

5 You Were on Indian Land

Alcatraz Island as Recalcitrant Memory Space

Cynthia Duquette Smith and Teresa Bergman

Why do some memories “stick” with us, while others are more ephemeral or utterly lost? This chapter explores the complicated relationships between place, memory, and forgetting at one of the most striking tourist destinations in the United States, Alcatraz Island. We offer this research as a case study through which we can think about the staying power of memories and examine how memories can be made more engaging and enduring. We also delineate the consequences for collective memory when significant events fall short of affixing themselves. Alcatraz Island, located in the San Francisco Bay, is “one of San Francisco’s must-see attractions,”¹ primarily because of its colorful history as a federal penitentiary. But there is much more to Alcatraz than Al Capone and the Birdman, and much that makes it an ideal site for contemplating how memory works at locations with multiple noteworthy historical events.

On Alcatraz Island, Native Americans staged one of the most important civil disobedience events in their contentious history with the U.S. government. The nineteen-month occupation of the island by the Indians of All Tribes remains unmatched in terms of improving U.S. government policies toward Native Americans. Yet, the fact that Alcatraz is hardly remembered for this momentous event is stunning. Approximately 1.3 million tourists visit the island annually, anticipating a tour through the bleak and cavernous once-notorious prison. They bring little, if any, understanding of the importance of this site in Native American history. Once visitors begin their boat ride to and tour of Alcatraz Island, they encounter multiple rhetorical elements and explore prison spaces that produce a compelling official memory of Alcatraz Island. Through a variety of mediated and direct experiences, visitors encounter historically accurate and politically sensitive interpretations of the island’s many previous uses before it became a national park in 1973. Even though Alcatraz’s varied historical past is well represented in banners, exhibits, and film, there are several powerful physical elements that work to diminish any memory of the site’s history as other than a federal penitentiary. This is particularly alarming

because Alcatraz Island is one of few nationally preserved locations where one historical event ran counter to a U.S. historical narrative of “progress” or “triumphalism.” Many Native American scholars and activists credit the Native American Occupation of Alcatraz Island that took place on November 20, 1969, through June 11, 1971, as being decisive in changing and improving U.S. governmental relations with Native Americans. For instance, Troy Johnson, professor of history and American Indian studies, describes the Occupation as “the most symbolic, the most significant, and the most successful Indian protest in the modern era . . . and [it] remains one of the most noteworthy expressions of patriotism and self-determination by Indian people of this century.”² Why, then, does the experience of Alcatraz fail to make this memory, and its significance, linger?

In this chapter, we investigate the memory and meaningfulness of this particular symbolic protest and what we believe is its troubled relationship to the present-day tourist experience on Alcatraz. Throughout the chapter we call attention to the importance of the visitors’ sensory, embodied experience of the island and its spaces. Ultimately, we argue that the visitors’ lack of any physical access to the island spaces inhabited during the Occupation seriously and negatively affects both attention to and the staying power of Occupation memories. While visitors can directly engage with the prison by moving through it, walking into cells, and even touching objects, there is no parallel experience of the Occupation available. Clearly the Native American Occupation of Alcatraz is a counternarrative that could offer contemporary audiences particularly affective and resonant messages of nonviolent collective civil disobedience and empowerment; however, we argue that despite the National Park Service’s efforts at preservation and representation of the Occupation, this is not the message or memory that tourists take from their Alcatraz Island experience. In spite of the progressive possibilities afforded by Alcatraz’s history, the tourist experience at Alcatraz Island—including the island’s location, the exhibits, and the architecture—reinscribes respect for government’s coercive authority. Alcatraz is an especially recalcitrant location for the inclusion of Occupation memories, even though those events took place on this very site.

One of the challenges for historical representation on Alcatraz Island is that this location is now considered a “fun” family tourist destination. For those visiting San Francisco, not only is the Alcatraz Island tour a history lesson, but it also offers tourists a chance to get on a boat and journey into the scenic San Francisco Bay. On a clear day, the views of San Francisco, Marin County, the East Bay, and the Golden Gate Bridge are breathtaking. Once on the water, tourists encounter seabirds, waves, and a bracing wind.

The Alcatraz Island tour is part outdoor adventure and part history lesson, and it is this experiential combination that informs our research in analyzing not only what but also how tourists understand and remember this location's history.³ The materiality of an Alcatraz tour, characterized by the visitor's physical and sensory engagement with the island's spaces, overpowers attempts at remembering the counternarratives of resistance available on the island in its visual exhibits and orientation film. Without significant changes to the Native American Occupation representation on the island, Alcatraz as a memory site is a missed opportunity to encounter and retain messages of successful self-determination, empowerment, and civil disobedience.

In order to illustrate how the materiality of Alcatraz dominates its rhetorical messages, we first give a brief outline of the island's history. We then discuss how memory sites work symbolically and materially in the construction of a national identity. This is followed by an analysis of the Alcatraz Island tour, including the boat ride, the orientation film, the cell-house architecture, and the audio tour, and how these elements affect the memory of the Native American Occupation and privilege the memory of the island's use as a federal penitentiary. We conclude with a discussion of the consequences of losing the memory of the Native American Occupation at Alcatraz Island, as well as the implications of perpetuating the understanding of Alcatraz Island as primarily a location of coercive incarceration. We finally reflect on the implications of the loss of this liberatory message and its effects in constructing a U.S. national identity.

The Evolving History of Alcatraz Island

Until the nineteenth century, Alcatraz Island's history was one that included little, if any, human habitation. Alcatraz Island is accessible only by boat,⁴ the soil is primarily rock, there is no source of drinking water, and the island is approximately twenty-two acres in size.⁵ Although pre-Columbian settlement in the San Francisco Bay Area region included the Miwok and Ohlone tribes, "no archeological evidence exists that these tribes ever inhabited Alcatraz Island."⁶ Spain claimed the entire area, including Alcatraz, from 1542 until Mexican independence in 1822. The first recorded sighting of the island was by Spanish soldiers in 1769 under the direction of Juan Manuel de Ayala. The island's pelicans were its most remarkable feature, and it thus received its European name, Isla de los Alacatrazes—the Island of Pelicans.⁷ However, there is some scholarly dispute as to whether Ayala reached Alcatraz or Yerba Buena Island because "[a] Mexican map

of the Bay Area dated 1825 continued to identify Yerba Buena as Alcatraz."⁸ One of the first "uses" envisioned for Alcatraz Island was to provide navigational direction for ships, and in 1846 Julian Workman, a naturalized Mexican citizen, obtained a land grant on the condition that he establish a navigation light on the island (which he never installed). When the Mexican-American War ended in 1848, the island became U.S. government property, and a lighthouse was built in 1854.⁹

