Representation of Local History:
The Case of the Onondaga Historical Association in Syracuse, New York

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I. Introduction

Present-day American society is strongly attached to the past. There are a number of constant visitors at Arlington National Cemetery and the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., and such open-air history museums as Colonial Williamsburg and Greenfield Village are now some of the major tourist attractions. We also see a lot of enthusiasts of the Civil War who are eager to enact past battles as well as to research the war itself. In cities, gentrification is made through the preservation and application of abandoned historic buildings, while in the suburbs the number of shopping malls with historical theme is increasing[1)]. In addition to the built environment, other popular media-magazines, television and the internet- are filled with historical themes. We, without being conscious of academic history, meet and consume the past in contemporary societies (Glassberg 2001).

On the other hand, the memory of the past is sometimes controversial in the political arena. While the memory of the past has been strongly connected to the formation and reinforcement of the imagined communities (Anderson 1991) of nations, the past that was never told under the History, namely the official history, began to become visible. Minorities including black and aboriginal people, women, gays and other ethnic groups claimed their rights to represent the past and culture by themselves and as their own[2)]. Historians were also affected by the civil rights movement, the anti-war movement and feminism, and advocated a new history and began to involve themselves in people's memory and its practical use in society. Consequently the exhibitions and practices in museums changed. The point to be discussed is not only what to display and how to express it, but also who can value it.

Over a few decades, a considerable number of studies have been done that interpret the museum as a social construction[3)]. Though their research subjects and authors' positions are different from each other, all discuss the specific practices of the museum in socio-political contexts. They have reconsidered the practices of collecting materials, ordering them in the knowledge system and making visual expressions through displaying them. In *the Birth of the Museum* (Bennett 1995), Tony Bennett made it clear in his illustration of museum history that the modern museums linked to scientific rationality played a critical role as a means for public enlightenment. That does not mean the universal knowledge prevailed evenly throughout the whole of society through this device. On the contrary, it caused a definite distinction between

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the elite as a creator and manager of knowledge and the public as disciplined. Moreover, Donna Haraway's interpretation of the American Museum of Natural History revealed that messages in the museum were never neutral (Haraway 1984). She interpreted the Museum's Roosevelt Memorial and the African Hall, and insisted that the specific museum practices embodied in the idea called " Teddy Bear Patriarchy", saying " all (public activities in the museum were) dedicated to preserving a threatened manhood. They were exhibition, eugenics, and conservation. Exhibition has been described here at great length: it was a practice to produce permanence, to arrest decay. Eugenics was a movement to preserve hereditary stock, to assure racial purity, and to prevent racial suicide. Conservation was a policy to preserve resources, not only for industry, but also for moral formation, for the achievement of manhood" (Haraway 1984). Her analysis disclosed the masculine thought that "Truth, Knowledge, Vision", the words as a confession of the faith to the universal knowledge in the Hall, were based on, and the dichotomy of the West/non-West represented the pseudo-paternal relationship between Teddy (and white men) and "primitive" Africans. Haraway is not the only author to consider the museum from the viewpoint of the West/non-West. Anthropologists like Michael Ames (1992) and James Clifford (1988) critically questioned the relations between Western anthropologists and non-Western societies as investigated from the point of view of representation of others.

A series of these works, though they have been criticized because they failed to interpret the museums as dynamic media including the different experiences of visitors[4)], have brilliantly demonstrated that the museum is a site where various theories socially and culturally embodied are developed. The museum is reflected by the dominant ideology. The fruit of their works should be applied to the daily practices in the museum. Above all in contemporary societies where people are struggling to manage and represent "our" past for "ourselves" and by "ourselves", it is essential to consider how the collective self-image is expressed in the museum. Who are "we"? In what was context the frame of "us" formed? Who is "not-we", the other side of "we"? Much attention should be given to the interdependence of the creation and reinforcement of a group's identity and the image of the past.

