

IV. DETERMINING ELIGIBILITY: STEP BY STEP

Whether a property is known in advance or found during an identification effort, it must be evaluated with reference to the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (36 CFR Part 60) in order to determine whether it is eligible for inclusion in the Register. This section discusses the process of evaluation as a series of sequential steps. In real life of course, these steps are often collapsed into one another or taken together.

STEP ONE: ENSURE THAT THE ENTITY UNDER CONSIDERATION IS A PROPERTY

Because the cultural practices or beliefs that give a traditional cultural property its significance are typically still observed in some form at the time the property is evaluated, it is sometimes perceived that the intangible practices or beliefs themselves, not the property, constitute the subject of evaluation. There is naturally a dynamic relationship between tangible and intangible traditional cultural resources, and the beliefs or practices associated with a traditional cultural property are of central importance in defining its significance. However, it should be clearly recognized at the outset that the National Register does not include intangible resources themselves. The entity evaluated must be a tangible property—that is, a district, site, building, structure, or object.⁸ The relationship between the property and the beliefs or practices associated with it should be carefully considered, however, since it is the beliefs and practices that may give the property its significance and make it eligible for inclusion in the National Register.

Construction by human beings is a necessary attribute of buildings and structures, but districts, sites, and objects do not have to be the products

of, or contain, the work of human beings in order to be classified as properties. For example, the National Register defines a “site” as “the 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.”⁹ Thus a property may be defined as a “site” as long as it was the location of a significant event or activity, regardless of whether the event or activity left any evidence of its occurrence. A culturally significant natural landscape may be classified as a site, as may the specific location where significant traditional events, activities, or cultural observances have taken place. A natural object such as a tree or a rock outcrop may be an eligible object if it is associated with a significant tradition or use. A concentration, linkage, or continuity of such sites or objects, or of structures comprising a culturally significant entity, may be classified as a district.

In considering the eligibility of a property that contains no observable evidence of human activity, however, the documentary or oral evidence for the association of the property with traditional events, activities or observances should be carefully weighed and assessed. The National Register discourages the nomination of natural features without sound documentation of their historical or cultural significance.

STEP TWO: CONSIDER THE PROPERTY’S INTEGRITY

In order to be eligible for inclusion in the Register, a property must have “integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association” (36 CFR Part 60).

In the case of a traditional cultural property, there are two fundamental questions to ask about integrity. First, does the property have an integral relationship to traditional cultural practices or beliefs; and second, is the condition of the property such that the relevant relationships survive?

INTEGRITY OF RELATIONSHIP

Assessing the integrity of the relationship between a property and the beliefs or practices that may give it significance involves developing some understanding about how the group that holds the beliefs or carries out the practices is likely to view the property. If the property is known or likely to be regarded by a traditional cultural group as important in the retention or transmittal of a belief, or to the performance of a practice, the property can be taken to have an integral relationship with the belief or practice, and vice-versa.

For example, imagine two groups living along the shores of a lake. Each group practices a form of baptism to mark an individual’s acceptance into the group. Both carry out baptism in the lake. One group, however, holds that baptism is appropriate in any body of water that is available; the lake happens to be available, so it is used, but another lake, a river or creek, or a swimming pool would be just as acceptable. The second group regards baptism in this particular lake as essential to its acceptance of an individual as a member. Clearly the lake is integrally related to the second group’s practice, but not to that of the first.

⁸ See *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* for discussion of property types.

⁹ See *How to Complete the National Register Form*.

INTEGRITY OF CONDITION

Like any other kind of historic property, a property that once had traditional cultural significance can lose such significance through physical alteration of its location, setting, design, or materials. For example, an urban neighborhood whose structures, objects, and spaces reflect the historically rooted values of a traditional social group may lose its significance if these aspects of the neighborhood are substantially altered.

In some cases a traditional cultural property can also lose its significance through alteration of its setting or environment. For example, a location used by an American Indian group for traditional spirit questing is unlikely to retain its significance for this purpose if it has come to be surrounded by housing tracts or shopping malls.

A property may retain its traditional cultural significance even though it has been substantially modified, however. Cultural values are dynamic, and can sometimes accommodate a good deal of change. For example, the Karuk Indians of northwestern California continue to carry on world renewal rites, ancient ceremonies featuring elaborate dances, songs, and other ritual activities, along a stretch of the Klamath River that is now the site of a highway, a Forest Service Ranger Station, a number of residences, and a timber cutting operation. Specific locations important in aspects of the ceremony remain intact, and accommodation has been reached between the Karuk and other users of the land. The State Department of Transportation has even erected "Ritual Crossing" signs at locations where the Karuk religious practitioners cross the highway, and built shallow depressions into the roadway which are filled with sand in advance of the ceremony, so the feet of the practitioners need not be profaned by contact with man-made macadam. As this example shows, the integrity of a possible traditional cultural property must be considered with reference to the views of traditional practitioners; if its integrity has not been lost in their eyes, it probably has sufficient integrity to justify further evaluation.

Some kinds of traditional cultural significance also may be retained regardless of how the surroundings of a



Cannonball Island, off Cape Alava on the coast of Washington State, is a traditional cultural property of importance to the Makah Indian people. It was used in the past, and is still used today, as a navigation marker for Makah fisherman, who established locations at sea by triangulation from this and other landmarks. It also was a lookout point for seal and whale hunters and for war parties, a burial site, and a kennel for dogs raised for their fur. (Makah Cultural and Research Center Archives)

property may be changed. For example, the First African Baptist Church Cemetery in Philadelphia, rediscovered during archeological work in advance of highway construction in 1985, has considerable cultural significance for the congregation that traces descent from those interred in the Cemetery, and for Philadelphia's African American community in general, even though its graves had been buried under fill and modern construction for many decades.

