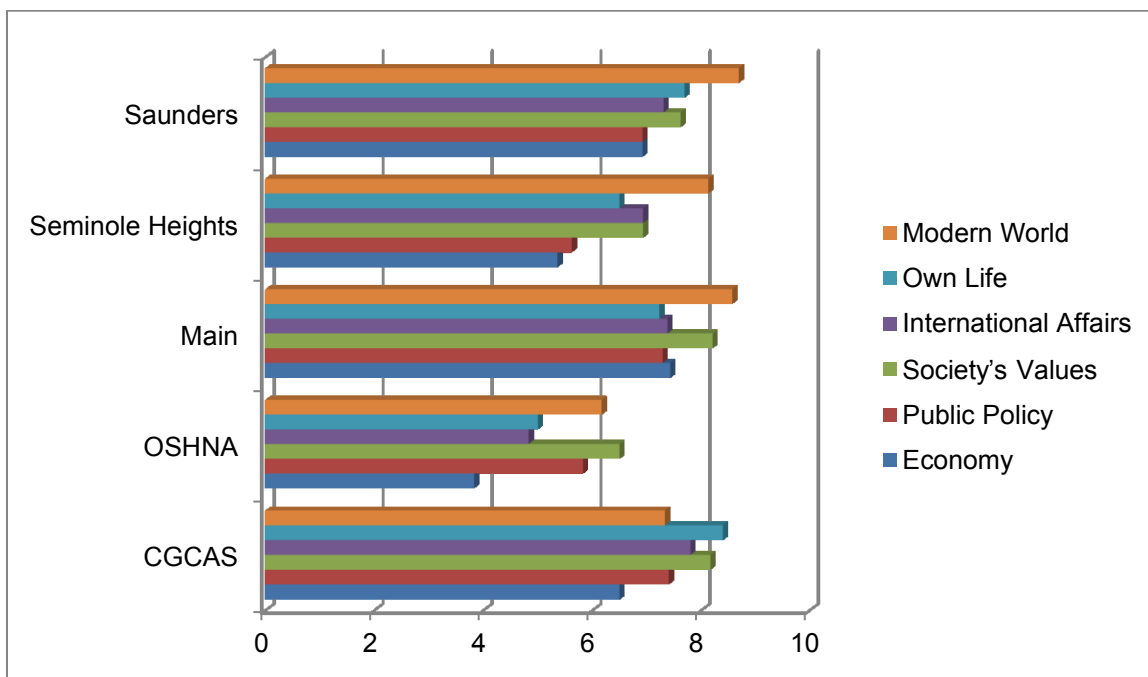
Because my results did not contain outliers that might have unduly swayed results, a Pearson product-moment linear correlation matrix helped identify factors related to support of laws. Because the questions about laws were part of a scale, I averaged the mean scores for all of law answers for each respondent (group means in Laws Total column, Table 3). I then entered those into a correlation matrix in SAS against the other variables. The total mean of laws correlated most strongly (positive correlation in all cases) with agreement with the statement that archaeology is relevant to the present, agreement that archaeology should be taught in grade school and high school, length of time spent in Tampa, educational level, and friends and relatives as a source of information about historic events.

As far as specifics regarding laws, there was a slight bias among CGCAS members for laws protecting archaeological sites, and a slight bias among preservation committee members for laws protecting historic sites (Figure 10). However, there was also considerable cross-interest concern for the protection of sites, showing that at least among these two groups, an interest in preservation extends from historic structures to archaeology and vice versa.



**Figure 10. Mean of extent of agreement with laws protecting types of sites, by respondents' groups**

\* On a scale of 1-10, strongly disagree to strongly agree.



**Figure 11. Mean of importance of archaeology to areas of life, by group**

\* On a scale of 1-10, not at all important to very important.

**Table 3. Eigenvalues of the correlation matrix**

	<b>Eigenvalue</b>	<b>Difference</b>	<b>Proportion</b>	<b>Cumulative</b>
<b>1</b>	10.6514839	5.8320901	0.2803	0.2803
<b>2</b>	4.8193938	0.8551254	0.1268	0.4071
<b>3</b>	3.9642684	0.2543724	0.1043	0.5115
<b>4</b>	3.7098959	0.4491458	0.0976	0.6091

**Table 4. Component matrix table**

	<b>Prin1</b>	<b>Prin2</b>	<b>Prin3</b>	<b>Prin4</b>
<b>Sex</b>	-.033691	-.085788	0.096567	<b>0.309966</b>
<b>Educ</b>	-.010361	-.111381	<b>0.330016</b>	-.132119
<b>FamFla</b>	-.066728	<b>0.389104</b>	0.007638	-.034424
<b>Tampa</b>	-.026255	<b>0.297754</b>	-.228435	0.218526
<b>NonFlaOrg</b>	-.182610	0.094650	0.076468	<b>0.307657</b>
<b>laws</b>	-.069878	0.101704	-.044358	<b>0.379421</b>
<b>newspapers</b>	0.147382	-.118621	<b>-.270074</b>	0.001302
<b>websites</b>	0.152560	<b>-.300010</b>	0.047155	0.199423
<b>newslet</b>	<b>0.238406</b>	-.184960	-.005231	0.068976
<b>econ</b>	<b>0.264897</b>	0.088802	0.120077	0.103658
<b>pubpolic</b>	<b>0.253609</b>	-.093942	0.086823	0.155435
<b>socvalues</b>	<b>0.272436</b>	-.048283	0.183271	0.033893
<b>intlaff</b>	<b>0.246797</b>	-.138285	0.090046	0.082812
<b>modworld</b>	0.183761	0.029215	<b>0.297462</b>	0.153538
<b>localhist</b>	0.164541	0.019509	<b>-.308560</b>	0.093711
<b>localevents</b>	0.185572	-.034218	<b>-.276495</b>	0.131033
<b>archlaws</b>	0.154832	<b>0.288775</b>	0.129127	0.051182
<b>colonvil</b>	0.091520	<b>0.344725</b>	0.088457	0.043665

**\*Variables not appearing in a principal component were removed**

## ***Valuation of Sites***

The question most indicative of a person's own valuing of archaeology would be the one asking about its importance to the respondent's own life. As expected, respondents from CGCAS valued archaeology more highly than did any of the other populations (Figure 11). One summed up his feeling by saying, "it gives us insights into who we are and how we got here" (C.L. interview October 7, 2008). For three questions (modern world, own life, and economy), at least one library group's mean was higher than CGCAS'. This could be an instance of respondents wanting to make the archaeologist (me) think they care about archaeology, it could be a reflection of cynicism on the part of CGCAS respondents, and the recognition that others often do not appear to value sites highly (as one member said, "I don't think most people really care" (C.L. interview October 7, 2008)), or it could be that the members of the general public were responding honestly, and do give (or see others giving) archaeology a high value in those areas of life. To support this, the people I spoke to did seem highly interested in archaeology, but that is not surprising, considering the people with absolutely no interest would have been less likely to talk about it, or even complete the survey. After completing the survey, one of the respondents at the Seminole Heights branch library told me I had left out one way in which archaeology is extremely important. When I asked what category I should have added, he said, "The future. When the Military Industrial Complex takes over, and we're all living in the New World Order, our currency will be devalued and we'll have gone to using the Amero, and archaeology is going to be necessary for survival." I suggested he might be interested in learning about experimental archaeology and in taking some flintknapping classes.



The means of the historic preservationists' view of value are consistently low, including the value they give archaeology in their own lives. It could indicate they do not value it as highly as do the CGCAS members, which is entirely reasonable. However, I think that it could indicate that although they may not personally value archaeology as important to themselves, they recognize the value to society, which scored the highest of the preservationists' values. Taken in conjunction with the responses to the questions about laws, it suggests that they are supportive of the preservation of sites not because they personally value archaeology particularly highly, but because they recognize the value and benefit to society.

As seen in Table 4, the first principal component was composed of high values for the survey questions relating to the importance of newsletters in obtaining information about historical events, and the importance people place on archaeology to social values, public policy, and international affairs. The contributing factors for the second are longer lengths of time a person has spent in Tampa, longer lengths of time their family has spent in Florida, whether they think laws should protect colonial villages, and a higher reliance on websites as a source of information about historical events. The third is composed of a combination of higher education and perceiving higher relevance of archaeology to the modern world, with a higher awareness of local history and historical events. The fourth is composed of a positive relationship among membership in a historical group outside Tampa, awareness of the existence of

archaeological laws, higher agreement that laws should exist to protect historical buildings, and being female<sup>15</sup>.