In this essay, I will discuss a display of American historical societies, a kind of museum that flourished at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, American museums experienced a great development. First, the alternation from amateurism to professionalism occurred in this country. As the modern sciences developed, natural history museums in particular were professionalized. Second, as academic disciplines were established, museums were divided into various specialties. Natural history museum, art museum, and history museum were established with different knowledge systems. This professionalization of the museum influenced historical societies that had been founded on the continent in the late eighteenth century. Originally, historical societies were not established as exhibition space. Early people were anxious for these societies, because historic documents and materials were on the verge of being to be scattered and lost, and there were few research libraries to preserve and open them to the public in the early nineteenth century (Dunlap 1944). At the same time, historical societies had an important purpose to spread historic knowledge to the people through lectures and exhibitions. According to the history of the museum described by Bennett (1995), historical societies have played a role as an institution

where the public was imbued with a standard and moral in the elite society. Compared with European museums, American museums have focused their attention upon social education, and scholars such as George Brown Goode, John Cotton Dana, and Theodore Low have developed theories emphasizing educational practices taking the side of the museum. We find such a characteristic not only in great museums at a national level, which Haraway discussed in her essay, but also in local institutions such as historical museums and historical societies. Japanese scholars, Gentaro Tanahashi (1930; 1932) and Kinjiro Mori (1932), who visited advanced museums in the West in the early twentieth century, admired and reported that American museums worked for the general public while European ones did not.

Now we have to consider carefully what these museums thought would serve the general public in those days. For the museum is connected with the predominant scientific and socio-political ideas at that time. In this essay, I will focus my attention upon these thoughts produced through important specific practices in the museum, the practices to collect, classify and exhibit materials. Careful interpretation of these practices may make it clear how people order space and human society under the banner of "for the people". This essay deals with a case of the Onondaga Historical Association (OHA) founded in 1862 in Syracuse, New York State. After looking at the documents about the association, I became fascinated by the early OHA members' ambivalent attitude toward local history. Their attitude was both patriotic and scientific. On one hand, it was filled with an unsophisticated and innocent sense of attachment to things of the past, but on the other hand it showed strong intention toward rigidly scientific classification. I noticed they showed such an ambivalent attitude toward different objects and different kinds of people. The questions are who showed such an ambivalent attitude and toward did they show it, in other words, who told local history and to whom did they tell it: who were "we", telling and creating local history? Who were the outsiders? To record and represent regional and local history means to create "ourselves" who share these senses and knowledge. This specific practice in the museum was also intertwined with the building of the modern city.

II. The Onondaga Historical Association and its development

The Onondaga Historical Association (OHA) is a private organization founded in 1862 in Syracuse in order to study and preserve the historic materials in Onondaga County and to promote the people's historical knowledge. The city of Syracuse, a center in the County, was making remarkable development as an industrial city at that time. In 1860, the population in Syracuse was 28,119 and 90,686 in the whole county[5].

Originally, the land around Onondaga belonged to the Iroquois, the confederacy of American Indian groups[6]. Natural resources of salt and furs attracted the white settlers during the early stage of history. After the Revolutionary War when many Indian groups sided with the British, they were deprived of their land and driven into the reservations, and white settlement in this area expanded rapidly. The white settlers developed salt making as one of the principal industries, the ancient Indian trails turned into new roads, and consequently the settlement expanded westward. However, it was not until the Erie Canal was opened to traffic that Syracuse started real development as a town. The construction of the Erie Canal, connecting the Hudson

River and Lake Erie, started in 1817 and was completed in 1825. Two years later the Oswego Canal, a branch canal from Syracuse to Lake Ontario, was opened. The construction of the canals drew a lot of engineers and laborers into Syracuse. The railroad came after the canal. The railroad reached Syracuse in 1839, and its network kept expanding. The golden age of railroad transportation was from the 1860s to the 1920s. With the development of the transportation network, new industries such as chemical, typewriter, bicycle, brewery and ceramic industries sprung up in this town, and the new immigrants from Europe became inevitable labor for these industries.