It should also be recalled that even if a property has lost integrity as a possible traditional cultural property, it may retain integrity with reference to some other aspect of significance. For example, a property whose cultural significance has been lost through disturbance may still retain archeological deposits of significance for their information content, and a neighborhood whose traditional residents no longer ascribe significance to it may contain buildings of architectural importance.

STEP THREE: EVALUATE THE PROPERTY WITH REFERENCE TO THE NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA

Assuming the entity to be evaluated is a property, and that it retains

integrity, it is next necessary to evaluate it against the four basic National Register Criteria set forth in the National Register regulations (36 CFR Part 60). If the property meets one or more of the criteria, it may be eligible; if it does not, it is not eligible.¹⁰

CRITERION (A): ASSOCIATION WITH EVENTS THAT HAVE MADE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE BROAD PATTERNS OF OUR HISTORY.

The word "our" in this criterion may be taken to refer to the group to which the property may have traditional cultural significance, and the word "history" may be taken to include traditional oral history as well as recorded history. For example, Mt. Tonaachaw on Moen Island in Truk, Federated States of Micronesia, is in the National Register in part because of association with oral traditions about the establishment of Trukese society.

"Events" can include specific moments in history of a series of events reflecting a broad pattern or theme.

¹⁰ For general guidelines, see *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*.

For example, the ongoing participation of an ethnic or social group in an area's history, reflected in a neighborhood's buildings, streetscapes, or patterns of social activity, constitutes such a series of events.

The association of a property with significant events, and its existence at the time the events took place, must be documented through accepted means of historical research. The means of research normally employed with respect to traditional cultural properties include ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and folklore studies, as well as historical and archeological research. Sometimes, however, the actual time a traditional event took place may be ambiguous; in such cases it may be impossible, and to some extent irrelevant, to demonstrate with certainty that the property in question existed at the time the traditional event occurred. For example, events recounted in the traditions of Native American groups may have occurred in a time before the creation of the world as we know it, or at least before the creation of people. It would be fruitless to try to demonstrate, using the techniques of history and science, that a given location did or did not objectively exist in a time whose own existence cannot be demonstrated scientifically. Such a demonstration is unnecessary for purposes of eligibility determination; as long as the tradition itself is rooted in the history of the group, and associates the property with traditional events, the association can be accepted.

CRITERION (B): ASSOCIATION WITH THE LIVES OF PERSONS SIGNIFICANT IN OUR PAST.

Again, the word "our" can be interpreted with reference to the people who are thought to regard the property as traditionally important. The word "persons" can be taken to refer both to persons whose tangible, human existence in the past can be inferred on the basis of historical, ethnographic, or other research, and to "persons" such as gods and demigods who feature in the traditions of a group. For example, Tahquitz Canyon in southern California is included in the National Register in part because of its association with Tahquitz,

a Cahuilla Indian demigod who figures importantly in the tribe's traditions and is said to occupy an obsidian cave high in the canyon.

CRITERION (C)(1):¹¹ EMBODIMENT OF THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF A TYPE, PERIOD, OR METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION.

This subcriterion applies to properties that have been constructed, or contain constructed entities—that is, buildings, structures, or built objects. For example, a neighborhood that has traditionally been occupied by a particular ethnic group may display particular housing styles, gardens, street furniture or ornamentation distinctive of the group. Honolulu's Chinatown, for example, embodies the distinctive cultural values of the City's Asian community in its architecture, landscaping, signage, and ornamentation.

¹¹ Note: Criterion (C) is not subdivided into subcriteria (1), (2), etc. in 36 CFR Part 60.4. The subdivision given here is only for the convenience of the reader.

CRITERION (C)(2): REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WORK OF A MASTER.

A property identified in tradition or suggested by scholarship to be the work of a traditional master builder or artisan may be regarded as the work of a master, even though the precise identity of the master may not be known.

CRITERION (C)(3): POSSESSION OF HIGH ARTISTIC VALUES.

A property made up of or containing art work valued by a group for traditional cultural reasons, for example a petroglyph or pictograph site venerated by an Indian group, or a building whose decorative elements reflect a local ethnic groups distinctive modes of expression, may be viewed as having high artistic value from the standpoint of the group.



In Trukese tradition, the Tonaachaw Historic District was the location to which Sowukachaw, founder of the Trukese society, came and established his meetinghouse at the beginning of Trukese history. The mountain, in what is now the Federated States of Micronesia, is a powerful landmark in the traditions of the area. (Lawrence E. Aten)