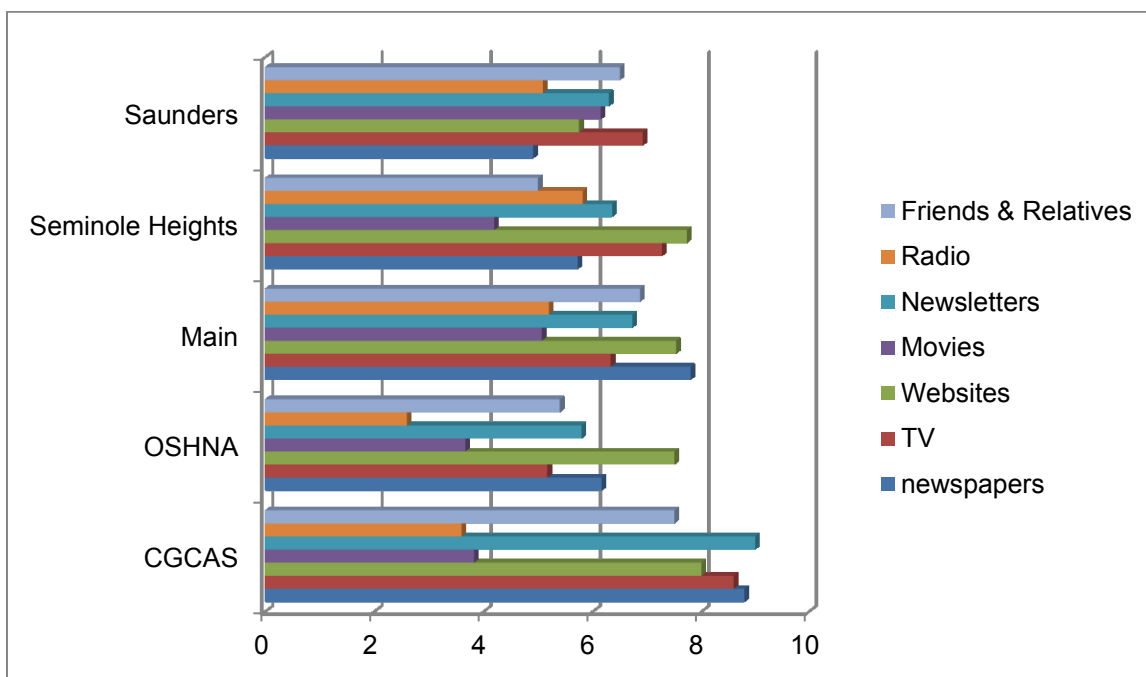
This exploration into the data indicates that previous thoughts and assumptions about interest in archaeology and historic preservation are correct. An awareness of archaeology, associations with an area (longer personal and familial residence in the state), and a sense of connectedness (awareness of local history and events) does appear to be connected to an increased value of sites. A minor gleaning from this is the possibility that newsletters might be an effective method of reaching people regarding archaeology and history. The high mean of the importance of newsletters to CGCAS members may have skewed the results slightly, but the samples from non-group members also reported relatively high importance (Figure 12). One does not necessarily have to be a member of a group to receive their newsletter, and I did not ask people what organizations the newsletters were from. Websites also appeared, and when I wrote the question, I was thinking of the Internet in general, rather than websites such as CGCAS' or OSHNA's, but the survey respondents might have been thinking of the sites of specific organizations, or even newsletters accessed electronically from websites.

### ***Local Groups***

Many of the laws concerning preservation are applicable to both archaeological sites and historic structures. One of my goals was to try to determine the extent to which people involved in either historic preservation or archaeology are

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<sup>15</sup> As indicated by the dummy variables I assigned to sex.



**Figure 12. Mean of importance of sources of information, by group.**  
 \* On a scale of 1-10, least important to very.

familiar with and give value to the other. All members of both groups strongly agreed laws should exist to protect archaeological sites. All members of CGCAS strongly agreed with all survey statements that laws should exist to protect the various types of sites, as did most (83.3 percent) members of the preservation committee. The one exception to the norm on these questions was a person I happened to interview. He said he was a member of the group because of his interest in his own house and its past owners (B.L., interview November 17, 2008). In a sense, it was the genealogy of the house that drew him to the preservation committee. The fact that the outlier from the library surveys was also interested in genealogy suggests that an interest in one's own personal situation does not necessarily extend to an interest in preservation overall. There does not appear to be a large body of research on the subject, but it is

an anomaly that should be looked into further. Existing literature on genealogy suggests people engage in it for a variety of reasons, but that many do it out of a desire to make connections with their own (familial) past (Cannell 2011; Morgan 2010; Muise 2008). Other reasons have included a love of the research involved, (Cannell 2011), the desire to use lineages and ancestors as social capital (Morgan 2010), and an eagerness to collect information for the sake of passing it on to other relatives (Muise 2008). Not all of these needs would be met by researching general history, and by extension preservation, but some could be a starting point for a person becoming interested in preservation.

All of the CGCAS respondents said they had visited an archaeological site, which is hardly surprising, given the wealth of opportunities the group provides for excavation and lab work. Most (66.7 percent) of the respondents from the preservation committee had also visited an archaeological site, and all had a solid understanding of what archaeology is. It is possible that most people in groups concentrating on historic preservation are also interested in and knowledgeable about archaeology. Another possibility is that this particular group has been greatly influenced by its former chair, the late Dr. Steven Gluckman. In an interview with one of the OSHNA preservation committee members, I asked to what extent they looked at the area surrounding historic buildings. She said, “yes, we do consider the area beyond the footprint of the building relevant. Steve Gluckman [a retired archaeology professor] explained that to us” (P.S. January 22, 2009). The group has continued this consideration of archaeology in its research into a local house for which the members prepared a submission to the National Register of Historic Places while I was working with them. They were able to

arrange with some local archaeologists to research and excavate in the yard of the house in an attempt to locate the earlier owners' well. The excavation doubled as a public outreach opportunity by archaeologists at University of South Florida, with digging coinciding with their 2009 tour of homes.

There is still room for archaeologists and historic preservationists to better understand each other. The interviews indicate that archaeologists do not see historic preservationists as being particularly interested in archaeology, and vice versa. As one archaeologist stated, "they [people in historic preservation groups] wouldn't be interested [in archaeology]; they'd probably see it as two different animals" (A. L. interview 2008). However, she thinks archaeologists would be more interested in historic sites. One historic preservationist does not associate archaeology with anything less than thousands of years old, so sees no reason for archaeologists to be interested in historic preservation (B. L. interview 2008). However, in the survey, he stated that archaeologists study "any period, no matter how recent" and when asked about local archaeological excavations he is aware of, he said, "there was that one downtown...Fort Brooke" (B. L. interview November 17, 2008), so he may just not connect archaeology preservation of the built environment.

The average age of the survey respondents in the two groups is higher than that of any of the library populations. The members of OSHNA are largely, but not exclusively, owners of homes in the historic district or surrounding areas.

Although some members of CGCAS may not think of historical archaeology immediately, every member I spoke to recognizes it. In fact, one member joined her first archaeological excavation through historical archaeology. While living in Virginia,

she “saw a flyer for hands-on training, and was there [at Monticello] for the next 10 years” (C.M., personal communication 2009). When she moved to Florida, she joined CGCAS to continue volunteering with archaeology. Most members of both groups (88.3 percent of each) strongly agreed that they were aware of local history and local historical events. This suggests that the CGCAS members have a similarly strong interest in local history, and are not concerned solely with prehistory. When asked about experiences with historic sites or archaeology in the area, C.L. mentioned being involved with the relocation of a sponge warehouse to Heritage Village in 2005 (C.L. interview October 7, 2008). He also noted the impact Heritage Village made on him, stating, “Heritage Village, with all those original historical structures, furnished with period articles of life, and their special events help make history ‘real’ and come alive” (C.L. interview October 7, 2008). A.L. said she experienced historical archaeology as an observer at San Luis in Tallahassee, and at Williamsburg (A.L. interview October 14, 2008). Their recognition of historical archaeology is reflected in their lectures, field trips, and Florida Archaeology Month events. Members have taken field trips to Cross Creek and the Driftwood neighborhood of St. Petersburg (2012), both historical sites.

Archaeologically, however, the CGCAS members I interviewed had a stronger familiarity with precontact archaeology (A.L. interview 2008; C.L. interview October 7, 2008). This may be partly because most of the excavation and lab work the group does centers on a precontact site. Others have said they do not want to limit themselves to historical archaeology.

## **Archaeology as Presented to the Public**

### ***Newspaper Articles***

Nearly half of the general public I surveyed and 67 percent of group members listed newspapers as an important source of information about historical events. Eighty-three percent of the respondents in groups and 31 percent of the ones not associated with groups stated they had read an article about local historic or archaeological preservation. Because there is a significant reliance on newspaper articles, I looked into the types of information presented in the two main local newspapers, the St. Petersburg Times (now the Tampa Bay Times) and the Tampa Tribune. I searched online databases for articles about archaeology from 1995 to 2010 inclusive. Articles that mentioned archaeology only in passing, such as ones referring to an archaeological excavation of the papers on the writer's desk, were excluded.

Because of the overlap of subjects, I sorted the articles into a Venn diagram by topic(s) to see groupings of subjects (salvage archaeology, travel, public interest, looting) based on the location of the relevant sites (within Florida, elsewhere in the US, and elsewhere in the world, underwater). In the categories of preservation, salvage archaeology, public interest, underwater archaeology, and military sites (including forts and military shipwrecks), articles about Florida sites significantly outnumbered those about sites elsewhere. Many of the public interest references to archaeology were articles and notices related to lectures and other FPAN and CGCAS events.

The Tampa Tribune contained a considerable number of articles about non-Florida archaeology from 1995 to 1997 that did not fit into any of the repeating subject

areas. It had 64 articles (52 of which were about archaeology outside the US), while the SPT had none during that period. Most were short mentions of discoveries of tombs, coins, apparel, and such. Many were Associated Press articles, so this disparity could reflect heavier reliance on different sources, an attempt at reporting from a wider region, or simply differences in editorial outlooks. The only categories in which mentions of non-Florida archaeology outnumbered Florida archaeology were obituaries (7 to 3), travel (4 to 2), and book reviews (4 to 3).

The heavier reporting of Florida archaeology is reasonable and expected in local newspapers. Considering that none of my survey respondents mentioned underwater archaeology, I was surprised at how many mentions there were in the papers about it (30, with 20 of those in Florida). I suspect that many people would respond, “oh, of course!” if underwater archaeology were mentioned to them or seen in a prompt, but it does not seem to be at the top of their minds when asked to think about archaeology.

Articles about salvage archaeology were more common in the 1990s than in later years. Coverage of archaeological preservation remained fairly constant through the 15 years. The salvage archaeology articles were mostly triggered by local development such as roads and the Ice Palace (now the Tampa Bay Times Forum) construction. The preservation articles often contained quotes by or references to local archaeologists, reflecting ongoing communication between archaeologists and local media. This could be part of the reason so many of the respondents (44 percent of the general public) were aware that there are laws protecting archaeological sites. If so, it shows that the archaeologist-media relationship is working locally.