In this growing industrial city, some of those who were collecting and researching historic materials by themselves were actively catching up with the leading historical societies in the United States and organize their own society[7]. Before the OHA was founded, more than sixty historical societies existed including the Massachusetts Historical Society established in 1798. In January, 1862, six men assembled at the first meeting in order to establish a new society. First, they confirmed the fundamental ideas that the land of Onondaga was historically significant and that they needed an institution to record and preserve historical materials in the county. They had several meetings after the first one, and consequently eight directors were elected and the OHA went into operation. The following year, the charter was secured from the State legislature and secured rooms to manage the OHA, collect the materials, and exhibit them to the public. A publication in 1865 (OHA 1865) indicated that they possessed these things and that they were opened to the public. There were, for example, journals, a hundred volumes of bound newspapers that were both weeklies and popular city dailies, an entire file of *New York Spectator*[8], about two hundred statistical, scientific and historical books, old maps, leaflets, and both official and private letters. Among them, early members were proud that they acquired a rare book, *History of England*, which not all libraries even in the United Kingdom had. In addition to printings, they collected and exhibited more than two thousand kinds of geological specimens, the collections of shells and corals that they bought from collectors, paintings, curios and antiques, old coins, historic materials on the Civil War, and aboriginal materials. The rooms of the OHA looked like a small library and a primitive museum. The institution, which stored materials from ancient history before the white immigrants to the recent events of the Civil War, may look like an unusual mixture to us. These characteristics, namely that the spatial and temporal scale was obscure and that natural history including geology, anthropology and archaeology was stressed, were common to early historical societies (Dunlap 1944).

The OHA began to invite more citizens, especially "the leading professional and business men of the growing city" (OHA1895) to their activities as well as to study and preserve local history. However the OHA could not continue operating profitably and as a result stopped opening the exhibition rooms and the library to the public in 1871. Since that time, annual meetings have been held only for the election of directors. The association for historical research disappeared from the public eyes.

It was in the 1890s when the OHA revived. Indeed it became more active and flowered. First it organized the Historical Club, which strongly promoted the historical study and learning. In addition, it started planning a commemoration of the Onondaga Centennial in 1894. The OHA and its members were deeply involved in the centennial commemoration and

demonstrated their leadership as much as they did in the local economic and political lives. They organized a historical pageant, one of the main events, which was based on the history of Onondaga (the Onondaga Historical Society 1894). That pageant included the following scenes: beginning with "the legend of Hiawatha", namely the formation of the Iroquois League in 1414, through the "Jesuit mission" in the middle of the seventeenth century, the pioneer's camp and salt boiling in the 1780s, a country store in the early days, "the quilting party" filled with old music and dancing, the arrival of General LaFayette in 1825, a scene from school in the1840s, "Jerry Rescue[9)]" in 1851, the fire at the Wieting Block in 1856, and ending with the Civil War. This pageant was seen as a form of entertainment, but it helped people have an image of local history. The pageant's story both reflected and shaped public historical imagery. In other words, the OHA did play a crucial role in forming the public imagery[10)]. In addition to the historical pageant, the ceremony of the Onondaga Centennial was held under the auspices of the association at the Armory on June 6, 1894. The OHA President, William Kirkpatrick, presided at the ceremony. A loan exhibition was also held at the Centennial. More than nine hundred artifacts were sent to the exhibition mainly from local people. According to a pamphlet of the exhibition, the exhibition was arranged and collected under the supervision of the Loan Exhibition Committee, which was different from the OHA. In fact, the committee members were different from the OHA officers. However, a local newspaper reported, "many priceless relics exhibited by the Historical Society[11)]". Though the relationship between the OHA and the Loan Exhibition Committee is a point to investigate in detail, it can be assumed that both overlapped or that people at those days thought of the committee as a part of the OHA.

The OHA was successful in directing the centennial commemoration of Onondaga County through focusing on dramatic episodes and attracting public attention to local history. We can find many examples in American societies in the turn of the century. As Glassberg (1990) examined in his study on American historical pageantry, history played a crucial role for town's commemorations, and these media such as museums, monuments, murals and pageantry contributed to creating the imagery of "common" history. After the centennial, the OHA became more active. In 1894, rooms for regular meetings and a museum were secured in the Saving Bank building. In 1896, it began to publish a serial publication, *Local History Leaflet*, which included historical research reports presented at its regular meetings. William Beauchamp, a director of the Association, an Episcopal clergyman and a scientist and archaeologist for the New York State Museum, was one of the most active authors. He and others discussed early Onondaga history, Indian and archaeological relics, geology, and earlier literature written by scientists and historians who had visited and studied about Onondaga. Additionally, in the same year, the OHA started the observance of Pioneer Day, annual events signalized by trips of the members to historic spots. In 1897, the OHA took the initiative and carried out the celebration of the semi-centennial of the incorporation of Syracuse.