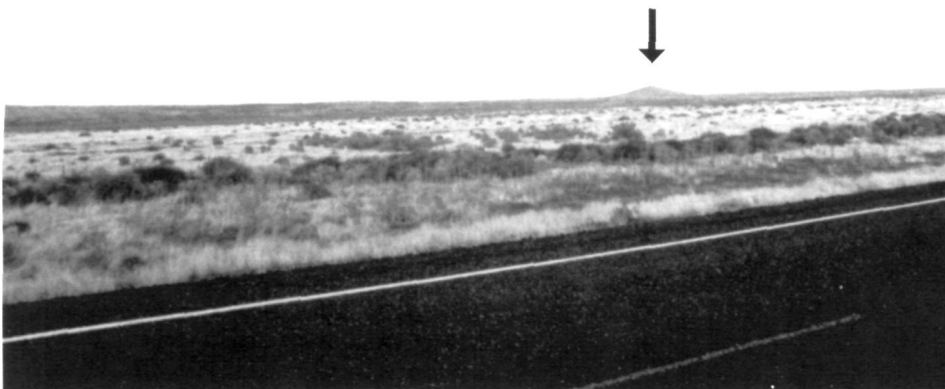
**CRITERION (C)(4):
REPRESENTATIVE OF A
SIGNIFICANT AND
DISTINGUISHABLE ENTITY
WHOSE COMPONENTS
MAY LACK INDIVIDUAL
DISTINCTION.**

A property may be regarded as representative of a significant and distinguishable entity, even though it lacks individual distinction, if it represents or is an integral part of a larger entity of traditional cultural importance. The larger entity may, and usually does, possess both tangible and intangible components. For example, certain locations along the Russian River in California are highly valued by the Pomo Indians, and have been for centuries, as sources of high quality sedge roots needed in the construction of the Pomo's world famous basketry.

Although the sedge fields themselves are virtually indistinguishable from the surrounding landscape, and certainly indistinguishable by the untrained observer from other sedge fields that produce lower quality roots, they are representative of, and vital to, the larger entity of Pomo basketmaking. Similarly, some deeply venerated landmarks in Micronesia are natural features, such as rock outcrops and groves of trees; these are indistinguishable visually (at least to the outside observer) from other rocks and trees, but they figure importantly in chants embodying traditional sailing directions and lessons about traditional history. As individual objects they lack distinction, but the larger entity of which they are a part—Micronesian navigational and historical tradition—is of prime importance in the area's history.

**CRITERION (D): HISTORY
OF YIELDING, OR
POTENTIAL TO YIELD,
INFORMATION
IMPORTANT IN
PREHISTORY OR HISTORY.**

Properties that have traditional cultural significance often have already yielded, or have the potential to yield, important information through ethnographic, archeological, sociological, folkloric, or other stud-



Many traditional cultural properties look like very little on the ground. The small protuberance in the center of this photo, known to residents of the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Washington State as Goose Egg Hill, is regarded by the Yakima Indians of the area as the heart of a goddess who was torn apart by jealous compatriots. They scattered her pieces across the landscape, creating a whole complex of culturally significant landforms. (Thomas F. King)

ies. For example, ethnographic and ethnohistorical studies of Kaho'olawe Island in Hawai'i, conducted in order to clarify its eligibility for inclusion in the National Register, have provided important insights into Hawai'ian traditions and culture and into the history of twentieth century efforts to revitalize traditional Hawai'ian culture.

Similarly, many traditional American Indian village sites are also archeological sites, whose study can provide important information about the history and prehistory of the group that lived there. Generally speaking, however, a traditional cultural property's history of yielding, or potential to yield, information, if relevant to its significance at all, is secondary to its association with the traditional history and culture of the group that ascribes significance to it.

**STEP 4:
DETERMINE WHETHER ANY
OF THE NATIONAL
REGISTER CRITERIA
CONSIDERATIONS (36 CFR
60.4) MAKE THE PROPERTY
INELIGIBLE**

Generally speaking, a property is not eligible for inclusion in the Register if it represents a class of properties to which one or more of the six "criteria considerations" listed in 36 CFR 60.4 applies, and is not part of a district that is eligible.

In applying the criteria considerations, it is important to be sensitive to

the cultural values involved, and to avoid ethnocentric bias, as discussed below.

**CONSIDERATION A:
OWNERSHIP BY A
RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION
OR USE FOR RELIGIOUS
PURPOSES.**

A "religious property," according to National Register guidelines, requires additional justification (for nomination) because of the necessity to avoid any appearance of judgement by government about the merit of any religion or belief.¹² Conversely, it is necessary to be careful not to allow a similar judgement to serve as the basis for determining a property to be ineligible for inclusion in the Register. Application of this criteria consideration to traditional cultural properties is fraught with the potential for ethnocentrism and discrimination. In many traditional societies, including most American Indian societies, the clear distinction made by Euroamerican society between religion and the rest of culture does not exist. As a result, properties that have traditional cultural significance are regularly discussed by those who value them in terms that have religious connotations. Inyan Karan Mountain, for example, a National Register property in the Black Hills of South Dakota, is sig-

¹² *How to Complete the National Register Form.*

nificant in part because it is the abode of spirits in the traditions of the Lakota and Cheyenne. Some traditional cultural properties are used for purposes that are definable as religious in Euroamerican terms, and this use is intrinsic to their cultural significance.

Kootenai Falls on the Kootenai River in Idaho, part of the National Register-eligible Kootenai Falls Cultural Resource District, has been used for centuries as a vision questing site by the Kootenai tribe. The Helkau Historic District in northern California is a place where traditional religious practitioners go to make medicine and commune with spirits, and Mt. Tonaachaw in Truk is an object of spiritual veneration. The fact that such properties have religious connotations does not automatically make them ineligible for inclusion in the Register.