As mentioned in Chapter Five, the media can be invaluable in increasing public awareness of archaeology, preservation, and potential site destruction. Its efficacy on influencing public opinion has not been widely researched, however (Kuhn 2002). Also, some potential pitfalls exist in archaeologists' interactions with media. During my participant observation, conversation with CGCAS members turned to newspaper articles, and some members of the group related experiences with reporters that were less than ideal. Some had been misquoted, another had had a quote taken out of context, and some talked about difficulties in explaining aspects of archaeology to a reporter. Members of the group noted that, depending on the reporter, it might be necessary to judiciously measure what one says, and that it might be worthwhile to think of short, illuminating statements beforehand. On the other hand, both of the reporters I spoke to during this study were extremely knowledgeable about preservation, and likely not the ones referred to by CGCAS members. Also, if a controversy exists, reporters feel the need to present both sides, so stories about historic preservation will often also present the views of property rights advocates. I suggest that, based on my survey results and other research, newspapers and other media outlets are potentially extremely valuable to archaeologists and preservationists. However, further research is needed to determine the impact of reporting on people's views, and it would greatly benefit archaeologists and preservationists to cultivate media contacts and develop clear, articulate means of presenting information about sites and their importance.

## ***Lectures and Articles***

As a chapter of the Florida Anthropological Society, the articles published by FAS are relevant to a complete analysis of the information CGCAS presents to the public and to other professionals. I looked at the topics of FAS journal articles from 1995 to 2009 to see how they might contribute to a definition of archaeology. As one would expect with a group devoted to Florida archaeology, the vast majority of the articles have been Florida-centered. There is the occasional one concerning a site in the Caribbean or Georgia, but those are still in close proximity to Florida, and likely have some connection. Some topical issues of the FAS journal have been special issues devoted to a particular site (Miami Circle), area (Charlotte Harbor), or type of site (plantations). Among the regular issues, pre- and post-contact sites are fairly evenly distributed, and the sites represent a wide range spatially and chronologically.

The records for past lectures by CGCAS are incomplete, but for the past few years, at least, they tend to coincide somewhat with the FAS articles. This is partly because a recent CGCAS president finds potential lecturers by approaching speakers at FAS meetings and asking them if they would mind presenting at a CGCAS meeting (Robert Austin, personal communication 2011). They are largely concerned with Florida archaeology, and since 2008, have been pretty evenly split between pre- and post-contact subjects.

## ***History, Archaeology, and Museums***

While at the Ybor City Historical Museum, I examined the visitor log book to see what aspects of their visit people considered noteworthy. I looked at the comments with

any substance (I excluded all of the ones that merely said things along the lines of, “Nice!”) from December of 2006 to July of 2011. Some recurring themes in the comments were mentions of the visitor’s family being from the area, that it was a repeat visit, and that they loved the history. A few people made reference to “our” or “my” city or history, indicating possibly that they are descendants, but definitely that they see themselves as having some ownership or connection to it. There were a few comments arguing for keeping the park open at a time when the state was considering closing it to cut expenses. Also important were the park rangers, who lead tours and act as docents. Several visitors mentioned them by name, saying they brought the history to life and made it impact them. The importance of docents was also mentioned by one of the CGCAS members, who, in referring to museums, said, “seeing the various artifacts and objects was amazing, but touring with a docent made a huge difference in what I got out of the visit. Also, after seeing and learning about a period of time in a museum, I became more aware of references to items or time periods around me, whether in discussions, pictures in magazines, on TV, wherever” (S.C. personal communication 2008).

The logs also supported a comment by the park ranger Alex Kinder (personal communication 2011), who said he came across the assumption that Ybor was solely a Cuban town and visitors are often surprised and impressed by its long history of multiculturalism. Other comments described the museum as a gem, leading me to agree with curator Elizabeth McCoy’s (interview July 15, 2011) suggestion that increased historic preservation in the area would help combat its reputation for being seedy.

Since I began this research, the museum has been drastically increasing its use and presentation of archaeology. In March of 2011, the Florida Park Service and FPAN held an “Archaeology in the Park” day, which featured excavations (shovel tests), activities, and poster displays (Moates and O’Sullivan 2011). One of the main goals of the event was to showcase urban archaeology (Cassandra Harper personal communication, July 19, 2011), and the event drew over 125 people, many of whom were previously unaware of it (Moates and O’Sullivan 2011). From the two shovel tests, they recovered historic demolition debris and evidence of a drainage system (Moates and O’Sullivan 2011). The museum’s curator is an archaeologist who, in July of 2011, said she had begun integrating more archaeology into the museum and grounds, and hoped to include more connections to archaeology in the future (Elizabeth McCoy, interview July 15, 2011). The drawbacks to a lack of connection are evident in the following comment from a CGCAS member: “I got to see the artifacts on display, but not much context information. You could get general information about the artifact, but not always on what people used the items for or why they would have made them in the first place. The people were taken out of the picture” (B.A. personal communication 2008).

My findings seem to support McManamon’s (1991:124) statement that, “most of the public seems to be inherently supportive of archaeological preservation when it is not presented as a hobby for rich and famous dilettantes, grave robbing, or as a wildly expensive and misguided government boondoggle.” Although a favorable view of archaeology and historic preservation seems to cut across educational levels, amount of time spent living within the state, and the survey location of the people, I had several survey takers ask why I was surveying at that (usually the Saunders branch) library, and

tell me people around there did not care about preservation, adding that they themselves knew about it, but others might be less informed. They then often suggested I might have better results if I were to go to a library near a more affluent area (Hyde Park was mentioned more than once). These comments were particularly surprising given that I selected that library specifically because it was the closest to Ybor City.

It is possible that although historic preservation can and does occur in any type of economic area, people still perceive it as targeting mainly the more illustrious buildings in a city and as the realm of middle or upper-middle class, white people. It is also possible that some people think that while archaeology is interesting and may even relate to them, it does not necessarily relate to the area in which they live. The former administrator of the Historic Preservation Commission of Tampa, Annie Hart (interview, May 21, 2008), alluded to this when she mentioned the importance of conducting excavations in neighborhoods within cities, making it more accessible to the people who live and work nearby. She was referring specifically to excavations carried out in 1998 and 2003 near downtown Tampa. One, the aforementioned Buffalo Soldiers excavation, generated considerable interest among members of a local church, who later supported the placement of a historical marker near the site (Weisman 2011b). The other, the Central Avenue Project, was an instance of compliance archaeology that took place in 2003 as part of an undertaking by the Florida Department of Transportation. The excavation team had a community engagement plan at the outset of the dig, but the archaeologists still had to put forth an effort to explain what they were doing and dispel some skepticism among local residents (Weisman 2011a:28).

## **Archaeology and Popular Culture**

When outlining my study, I was not planning to interview anyone representing the general public outside libraries. I thought it would be an imposition on them, and there were logistical and anonymity concerns. Not every library has an established space inside where it is possible to hold an interview, and to meet somewhere else would most likely necessitate getting at least the person's name, which I had not intended to do. However, I was surprised by the number of people who wanted to stand out in the mid-day Florida heat talking to an archaeologist. The conversations provided a decent amount of information and some recurring themes. One of which was the influence of popular culture on views of archaeology.

When I began this research, I had no idea there would be a fourth Indiana Jones movie, *Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull* (Spielberg 2008), much less that it would be released during my data collection. I surveyed from March 17 to June 20, 2008, and the movie was released on May 22. Therefore, nearly all of my surveying outside the libraries was done during the advertising for and release of the movie, and the associated interest, including a news story about a local collector of a crystal skull (Smithers 2008). This was not intentional and I did not realize the coincidence until I was about a month into the surveying. I was unable to move the data collection to an earlier point because I had to wait for permission from University of South Florida's Institutional Review Board and the libraries. I decided nothing constructive would be gained from delaying the data collection because the images seem to remain in people's memories long after Indy has left the theaters. Even a decade after the third Indiana Jones movie, archaeologists were being asked where their fedoras and whips

were, and with everything from candy to sections of theme parks (Figure 13) devoted to the franchise, it seems safe to say Indy is ingrained in our popular culture.



**Figure 13. Disney MGM Studios Indiana Jones stunt show. Photo by author (2010).**

Archaeology is seen by many as a fascinating field and it gives filmmakers a reason to stage movies in exotic locales. If I had avoided surveying during the release of Indiana Jones, there would likely have been another Mummy, National Treasure, or Tomb Raider<sup>16</sup> movie influencing people's views. In fact, the second National Treasure movie was released not long before I began surveying. Because I had imagined the main character was a treasure hunter, or possibly a historian, I had not associated the

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<sup>16</sup> By mentioning these movies, I am certainly not arguing for the veracity of the characters, but merely mentioning movies that purport to include archaeologists.

movie with archaeology and did not think of its possible influence until a survey-taker mentioned it. She was right; the main character evidently is supposed to be an archaeologist (Keogh 2004).

The exact extent of popular culture's influence is difficult, if not impossible to determine. I did find some indications, though. There were some people who walked into the libraries humming or whistling the theme song to Indiana Jones after they filled out my survey. A few people also made references to aliens, crystal skulls, and mysterious powers of Egyptian monuments. While one of the skull references was in jest, it was hard to gauge the seriousness of the others. Although I had been confronted with comments about aliens and the concept of power from (usually Egyptian) pyramids before, the crystal skulls were new. The references were understandable, though, considering the preponderance of other media that jumped at the trend (Murray 2008; Walsh 2008). The popular culture depictions seem to influence views of archaeology

The portrayals of archaeology in popular culture are not necessarily detrimental to attempts to increase interest in the subject. Although the portrayals are inaccurate, to say the least, they are entertaining to many, stick in their minds, and may well contribute to an interest in, if not the study of archaeology, at least the concept of archaeology as seen in the cinema. When I asked my key informants for their ideas about things they thought might increase public interest in preservation, popular culture was one suggestion. P.S. (interview, January 22, 2009) suggested, "get it into popular culture and get it to them however they're going to learn about it. Give them the basis of knowledge – 'Historic Preservation for Dummies.'" C.L. suggested publicizing the sites



and study of them, making it accessible to “the lowest common denominator” of person, that is, the ones who are comfortable with forms of media other than print, and do not want to have to seek out information (C.L. interview, October 7, 2008).