Consequently, during its peak period, the OHA moved its office again, and obtained its permanent home building. It purchased a five-story building at Montgomery Street with the funds bequeathed by William Kirkpatrick, a salt industry pioneer and an ex-president of the Association. This is the first building in Onondaga County devoted exclusively to historical purposes, consisting of an office, library, museum, and assembly room. This has been the basis

of historical activities in the Association until the present.

III. Classifying materials and ordering spaces

Let's begin with what kind of materials the OHA possessed and how it displayed them in that building. Here I will examine an OHA publication *Catalogue of portraits, relics, historic objects, maps, etc., in historical building, Syracuse, New York* (OHA 1911). It consists of an entire list of the items stored and displayed in that building. The association also published another catalogue of museum items in 1930 (OHA 1930). It is a mere list of historical objects, portraits and relics from no.1 to no.1000. Examining the catalogue of 1930 allows us to get an idea of when and what items were collected. However the catalogue of 1911 was more than a list. It showed in detail where the items were exhibited. That is, it specified in which room the items were exhibited, in which case and with what items they were displayed together, and whether they were hung on the wall or not. In other words, it showed us how the OHA arranged these things.

The following is a layout of this building: the first floor for administration office and galleries, the second floor for assembly room and galleries, the third floor for library and a kind of memorial room called the "Kirkpatrick Room", and the fourth and fifth floors for the museum. This catalogue did not show how these spaces were used, but it may be natural to think that rooms on the lower floors, due to ease of accessibility, were used more frequently. Because the description in the catalogue starts from the first floor, such an order is related to the order when the association explained the purposes of its activities. The Association thought it had to promote general interest in historical work first "by holding occasional meetings devoted to suitable topics" and second "by keeping open a place for the exhibition of articles of historic value"(OHA 1895). The purposes of the association follows with that order: to increase general interest, to assist the study of local history, to mark historic spots within the county, to collect and preserve Indian heritage, to preserve the materials under the destruction, and to publish.

Now let us start from the first floor as if we were a visitor to the OHA building in the early twentieth century. When we enter a gallery on the first floor, we would see a number of paintings. Most of them are portraits donated by family members and relatives. Among fifty-two paintings, thirty-two are white, local and male portraits. Portraits of business leaders in the county are especially remarkable. These men are all leaders in the growing town of Syracuse. By contrast, only ten are women's portraits and all women are wives or daughters of the painted men. Women were never painted for their own achievement. On the second floor, we would see additional paintings. White, male, local celebrities, again. We would see twenty-two portraits of business leaders, fourteen of politicians, and seven of soldiers. No portrait of the Iroquois is displayed here. The second floor was used as an assembly room, so we can easily imagine that the attendance at historical meetings was welcomed by these portraits, the portraits of male leaders. While they listened to lectures on local history, they must have felt as if these men created the history of Syracuse and Onondaga. The third floor is a space to memorialize the Kirkpatricks. In the Kirkpatrick Room, we would see a dozen paintings of their family members and decorative furniture and utensils. A library is also tied to the Kirkpatricks. All items including twenty-nine paintings, though more than seventy percent are landscape paintings, written

documents and utensils, belonged to William Kirkpatrick and he donated them after his death.

The fourth floor is for the museum. We would see an old-fashioned but common image of a museum, where there are several cases and cabinets along the walls and at the center of the rooms. It is an image of a museum which is filled with countless artifacts and has an orderly arrangement of things. Here by the wall paintings and historical documents are hung. These paintings include the portraits of male leaders but the number is not necessarily large. We could also see paintings of historical figures from outside Onondaga County, portraits of the Iroquois and landscape paintings. The number of the Iroquois portraits is not so large, but larger than in the galleries and library on the lower floors. The things related to the Iroquois are not only paintings but also various tools they used. In addition to the utensils and implements used by white families, the Iroquois tools are displayed by the wall. The other characteristic is to have written documents of various historical themes, including wars, science, education, development of land, industry and events concerned with black people. Looking at the items by the wall, we would see a series of past events, ordered randomly, from the remote past to the immediate past, from the past before human beings or the past before the white settlement to yesterday.