Applying the "religious exclusion" without careful and sympathetic consideration to properties of significance to a traditional cultural group can result in discriminating against the group by effectively denying the legitimacy of its history and culture. The history of a Native American group, as conceived by its indigenous cultural authorities, is likely to reflect a kind of belief in supernatural beings and events that Euroamerican culture categorizes as religious, although the group involved, as is often the case with Native American groups, may not even have a word in its language for "religion." To exclude from the National Register a property of cultural and historical importance to such a group, because its significance tends to be expressed in terms that to the Euroamerican observer appear to be "religious" is ethnocentric in the extreme.

In simplest terms, the fact that a property is used for religious purposes by a traditional group, such as seeking supernatural visions, collecting or preparing native medicines, or carrying out ceremonies, or is described by the group in terms that are classified by the outside observer as "religious" should not by itself be taken to make the property ineligible, since these activities may be expressions of traditional cultural beliefs and may be intrinsic to the continuation of traditional cultural practices. Similarly, the fact that the group that owns a property—for example, an American Indian tribe—describes it in

religious terms, or constitutes a group of traditional religious practitioners, should not automatically be taken to exclude the property from inclusion in the Register. Criteria Consideration A was included in the Criteria for Evaluation in order to avoid allowing historical significance to be determined on the basis of religious doctrine, not in order to exclude arbitrarily any property having religious associations. National Register guidelines stress the fact that properties can be listed in or determined eligible for the Register for their association with religious history, or with persons significant in religion, if such significance has "scholarly, secular recognition."¹³ The integral relationship among traditional Native American culture, history, and religion is widely recognized in secular scholarship.¹⁴ Studies leading to the nomination of traditional cultural properties to the Register should have among their purposes the application of secular scholarship to the association of particular properties with broad patterns of traditional history and culture. The fact that traditional history and culture may be discussed in religious terms does not make it less historical or less significant to culture, nor does it make properties associated with traditional history and culture ineligible for inclusion in the National Register.

CONSIDERATION B: RELOCATED PROPERTIES.

Properties that have been moved from their historically important locations are not usually eligible for inclusion in the Register, because "the significance of (historic properties) is embodied in their locations and settings as well as in the (properties) themselves" and because "one basic purpose of the National Register is to encourage the preservation of historic properties as living parts of their communities."¹⁵ This consideration is relevant but rarely applied formally to traditional cultural properties; in most cases the property in question is a site or district which cannot be relocated in any event. Even where the property can be relocated, maintaining it on its original site is often crucial to maintaining its importance in traditional culture, and if it has been moved, most traditional authorities would regard its significance as lost.

Where a property is intrinsically portable, however, moving it does not

¹³ *How to Complete the National Register Form.*

¹⁴ For example see U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1983; Michaelson 1986.

¹⁵ *How to Complete the National Register Form.*



The fact that a property has religious connotations does not automatically disqualify it for inclusion in the National Register. This Shaker community in Massachusetts, for example, while religious in orientation, is included in the Register because it expresses the cultural values of the Shakers as a society. (Historic American Buildings Survey)



Some traditional cultural properties may be moveable, like this traditional war canoe still in use in the Republic of Palau. (Papua Historic Preservation Officer)

destroy its significance, provided it remains "located in a historically appropriate setting."¹⁶ For example, a traditionally important canoe or other watercraft would continue to be eligible as long as it remained in the water or in an appropriate dry land context (e.g., a boathouse). A property may also retain its significance if it has been moved historically.¹⁷ For example, totem poles moved from one Northwest Coast village to another in early times by those who made or used them would not have lost their significance by virtue of the move. In some cases, actual or putative relocation even contributes to the significance of a property. The topmost peak of Mt. Tonaachaw in Truk, for example, is traditionally thought to have been brought from another island; the stories surrounding this magical relocation are parts of the mountains cultural significance.

In some cases it may be possible to relocate a traditionally significant property and still retain its significance, provided the property's "historic and present orientation, immediate setting, and general environment" are carefully considered in planning and executing the move.¹⁸ At Lake Sonoma in California, for example, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers relocated a number of boulders contain-

ing petroglyphs having artistic, archaeological, and traditional cultural significance to protect them from inundation. The work was done in consultation with members of the local Pomo Indian tribe, and apparently did not destroy the significance of the boulders in the eyes of the tribe.¹⁹

CONSIDERATION C: BIRTHPLACES AND GRAVES.

Birthplaces and graves of famous persons are not usually eligible for inclusion in the Register as such. If the birthplace or gravesite of a historical person is significant for reasons other than its association with that person, however, the property can of course be eligible.²⁰ Thus in the case of a traditional cultural property, if someone's birth or burial within the property's boundaries was incidental to the larger traditional significance of the property, the fact that it occurred does not make the property ineligible. For example, in South Texas, the burial site of Don Pedrito Jaramillo, a well documented folk healer who practiced at the turn of the century, has for more than seventy years been a culturally significant site for the performance of traditional healing rituals

by Mexican American folk healers. Here the cultural significance of the site as a center for healing is related to the intangible belief that Don Pedrito's spirit is stronger there than in other places, rather than to the fact of his burial there.

On the other hand, it is possible for the birth or burial itself to have been ascribed such cultural importance that its association with the property contributes to its significance.