### **Archaeology Presented to Other Professionals**

While people get impressions of archaeology from the media and popular culture, they also get information from archaeologists. During the time I was researching I was fortunate enough to be able to look at how archaeologists present archaeology and historic preservation to land management professionals. The Florida Department of State offers Training on Archaeological Resource Protection (TARP) to law enforcement personnel and Historical and Archaeological Resource Training (HART) to land managers. The TARP session was offered in Tampa, and I registered, but the session was cancelled and HART training was offered that day instead.

During the registration process, I learned that TARP is generally open only to law enforcement personnel, but that members of the public can attend the HART trainings if there is sufficient room. Later, during the training’s lunch break, the presenter told me that the TARP trainings have the restriction because someone higher in the Department than he is became afraid that people not trained in law enforcement might leave the training and decide to confront looters on their own and be injured or killed by an armed looter (Kevin Porter interview, August 20, 2009).

Most of the people at the training were planners and land management professionals based in central Florida. There was also one man who attended because he thought it would help him in his efforts to get a site listed (he did not specify whether

the attempt was a national or local listing), and a self-described “old cracker,” there because he grew up in Florida and was interested in the subject.

The content of the training is largely designed based on feedback from previous seminars. It is a very practical course, and much of the information tells the attendees who to contact and what steps to take if they encounter a site in their jobs.

The focus of the training was on archaeological resources, but the materials and presenter both clearly listed historic resources as part of cultural resources. The stress on archaeological sites may seem lopsided at first glance, but is reasonable. Sites are less obvious than structures, but are prevalent in Florida, so managers need to be aware of them (Kevin Porter interview, August 20, 2009). Lithic scatters are explained in some detail because they may be even more difficult for non-archaeologists to recognize.

Porter repeats two comments several times during the training. He reiterates that 95 percent of human history in Florida is pre-contact, and therefore not written, and that we are dependent solely on the archaeological record for this knowledge, and describes archaeological resources as “finite, unique, and irreplaceable.” The 95 percent statistic surprised some of the people in the room. These brief comments concisely and clearly convey the importance of archaeological preservation.

Some of the people attending asked about projects they were working on at their jobs. Mention of Florida’s Cemetery Act (Fla. Stat. §872) led to a discussion about golf course development in Hernando and Pasco Counties. Two people in the room were reviewing a proposed development that might be on land with cemeteries that were formerly marked, but currently cannot be located.

Archaeological crimes are as much a problem in Florida as they are in most other states. When the presenter got to that section of the lecture and mentioned looting, the Pasco County contingent began muttering and nodding their heads. One person commented that law enforcement doesn't seem to care, and another suggested that members of law enforcement may have done some of the illegal activities in the past. However, Porter mentioned that some law enforcement officials want to bring all possible charges against a person, and use the looting as another criminal count. One person brought up the question of sites on private land, and seemed surprised that few laws regulate them.

Overall, the HART training appears to be effective. The participants seemed interested, and the handbook provided enough contact information and resources to give the people attending an overview of the subject. As Jeff Moates (interview, August 28, 2009), the director of FPAN's West Central Region, said, it makes them more comfortable with that aspect of their job. From the information given, if they do not know exactly what to do when confronted with an archaeological or historic resource, they should know where to start looking for the information. Unfortunately, the training is offered only sporadically, and does not appear to be well-advertised.

One missed opportunity in education to other professionals appears to be in the realm of law enforcement. There is little point to having laws that are not enforced. Although the TARP training exists in Florida, it takes some searching to find on the Department of State's website. Also, it is geared to law enforcement personnel, which is good, but people further on in the chain of prosecution must also become aware of the value of historic and archaeological resources.

Law enforcement officers in Florida appear willing to arrest people for looting, and prosecutions do occur, but they are rare (Thalji 2006). Further, when people are arrested and tried, they are often able to successfully plea bargain to a lesser offense or receive a relatively light sentence. In discussing this with a (non-archaeologist) former prosecutor, she hypothesized that most prosecutors would see archaeological crimes as nothing more than criminal mischief. This is very disturbing, especially when one takes into account that we have not only state laws, but an entire federal act created largely to combat looting. However, as noted in Chapter Three, these laws do not cover looting on private land unless human burials are involved or the artifacts are transported across state lines. The outcome of a looting case in the Tampa region exemplifies the problem. In 2007, five men were arrested for looting an archaeological site on private property (Rosenbaum 2007). They were charged only with trespassing and damaging private property (Rosenbaum 2007).

In debating the under-prosecution of archaeological crimes, the former prosecutor and I thought education might help. We then thought of the possibility that continuing legal education (CLE) classes covering archaeological laws might be used to educate some attorneys. Lawyers are required to have a set number of hours of CLEs each reporting period (varies depending on state). Some have been offered by various groups (Archaeological Institute of America 2012; Werkheiser 2012). However, when I mentioned the idea to a fellow archaeologist/lawyer, he said that he tried that a few years before, and the class garnered very little interest (Ryan Seidemann, personal communication 2013). It is possible that there would not be sufficient interest among

lawyers within a city or even state, but if a class covers federal law and draws from the entire country, it might be a feasible means of education.

## **Chapter Eight:**

### **Increasing Interest and Activity in Preservation**

#### **Library Discussions**

Possibly my biggest regret in conducting this research is that I was entirely unprepared for the fact that people outside libraries would be willing to talk about archaeology, sometimes for over an hour. Because I was not expecting this, I had not accounted for it in my research design. I was able to take the occasional note during conversations, but the notes were not as extensive as the ones made during my interviews with other people.

Several people told me about their own digging experiences, whether under the auspices of professional archaeologists or otherwise. One woman told me about watching an excavation when she was visiting a historic site. She had considerable interest in history and was descended from a group represented in the historic record, but strongly disagreed that archaeology should be taught in school or that laws should protect historic or archaeological sites.

The stories of less official digging were usually recollections of things the person did as a child or teenager, and not presented as ongoing events. In fact, some of the stories were prefaced with, “We didn’t know it was bad at the time,” and, “There was construction going on and I was just digging in the fill before it was hauled away.” The people with stories of excavations were all native and long-term Floridians, something I

find interesting. Another similarity they had was that most of them were people I met outside the Seminole Heights branch library. I considered the possibility that because that was the first library at which I collected surveys, and the weather was a little cooler than it was at the later libraries, people were more inclined to stand outside talking, but I spent hours talking to people at the other libraries as well, just not about digging they had done. It is possible that the long term residents, because they dug in areas I might be familiar with, were more likely to share. I lack a solid reason for either similarity.

### **Formal Groups**

In the interviews and conversations with the group members, I inquired into their reasons for joining their respective groups. Previous research of OSHNA found that they have various reasons for joining (Spillane 2007). Most of the OSHNA members are either current or past residents of the Seminole Heights area. Many are long-term residents or have family history in the area. Others, like one of my interviewees, moved there specifically because of the historic preservation that has occurred in the neighborhood (P.S. interview, January 22, 2009). She had been a preservation advocate for 40 years before relocating, and was on the board of the preservation committee in her previous neighborhood. Not only does Old Seminole Heights have the aforementioned National Register listing, but it was featured in the Winter 2008 issue of *American Bungalow* (Harmon 2008), giving it national exposure.

One of the draws for the preservation committee members is the chance to find out more about their houses from speaking to others and through the group activities.

There have been research trips to the downtown library to look at Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, city directories, and newspaper articles.

Many of the members of CGCAS are attracted to the handling of artifacts, whether it is excavation, cleaning, sorting, or analyzing. Some are students seeking field and lab experience, either in addition to what is offered in their classes or because the school they attend does not offer a local field school. Others are there simply for the fun of archaeology. There are some members who took classes in the past and/or have degrees in archaeology who enjoy the continued activity the group offers. According to one person I surveyed, one of the advantages of the organization is its lack of pressure on members to attend events, but such things are available if convenient to individuals. "I'm usually not a joiner, but one of the advantages of this group is that nothing's compulsory; you excavate, work in the lab, or go to lectures as you have time" (C.L. interview, October 7, 2008). Another aspect of CGCAS that might draw some members is that the activities often take place outdoors. One of the members mentioned to me in conversation that she had noticed a crossover among archaeological groups, and formal hiking and bird watching groups. The common theme here being the outdoor factor.

There is, of course, a social component to both groups that cannot be overlooked. Most of the members of the preservation committee live near each other, and they often catch up with each other before and after meetings. Before lectures, members of CGCAS have dinner together with the lecturer. They also take field trips and hold parties and picnics. The events usually have an archaeological component to them, they are also very social.



One of the most striking things I noticed in the semi-structured interviews was in the reasons people gave for originally becoming interested in either historic preservation or archaeology. Both of the CGCAS members initially became involved because of artifacts and the physical act of excavating. One had been a fossil finder in her youth, saw a newspaper article asking for volunteers at an excavation, and joined (A.L. interview, 2008).

The other person I interviewed became involved through producing a video documentary about the restoration of a looted mound. The restoration was funded by Florida's Division of Historical Resources and part of the grant was earmarked for public involvement. He went to film the dig, became interested, met other CGCAS members, and joined (C.L. interview, October 7, 2008). Speaking of another of his early encounters with local archaeology, and highlighting the tangible aspects, he said, "back in July 2008, a 6,000 year old Indian point was found in Safety Harbor by workers digging in a playground. I actually got to hold the artifact. To be holding something that someone sat down and crafted 6,000 years ago was just fantastic to me" (C.L. interview, October 7, 2008). Others I spoke to echoed the appeal of excavation in talking about their own love of physical aspects of archaeology, and when some time had elapsed since the group's last excavation, a few asked when the next dig would be.