Seven cases and two cabinets are also filled with objects, which exemplify the history, living and physical environment of Onondaga. Each case has a specific theme. There are three cases and two cabinets for tools and utensils used by white families, a case for the items from wars such as the Civil Wars, two cases for coral and shells, and a case storing tools used by the Iroquois- whether past or present-, archaeological materials- whether in the United States, in Rome, in Egypt or in other places-, and natural specimens. The combination that we can see in the last case is not unintentional, but reflects the scientific knowledge at that time, namely the knowledge common to the great museums of natural history.

Let us go up to the top floor. The list about this floor is extremely short. There are geological specimens and other natural history specimens. In addition to them, there are a few items which are too big to store in the museum cases in the lower floors. Lastly let us look at the exhibition or decoration in the stairway and hall. For example, there are the Declaration of Independence, Constitution of the United States, lists (or portraits) of American statesmen, and botanical and animal charts. When we go upstairs and downstairs, we meet a wider world of a nation and the evolution of lives.

The examination of the catalogue in 1911 enables us not only to imagine the early OHA museum was but also to consider how it classified museum materials and ordered spaces. The classification and exhibition of materials reflect the way in which the people understood the world. Classifying and ordering things is also significant in the history of museum. That practice separates modern museums from pre-modern ones known as "cabinets of curiosities", and has a close connection to the knowledge of modern science. As a matter of course, modern scientific knowledge is neither neutral nor universal. Thought it insists upon its universality, it is connected to the predominant ideology to control the whole of knowledge. In those days, which ideas made and supported the arrangement of materials and spaces in the OHA? There are two key points to discuss relating to that question.

First, one of the important features can be interpreted from the division between a gallery and a museum. In spite of the fact that both were serving as an exhibition space, why

were they named differently and how differently were they situated? We shall focus our attention upon what was displayed in these spaces in detail. What the association displayed in the galleries were mainly the portraits. These paintings were evaluated not as fine art drawn by well-known painters, but because of the figure painted on the canvas. Generally painted figures were, as mentioned above, local white men. Needless to say, they were celebrities in Onondaga, who played an important part in developing the growing town of Syracuse. Originally, they were painted to memorialize their splendid family members. Through the portraits, family members recognized and shared a sense of their brilliant family history, and reconfirmed their family roots. When these portraits were donated to the OHA by their family members and descendants, and opened to the public, another meaning was added to them in the galleries. Being displayed together, portraits from several families provoked a sense of history of Onondaga as well as their own family roots. In other words, through the media of the portraits, people shared a sense of themselves. The close tie within each family expanded to all of the society.

On the other hand, the items in the museum were evaluated and displayed in different ways from the portraits in the galleries. They were seen as objectively artifacts through the cases and cabinets. What they invoked in us was neither a human relation nor a sense of ourselves, but they conveyed a historical and scientific "fact". Though each artifact might convey some message to us, it is always combined with others and forms a group. Here grouping and classifying items are critical. According to Conn (1998), "the cases forced the visitor to stare at objects and to consider them first on their own terms and then in relation to neighboring objects". In the gallery, each portrait gave visitors the information about the painted figures and made them consider a history constructed by the painted celebrities. To the contrary, in the museum, things were divided into cases and cabinets, and they conveyed messages as a group. Here the most significant are events, facts and thoughts interpreted through the objects themselves and the contexts. These messages were strongly influenced by the scientific perspective at that time.

Comparison of display made a clear distinction between the space focusing on the figure and its social position and the space focusing on materials, that is, the contrast between the inter-subjective space where people can feel a sense of themselves and the objective space where people meet the fruit of scientific classification and research. That contraposition also works well in ordering the people. I will return to this in the next section. Before that, let us explore the glass cases in the museum in detail. That is the second point to consider in the arrangement of materials and spaces.