Tahquitz Canyon in southern California, for example, is in a sense the traditional "birthplace" of the entire Cahuilla Indian people. Its status as such does not make it ineligible; on the contrary, it is intrinsic to its eligibility. Mt. Tonaachaw in Truk is according to some traditions the birth-

¹⁶ *How to Complete the National Register Form.*

¹⁷ *How to Complete the National Register Form.*

¹⁸ *How to Complete the National Register Form.*

¹⁹ The location to which a property is relocated, and the extent to which it retains its integrity after relocation, must be carefully considered in judging its continued eligibility for inclusion in the National Register. See *How to Complete the National Register Form* for general guidelines.

²⁰ *How to Complete the National Register Form.*

place of the culture hero Souwooniraras, whose efforts to organize society among the islands of Truk Lagoon are the stuff of Trukese legend. The association of his birth with the mountain does not make the mountain ineligible; rather, it contributes to its eligibility.

CONSIDERATION D: CEMETERIES.

Cemeteries are not ordinarily eligible for inclusion in the Register unless they “derive (their) primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design values, or from association with historic events.”²¹ Many traditional cultural properties contain cemeteries, however, whose presence contributes to their significance.

Tahquitz Canyon, for example, whose major significance lies in its association with Cahuilla traditional history, contains a number of cemeteries that are the subjects of great concern to the Cahuilla people. The fact that they are present does not render the Canyon ineligible; on the contrary, as reflections of the long historical association between the Cahuilla and the Canyon, the cemeteries reflect and contribute to the Canyon’s significance. Thus the fact that a traditional cultural property is or contains a cemetery should not automatically be taken to render it ineligible.

CONSIDERATION E: RECONSTRUCTION.

A reconstructed property—that is, a new construction that ostensibly reproduces the exact form and detail of a property or portion of a property that has vanished, as it appeared at a specific period in time—is not normally eligible for inclusion in the Register unless it meets strict criteria.²² The fact that some reconstruction has occurred within the boundaries of a traditional cultural property, however, does not justify regarding the property as ineligible for inclusion in the Register. For example, individuals involved in the revitalization of traditional Hawai’ian culture and religion have reconstructed certain religious structures on the island of Kaho’olawe; while the structures themselves might not be eligible for inclusion in the Register, their con-

struction in no way diminishes the island’s eligibility.

CONSIDERATION F: COMMEMORATION.

Like other properties, those constructed to commemorate a traditional event or person cannot be found eligible for inclusion in the Register based on association with that event or person alone.²³ The mere fact that commemoration is involved in the use or design of a property should not be taken to make the property ineligible, however. For example, traditional meetinghouses in the Republic of Palau, included in the National Register, are typically ornamented with “story boards” commemorating traditional events; these derive their design from traditional Palauan aesthetic values, and thus contribute to the cultural significance of the structures. They connect the structures with the traditional history of the islands, and in no way diminish their cultural, ethnographic, and architectural significance.

CONSIDERATION G: SIGNIFICANCE ACHIEVED WITHIN THE PAST 50 YEARS.

Properties that have achieved significance only within the 50 years preceding their evaluation are not eligible for inclusion in the Register unless “sufficient historical perspective exists to determine that the property is exceptionally important and will continue to retain that distinction in the future.”²⁴ This is an extremely important criteria consideration with respect to traditional cultural values. A significance ascribed to a property only in the past 50 years cannot be considered traditional.

As an example, consider a mountain peak used by an Indian tribe for communication with the supernatural. If the peak has been used by members of the tribe for many years, or if it was used by members of the tribe in prehistory or early history, it may be eligible, but if its use has begun only within the past 50 years, it is probably not eligible.

²¹ *How to Complete the National Register Form.*

²² *How to Complete the National Register Form.*

²³ *How to Complete the National Register Form.*

²⁴ *How to Complete the National Register Form.*



Several hundred persons visit this shrine to Don Pedrito Jaramillo, curandero (faith healer), yearly to seek his healing spirit. (Curtis Tunnell, Texas Historical Commission)



Tahquitz Canyon, in southern California, is included in the National Register because of its association with the traditions of the Cahuilla Indians. The ancestors of the Cahuilla came into this world from a lower one at the beginning of time, and an evil spirit, named Tahquitz, is believed to live in the upper reaches of the canyon. (Thomas F. King)

The fact that a property may have gone unused for a lengthy period of time, with use beginning again only recently, does not make the property ineligible for the Register. For example, assume that the Indian tribe referred to above used the mountain peak in prehistory for communication with the supernatural, but was forced to abandon such use when it was confined to a distant reservation, or when its members were converted to Christianity. Assume further that a revitalization of traditional religion has be-

gun in the last decade, and as a result the peak is again being used for vision quests similar to those carried out there in prehistory. The fact that the contemporary use of the peak has little continuous time depth does not make the peak ineligible; the peak's association with the traditional activity reflected in its contemporary use is what must be considered in determining eligibility.

The length of time a property has been used for some kinds of traditional purposes may be difficult to es-

tablish objectively. Many cultural uses may have left little or no physical evidence, and may not have been noted by ethnographers or early visitors to the area. Some such uses are explicitly kept from outsiders by members of the group ascribing significance to the property. Indirect evidence and inference must be weighed carefully, by or in consultation with trained ethnographers, ethnohistorians, and other specialists, and professional judgements made that represent one's best, good-faith interpretation of the available data.