All three of the preservation committee members I interviewed said their interest stemmed from people. Two date their interest to talking to the friends of mothers and grandmothers when they were children, and developing a fascination with the past through the people and their stories (P.S. interview, January 22, 2009; M.A. interview, June 25, 2008). The other said his involvement with the group came from researching

the history of his home, finding their names, watching the Seminole Heights documentary, and becoming interested in the people involved with the history of his house (B.L. interview, November 17, 2008). Another member mentioned his interest as, “the most interesting thing to me is always to see how people lived and determine what has changed and what’s remained the same.” The origins of the interviewees’ interest was particularly interesting to me because upon thinking about it, it reflected my own in that mine seems to have come from reading about excavations on one hand and talking to people on the other.

### ***Group Members’ Perceptions on the Public and Preservation***

When I asked members of the preservation committee and CGCAS their views of the general public’s opinion of preservation, I received varying responses. P.S. said she thought there is a great deal of interest among the public, but maybe not so much motivation. “There’s no noticeable lack of interest, but groups are often long-term residents and natives. There needs to be an impetus to get people off their couches. There has to be a cause to keep interesting people and keep it in their minds” (P.S. interview, January 22, 2009). B.L. sees general, abstract support, but that people might have the “Not In My Back Yard” standpoint. He suggests that support might be increased through increased awareness, specifically through the news and word of mouth (B.L. interview, November 17, 2008). A CGCAS member referred to a video he produced spotlighting Florida Archaeology Month activities for a news program. He said, “my whole point was to light a fire of interest in archaeology by localizing it” (C.L. interview, October 7, 2008).

While I was involved with the OSHNA preservation committee, the chair, Dr. Steven Gluckman, died unexpectedly (Steele 2007a). Since then, the group has remained very productive, but has become more flexible in a sense, putting the monthly meetings on hold for a couple of months after major projects are completed, and having co-chairs to split the duties that were once handled by Dr. Gluckman. One of my interviewees from the group made the point that the position is a very time-consuming one, and can be difficult to manage for just one person, especially when that person has a full-time job elsewhere. She has an interest in the historical role of women's volunteerism in the field of preservation. She made the point that in the absence of a segment of society that does not need to work outside the home (historically, middle and upper class white women), but rather were productive through volunteering, groups need people who care and have time to devote to projects. A retired archaeologist, she said, had been the ideal chair, with a high interest in preservation and the time to accomplish it (P.S. interview, January 22, 2009). The change in meeting frequency does not appear to have been detrimental to the productivity of the group. The meetings, while not regimented, are very focused, and involve members volunteering for tasks that are completed in time for future meetings. The group has also relied on email to notify members of projects and research, allowing the core goals of the group to continue.

During my time observing the groups, both focused heavily on presenting information to the public. CGCAS holds lectures about every month from September to April. The group also participates in activities during Florida Archaeology Month (March) and invites any interested member of the public to join them in the lab or field.

OSHNA has been doing a great deal over the past several years to preserve and promote the history of the area. Members of the committee worked with researchers from the University of South Florida Heritage Research and Resource Lab, collecting oral histories and collected oral histories from past residents. Many of these recollections were compiled with historical photographs to create a documentary film, *Seminole Heights: An Intimate Look at the Early Years*. It received enough publicity and interest to open at the Tampa Theatre to a sold-out audience. A later showing at the homecoming events for Hillsborough High School was also well-attended.

In 2004, when I first encountered CGCAS, the then-president gave updates on archaeologically relevant legislation. At meetings, he notified the rest of the members of potential changes in state or federal law, such as proposed revisions to Florida law. Because I did not have the university institutional review board's permission to formally study the groups, I did not take detailed notes then, but expected that the group would continue to operate in a similar manner. The updates seemed to dwindle until the group acquired its listserv. Throughout the time I've been associated with them, though, relevant issues have come up that have not been brought up to the group as a whole. It may be that people who hear about them do not want to bother the rest of the group with them. Similarly, the preservation committee's email group used to provide frequent updates about the local legislation concerning them. When I joined, there was an ongoing battle over local historic preservation ordinances, but there are still issues members might want to be aware of. In both cases, the reduction in number of emails may be a fear that sending the notices will inundate people with unwanted emails. Alternately, the changes could be due to a change in group leadership; some people

are simply more focused on finding and distributing information about laws and regulations than others are. It could also be that reading, compiling, and passing on such information can be time-consuming and is one of the things that stops when a person becomes busier.

### ***Other Organizations Influencing Preservation***

Other organizations such as the local Tampa Preservation, Inc. and the statewide Florida Public Archaeology Network (FPAN) may assist greatly in promoting preservation. TPI's mission is to educate the public about the area's history. Among other endeavors, TPI trains teachers to teach students about historic preservation and Tampa history.

FPAN was created in 2004 and exists to promote understanding of archaeology and interest in it. Members and employees go to schools and other venues to educate the public. According to the director of the West Central Region office, they have had their largest successes with middle school students, partly because that is when students learn about world history and the Civil War, both of which can tie in nicely with archaeology (Jeff Moates interview, August 28, 2009). Future research into long-term influences of the groups on students might provide interesting insights into education and public perception of preservation.

### **Economic Considerations**

While some very informative reports have been produced on the economic benefits of preservation, the information has not been distributed as widely as it might.

When talking to members of the public, I was still confronted with the idea that preservation is expensive and grants and tax incentives are impossible to obtain. Grants are apparently easier for non-profit organizations and governmental entities than individuals to secure (Annie Hart interview, May 21, 2008). However, Hillsborough County offers matching grants that can be used to preserve and restore eligible historic structures located in the county (not City of Tampa) that are owned by individuals and non-profit organizations (Hillsborough County 2013). It seems that this is an area in which an organization Tampa Preservation, Inc. or FPAN could act as a liaison or information source. It is also something people in neighborhood groups could possibly help each other with, in a similar vein as the preservation committee's National Register nomination paperwork.

When discussing preservation, developers are interested parties, and often seen as being at odds with archeologists and preservationists. Some are, but some are willing to take steps to preserve a structure or site, and some are advocates of historic preservation. Some development firms, like Nitze-Stagen & Co. and Daniels Real Estate, are active in historic preservation (Figure 14). The impetus seems to come from the personal interest of the principals involved. The president of Daniels Real Estate, Kevin Daniels, has depicted his interest in preservation as having originated in his childhood, stating, "Firstly, it was a lifelong love for trains. My grandfather and father worked for Union Pacific. That led naturally to my interest in train stations and the opportunity that presented itself in Union Station. Secondly, it was an opportunity to join a board to give back to the community. That board happened to be Historic Seattle" (Kreisman 2007). Daniels' focus on history extended to structures and their

preservation, leading him to become a board member of Seattle preservation groups and the Nation Trust for Historic Preservation. The preservation melded with a desire to construct green buildings. He sums it up by saying, “preservation is probably the purest form of sustainability” (Daniels 2013).

Locally, the historic YMCA building in St. Petersburg is an example of developers intending to restore a historic building. The Mediterranean Revival style building was built in 1926 and received historic designation from the City in 1991 (O’Donnell 2013). Closed in 2001, it was bought by a developer in 2004, who was planning to raze it and build condominiums on the site (Gadsen 2012). The housing market downturn caused those plans to be postponed, then abandoned. In 2006, the owner listed the building for sale. Local individuals and groups, including St. Petersburg Preservation, strongly opposed demolition (Gadsen 2013). After 11 potential buyers backed out, the owner began planning to demolish the building, but postponed to give the City time to assist in finding a buyer that would restore the building (O’Connell 2013). As an inducement to renovation, the St. Petersburg City Council voted to give control of several nearby parking spaces to the building’s owner after renovations (Smith 2013). In the fall of 2012 a potential investor, local music producer Thomas Nestor began making payments to buy the building, with hopes of restoring it for use as a museum, event facility, and concert venue (Cridlin 2013). Nestor formed a nonprofit organization to solicit donations, and has been holding fundraisers to gather money for purchase and renovations (Smith 2012).

It may seem obvious, but it is important that preservationists recognize the benefits of working with well-intentioned developers, whether they are on the scale of

revitalizing a large building or entire city blocks, or going out of their way to save one small wooden house, as Tom Line did.



**Figure 14. A current restoration project of Daniels Real Estate, with banners announcing, “Sustainability Begins with Preservation.” Photo by author (2011).**

## **Connections**

Most people I spoke to echoed the literature in mentioning connections between individuals (consumers of archaeology and history) and the past. Some of the suggested possible connections were to a person's family, ethnicity, or location.



Past research has suggested that visitors to historic sites gain more of an emotional connection if they can be engaged in the time period being presented (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998; Cameron and Gatewood 2003). The Ybor Museum and Tampa Bay History Center seem to be on this track with the restored walk-through casita and the History Center's new building and format. CGCAS as well, has had lectures featuring food that would have been available to the people who created the middens we have been excavating. Those lectures have been well-attended and the people seem to be engaged. They may not be entirely analogous (because of the people attending who may be doing so for home decorating ideas), but OSHNA's home tours are popular and in some cases may give participants the feel of being in a living site. An effective connection can also be caused by being part of something of wider importance, such as the Belleview Biltmore and its national or international recognition, as suggested by Helfand (interview, December 9, 2011).

As far as connections made by people already interested in one type of preservation, it appears that the connection between archaeology and historic preservation is a natural one, if only someone points it out. People may have a tendency to become focused on their own activities or goals, and other types of related preservation, if not in their direct line of focus, may not be considered. For most of the people I encountered in the formal groups, the connection seemed obvious once it was mentioned.

Annie Hart (interview, May 21, 2008) stressed the value of historical urban archaeology, which makes local residents aware of the spatial connection they have to past residents and to the archaeological record, "I'd like to see the profile of urban

archaeology raised, and more research on it. I admire what Brent Weisman did in Perry Harvey Park.” Urban archaeology can also cause people to realize the importance of their own neighborhood. Hart (interview, May 21, 2008) continued, “most of the historic designations in that area were requested by local residents.”