We can see four types in the exhibit cases on the fourth floor. Here I take the two remarkable types among them. The first is the one that consists of only natural specimens. Two cases in seven fall into this category. Including the collections of geological and natural specimens on the fifth floor, these natural specimens had been centered in American museum scenes since the dawn of the modern museum. A remarkable early example was Peale's Museum founded in Philadelphia in the late eighteenth century. It made admirable effort to present the world in an orderly fashion (Conn 1998). Charles Wilson Peale intended to show how important the knowledge of natural history was to every class of citizen, and to express the harmonious world of natural artifacts (Orosz 1990). It did embody the thought of what Michel Foucault

referred as "total history", that is, the thought that continuity and origin were principles. The "total history" is "one that seeks to reconstitute the overall form of a civilization, the principle- material or spiritual- of a society, the significance common to all the phenomena of a period, the law that accounts for their cohesion- what is called metaphorically the 'face' of a period" (Foucault 1972). The world expressed there is never limited to the harmonious nature. It represents an ideal society. For more than a hundred years afterwards, natural history supported by numerous expeditions and fieldwork has been leading American sciences. Natural history, the museum that collected and exhibited natural specimens, and the American national identity were closely linked throughout the nineteenth century. It was not an accident that the Theodore Memorial Hall is in the American Museum of Natural History. Considering the social context concerning the collection and exhibition of natural specimens, it is natural that geology and natural sciences played an important part in the OHA since its foundation. To understand the harmonious nature and the earth meant to lay the foundation to develop the town – to develop the natural resources and to improve social morality.

Another type is a case consisting of ethnological and archaeological materials. To be interesting, these materials were stored with natural specimens and arranged without a historical order. In this case, the flow of time never existed. Whether ancient remains or contemporary Iroquois tools, they were arranged together. Wasn't the Iroquois the contemporary existence? An early OHA document made a straightforward expression about the antiquarian attitude toward the aboriginal relics. "The Council-fires of the Six-Nations which burned so brightly at Onondaga, before the white man had commenced his inroads upon the settlements and home of the Indian, have gone out: but traces of the prowess and spirit of their noble Chieftains still linger around the places made memorable by the bravery of their warriors"(OHA 1865). The early OHA members collected and recorded the aboriginal relics and remains as if they were endangered species. In other words, the study about the Iroquois was not historical research, but rather scientific research to reconstruct the development of the human race, indicating progressive development and rich diversity. For white settlers, the Iroquois were part of the harmonious nature, where they were building the towns as their home. Thus it is natural that the Iroquois artifacts and the historical materials about the white settlers were classified and arranged quite differently. The latter represented "history", the former "geography". The latter represented developing human society: the former represented the earth where the white settlers made developments.

IV. Ordering the people

"We" and "not-we"

Classifying and arranging things orderly is linked to ordering the people in relation to these materials. How were the people ordered and who classified the people? That is the question about who represented a growing region and about who was responsible for telling a story of local history. At the same time, that is the practice of making a clear distinction between "we" and "not-we".

We shall return to the portraits displayed in galleries in the OHA (Table 1). More than

eighty percent of the painted figures are local white men. In terms of their occupation, businessmen, politicians and soldiers hold a majority. Though we should be careful since each person may fall into several categories at the same time or throughout the course of his life, it is clear that influential men, who were on the stage of developing town and industry were memorialized. The history represented through these portraits was of a brilliant past.

Table.1 Figures Painted in Portraits

Category	Number of Portraits (%)
Local/White/Male	**96 (82.8)**
Businessman	29 (25.0)
Politician	15 (12.9)
Serviceman	9 (7.8)
Educator & Scholar	6 (5.2)
Medical Doctor	5 (4.3)
Religionist	5 (4.3)
Early Settler	5 (4.3)
Journalist	4 (3.4)
Engineer	1 (0.9)
Artist	1 (0.9)
Others	16 (13.8)
Local/White/Female	**14 (12.1)**
The Iroquois	**1 (0.9)**
Historical Figure	**5 (4.3)**

Source: OHA (1991)

Who, then, reconstructed such a sense of region and history? Shift our focus to the directors of the OHA. Compare the members of the board in three different years: the year of the establishment of the OHA in 1862, the year just after the Onondaga Centennial, and the time when the list of items was made in 1911. There is a remarkable difference between the earliest members and the others, namely whether a woman was on the board or not. In 1862, there was no female director on the board, while there were some later. However there is a common point among the members of these three years. The members necessarily included leaders of the key industries in those days. While two of them were involved in the salt industry in the 1860s, some worked for the chemical industry at the end of the century. The OHA has been deeply connected to the core society and economy in the developing industrial town.