V. DOCUMENTING TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Generally speaking, documentation of a traditional cultural property, on a National Register nomination form or in eligibility documentation, should include a presentation of the results of interviews and observations that systematically describe the behavior, beliefs, and knowledge that are germane to understanding the property's cultural significance, and an organized analysis of these results. The data base from which the formal nomination or eligibility determination documents are derived should normally include appropriate tape recordings, photographs, field notes, and primary written records.

Obtaining and presenting such documentation can present special challenges, however. First, those who ascribe significance to the property may be reluctant to allow its description to be committed to paper, or to be filed with a public agency that might release information about it to inappropriate people. Second, documentation necessarily involves addressing not only the physical characteristics of the property as perceived by an outside observer, but culturally significant aspects of the property that may be visible or knowable only to those in whose traditions it is significant. Third, boundaries are often difficult to define. Fourth, in part because of the difficulty involved in defining boundaries, it is important to address the setting of the property.

THE PROBLEM OF CONFIDENTIALITY

Particularly where a property has supernatural connotations in the minds of those who ascribe significance to it, or where it is used in ongoing cultural activities that are not readily shared with outsiders, it may be strongly desired that both the nature and the precise location of the property be kept secret. Such a desire on the part of those who value a property should of course be respected, but it presents considerable problems for the use of National Register data in planning. In simplest terms, one cannot protect a property if one does not know that it is there.

The need to reveal information about something that one's cultural system demands be kept secret can present agonizing problems for traditional groups and individuals. It is one reason that information on traditional cultural properties is not readily shared with Federal agencies and others during the planning and environmental review of construction and land use projects. However concerned one may be about the impacts of such a project on a traditional cultural property, it may be extremely difficult to express these concerns to an outsider if one's cultural system provides no acceptable mechanism for doing so. These difficulties are sometimes hard for outsiders to understand, but they should not be underrated. In some cultures it is sincerely believed that sharing information inappropriately with outsiders will lead to death or severe injury to one's family or group.

As noted above, information on historic properties, including traditional cultural properties, may be kept

confidential under the authority of 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act.²⁵ This may not always be enough to satisfy the concerns of those who value, but fear the results of releasing information on, traditional cultural properties. In some cases these concerns may make it necessary not to nominate such properties formally at all, or not to seek formal determinations of eligibility, but simply to maintain some kind of minimal data in planning files. For example, in planning deployment of the MX missile system in Wyoming, the Air Force became aware that the Lakota Indian tribe in the area had concerns about the project's impacts on traditional cultural properties, but was unwilling to identify and document the precise locations and significance of such properties. To resolve this problem, Air Force representatives met with the tribe's traditional cultural authorities and indicated where they wanted to construct the various facilities required by the deployment; the tribe's authorities indicated which of these locations were likely to present problems, without saying what the nature of the problems might be. The Air Force then designed the project to minimize use of such areas. In a narrow sense, obviously, the Air Force did not go through the process of evaluation recommended by this Bulletin; no specific properties were identified or evaluated to determine their eligibility for inclusion in the National Register. In a broader sense, however, the Air Force's approach represents excellent practice in the identification and treatment of traditional cultural prop-

²⁵ For details regarding maintaining confidentiality, see *Guidelines for Restricting Information About Historic and Prehistoric Resources*.

erties. The Air Force consulted carefully and respectfully with those who ascribed traditional cultural significance to properties in the area, and sought to accommodate their concerns. The tribe responded favorably to this approach, and did not take undue advantage of it. Presumably, had the tribe expressed concern about such expansive or strategically located areas as to suggest that it was more interested in impeding the deployment than in protecting its valued properties the Air Force would have had to use a different approach.

In summary: the need that often exists to keep the location and nature of a traditional cultural property secret can present intractable problems. These must be recognized and dealt with flexibly, with an understanding of the fact that the management problems they may present to Federal agencies or State Historic Preservation Officers may pale into insignificance when compared with the wrenching cultural conflicts they may present to those who value the properties.

DOCUMENTING VISIBLE AND NON-VISIBLE CHARACTERISTICS

Documentation of a traditional cultural property should present not only its contemporary physical appearance and, if known, its historical appearance, but also the way it is described in the relevant traditional belief or practice. For example, one of the important cultural locations on Mt. Tonaachaw in Truk is an area called "Neepisaram," which physically looks like nothing but a grassy slope near the top of the mountain. In tradition, however, it is seen as the ear of "kuus," a metaphorical octopus identified with the mountain, and as the home of "Saraw," a warrior spirit/barracuda. Obviously a nomination of "Neepisaram" would be incomplete and largely irrelevant to its significance if it identified it only as a grassy slope near the top of the mountain.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

Describing the period of significance for a traditional cultural property can be an intellectual challenge, particularly where the traditions of a Native American or Micronesian group are involved. In such cases

there are often two different kinds of "periods." One of these is the period in which, in tradition, the property gained its significance—the period during which the Cahuilla people emerged from the lower world through Tahquitz Canyon, or the period when civilization came to Truk through the magical arrival of the culture-bearer Sowukachaw on Mt. Tonaachaw. Such periods often have no fixed referent in time as it is ordinarily construed by Euroamerican scholarship.²⁶ To the Cahuilla, their ancestors simply emerged from the lower world at the beginning of human life on earth, whenever that may have been. A Trukese traditional authority will typically say simply that Sowukachaw came to Truk "*nóómw nóómw nóómw*" (long, long ago). It is usually fruitless, and of little or no relevance to the eligibility of the property involved for inclusion in the National Register, to try to relate this sort of traditional time to time as measured by Euroamerican history. Traditional "periods" should be defined in their own terms. If a traditional group says a property was created at the dawn of time, this should be reported in the nomination or eligibility documentation; for purposes of National Register eligibility there is no need to try to establish whether, according to Euroamerican scholarship or radiocarbon age determination, it really was created at the dawn of time.