With the discovery of gold and the resulting migration to California, President Fillmore ordered fortification of the San Francisco Bay, which included erecting a fortress on Alcatraz Island. Prescient in retrospect, upon the fortress's completion in 1859, Alcatraz also imprisoned eleven soldiers of Company H in the basement cell room of the guardhouse.¹⁰ The island continued its dual usage as a fort and jail by serving as a prison for Confederate soldiers during the Civil War. After the war, the building's double duty persisted, and Alcatraz Island prisoners were made to level the island's 125-foot peak down to 60 feet for a cannon installation.¹¹

One of the first instances of U.S. and Native American interaction on Alcatraz was in 1873 when a Native American from the Paiute tribe was incarcerated, which was followed by dozens of Native Americans imprisoned in the fortress/jail.¹² In 1900 Alcatraz became an official Army military prison, and in 1907 Alcatraz's use as a fortress ended, but its use as a military prison continued. In 1933, Alcatraz was transferred to the federal Bureau of Prisons and thus began its twenty-nine-year stint as "the federal system's most vaunted penitentiary."¹³ Most of the Hollywood films that have been made about Alcatraz concern this particular time period of the island's history when FBI director J. Edgar Hoover selected the "most dangerous and notorious inmates already housed in other federal prisons" to be Alcatraz's first inmates.¹⁴ This group included Robert "Birdman" Stroud, George "Machine Gun" Kelly, and Al Capone, all of whom contributed to Alcatraz's becoming a national symbol of "mystery and fear."¹⁵ The island did briefly resume its dual use as a fort and prison in 1942 when anti-aircraft mounts were installed, but they were ultimately removed at the end of World War II.¹⁶

One of the ongoing difficulties of running a fort/prison at Alcatraz Island was the extraordinarily high cost of daily operations in addition to maintenance. All water and supplies had to be ferried over by boat, and the upkeep of the buildings was staggeringly difficult due to rust and concrete deterioration. "By the early 1960s, Alcatraz required at least \$5 million for maintenance and repairs," and in 1962, "U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy announced that Alcatraz would be phased out of the penitentiary

system."¹⁷ In essence, the impenetrable fortress of Alcatraz fell victim to the island's extraordinary location and isolation; the very things that made the island so appealing as a prison site in the first place eventually led to its demise.

In 1963 Alcatraz was declared U.S. excess property, and in 1964, the Department of the Interior began holding a series of meetings to determine its future use. Concurrently, several Native American individuals and groups began to see Alcatraz as a potential site for their uses. The original rationale for the Occupation overtly recognized the symbolic importance of the island, and intended to focus U.S. national attention on the plight of Native Americans. The idea to occupy Alcatraz was Belva Cottier's, who remembers: "One morning I was reading the newspaper there was this story that the government didn't know what to do with Alcatraz, which was surplus land after the federal prison was discontinued. So I thought about the old Sioux Treaty of 1868 which entitled us to claim surplus land."¹⁸ These discussions resulted in three different attempts by Native Americans to take over the island, with the third attempt resulting in the nineteen-month Native American Occupation.¹⁹

Approximately one year after the Occupation ended, on October 12, 1972, the U.S. Congress passed Public Law 92-589 that created the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, which included Alcatraz Island. In October 1973, Alcatraz Island opened as a national park with daily National Park Service (NPS) ranger-led dock tours²⁰ that portrayed the accretion of historical events on the island; however, not all events are weighted evenly. In the next section, we analyze how and why the Occupation, even with its tremendous significance for Native Americans and their governmental relations, is an event that does not stick either during or after an Alcatraz visit.

Constructing Identities through Memory Sites

Alcatraz presents us with an excellent opportunity to explore how public memories are constructed and shaped by historic sites. Public memory is understood as "a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past, present, and by implication, its future."²¹ With this in mind, Alcatraz Island makes a contribution to a U.S. national identity through the public memory it fosters. At Alcatraz Island, this public memory is inextricably tied with the concept of identity where "the core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely, a sense of

sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity."²² Both our individual identities and our national identity are shaped in part by the intersection of what we postulate about the past, the people who lived it, and the significance of the event at that time.

Gregory Clark offers the concept of "public experience" as a way to understand the complicated rhetorical operation of visiting and experiencing particular landscapes in America.²³ Public discourse, including popular cultural representations, about significant locations like Alcatraz prepares visitors in part for their experience of those locations. Visitors then encounter "the symbols that are material in the landscape itself," and that "public experience—while not immediately discursive—prompts a transformation of individual identity in ways that enact considerable rhetorical power by shaping the attitudes and, whether immediately or eventually, the actions of people who come to understand themselves as a community."²⁴ Most visitors to Alcatraz have some familiarity with the island's use as a federal penitentiary, which is amplified through the shared public experience of touring this memory site. The rhetorical operation of spatial dynamics, discourse, and interaction with their fellow tourists defines visitors' relationships to a community and to the nation. At Alcatraz, visitors are positioned to experience themselves not only as Americans, but more importantly as well-behaved, law-abiding Americans who exist in contrast to those incarcerated in the prison. A self-guided printed tour brochure of Alcatraz points out that "Alcatraz has become a symbol of America's dark side."²⁵ The public experience of visiting Alcatraz and inhabiting its spaces serves as a reminder of governmental authority and the consequences of criminal activity. At the same time on Alcatraz, visitors are denied the opportunity to publicly experience spaces relevant to the Native American Occupation. In the absence of such experiences, visitors are unlikely to identify with those who occupied the island or with the counternarrative offered by their story of civil disobedience as a response to the governmental abuse of power.

The idea that collective memory is spatial and material is, then, critical to this study.²⁶ Memories are anchored in space and location, which Pierre Nora has called "sites of memory."²⁷ Places like Alcatraz Island occupy physical space and therefore provide tangible evidence of the past with which visitors can interact. Such sites can also increase the durability of memory because memories can be embedded in an enduring space that visitors can see, smell, and touch. Theoretically, although the space itself is fixed, the

nature of public memory related to the site is malleable and can change over time. Alcatraz, however, complicates this assumption. At Alcatraz, the malleability of public memory spaces comes into question. Despite the significance and long-term effects of the Native American Occupation, the public memory of this activism slips through the cracks of the formidable prison setting. Efforts of the NPS to update the many historical layers of Alcatraz and enrich their coverage of the Occupation still fall short of making a memory of those events that sticks. We argue that the additional rhetorical "information" about the Occupation, in exhibits and in a looping documentary (described below), is insufficient to forge a lasting connection between the Occupation's people and events and the Alcatraz visitor.