Those who were leaders in the growing town attempted to record and preserve the splendid past represented by the figures of the portraits as their own history. In spite of the OHA's aim to increase the people's historical knowledge through the pageantry in the Onondaga Centennial and the daily activities including exhibition and lectures, the representation of the past and of the region was exclusive to the bourgeoisie. Demographic records by occupation in 1900 proved that the OHA members were a handful of people in society. For many people who were factory laborers, and domestic service persons such as janitors, new immigrants and black people[12], their pasts were never like the ones represented in the OHA. Here, "our" past and

region were expressed by a handful of "our" people. By sharing "our" local history, a definite distinction between "we" and "not-we" was made and reinforced. Others were always infused with the history of influential men. They never told their own histories at that time.

Men and women

Several women were painted in the portraits and there were female directors in the association. Besides, household utensils, which belonged to the private sphere, were collected and displayed there. Though these facts may make us think women fully participated in the specific practices to reconstruct local history in the OHA, they do not prove that the self-image formed through the OHA always included women in those days. Firstly, we should pay attention to the fact, as I mentioned above, that women were painted not for their own achievement but for the great achievement or the social position of their husband and father. Secondly, we should carefully consider the fact that women participated in historic preservation and historical societies in those days. That is a characteristic of the period and we see several examples that patriotic women's associations were deeply involved in preservation of historic buildings[13]. That is not irrelevant to the fact that a number of women entered the field of education. In the United States where the museum began to develop as an institution for social education, it is natural that women were thought of as essential for the educational parts of museums and historical societies. However what I stress here is not whether women were included in the association's activities, but who was responsible for the reconstruction of local history and the making of "ourselves". To go right to the point, women were included to tell "official" local history which only men could reconstruct and which was represented through the portraits of celebrities.

How can we understand a number of household utensils displayed in the museum, then? It could be said that these things were connected with the private sphere, while the portraits represented the political, social, and economic development in the public sphere. It would be difficult to contradict this assertion if we just focus upon the materials within the OHA. Putting this case in the wider context of how domestic things were evaluated, further interpretation can be made. In her book on house museums, Patricia West (1999) pointed out that "the cult of domesticity" spread throughout the country after the Civil War. She remarked that "civic virtue had been understood to have been based on the republican independent household" (West 1999) and white men admired a symbolic home, not a real home. She added that the domestic environment recreated in house museums sometimes memorialized a mythologized white male politician. From this point of view, the household utensils displayed in the OHA were linked to the idea of the "cult of domesticity", though they were not necessarily related to specific male figures. In other words, these materials were symbolized through men's desire toward the domestic. It reminded us that Gillian Rose made a definite distinction between women and Women, that is, women as living in a real world and Women imagined through men's gazes (Rose 1993). After all, in the reconstruction of Onondaga local history, women who looked involved in making "ourselves" told men's history and region. Women never told their own stories.

Masters of history and objects for science

In the previous section, I compared two kinds of space -gallery and museum. The former is an inter-subjective space where people shared their past, and the latter is a scientific space where people see things as research objects. It is possible to say they are a space for the history of white immigrants and a space for natural science about the earth and aboriginal people. It is also possible to contrast "we" as masters of history with "they" as research objects.

Such a contrast was often pictured at the turn of the previous century. Glassberg (1990) showed us several pageantry posters with this contrast in the early twentieth century. Here in Onondaga, such an image was made for the Centennial cerebration, which the OHA was deeply involved in. This is a picture in which an Iroquois man traditionally clothed is staring at the modern town of Syracuse from the outside. It is clear that he is outside of the town and the civilization. In other words, he is expressed as an outsider behind the times. His clothing emphasizes his position. At the end of the nineteenth century the way of living of the Iroquois was rather westernized and they wore their "traditional" cloths only for special occasions. It is not only this picture that depicts the Indian people as behind the times. The OHA exhibition also showed that the Indian materials were displayed much differently from the ones concerning white immigrants, ignoring the current of the times. While "we", the white settlers were the masters of history and development, "they", the Indian people were considered as being equivalent to nature and the earth. For the white people, "they" were closely linked to the land, which the white had invaded and exploited. Moreover, the white settlers required "their" existence related with the earth in order to reconstruct "our own history" in the frontiers, to make "home land" of the frontiers. "Their" existence also symbolized the harmonious world of nature as I have already discussed. "They" played a role as the ideal for the white American society, which on the one hand, was developing rapidly, and which on the other hand was becoming chaotic and disharmonious.