### **Paths for Future Research and Unanticipated Variables**

Future research of this type should include a component for interviewing members of the general public. Still unanswered is the extent to which individuals who are not members of preservation or archaeological groups wield influence in preservation. Beyond the scope of this study, but important and still needing to be researched are the silent, absent, and intangible aspects of heritage in the geographical areas of the groups I studied. Also, research into differences, if any, the type of museum visited has on preservation interests is merited. Previous research suggested a link between museums and support for archaeological sites, but this research suggested a difference based on whether the museum attended focused on art or history. This should be explored further.

I had been aware of the political issues impacting archaeological legislation (takings, property rights, “collecting”), but had not pieced them together as parts of the same mindset as described by Rodriguez (2003) and O’Bannon (2000). The national political influences have been well-researched (Kohl 1998; McGuire 2007; Meskel and Preucel 2007; Ucko 1995), and I expected them. I was also prepared for conflicts between members of a neighborhood over historic designation or landmarking. However, I was not prepared to see the same thread weaving through the case studies,

with the economy and anti-governmental mindsets combining to threaten budget cuts to the Ybor Museum, Weedon Island Center, and archaeological sites in situations similar to the Pillsbury Mound, the property rights arguments affecting Hampton Terrace, cigar factories, and the Belleview Biltmore; and the anti-governmental regulation reappearing as an argument against prohibiting looting. I am convinced that cultural resource preservation and archaeology specifically, have much to offer society, communities, and individuals. However, the current political climate impacting preservation makes it even more imperative that we develop further ways to collaborate with members of the public.

## **Chapter Nine:**

### **Revisiting the Questions**

Based on my research analyzed in Chapters Seven and Eight, I revisit and answer the questions from the outset of the study.

**How does a public definition of "archaeology" affect preservation outcomes in that public's community? Specifically, in the Tampa area, how do people with and without a stated interest in history or archaeology define "archaeology" and to what extent is this concept reflected in the actual archaeological and historic preservation accomplished in the area?**

Most of the respondents had at least a general understanding of what archaeology is, and many were aware of the different aspects of the work archaeologists do. Overall, their definition was more accurate than the ones elicited in previous studies (Ramos and Duganne 2000; Pokotylo and Guppy 1999; Nichols 2006). Despite significant coverage in local newspapers, underwater archaeology was not mentioned.

Respondents who were members of the groups had a clear understanding of what archaeologists do, but some of the historic preservationists were uncertain about the date range of things archaeologists study. As was seen in a later interview, the idea that archaeologists do not study things less than thousands of years old can prevent a

person from associating archaeology with historical structures (although he is aware of urban archaeology, at least to the extent of Fort Brooke).

There was strong agreement overall that laws should exist to protect various types of tangible cultural heritage. Colonial villages had the lowest mean of agreement, which could be reflective of the fact that the Tampa region has no standing colonial villages, Spanish or otherwise. When sites are threatened, there seems to be sufficient comment by the public to cause the local officials to at least make some effort to preserve the sites. It may not be enough of an effort, or it might be too late (the permits to destroy the site may already have been granted), but in those cases, it is a beginning. After all, laws are often enacted in response to problems, rather than in anticipation of them. The fact that something has been an issue and has caused public outcry makes it more likely that politicians will try to prevent it happening again. In this vein, the Tampa area is fortunate in that we have local politicians who not only recognize the problem of demolition by neglect, but have taken steps to prevent it from recurring. The responses the groups have made to potentially adverse legislation and budget cutbacks have not only supported Davis' (1991) assertion that groups of avocational archaeologists are extremely valuable allies for preservation, but that historic preservationists can be just as beneficial in regard to laws. The high importance reported for preservation laws and the seemingly strong support for preservation regulations (indicated by the local regulations that are passed) indicate that public interest may well be indicative of the laws that are passed (Kuhn 2002; Milanich 1991; Pokotylo 2002), at least at the local level.

## **To what extent do archaeological groups and societies give value to historical archaeology?**

Historical archaeology is uniquely suited to promote public archaeology and facilitate dialogue between communities (Appler 2012). The particular archaeology group I studied was investigating a prehistoric site when I was researching them, so in that instance, they were recording and discussing the historic layers, but not focusing on them. Also, most of the research and field and lab discussion (archaeologically related discussion) pertained to pre-contact matters, supporting Weisman's (2004) comment. However, the FAS articles and the lectures the group invites often discuss historic sites. Field trips and other events also are often centered on historic sites and concepts, or have a historic component.

As with any group of archaeologists, there are also personal preferences for different time periods. A few members state a love for historical archaeology. Others have reported having heard that concentrating on historical archaeology might be limiting if an archaeologist becomes pigeonholed.

During the time I was researching them, CGCAS excavated in suburban areas, but at predominantly prehistoric sites. If they were to participate in a historic urban excavation, it would be fascinating to see how they would interact with and relate to the public, being volunteers themselves (either professional or avocational, within the CGCAS setting, we are volunteers), and possibly having associations with the area. The data from the interviews and participant observation indicate that historical archaeology is well known to CGCAS members and historical excavations and

interpretations (Bruner 1994) have enabled at least some of them to connect to the past.

### **To what extent do historic preservation groups give value to archaeology within the city?**

Archaeologists and historic preservationists have been seen to be on divergent paths (Derr 2007; King and Lyneis 1978) or worse, in conflict (O'Bannon 1994).

Historical archaeology is more relevant to the members of OSHNA's preservation committee than prehistoric is, since historic has the potential to give more information about a structure's past. They are aware of archaeology, and most of the ones I studied are, to varying degrees, aware of historical archaeology.

Possibly more importantly, the ones in my sample are supportive of archaeology. As mentioned, the group I studied was possibly more cognizant than most about archaeology, having been led by an archaeologist for several years. This demonstrates the impact one person can have, and also shows the potential receptiveness of members of a historic group. Another later influence on their views might have been the archaeology they were involved with. My surveys and semi-structured interviews were done before the excavation at the Jackson house was planned. I would not be surprised if their views have changed somewhat since the survey. Had I known about the excavation at the outset of my research, I would have liked to have adapted my research to look at their views before and after the excavation. It would be interesting and useful to know whether being participants and possibly having some sense of ownership in the excavation and research changed their views (Atalay 2012; Davis-

Salazar et al. 2007). Given more knowledge about archaeological sites, I think the historic preservationists could be extremely effective at disseminating information about the value of historic sites in urban areas, thus joining avocational archaeologists in public outreach (Davis 1991).

**How effective are local museums at connecting the viewer/visitor with a knowledge of and value of urban history and archaeology?**

Museums can connect visitors to the past and help increase understanding and communication between communities (Baumann et al. 2011). The Ybor City Museum's visitor logs indicate that it is connecting visitors with people and concepts from the past. The effectiveness of the connection seems to rest at least partially on the individual interacting with the visitors. Many referenced specific people who "made history come alive" for them.

From the surveys and interviews, it appears that visits to a historic site are more effective than museum visits in increasing interest in archaeology, at least from the standpoint of a person remembering it and mentioning it years after the visit. The majority of the respondents listed museums that, while exhibiting some archaeological artifacts, are predominately or exclusively art museums. Of the respondents not in groups that reported visiting the Ybor museum or the Tampa History Center, all strongly agreed that laws should exist to protect historic sites, and none of these respondents gave answers that indicate that they value historic and prehistoric sites differently. The Ybor City Museum is also a historic site, which may help explain the correlation between visits to it and support of preservation laws.



Among the respondents in groups who reported having visited a local historic museum, only one did not strongly agree that laws should exist to protect historic or prehistoric sites. All respondents (group and non-group) who have visited a local historic museum and strongly agreed laws should exist to protect sites had also visited an archaeological site. The one who did not strongly agree had not visited one. In the past, the Ybor Museum has made very little mention of archaeology, but the visitor logs show that people are making a connection to their own families and to the uniqueness on the town. These connections could be a reflection of the fact that it is partially an open-air museum, allowing visitors to feel they are entering the past (Blockley 2004; Mytum 2004) Although visiting a museum is correlated with support for preservation and knowledge about archaeological sites (Cannon and Cannon 1996; Little 2007; McKee and Thomas 1998), it appears that the type of museum visited may be more important than simply having visited one.

**Do members of neighborhood associations in historic districts extend what interest they have in preservation to other areas of the city, other time periods, or sites without standing structures?**

Although there is concern about the value historic groups give archaeology (O'Bannon 1994; Derr 2007), the members of OSHNA's preservation committee show a definite tendency toward extending their interest to other areas, including archaeology. For the most part, the members of the historic district I researched do have an interest that extends beyond their neighborhood boundaries. Some moved to the area specifically because it is historic, indicating that their interest predated their residence in

Seminole Heights. The group as a whole has been active in assisting other areas and individuals in seeking and obtaining designation. They have included excavations in their research into one house, and undertook a project to locate the boundaries of a sunken rock garden near the Seminole Heights Garden Club. They are concerned with the built environment in their district, but it is by no means exclusive (C.f. Aylworth 2010; Pope et al. 2011). Members of the group have also become involved in activities not necessarily focused on historic preservation, but designed to improve the character and livability of their area and the region as a whole.

## **Conclusion**

A study of local groups involved in archaeology and historic preservation is important because they have the potential to influence both political officials and other members of the public (Baggetta 2009; Cohen 2006; Davis 1991; Moffatt 1992; Page and Shapiro 1983). We, as archaeologists, historic preservationists, cultural resource professionals, and avocational archaeologists, must engage with each other and with the general public in order to offset the effects of damage inflicted by limited government, property rights movements within all levels of our political system.