Kenneth Burke observed that any given scene contains "the quality of the action that is to take place within it."²⁸ Careful to point out that setting never "determines" behavior, Burke nonetheless recognizes that it provides a contextual boundary within which various acts make sense. At Alcatraz, there is no mistaking that the setting is a prison, and we would therefore expect this fact to shape its narratives. Nevertheless, this is not an insurmountable obstacle to the meaningful portrayal of the Occupation. There are at least two factors that must be considered. One is the U.S. impulse to omit successful domestic acts of civil disobedience from its typical historical narratives. Second, Alcatraz Island is a particularly difficult location in which to convey narratives other than those related to its life as a penitentiary. For audiences seeking to understand a particular memory place, it is important to recognize that *techné* of memory are differentially weighted. At Alcatraz, visitors see graffiti, watch a film, and look at exhibits, but they also hike to the top of the island and move about inside the prison itself. Our examination of the Alcatraz tour and its relationship to the Native American Occupation suggests that the stickiest memories are those most fully experienced at the site with our bodies and senses.

Departing for The Rock

All tours of Alcatraz Island begin with a ferry ride over from the San Francisco docks. Because of popular films and images of Alcatraz, most Americans have a sense of what they will see even before their visit.²⁹ However, Alcatraz is a place that is most fully experienced through direct physical contact with the site. On the island, visitors' memories become embodied, and in essence, inseparable from themselves. Beginning with the usually

chilly ferry ride to the island, continuing with an NPS tour-guide welcome on the dock far below the cellhouse, and culminating in one's eventual arrival atop the island at the "prison" portion with its audio tour, the visitor is acutely aware of his/her physicality.

The visitors' experience begins on the San Francisco dock, where they are able to see the island across the bay and its relationship to the mainland on which they stand. Part of the rhetorical power of Alcatraz lies precisely in this visible juxtaposition between a life of freedom on the mainland and a life of rigid incarceration on the island itself. Whether they are on the mainland looking across to the island, or on the island taking in the amazing views of the city across the bay, visitors are reminded of Alcatraz's isolation from the rest of society.

The ferry dock area itself can be extremely crowded, particularly in the summer months with hundreds of visitors waiting in lines for tickets and boat departures. Tourists first encounter the site's scripting through the organization and decoration of the lines in which they wait to buy tickets and board their boat. Hal Rothman notes how "this process of scripting space, both physically and psychically, defines tourist towns and resorts."³⁰ The lines themselves control the passage of visitors, in an orderly manner, to the ticket windows and then to the ferries. The National Park Service's decorative banners in this waiting area feature Al Capone, a former penitentiary guard, the Native American Occupation, the Civil War Fortress, an anonymous penitentiary inmate, George "Machine Gun" Kelly, and Juan Manuel de Ayala's quote upon his discovery of Alcatraz. Five of the seven banners relate to the island's use as a federal penitentiary. Because of the subjects they depict, the banners prepare tourists for the feelings of physical isolation that begin once they step aboard the ferry for their seven-minute journey to the Alcatraz Island dock.

The evolution of the NPS script for Alcatraz Island is evident in planning documents that initially do not mention representation of the Native American Occupation.³¹ Plans to include representation of the Occupation begin appearing in planning documents in 1980 regarding the adaptation of buildings for "exhibits relating to the prison era, military era, natural history, and Indian Occupation of the island."³² One of the most interesting proposed scripts for Alcatraz Island that incorporated the Occupation was in a 1992 architectural history report: "Alcatraz is the only prison owned by the National Park Service, which is open to the public, and is therefore probably the only site where the history of American prisons and the developments of U.S. penology can be brought to public awareness.

The Occupation of the Island by the Native Americans, an act of civil disobedience, which is also an American invention, meshes smoothly with this concept. The broad theme which this structure represents is American Justice, both civil and military.³³ Aside from the ethnocentricity and the injunction for critical tourism, the goal of integrating the Native American Occupation into the island's scripting is one to which the NPS adheres. We argue, however, that the cumulative experience of Alcatraz is one that positions visitors to be complicit in supporting military justice with very little engagement of civil justice.

Once the boat departs the San Francisco dock, visitors see the comforts of the city fall away and an announcement regarding water safety regulations booms over the ship's speaker system.³⁴ The boat trip is generally calm even though there is often a combination of a strong westerly wind and fog that forces many of the passengers inside the boat's quarters. Although the island is only a mile and a half from the shore, visitors become acutely aware that the bay's frigid waters truly isolate Alcatraz.

As visitors turn away from the San Francisco shore and face the island, the prison comes clearly into focus and its size dominates the island (figure 5.1). Although the lighthouse is not part of the prison complex, from the water it appears clearly against the background of the sand-colored cell-house. The size and arrangement of these structures, looming over the island, make a striking early impression on visitors. To the right of the lighthouse, visitors can see the skeletal remains of the Spanish-style warden's house. Smoke damage to the white stucco exterior is visible, making it clear that this building did not merely decay but instead was destroyed by fire. For visitors whose primary understanding of the island has come from Hollywood movies, the shell of the warden's house suggests a more complicated history of the site's multiple uses.

As tourists approach the island on the boat, the first printed information they encounter is a large weather-worn sign posted on the southern side of the island stating: "WARNING PERSONS PROCURING OR CONCEALING ESCAPE OF PRISONERS ARE SUBJECT TO PROSECUTION AND IMPRISONMENT." With this none-too-subtle reminder of the island's former use as a penitentiary, visitors disembark and an NPS ranger awaits the passengers on the Alcatraz dock with a megaphone summoning everyone over for an introduction to Alcatraz Island. As tourists gather around the ranger, they encounter the second piece of written information above the ranger on the former barracks building. The government sign reads:

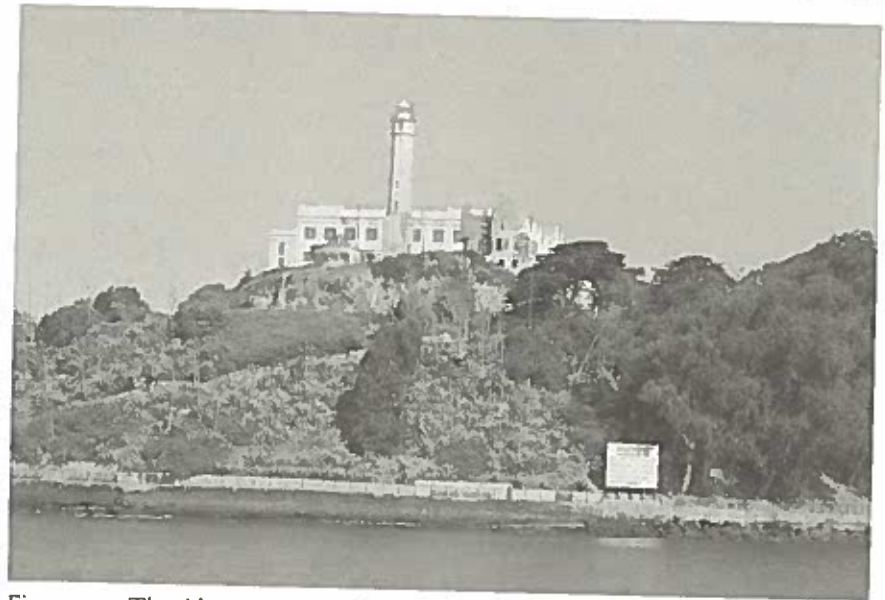


Figure 5.1. The Alcatraz penitentiary as seen from the tour boat on a sunny day in 2007. (Photograph by Teresa Bergman.)