The second period that is often relevant to a traditional property is its period of use for traditional purposes. Although direct, physical evidence for such use at particular periods in the past may be rare in the case of properties used by native American groups, it is usually possible to fix a period of use, at least in part, in ordinary chronological time. Establishing the period of use often involves the weighing of indirect evidence and inference. Interviews with traditional cultural authorities are usually the main sources of data, sometimes, supplemented by the study of historical accounts or by archeological investigations. Based on such sources of data it should be possible at least to reach supportable inferences about whether generations before the present one have used a property for traditional

purposes, suggesting that it was used for such purposes more than fifty years ago. It is seldom possible to determine when the traditional use of property began, however—this tends to be lost, as it were, in the mists of antiquity.

BOUNDARIES

Defining the boundaries of a traditional cultural property can present considerable problems. In the case of the Helkau Historic District in northern California, for example, much of the significance of the property in the eyes of its traditional users is related to the fact that it is quiet, and that it presents extensive views of natural landscape without modern intrusions.

These factors are crucial to the medicine making done by traditional religious practitioners in the district. If the boundaries of the district were defined on the basis of these factors, however, the district would take in a substantial portion of California's North coast Range. Practically speaking, the boundaries of a property like the Helkau District must be defined more narrowly, even though this may involve making some rather arbitrary decisions. In the case of the Helkau District, the boundary was finally drawn along topographic lines that included all the locations at which traditional practitioners carry out medicine-making and similar activities, the travel routes between such locations, and the immediate viewshed surround this complex of locations and routes.

In defining boundaries, the traditional uses to which the property is put must be carefully considered. For example, where a property is used as the Helkau District is used, for contemplative purposes, viewsheds are important and must be considered in boundary definition. In an urban district significant for its association with a given social group, boundaries might be established where residence or use by the group ends, or where such residence or use is no longer reflected in the architecture or spatial organization of the neighborhood. Changes in boundaries through time should also be taken into consideration.

For example, archeological evidence may indicate that a particular cultural practice occurred within particular boundaries in the past, but the practice today may occur within dif-

²⁶ Except, perhaps, by some of the more esoteric subfields of cosmology and quantum mechanics.

ferent boundaries perhaps larger, perhaps smaller, perhaps covering different areas. The fact that such changes have taken place, and the reasons they have taken place, if these can be ascertained, should be documented and considered in developing a rationale for the boundaries identified in the nomination or eligibility documentation.

DESCRIBING THE SETTING

The fact that the boundaries of a traditional cultural property may be drawn more narrowly than they would be if they included all significant viewsheds or lands on which

noise might be intrusive on the practices that make the property significant does not mean that visual or auditory intrusions occurring outside the boundaries can be ignored. In the context of eligibility determination or nomination, such intrusions if severe enough may compromise the property's integrity. In planning subsequent to nomination or eligibility determination, the Advisory Council's regulations define "isolation of the property from or alteration of the character of the property's setting" as an adverse effect "when that character contributes to the property's qualification for the National Register" (36 CFR 800.9(b)(2)). Similarly, the

Council's regulations define as adverse effects "introduction of visual, audible, or atmospheric elements that are out of character with the property or alter its setting" (36 CFR 800.9(b)(3)).

To assist in determining whether a given activity outside the boundaries of a traditional cultural property may constitute an adverse effect, it is vital that the nomination form or eligibility documentation discuss those qualities of a property's visual, auditory, and atmospheric setting that contribute to its significance, including those qualities whose expression extends beyond the boundaries of the property as such into the surrounding environment.



Individual structures can have traditional cultural significance, like this Yapese men's house, used by Yapese today in the conduct of deliberations on matters of cultural importance. (Yap State Historic Preservation Office)

COMPLETING REGISTRATION FORMS

The following discussion is organized with reference to the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (NPS 10-900), which must be used in nominating properties to the National Register. To the extent feasible, documentation supporting a request for a determination of eligibility should be organized with reference to, and if possible using, the Registration Form as well. Where the instructions given in the National Register bulletin entitled *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, are sufficient without further discussion, this is indicated.

1. Name of Property

The name given a traditional cultural property by its traditional users should be entered as its **historic name**. Names, inventory reference numbers, and other designations ascribed to the property by others should be entered under **other names/site number**.

2. Location

Follow *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, but note discussion of the problem of confidentiality above.

3. Classification

Follow *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*.

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

Follow *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*.

5. National Park Service Certification

To be completed by National Register.

6. Function or Use

Follow *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*.

7. Description

Follow *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* as applicable. It may be appropriate to address both visible and non-visible aspects of the property here, as discussed under General Considerations above; alternatively, non-visible aspects of the property may be discussed in the statement of significance.

8. Statement of Significance

Follow *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, being careful to address significance with sensitivity for the viewpoints of those who ascribe traditional cultural significance to the property.

9. Major Bibliographical References

Follow *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*. Where oral sources have been employed, append a list of those consulted and identify the locations where field notes, audio or video tapes, or other records of interviews are housed, unless consultants have required that this information be kept confidential; if this is the case, it should be so indicated in the documentation.