This research indicates that there is an absence of dialogue between various publics. The identification of the absence contributes to the framework whereby those working in archaeology and those in heritage management can develop cooperative programs that include previously marginalized communities. By becoming aware of the gap in the discourse, we can work to correct it. The identification of the current limits of dialogue can be used to identify and reach out to marginalized and disenfranchised

communities. It can be used to help discover what the public knows and cares about, and the aspects of cultural heritage the public values, and what they will support.

The research also shows that there is a gap in perception. Respondents in both groups value the others' field, but see the members of the other field as not being overly interested in their own field. This can be problematic if it discourages people from reaching out to groups of the other type.

According to my findings, there are numerous ways for archaeologists and historic preservationists to bring their fields to the public and even more to each other. For many people, it only takes one experience with screening, watching an excavation in their neighborhood, or seeing photos of people who lived in their house 50 years before, to acquire a permanent love of archaeology and historic structures. A large percentage of the population has an incipient interest in it, and at least general, broad knowledge. As noted before, this study was limited largely to tangible cultural resources within a metropolitan area. There are many directions in which future research can and should explore: intangible cultural resources; heritage resource management in more rural areas, or ones in which a large segment of the population is comprised of long-term or multi-generational residents; ways in which historically disadvantaged groups act to preserve cultural resources; the outcomes of civic engagement initiatives; and internal research into factors that influence a particular piece of legislation.

This research was designed in part to create a way for archaeologists and other heritage management professionals to gauge knowledge of the public's understanding of archaeology and historic preservation, and how it feeds back into the public loop. One aspect of this is the communication of archaeology to the public. As this research

suggests, the lectures offered by CGCAS are often well-attended, and may contribute to the local public's understanding of archaeology.

The written communication of information from professional archaeologists appears to be slightly less accessible, even to members of the public who are already interested in archaeology. When the CGCAS members were holding book club discussions, all the reading selections were well-received, but readings written in a style similar to scholarly journal articles, with more technical terminology, caused more confusion among some members than those written in a more narrative style.

The normal activities of groups can provide avenues by which members of other publics can be contacted, and through which other aspects of history and heritage can be explored. While I was studying them, both groups attempted to bring outside people into their activities and organizations. Some of the processes they used in these activities could be used to identify and locate a wider range of publics.

As indicated in this study while investigating the history of a neighborhood, members of an established group can seek out other people, whether in the community or elsewhere, who might be interested in the research. For example, OSHNA preservation society members sought out people who had lived in the area in the past, whether those people were still residents or had moved elsewhere. Much of the outreach was designed to collect information about the history of the neighborhood, recording and documenting people's stories and past experiences.

OSHNA performed other outreach efforts on behalf of associated groups in the neighborhood, such as assisting people who had attended Hillsborough High School in contacting other former students for reunion events. This type of outreach is crucial in

any archaeological or heritage preservation research. In my archival research of the school (gathering information about the structure itself), I encountered references to people who may have a perspective of the school and neighborhood that differs slightly from the predominant one. The school was closed for renovations from 1975 to 1976, during which time students were separated by grade and sent to other schools for the year, causing much dissention among students. At the same time, there were allegations of Hillsborough County as a whole using disciplinary measures such as suspension and expulsion in a racially discriminatory manner, and at least one instance of administrators at Hillsborough High possibly doing so (Bolle 1977; Martin 1975). From the articles I read, it appears to have been a time of singular upheaval for the school and neighborhood, and people who were students (or staff, faculty, or parents) at that time would likely have a unique perspective that, if presented, would enrich the overall history of the school. This is merely one instance I happened to notice while researching a related subject. If members of the preservation committee, or members of a similar organization, were to make a concerted effort to find similar events, they might uncover a myriad of possible stories. They could then attempt to locate people associated with them through the same means they have used to locate other former residents and students: yearbooks, city directories, land abstracts, and newspaper articles. This type of pro-active archival research should be considered an essential component of any archaeological or heritage management initiative, in that it allows researchers to identify those who have been marginalized in the past.

Working from the standpoint that increased communication among local interest groups can benefit both types of groups by bringing in new ideas and perspectives and

by increasing their voice in local arenas, members of CGCAS have made efforts to connect with historic preservationists. After meeting members of a local historic preservation group at an event at Weedon Island, I came to believe that the two groups had similar interests, CGCAS members decided to try to interact with them further. Members of CGCAS invited members of the preservation group to their annual holiday potluck gathering, but none of the preservation group members attended. This approach was ineffective. My research of OSHNA indicates that a more effective approach might be to notify the preservation group of an excavation, ideally of a historic site in the St. Petersburg area in which CGCAS members are working. Findings indicate that knowing archaeologists and seeing archaeology happen was what made an impact on the OSHNA members, and was what made them consider archaeology as an integral component of the heritage management process and associate it with their own goals. While CGCAS does not, to my knowledge, plan an urban, historical excavation in the near future, if the need for such an excavation occurs, it might be an effective means of collaborating with a local preservation group. Another potential outreach opportunity might be to target preservation groups with individual (individual groups, not individual members) invitations to Archaeology Month events, in addition to the general notices to the public appearing every year.

Some methods of reaching out, not to specific, targeted groups, but to the general public, and identifying ways to find more effective ways to reach out to these groups, have been proposed, but take time and effort to implement. For instance, one CGCAS member suggested the group add to its membership application form a question common in applications, asking the person joining how he or she heard about

the group. The premise, of course, being that the information would indicate which outreach approaches were working. Unfortunately, the website and application form were being redesigned and moved to a new host, so the question has not yet been added.

One topic I did not ask about , but that came out in participant observation, was the connection between archaeology groups and other groups devoted to outdoor pursuits (in the case of my informants, bird watching groups, the Sierra Club, and hiking groups). Being a nature preserve, Weedon Island offers various nature hikes, walks, and kayak tours throughout the year, many with an archaeological component. CGCAS members are considering arranging a “Tour of Sites” similar to a historic home tour, with group members narrating the history of a selection of sites in the St. Petersburg area the group has studied. Although not yet implemented, it is an interesting concept, and one that could, and I think, should, be extended through the Bay area.

As mentioned in Chapter Six, Old Seminole Heights is one of the neighborhoods involved in the Green Artery, and members of OSHNA are already part of its activities. Its proposed web of paths, trails, and navigable waterways through 20 neighborhoods, and its goal of connecting those neighborhoods through their greenspaces, art, and history make it an ideal opportunity for reaching out to people in surrounding neighborhoods. Several of the neighborhoods involved are ones that have historically been (and in some cases, still are) economically, politically, or socially marginalized. These connecting spaces could be used for tours or interpretative displays, or could connect to locations communities want to preserve. Groups such as OSHNA, with experience preserving sites and heritage, can work with people in other neighborhoods

to identify and preserve areas important to them, thus using a holistic approach similar to that used by anthropologists.

It appears that Noble's (2007:68) comment that "what most excites the public's collective imagination are those sites that contain dramatic ruins or other readily recognizable elements that you can see and touch." However, my research suggests that it is often the personal connection that motivates people from having an interest to the action of preservation. Jeff Moates (interview, August 28, 2009) said it very well when he told me that archaeologists need to reach "the people who don't know yet that they like it." These people could be anywhere, and archaeologists and historic preservationists have a variety of ways to reach them. Once we do that, we can use both the process of archaeology and information from our results to enable our audiences and collaborators to connect with the past. It is essential that we thus engage in order for the protection and responsible management of tangible and intangible cultural resources to continue and expand.

If I were framing this research today, I would make several changes. First, as noted in Chapter Seven, I would include plans to interview members of the public who are not associated with the local groups. Several of the people I met were willing to talk at length, and I often wished I had specific questions to ask and could have recorded their comments. Delving further into their past experiences with archaeology and local history, and discussing aspects of local and regional heritage that are important or significant to them could give valuable indications of potential starting points and common ground to use in community engagement efforts.



It is possible that a researcher beginning a study today would have more access to members of the Ybor City Museum Society. Since 2008, the museum has incorporated more archaeology into its programs, collaborating with FPAN on excavations and public outreach, and members of the Ybor City Museum Society might see more of a connection between the museum's goals and those of archaeologists. In conducting further research, direct contact with Ybor City Museum visitors before, during, and after the excavations by FPAN at the museum would be a valuable component of research initiatives. The interviews with museum employees and FPAN archaeologists were enlightening and helpful, but direct interaction with museum visitors in that sort of a situation could give much insight into aspects of highly visible urban archaeology that impact viewers and visitors.

It is often said that hindsight is 20/20. If I were outlining the research with full knowledge beforehand of the preservation activities that would occur during the course of the study, I would have arranged to investigate the views of historic preservation committee members before and after the excavation in their neighborhood. My surveys and semi-structured interviews were completed before the excavation at the Jackson house was planned. I would not be surprised if the respondents' views have changed somewhat since the excavation. Had I known about the excavation at the outset of my research, I would have adapted my research to explore respondents' views before and after the excavation. It would be interesting and useful to know whether being participants and possibly having some sense of ownership in the excavation and research changed their views, as has been suggested by previous research (Atalay 2012; Davis-Salazar et al. 2007).

Beyond the scope of this study, but important and warranting further research are the silent, absent, and intangible aspects of heritage in the geographical areas of the groups I studied. As illustrated by Dr. Jackson's (2010) research in the nearby neighborhood of Sulphur Springs, a single structure can hold multiple meanings for various communities, particularly those who have been disenfranchised.

Still unanswered is the extent to which individuals who are not members of preservation or archaeological groups wield influence in preservation. There were indications in this study that they do have an influence on preservation measures, as was evidenced by the attempts to halt designation of cigar factories and the Hampton Terrace historic district, and efforts to preserve the Pillsbury Mound. However, isolating and quantifying these influences is a topic complicated enough to merit its own study.