UNITED STATES
PENITENTIARY

Alcatraz Island Area 12 acres
1 ½ miles to transport dock
Only government boats permitted
Others must keep off 200 yards
No one allowed ashore
without a pass.

In fading red paint surrounding this sign, graffiti many times larger than the official sign text reads: "Indians Welcome" and "Indianland" (figure 5.2). It is beneath this graffitied sign that NPS rangers conduct their welcoming orientation speech to Alcatraz Island. The color and size of the graffiti draw the attention of visitors to this alternative use of the island, even if they had no prior knowledge of the Occupation. Here, also, the differing material nature of the competing memories on the island first becomes apparent. The prison's history and its ideology of incarceration are instantiated through the multitude of buildings on the island; the Native



Figure 5.2. Graffiti from the Native American Occupation of 1969–1971. (Photograph by Teresa Bergman.)

American history of the island is represented by painted graffiti. These material traces of the past on Alcatraz are by no means equally compelling rhetorical resources.

“Dock Talk”

All visitors are strongly urged (via megaphone) not to ascend the walkway to the cellhouse but to assemble on the dock around the NPS ranger for an orientation speech called the “Dock Talk.”³⁵ Directly adjacent to the ranger is an informational kiosk where visitors can purchase the self-guided brochure “Discover Alcatraz: A Tour of the Rock” in several different languages.³⁶ The NPS rangers take turns giving this five- to seven-minute talk that includes where to pick up the audio tour, where the orientation film is shown, where the historical exhibits are located, where water is sold, where the two public restrooms are, and that there is no food available on the island. Visitors quickly learn through this talk what they can and cannot do on the island. Each ranger brings her or his own flair to the speech. Through our interviews we found that no ranger works from notes but that each has developed a speech that, in addition to covering the basics listed

above, provides some history about the island and also engages the visitors by asking questions such as, “How many of you have seen *The Birdman of Alcatraz* or *The Rock*?”

After this extremely brief introduction, visitors walk up an incline toward the guardhouse and sally port leading to a more steeply inclined walkway that eventually arrives at the cellhouse. About one hundred yards up the walkway, and before the guardhouse, tourists encounter a sign that points into the barracks on their left for the orientation film and historical exhibits. If they miss this first point of entry, they will find another tunnel off to their left after the guardhouse, which will take them into the screening room. According to interviews with both NPS rangers John Cantwell and Craig Glassner, about half the tourists make a turn into the screening room, with the other half proceeding directly up the hill and through the guardhouse and sally port for the audio tour of the cellhouse.

Alcatraz . . . Stories from the Rock

In the barracks building, visitors sit in the cannon bays, now bricked over to provide a backdrop for several projection screens on which the film is displayed. The visitor here is already “inside” Alcatraz, surrounded by its history, occupying this awkward, low-ceilinged space. The juxtaposition between the room’s function as a theater and the visible evidence (arched ceilings and support columns) that it was used as a cannon bay in the past, offers the visitor an intriguing experience. This is not a typical screening room at a historical site, and the awkwardness of the space for its current use can prompt the visitor to think more about its original function.

The cannon-bay theater screens light up every twenty minutes with an orientation film entitled *Alcatraz . . . Stories from the Rock*. This film premiered in October of 2005, replacing the first orientation film, *Secrets of Alcatraz* that had been showing since 1991.³⁷ *Alcatraz . . . Stories from the Rock* is just under sixteen minutes long and employs a “layer cake” approach to Alcatraz’s history.³⁸ The metaphor refers to both the actual layers of buildings on the island, and the fact that the island’s history is deeper than what can be seen at first glance. The film begins with a very short montage of the federal penitentiary years followed by a recounting of the major uses of the island, including a fortress, Confederate prison, lighthouse, federal prison, site of the Native American Occupation, and a national park. This opening is less than one minute long and leads into the titles. The body of the film falls into the following sections: island’s geologic formation, fortress construction, fortress and Civil War prison, military prison, federal

penitentiary, families of guards and administrators who lived on the island, Native American Occupation, national park, natural habitat, and conclusion. The experience of watching the orientation film takes the tourist out of the primarily physical experience of touring Alcatraz Island and into a mainly intellectual understanding of the island and its history.

Alcatraz . . . Stories from the Rock borrows from the documentary film tradition by using an expository format that employs a host of filmic rhetorical devices to tell the "story" of Alcatraz. An expository documentary "facilitates generalization and large-scale argument,"³⁹ and uses any means possible to convince the audience of its argument or point of view. An expository format does not invite the audience to query the information presented; rather, the audience is positioned to accept unquestioningly the story presented. The advantage of using this format is that it is generally engaging for audiences because there is a narrative thread to hold it together as opposed to simply listing historical facts. Another reason this format can be so engaging is that it can make use of every filmic device available to filmmakers in order to make its rhetorical points.⁴⁰ *Alcatraz . . . Stories from the Rock* uses historic re-creations, computer graphics, old Hollywood film clips, historic footage, current film footage, black-and-white photos, interviews, and narration. Although the expository format can be informative and entertaining, one of the main disadvantages of using this form is that the attribution and causality of historical events may or may not be accurate. Expository documentaries are particularly problematic in this area due to their use of an omniscient narrator which works to represent information as "objective" and not from a particular point of view. The use of the expository format combined with the film's location in a National Park compounds the orientation film's reception as "objective."

In terms of the film's representation of the Native American Occupation, this format raises concerns. This section of the film lasts just under three minutes and begins by locating the Occupation during "the 1960s, the age of peace, love, war, and protest" with images of the Summer of Love and civil disobedience. The Native American Occupation is depicted as a direct result of the social upheaval of the 1960s rather than within the trajectory of Native American oppression and resistance. In the 1950s, there were more than twenty major demonstrations or nonviolent protests by Native Americans aimed at ending further reductions in the Indian land base, stopping the termination of Indian tribes, and halting insensitivity and brutality toward Native Americans. In the early 1960s, Native Americans organized fish-ins in Washington to support fishing rights, and these events in particular gave rise to pan-Indian organizations.⁴¹ Not only is this

history entirely absent from the film, this absence fails to properly contextualize the Occupation's roots and its place in Native American history.