10. Geographical Data

Follow *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* as applicable, but note the discussion of boundaries and setting under **General Considerations** above. If it is necessary to discuss the setting of the property in detail, this discussion should be appended as accompanying documentation and referenced in this section.

11. Form Prepared By

Follow *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*.

Accompanying Documentation

Follow *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, except that if the group that ascribes cultural significance to the property objects to the inclusion of photographs, photographs need not be included. If photographs are not included, provide a statement explaining the reason for their exclusion.

VI. CONCLUSION

The National Historic Preservation Act, in its introductory section, establishes that “the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people”²⁷ (16 U.S.C. 470(b)(2)). The cultural foundations of America’s ethnic and social groups, be they Native American or historical immigrant, merit rec-

ognition and preservation, particularly where the properties that represent them can continue to function as living parts of the communities that ascribe cultural value to them. Many such properties have been included in the National Register, and many others have been formally determined eligible for inclusion, or regarded as such for purposes of review under 106 of the Act. Federal agencies, State

Historic Preservation Officers, and others who are involved in the inclusion of such properties in the Register, or in their recognition as eligible for inclusion, have raised a number of important questions about how to distinguish between traditional cultural properties that are eligible for inclusion in the Register and those that are not. It is our hope that this Bulletin will help answer such questions.

²⁷ 16 U.S.C. 470(b)(2).

VII. RECOMMENDED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

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How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation

How to Complete the National Register Registration Form

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VIII. APPENDIX I

A DEFINITION OF “CULTURE”

Early in this Bulletin a shorthand definition of the word “culture” is used. A longer and somewhat more complex definition is used in the National Park Service’s internal cultural resource management guidelines (NPS-28). This definition is consistent

with that used in this Bulletin, and may be helpful to those who require further elucidation of the term. The definition reads as follows:

“Culture (is) a system of behaviors, values, ideologies, and social arrangements. These features, in addition to tools and expressive elements such as graphic arts, help humans interpret their universe as well as deal with features of their environments, natural and social.

Culture is learned, transmitted in a social context, and modifiable. Synonyms for culture include “lifeways,” “customs,” “traditions,” “social practices,” and “folkways.” The terms “folk culture” and “folklife” might be used to describe aspects of the system that are unwritten, learned without formal instruction, and deal with expressive elements such as dance, song, music and graphic arts as well as storytelling.”

IX. APPENDIX II

PROFESSIONAL

QUALIFICATIONS:

ETHNOGRAPHY

When seeking assistance in the identification, evaluation, and management of traditional cultural properties, agencies should normally seek out specialists with ethnographic research training, typically including, but not necessarily limited to:

I. Language skills: it is usually extremely important to talk in their own language with those who may ascribe value to traditional cultural properties. While ethnographic fieldwork can be done through interpreters, ability in the local language is always preferable.

II. Interview skills, for example:

- The ability to approach a potential informant in his or her own cultural environment, explain and if necessary defend one's research, conduct an interview and minimize disruption, elicit required information, and disengage from the interview in an appropriate manner so that further interviews are welcome; and
- The ability to create and conduct those types of interviews that are appropriate to the study being carried out, ensuring that the questions asked are meaningful to those being interviewed, and that answers are correctly understood through the use of such techniques as translating and back-translating. Types of interviews normally carried out by ethnographers, one or more of which may be appropriate during evaluation and documentation of a traditional cultural property, include:
 - semi-structured interview on a broad topic;
 - semi-structured interview on a narrow topic;
 - structured interview on a well defined specific topic; open ended life history /life cycle interview; and
 - genealogical interview.

III. Skill in making and accurately recording direct observations of human behavior, typically including:

- The ability to observe and record individual and group behavior in such a way as to discern meaningful patterns; and
- The ability to observe and record the physical environment in which behavior takes place, via photography, mapmaking, and written description.

IV. Skill in recording, coding, and retrieving pertinent data derived from analysis of textural materials, archives, direct observation, and interviews.

Proficiency in such skills is usually obtained through graduate and post-graduate training and supervised experience in cultural anthropology and related disciplines, such as folklore/folklife.

X. APPENDIX III LIST OF NATIONAL REGISTER BULLETINS

The Basics

How to Apply National Register Criteria for Evaluation *

Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Form

Part A: How to Complete the National Register Form *

Part B: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form

Researching a Historic Property *

Property Types

Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Historic Aids to Navigation *

Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating and Registering America's Historic Battlefields

Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Historical Archeological Sites

Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places

How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes *

Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating and Registering Historic Mining Sites

How to Apply National Register Criteria to Post Offices *

Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Properties Associated with Significant Persons

Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Properties That Have Achieved Significance Within the Last Fifty Years

Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes *

Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties *

Nominating Historic Vessels and Shipwrecks to the National Register of Historic Places

Technical Assistance

Contribution of Moved Buildings to Historic Districts; Tax Treatments for Moved Buildings; and Use of Nomination Documentation in the Part I Certification Process

Defining Boundaries for National Register Properties*

Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning *

How to Improve the Quality of Photographs for National Register Nominations

National Register Casebook: Examples of Documentation *

Using the UTM Grid System to Record Historic Sites

The above publications may be obtained by writing to the National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, 1849 C Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20240. Publications marked with an asterisk (*) are also available in electronic form on the World Wide Web at www.cr.nps.gov/nr, or send your request by e-mail to nr_reference@nps.gov.