Also, I hope to conduct further research into differences, if any, the type of museum visited has on preservation interests. Previous research suggested a link between museums exhibiting archaeological material and support for archaeological sites (Cannon and Cannon 1996; Pokolyto and Guppy 1999), but *this* research indicates there is a difference based on whether the museum focused on art or history, or the artifacts displayed were incidental. In the role museums play in shaping views of archaeology, there seems to be a museum continuum – from museums with archaeological sites (such as Ybor and Jamestown) to those focused on art, with archaeological artifacts, such as amphorae, displayed more as art than as artifacts. This should be explored further to see if it holds true in a larger sample. If so, further research should also consider the possibility that it is not visits to historical museums in general that correlate to higher support for archaeological sites, but visits to local

historical museums, since the correlation here was with visits to the local historical museums.

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## **Appendices**

## **Appendix I: List of Local Groups**

### **Archaeological society**

Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society  
P.O. Box 1563  
Pinellas Park, FL  
[www.cgcas.org](http://www.cgcas.org)

### **Historical Society**

Ybor City Museum Society  
1802 9th Avenue East  
Tampa 33675  
(813) 247-1434

### **Neighborhood Association**

Old Seminole Heights Neighborhood Assn  
<http://www.oldseminoleheights.com/>

## **Appendix II: Survey Questions**

### **Views on Historic and Archaeological Preservation**

1. From what sources have you obtained information about archaeology (e.g. books, movies, magazines, lectures, TV, museum visits)?
2. Have you ever visited an archaeological site?
3. To the best of your knowledge, what is the oldest time period archaeologists study (e.g. greater than 1 million years ago, greater than 100,000 years ago)?
4. As far as you know, what do archaeologists study?
5. To your knowledge, where do archaeologists work?
6. To the best of your knowledge, what is the most recent time period archaeologists study (e.g. 10 years ago, 50 years ago, 1000 years ago)?
7. Have you ever been a member of an archaeological or historical society?
8. In your opinion, where do historical museums get artifacts for their exhibits (e.g. donations, archaeological excavations, purchase them)?
9. What local museums have you visited?  
  
If you have visited any, how was your knowledge of archaeology or history enhanced by the visit?
10. Do you know of any laws that protect archaeological sites?  
  
If so, what are they?



11. Have you recently read any newspaper or magazine articles about local historic or archaeological preservation?

12. As far as information about historical events is concerned, on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being not important and 10 being very important, how important are the following sources of information to you?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Newspapers										
Television										
Websites										
Movies										
Newsletters from organizations										
Radio										
Friends and relatives										

13. On a scale of 1 to 10, 1 being not at all important, and 10 being very important, please rate the importance of archaeology to the following areas

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
To the economy										
In drafting public policy										
In shaping society's values										
In international affairs										
To your own life										
To understanding the modern world										

14. On a scale of 1 to 10, 1 being strongly disagree and 10 being strongly agree, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Archaeology is relevant to the present.										
Archaeology should be taught in grade school.										
Archaeology should be taught in high school.										
I am aware of local history.										
I am aware of local historical events.										

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Laws should exist to protect archaeological sites.										
Laws should exist to prevent construction of buildings on archaeological sites on public land.										
Laws should exist to prevent the general public from constructing a building on the sites of prehistoric areas.										
Laws should exist to prevent the general public from constructing a building on the site of a colonial village.										
Laws should exist to protect historic buildings.										

15. What year were you born?

16. What is your sex?

17. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

18. How long have you lived in Florida?

19. How long has your family lived in Florida?

20. How long have you lived in the Tampa area?

21. If you are from somewhere other than Tampa, were you active in any organization related to history or archaeology?

22. To your knowledge, are you descended from any group represented by an archaeological site?

If yes, is it within Florida or elsewhere?

23. To your knowledge, are you descended from any group represented by a historic site?

If yes, is it within Florida or elsewhere?

### **Appendix III: Interview Questions**

What reasons were involved in your decision to join the historical society/archaeological society/neighborhood association?

How long have you lived in the Tampa area?

Were you a member of historic groups in your previous residences?

Are you a member of any other historically focused groups?

What do you know about the origins of this society/association?

Have you personally been involved in any effort to preserve a building/site?

What was your role?

What were the results of the effort?

What would you suggest others in similar efforts do?

Would you be likely to do this again?

How much public support do you feel there is for historic preservation?

How much public support do you feel there is for archaeological preservation?

What methods would you suggest to increase public support of either type of preservation?

Has your association collaborated with other groups for any particular project or goal?

How well did the collaboration work?

In what situations would you collaborate again?

#### **For members of historical societies and neighborhood groups:**

What archaeological investigations in the Tampa area are you aware of?

Have you participated in any archaeological dig or research?

How interested in historic buildings do you perceive archaeologists to be?

#### **For members of archaeological societies**

What historic or archaeological sites are you aware of in the city of Tampa (if any)?

Have you had any experiences with historical archaeology?

What kind (i.e. was it the historic levels of a dig intended to research prehistoric aspects of the site)?

Do you think the general public gives prehistoric and historical archaeology equal regard?

How interested do you perceive historic preservationists to be in archaeological sites?

#### **Appendix IV: Archival Research**

Board of County Commission Records  
Clerk of the Circuit Court  
County Center  
601 East Kennedy Blvd., 12<sup>th</sup> Floor  
Tampa, FL 33602  
(813)276-8100 x4567

Tampa Bay History Center  
225 South Franklin Street  
Tampa 33600  
(813) 228-0097

Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society  
c/o Weedon Island Preserve Cultural and Natural History Center  
1500 Weedon Drive NE  
St Petersburg, FL 33702

## Appendix V: IRB Consent Forms



December 12, 2007

Dawn M. Hayes  
PO Box 292636  
Tampa, FL 33687

RE: **Exempt Certification** for IRB#: 106368g  
Title: *Archaeological and Historic Preservation in Tampa*

Dear Ms. Hayes:

On December 7, 2007, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) determined that your research **meets USF requirements and Federal Exemption criteria two (2), use of interviews, surveys, and questionnaires**. It is your responsibility to ensure that this research is conducted in a manner reported in your application and consistent with the ethical principles outlined in the Belmont Report and with USF IRB policies and procedures.

Please note that changes to this protocol may disqualify it from exempt status. It is your responsibility to notify the IRB prior to implementing any changes.

The Division of Research Integrity and Compliance will hold your exemption application for a period of five years from the date of this letter or for three years after a Final Progress Report is received. If you wish to continue this protocol beyond those periods, you will need to submit an Exemption Certification Request form at least 30 days before this exempt certification ends. If a Final Progress Report has not been received, the IRB will send you a reminder notice prior to end of the five year period; therefore, it is important that you keep your contact information current with the IRB Office. Should you complete this study prior to the end of the five-year period, you must submit a Final IRB Progress Report for review.

**Please reference the above IRB protocol number in all correspondence** to the IRB c/o the Division of Research Integrity and Compliance. In addition, we have enclosed an Institutional Review Board (IRB) Quick Reference Guide providing guidelines and resources to assist you in meeting your responsibilities when conducting human subjects research. **Please read this guide carefully.**

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-9343.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Paul G. Stiles", is placed above the typed name.

Paul G. Stiles, J.D., Ph.D., Chairperson  
USF Institutional Review Board

OFFICE OF RESEARCH • DIVISION OF RESEARCH INTEGRITY & COMPLIANCE  
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARDS, FWA NO. 00001669  
University of South Florida • 12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC015 • Tampa, FL 33612-4799  
(813) 974-5638 • FAX (813) 974-5618



DIVISION OF RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE  
Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 00001669  
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 • Tampa, FL 33612-4799  
(813) 974-5638 • FAX (813) 974-5618

January 23, 2013

Dawn Hayes  
Anthropology  
4202 E. Fowler Ave.  
Tampa, FL 33612

RE: **Exempt Certification** for IRB#: Pro00010417  
Title: Archaeological and Historic Preservation in Tampa

Dear Ms. Hayes:

On 1/21/2013, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) determined that your research meets USF requirements and Federal Exemption criteria as outlined in the federal regulations at 45CFR46.101(b):

(2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless:

(i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

(4) Research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are publicly available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.

As the principal investigator for this study, it is your responsibility to ensure that this research is conducted as outlined in your application and consistent with the ethical principles outlined in the Belmont Report and with USF IRB policies and procedures. Please note that changes to this protocol may disqualify it from exempt status. Please note that you are responsible for notifying the IRB prior to implementing any changes to the currently approved protocol.

The Institutional Review Board will maintain your exemption application for a period of five years from the date of this letter or for three years after a Final Progress Report is received, whichever is longer. If you wish to continue this protocol beyond five years, you will need to submit: 1) a continuing review application with Final Report selected and 2) a new application.

Should you complete this study prior to the end of the five-year period, you must submit a request to close the study.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Kristen Salomon", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Kristen Salomon, PhD, Vice Chair  
USF Institutional Review Board



## Appendix VI: Photo Permission



### MANATEE COUNTY FLORIDA

11/18/2013

To Whom It May Concern:

I hereby grant Dawn Hayes permission to use and reproduce the images included in the Manatee County Public Library Historic Image Digital Collection, including M01-10304-A "Remains of the Asa Pillsbury mound at Palma Sola" and all other images in the database. These images are public domain and may be reproduced as long as credit is given to the Manatee County Public Library Historic Image Digital Collection as the source.

Sincerely,

**Ericka Dow**  
Adult Services Supervisor  
Central Library, MCPL  
1301 ~~Barancota~~ Blvd.  
Bradenton, FL 34205  
ericka.dow@mymanatee.org

Neighborhood Services Department – Library Division  
1301 ~~Barancota~~ Boulevard West, Bradenton, FL 34205  
WEB: [www.mymanatee.org](http://www.mymanatee.org) \* PHONE: 941.748-5555 \* FAX: 941.749-7191

LARRY BUSTLE \* MICHAEL GALLIN \* JOAN R. CHAFFIE \* ROBIN ~~DISABATINO~~ \* VANESSA BAUGH \* CAROL WHITMORE \* BETSY BENAC  
Director 1 Director 2 Director 3 Director 4 Director 5 Director 6 Director 7