Although the orientation film disregards the Native American roots of the Occupation, it does provide justification for the Occupation by highlighting original occupiers Ed Castillo (in a contemporary interview) and Richard Oakes (in historic film footage). The narration briefly alludes to the U.S. government's policy to terminate tribal reservations and relocate Native Americans to urban centers. The orientation film neither condemns the occupiers' actions nor describes the Occupation as a failure. Instead, the narrator articulates the long-range impact of the Occupation: "While the island never became Indian land, the government ultimately changed its policy and started returning tribal lands to American Indians."

Many scholars have written on the impact of the U.S. government policy of relocation that the film describes as the main reason for the Occupation. Professor Troy Johnson describes the depth of despair caused by this program: "Indians who had been promised job training, employment, and housing assistance soon found themselves without skills, unemployed, and living in poverty in rat- and roach-infested housing."⁴² Indians of All Tribes Inc., the group that occupied Alcatraz, defended their actions in articles written during the Occupation by stating that the Native American suicide rate is ten times higher than the national average, and that their education is at the fifth-grade level.⁴³ Native American activists and government officials echo the final message of this sequence in the film, which frames the Occupation not as a failure but as a turning point for improving government policies toward Native Americans. Leonard Garment, White House Special Counsel during the time of the Occupation, observed that, "although the protest failed to achieve its goals, it proved the catalyst for a historic change in American Indian life."⁴⁴ The Bureau of Indian Affairs wrote, "The present Administration rejects both termination and paternalism in favor of new federal Indian policy of self-determination without the threat of termination for American Indians."⁴⁵ The film is clear that the Occupation of Alcatraz was a potent symbol for the cause of Native American activism and inspired the revival of Native American identity among a new generation of Native Americans nationally.⁴⁶

The final three minutes of *Alcatraz . . . Stories from the Rock* cover the island as a national park, and its function as a natural habitat for plants and birds. This ending moves visitors from an intellectual understanding of the island and connects them back to their current physical experience of Alcatraz. The audience then has two options for exiting the cannon bays—either going through the back doors, which lead across a tight, moss-

covered alleyway to the exhibits, or retracing their steps through a bookstore and beginning their walk uphill to the cellhouse.

Exhibit Alley

Three tiny rooms accessible via narrow arched doorways housed three exhibits during the time of our research: "We Hold the Rock," covering the Native American Occupation; "Prisoners of Age Exhibit," describing various historic inmates; and "Alcatraz and the American Prison Experience," illustrating the history of U.S. penology. The "We Hold the Rock" exhibit occupied a room roughly ten by ten feet in size with two benches and a continually looping one-hour documentary video about the Occupation. As mentioned earlier, less than half of the tourists who go to Alcatraz Island stop to see the orientation film and less than a third of this group visits these exhibits. Indeed, in several days of observations, a maximum of eight visitors were present at one time in the "We Hold the Rock" video room. Much more typically, we noticed one or two visitors at a time who glanced at the video for a few minutes before moving out of the exhibit area. The cramped room is the only three-dimensional, inhabitable space on the island with a connection to the Occupation. Unlike the prison, however, this room has no direct historical relevance to the events of the Occupation. That is, there is no evidence that any of the Native American activists lived in or otherwise inhabited this space. It functions, therefore, as just another museum exhibit and engages the audience primarily by the film rather than providing a more direct and somatic connection to this historical event on the island. Although spaces do exist in the more remote and off-limits areas of the prison (such as the basement and an upper level of the cellhouse) where both graffiti and material artifacts attest to the very real use of these spaces by Native Americans during the Occupation, visitors do not know this and are never presented with the opportunity to "tour" or "inhabit" those spaces as they do the cells in the prison. Thus, even though visitors are on the island where the Occupation took place, most of their understanding is shaped through the more distant experience of watching either the orientation video or the film in this small room.

Once visitors leave the orientation film and exhibit areas, the unguided experience of Alcatraz includes the visitors' physical progress to the top of the island and through its buildings, and the self-guided audio tour. In their "Interactive Experience Model" of the museum experience, John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking make a distinction between the overlapping areas of the personal context, social context, and physical context that contribute

to a visitor's experience. They explain that "The physical context includes the architecture and 'feel' of the building, as well as the objects and artifacts contained within. How visitors behave, what they observe, and what they remember are strongly influenced by the physical context."⁴⁷ It is this physical context of Alcatraz, and how it works to overwhelm the history that they have just learned about in the orientation film, that will be our focus here.

The Path to the Cellhouse

Leaving the theater, the visitor encounters another off-limits area, where a metal stairway leading to the second level of the barracks is chained off and marked "Area Closed: Wildlife Preservation." With no other path available, the visitor makes a sharp left to continue up the steep, zigzag walkway to the cellhouse. Visitors with disabilities can take an electric tram to the top of the island and the cellhouse. As they move up the hill, visitors walk past the lichen-covered metal roof of one of the guardhouse buildings and the Spanish-style Military Chapel with its traces of decaying stucco. A solid metal railing prevents visitor access to these structures. Next, they see the gutted Post Exchange/Officers Club with rooflines echoing those of the Chapel. The building's top level is even with the walkway and its bottom level and foliage-covered floor are visible far below through chain-link fencing. Past this structure, a warehouse and the Power Plant tower are out of reach beyond more barricades which function as another disciplinary reminder of the government's ever-present coercive authority at this site.

The ghostly outlines of the island's eviscerated buildings—the Post Exchange and the warden's house—call the visitor again to contemplate the current state of these structures in opposition to what they may have looked like during the active years of the penitentiary. These two structures, as well as the Chapel, provide an interesting counterpoint to the more austere, barracks-like architecture of the majority of the island because they resemble buildings we may have seen elsewhere (particularly in California, given their Spanish mission style). Looking at the buildings, visitors may wonder how families lived on the island, raised children, and tended gardens. The ongoing appeal of Alcatraz as a tourist location is shaped in part by the tension between everyday life and prison life. It is difficult to contemplate living in this relationship to a prison today, but all the material evidence we see on the island suggests that these families led perfectly "normal" lives despite the unique location.

Ultimately the visitor arrives (possibly out of breath) at the island's sum-

mit, adjacent to the lighthouse and to the warden's house, one of the structures that burned during the Occupation. Along the path to the top of the island, visitors also see additional graffiti from the Native American Occupation. In fact, the National Park Service has adopted a policy of graffiti preservation, which accounts for some of the painted slogans still being legible despite the unrelenting weather conditions promoting their wear.⁴⁸ Even with this laudable preservation effort, graffiti does not exert the same rhetorical impact that three-dimensional space provides. Inside the warden's house, by contrast to the two-dimensional graffiti samples, the original fireplace and mantel are clearly visible, although overrun with weeds and flowering plants. Evidence of life on the island is evocatively conveyed by such glimpses into spaces like this house, with its readily recognizable features. Also visible is the steel reinforcing frame added inside the building to keep its exterior walls from collapsing.