V. Conclusion

The ambivalent attitude toward local history, which I felt when I saw the museum catalogue (OHA 1911), stemmed not only from the mechanical classification of materials, but also from the formation of the selves. At the same time, it originated in the historical and scientific views predominant in American society in those days. This ambivalence was formed socio-politically, and to be more exact, it was supported by the scientific knowledge under the banner of neutrality and universality. The practice of classifying materials has been mechanically sophisticated and kept as one of the basic activities in the museum since then. Rather, continuity makes the practice of classifying and managing the materials possible.

However, where are the ideologies going, which were predominant when people began to scientifically order the things in museums? In recent years, the museum became a site for the argument over the representation of selves, and its display and activities have changed drastically. That happened because "scientific knowledge", the key principle in museums, was contested in the social and political context. That also happened because the historical and scientific views that I found in the catalogue of the OHA have been kept in the society. On the other hand, part of such an ideology remains undoubtedly in the contemporary society through the

commemoration of cities and nations and historical entertainment as well as museums and books.

The OHA moved its permanent exhibition to the neighboring building and opened a new exhibition focusing on the region and the people in 1983. In 2001, it added a small exhibition to it. The new exhibition addresses us. "History happens everyday, and our community's heritage is made by everyone who lives here. OHA is proud to present this changing exhibit area for organizations in our community to share their heritage and perspectives". The OHA and its exhibition are in the middle of negotiations over the presentation of the selves. The definition of "ourselves" is oscillating under multiculturalism at all times. When the tough and never-ending negotiation reaches the back stage of the museum in the future, do we have a chance to re-examine the specific "scientific" practice to classify things from its foundations?

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Note

1) For example, see Sorkin (1992).
2) In a recent book edited by Sandercock (1998), they discussed the relationship between urban planning and diversity of cultures and histories.
3) See, for example, Karp and Lavin (1991) and Kaplan (1994). And also refer to my review article (Fukuda 1997).
4) Macdonald and Fyfe (1996) is one of the ambitious works that goes beyond the previous researches stressing cultural politics. Among Japanese scholars, Hashimoto (1998) presented a perspective toward new museum studies.
5) The numbers were cited from The Secretary of the Interior (1864). The following regional explanation is based on the works by Thompson (1966) and Schein (1989).
6) The Indians called themselves "Houdenosaunee". The French named them the Iroquois.
7) Ancient mounds, fortifications and burial places in Onondaga County had long attracted "men of letters, engaged in the study of antiquities". They tried to collect the curiosities and antiquities in their county with pleasure and pride, and to faithfully record the past events (OHA 1865).
8) A daily commercial paper published in New York City. The forerunner began to be issued in 1797.
9) At that time, in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law adopted in 1850, leaders of the local Abolition movement organized a local committee to thwart its enforcement. In the midst of this movement, in 1851, federal marshals arrested a man who called himself Jerry, also known as William Henry and who was working as a barrel maker in Syracuse. He was arrested under the Law. However, he was rescued by the citizens and he escaped to Canada.

10) Regarding the issue of pageants and American sense of historical imagery, see Glassberg's work (Glassberg 1990). Hoelscher also discussed pageantries in his work on the invention of Swiss ethnic place in the United States (Hoelscher 1998).
11) *Syracuse Daily Standard* (June 7,1894).
12) "Jerry Rescue" is not an exception. The event, though it was concerned with black people, has been commemorated in the context of the Abolition movement in the North.
13) Mount Vernon Ladies' Association and the San Antonio Conservation Society are examples. See West (1999) and Hosmer (1981).

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