Some confusion persists to this day as to why several buildings on the other side of the warden's house, closer to the edge of the hilltop, lie in demolished heaps. On June 1–2, 1971, a fire took place during the Native American Occupation that demolished four buildings including the warden's house. The lighthouse was also damaged in this fire.⁴⁹ Although the fire's cause has never been resolved definitively, the houses that currently lie in ruins were demolished *after* the Occupation by the General Services Agency (GSA), who controlled the island before and after the Occupation. The GSA began demolition of the structures for safety and cleanup; however, the NPS stopped their removal for historic preservation. NPS ranger John Cantwell indicated that over the years he had heard many tourists inaccurately assume that the Native Americans caused these ruins.⁵⁰

No matter the season, it is typically at this point in a tour of the island that one is overtaken by the strength of the winds gusting around the top of Alcatraz. If the visitor had previously gotten the impression—climbing past the more domestic buildings on the sheltered side of the island, observing the seagulls and pelicans, looking at the picturesque moss on the metal roofs of some structures, admiring the trees and foliage—that Alcatraz might have been a lovely place to live, one is quickly disabused of this hospitable image on the cellhouse level. Signs now direct the visitor into the structure that physically dominates Alcatraz Island.

The Cellhouse Tour

The appeal of Alcatraz as a tourist destination clearly is drawn not from the innovation of its architectural design but rather from its stunning lo-

cation in the bay and its ubiquity in popular culture. Many informational sources exist about both prison architecture in general, and the prison architecture and history of Alcatraz specifically. Norman Johnston, in his well-respected book *Forms of Constraint: A History of Prison Architecture*, offers the representative observation that "Although it has little architectural significance, the prison on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay is well known to Americans."⁵¹ Johnston goes on to dedicate just a single paragraph to the discussion of Alcatraz. Michael Esslinger remarks that "The thrill of touring Alcatraz derives both from the awareness of its historical significance, and from the various portrayals of prison life that have been popularized through Hollywood motion pictures."⁵² What could be more compelling than an actual prison that was later a Hollywood movie set? As the epitome of prison life, the cellhouse is both the ultimate destination of Alcatraz visitors and the place where they spend the bulk of their time on the island.

Throughout their tour of Alcatraz, but especially and most vividly during their tour of the cellhouse, visitors come to understand Alcatraz as a place that constrains thought and behavior—not only the thoughts and behaviors of its former inmates, but also those of contemporary visitors to the prison. As Foucault observes in *Discipline and Punish*, "Power has its principle not so much in a person as in a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes; in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up."⁵³ The Alcatraz tour itself functions in just this way to reinforce governmental coercive authority through the visitor's somatic engagement with the site. It invites a sensation of discipline, control, and surveillance that powerfully overwhelms messages about liberation and social dissent. At every turn of their visit, tourists are informed what they can and cannot do, what they can consume (water, not food), where they should and should not be, what path they should be following, what they should be looking at, and finally that their behavior will be electronically monitored if they should attempt to steal the tour's audio device. The ultimate civic lesson provided by Alcatraz is therefore obedience to the law and conformity with behavioral standards rather than any message about the value of social protest or resistance. That this is the result of visiting Alcatraz is not unexpected, but what bears further examination are the specific methods by which this effect is achieved. Of critical importance is the visitor's bodily experience of the prison spaces (combined with the lack of similar access to any spaces of the Occupation) during the guided audio tour of the cellhouse.

The award-winning Alcatraz Cellhouse Tour, narrated by a former cor-

rectional officer and incorporating the testimony of both officers and former inmates, directs the visitor's experience of the cellhouse. The tour does not discuss the Native American Occupation, but focuses instead on the prison and its occupants during the penitentiary years. Visitors acquire a digital audio device and headphones as they enter the cellhouse. The thirty-five-minute audio recording regularly indicates to visitors where they should be located and what they should be seeing, controlling their experience of the prison even though the tour is "unguided."

The audio on the tour creates the convincing ambiance of an occupied prison. It does this by including the sounds of prison life, such as distant conversations, guard whistles, slamming cell doors, and footsteps presumably belonging to either prisoners or guards. The tour heightens visitors' engagement with the prison and its former occupants by directly appealing to sensory experiences as participants move through the prison. During the audio tour, visitors feel as if other people are there, even though today it would be only the other visitors shambling along as they listen to their own audio tours. The unmistakable cocking of a weapon marks the transitions between segments of the audio tour.

On the audio tour one's attention is called to the notorious inmates of Alcatraz, to the barbershop, to a typical cell as it would have looked during the prison's operation, to the gun gallery where guards walked their rounds so as to have every prisoner directly "under the gun," to the dining room, to the library area, and eventually to "D Block," also known as "The Hole," where the solitary confinement cells were located.⁵⁴ There is coverage of the prisoner riot on Alcatraz and the resulting assassination of eight prison guards. The visitor is told of the most famous escape from Alcatraz, chronicled in the movie of the same name. Throughout the tour, visitors simultaneously hear documentary audio and occupy key physical locations in the cellhouse. Those two embodied experiences solidify memories of the history of the prison and its inmates by connecting them to the visitor's memories of the physical spaces themselves. Ultimately, the story of Alcatraz conveyed through the audio tour and the visitor's direct experience of the cellhouse vividly brings to life the power of authorities to discipline those who break society's rules.

Some of the interpretive techniques used by the NPS during the cellhouse tour are typical in historic house museums more broadly. In a way, Alcatraz "is" a house museum—or a "Big House" museum. Part of the attraction to Alcatraz lies in tourists' ability to "see" how people lived there, even to the point of physically occupying, however briefly, the same cells where people once lived or where they were temporarily housed (for ex-

ample, in "The Hole"). In her book on house museums, Sherry Butcher-Youngmans explains that a primary interpretive approach used by house museums is to restore period rooms using objects that actually belonged to the inhabitants, or to use representative furnishings. Butcher-Youngmans points out that "exhibits can also be combined with existing period rooms" to offer a fuller interpretation of the house.⁵⁵ Given its depictions—especially in a large exhibit displayed in the prison's shower room at the time of our visit—of well-known inmates (such as Al Capone) and its restoration of a number of typical cells complete with bedding, one is made aware of both the people who used to live in Alcatraz, and the manner in which they lived. Alcatraz teaches visitors how a prisoner's every waking moment was regulated as visitors hear about regulations on the audiotape and see signs posted throughout the cellhouse, such as a list of "Hospital Rules and Regulations," and they see and inhabit the very spaces where prisoners were confined. Further, the audio tour reinforces the privileges and lack thereof afforded to prisoners for "good" behavior. Even within this disciplinary environment, increasing levels of behavioral control are operating.

Equally important here is what visitors do not get to experience. There are no cells on the "tour" outfitted as they were during the Native American Occupation, even though they do exist in off-limits locations. For instance, during one of our tours of the island, an NPS ranger took us "behind the scenes," and we saw the basement of the penitentiary where the walls are covered with graffiti from the Native American Occupation. We also were taken to the upper levels of the penitentiary where we saw that members of the Occupation had painted names over several jail cells that included "Nixon" and "Reagan" (figure 5.3). Neither of these locations has been accessible to visitors. Sounds and narratives from the time of the Occupation are also absent from the audio tour, which focuses solely on the prison years of the cellhouse. Without more direct access to the people of the past who inhabited the island during the Occupation, the connections visitors form to those people are tenuous if they form any connections at all. Instead, they are better able to relate to Al Capone and other notables whose cells they can actually peer into or enter.

As visitors continue the audio tour, ambient noises are persistently incorporated under the narration, and prisoner and guard commentaries further enliven the prison experience. One hears prison cell doors slamming shut, the pacing of guards, conversations, distant thunder, the sizzling of the metal detector and clacking of typewriters, even the sound of a shiv (a makeshift dagger) stabbing another prisoner in the back. Even though spaces like the Dining Room are empty of everything but other tourists



Figure 5.3. Graffiti on a penitentiary jail cell from the Native American Occupation of 1969–1971. (Photograph by Teresa Bergman.)

and a handful of wooden benches, they seem to be inhabited as the visitor hears silverware, inmate conversations, the clanking of dishes, and so on. Later in the tour we hear gunfire during the discussion of the Alcatraz uprising, and we hear what we surmise is Frank Lee Morris chipping away at the plaster in his cell prior to his escape. Throughout the tour, one also hears sounds from across the bay, sounds evocative of the outside world that prisoners were denied. Visitors can hear the surf, the seabirds, the foghorn, and the buoy bells as clearly as the inmates could during their incarceration. Thus visitors are reminded again, this time aurally, of the freedom/incarceration dichotomy that permeates Alcatraz.

Most critically, the cellhouse tour brings the visitor into physical contact with the prison, and indeed explicitly *invites* the visitor to experience the prison directly. For example, while illustrating the difference between the flat steel bars used in the military prison and the more rugged bars of the civil prison, the tour exhorts the visitor to “put your hands on the bars,” “go ahead and touch the bars.” As the first direct suggestion to the visitor to touch something in the facility, this dialogue has to encourage him or her (no doubt accustomed to the no-touching injunction almost universal to museums) that it really is okay to touch things at Alcatraz.

Other examples of these directives include: “A few steps to your right are some open cells. You may step into one if you like,” and “Feel free to walk around the dining room,” as well as “Please take a seat.” On D Block, the tour advises that “you may enter one of the solitary confinement cells if you wish” (followed by the audio sound of a door slamming shut and the sound of a howling breeze). Each injunction to touch and experience the prison functions to heighten the perceived authenticity of the tour and ingrain its lessons into the visitor’s memory. Because the audio tour does not provide similar sensory access to the spaces of the Native American Occupation, visitors lose the opportunity to forge a more durable connection to that portion of the island’s history.

As visitors prepare to return their audio devices, they are warned that the device is protected electronically against theft, and that if they attempt to take it on the boat with them an alarm will sound. Again they are reminded, this time explicitly in the audio tour itself, of the distinction between good behavior and criminal behavior, of the distinction between themselves as law-abiding Americans and those who broke the law and were imprisoned at Alcatraz. The essence of the public experience of Alcatraz is precisely this identification with law-abiding fellow Americans, and division from the incarcerated criminals who inhabited the prison. Based on their vivid physical and emotional experience with what was once the ultimate model of coercive incarceration in the United States, it is difficult to imagine that visitors would retain messages about the Native American activism on the island from the orientation film, exhibit room, and periodic examples of graffiti.

Before the visitors leave the cellhouse, they can visit one of the island’s three bookstores, which each contain essentially the same collection of books, videos, posters, and bookmarks. Unlike the mainland “gift shop,” these stores are focused on reading material, even though a “piece of the rock” or a prison “key” can be purchased at either the cellhouse or dockside bookstore. Further tying their experience to tangible objects, the stores let the visitor take a physical reminder of this historical site home with them.

Either before or after their visit to the cellhouse, visitors also experience a commanding view of the San Francisco Bay and the city beyond, including the Golden Gate and Bay bridges on a clear day. Below them on the slope are the remains of the demolished houses mentioned above. Visitors take photographs here, bracing themselves against the gusts of wind as they snap pictures of family and friends using the city as a backdrop. As it was on the mainland and on the dock level of the island, the contrast between the freedom of the city and the isolation of the island is physically

experienced by the visitor at the cellhouse level. This occurs both through the visual perception of the island and the city, and through the transition that visitors' bodies must inevitably make between the outdoors and the confined cellhouse (or vice versa). After wandering through the cellhouse for thirty minutes surrounded by crowds of other visitors, the sensations of space, light, and air afforded by the exterior of the cellhouse and its city views are especially welcome.

Back to the Mainland

Finally, visitors descend from the cellhouse level back to the dock below. They pass the public restrooms and one last gift shop on the way. Boats depart regularly, so the wait is short. As the ferry returns to the mainland, visitors catch their last close-up glimpses of Alcatraz, often aiming their cameras over the stern of the boat to snap photographs of the island as it retreats into the distance. As it did on their way to the island, the boat provides visitors with a transitional experience—a place to prepare for arriving at Alcatraz to see something special, and a place to make lunch or dinner plans and to turn their attention back toward the comforts of San Francisco itself. Visitors have had the opportunity to “experience” prison life and its social lessons, and now they are able to return to life on the “free” side of the bay.

Conclusion

Ultimately, we believe that Alcatraz's function as a memory site is completely bound up with one's ability to have direct physical contact with the site. At Alcatraz, the memories that “stick” are embodied in its buildings, made tangible in its cell bars, and enlivened by the vivid audio tour visitors hear as they walk through the prison. The more fully engaged visitors are with the spaces and experiences of the island, the more likely they are to leave with a lasting impression. More “traditional” museological methods that focus on presenting visual evidence, whether through documentary film or through exhibits behind glass, are unlikely to foster the kind of connection that rivals the physical interaction with this historical space. At Alcatraz Island, the physical and sensorial experience strongly shapes the constructed historical memories and focuses visitors toward the disciplinary power of the state rather than the resistance efforts of the Native Americans. While one can have embodied historical experiences at other places (for instance, living-history museums like Colonial Williamsburg),

many of those places were deliberately designed from their inception for that purpose and with an eye toward public consumption. Alcatraz, as the most notorious and mysterious American prison, isolated on a rocky island in the middle of one of the most beautiful bays in the country, is naturally a more furtive and off-limits location. Going “behind the scenes” of this facility, occupying its cells, “hearing” inmates roaming the halls and taking their meals, standing in a solitary confinement cell and imagining what it would have been like, leaves a powerful impression. That impression, though, is certainly more about the prison, the novelty of touring a prison, and the relationship between law-abiding citizens and criminals than it is about Alcatraz's complicated social history and role in the Native American Occupation. Here the opportunity to put visitors into direct contact with the island's Native American activist past, readily available at this striking location, is missed.

What can be done to provide visitors to Alcatraz more meaningful and lasting access to the history and people of the Native American Occupation? As it stands, we believe this liberatory event that does not fit neatly into the U.S. progressivist historical fabric is ultimately lost. NPS ranger Craig Glassner is optimistic that there are other places where Native American history can be learned, observing, “I don't think there is a definitive place to learn about this.” He explains that Native American history is “taught a lot better in schools” today, and points to the concerted efforts that have been made in the national parks throughout the West to include the Native American perspective that had been previously absent.⁵⁶ Ironically, the Occupation seems to have made more of a mark on institutions outside of the island than on the island itself. But there is still the stubborn experience of visiting Alcatraz and not remembering the Occupation. If one cannot have a memorable public experience of the history of the most significant, politically influential Native American protest at the location where that drama was played out, where can it be had? One of the broader lessons learned from this case study of Alcatraz is the incumbency to integrate intellectual and physical experiences at critical historic locations. A more somatic experience of what it was like to live and protest on the island—conveyed via material experiences similar to those provided in the existing cellhouse tour—is required in order to bring Occupation memories more fully to life. For example, by using a more detailed audio tour method, these additional layers of life on Alcatraz could be revealed. Often tours of historical sites provide more than one audio narration for some or all of a site. Using this method, visitors could access as much or as little information about a given room as they wished by press-

ing additional buttons on their audio device. This alternative could provide a method for creating a more lasting memory of other aspects of Alcatraz's history that work in concert with the visitor's physical experience of the site. The tour can, and should, provide access to key locations on the island where the events of the Occupation took place and where its supporters lived. Without such changes, the memory of the Occupation at Alcatraz will continue its slippage against the memory of Alcatraz as a penitentiary.

Perhaps this outcome was inevitable from the moment the idea of Native American ownership of Alcatraz was conceived. Due to the island's physicality, it was inevitable that U.S. coercive authority would be the dominant public memory experienced at Alcatraz and not its tenure as Indianland unless the entire penitentiary was torn down. Although Alcatraz's location, terrain, and prison architecture suited the Native Americans' symbolic needs at the time—it was an attention-getting location to highlight the mistreatment of Native Americans—these same appealing material elements continue to dominate the site and the visitor's experience. In our view, the physical and architectural backdrop of the prison is critical to the allure of Alcatraz. It is this material rhetoric in combination with the cellhouse audio tour that comprises Alcatraz's primary methods of communicating a message that sticks. In order to cultivate visitors' memories of the Occupation, then, it is necessary to similarly tie such narratives to the physical spaces of the island either through an alternative audio tour, or through some other combination of space and history that focuses on the Native American experience of the island, and the history of oppression that led to the Occupation. In terms of the meaningfulness of this memory site, it is unquestionable that at the time the Occupation was very effective in changing U.S. policies regarding the treatment of Native Americans. Moreover, it was an example of a successful, nonviolent collective action. In its present form, contemporary audiences are denied this potent message of liberation, and they instead experience memories of U.S. coercive authority. In order for the memory of the Native American Occupation to endure, this memory site must be mediated at the same level as the cellhouse tour and not relegated to banners, exhibits, and video. If visitors could walk through the same physical cellhouse spaces as the Native American occupiers with an audio tour, in their voices, providing descriptions of their time on Alcatraz and their reasons for this action, then perhaps this memory space could stick as one of the most significant historical sites of successful civil disobedience and Native American protest. Overlooking the memory of the Native American Occupation at Alcatraz

Island is a missed opportunity to incorporate a definitive counternarrative of effective civil rights struggles in U.S. history.

Notes

1. Laura Hilgers, "Escape to Alcatraz," *Via* (2004): 42.
2. Troy R. Johnson, *The Occupation of Alcatraz Island: Indian Self-Determination and the Rise of Indian Activism* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 220–21.
3. Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia Press University, 1998), 3.
4. There are annual "Escape from Alcatraz" swimming events.
5. John A. Martini, *Fortress Alcatraz: Guardian of the Golden Gate* (Kailua, HI: Pacific Monograph, 1990), 6.
6. James Barter, *Alcatraz*, Building History Series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2000), 12.
7. Martini, *Fortress Alcatraz*, 11.
8. Erwin N. Thompson, "The Rock: A History of Alcatraz Island, 1847–1972, Historic Resource Study, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, California" (Denver Service Center: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1979), 4, Alcatraz Island Archive Library, Alcatraz Island, CA.
9. Martini, *Fortress Alcatraz*, 13. "Alcatraz became, and forever would be, government property."
10. *Ibid.*, 29.
11. Barter, *Alcatraz*, 30–32.
12. Martini, *Fortress Alcatraz*, 80–81.
13. Hal K. Rothman, "The Park That Makes Its Own Weather: An Administrative History of Golden Gate National Recreation Area" (San Francisco: Golden Gate National Recreation Area, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2002), 213, Alcatraz Island Archive Library, Alcatraz Island, CA.
14. Barter, *Alcatraz*, 62.
15. Rothman, "The Park That Makes Its Own Weather," 16.
16. Martini, *Fortress Alcatraz*, 129.
17. Rothman, "The Park That Makes Its Own Weather," 16–17.
18. Johnson, *Occupation of Alcatraz Island*, 17.
19. The first plan to occupy Alcatraz Island was on March 9, 1964, and the second attempt occurred on November 9, 1969 (Johnson, *Occupation of Alcatraz Island*, 17, 50).
20. National Park Service ranger John Cantwell described these initial tours,

in which "we would split them up into groups and then lead them through the island . . . about an hour and a half of talk and we did three of those a day and that was basically the Alcatraz Tour" (John Cantwell, personal interview, August 2005).

21. John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 15.

22. John Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3.

23. Gregory Clark, *Rhetorical Landscapes in America: Variations on a Theme from Kenneth Burke* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 27.

24. *Ibid.* Emphasis in original.

25. Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy, "Discover Alcatraz: A Tour of the Rock," n.p., 1996.

26. Barbie Zelizer, "Reading the Past against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 12.2 (1995).

27. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire," *Representations* 26 (1989).

28. Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 7.

29. *Escape from Alcatraz*, *Birdman of Alcatraz*, and *The Rock* are a few of the more popular films about Alcatraz Island's penitentiary.

30. Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 12.

31. U.S. Department of the Interior/National Park Service, "Assessment of Alternatives for the General Management Plan" (Golden Gate, Point Reyes: National Recreation Areas/National Seashore/California, 1977).

32. U.S. Department of the Interior/National Park Service, "General Management Plan Environmental Analysis," Golden Gate, Point Reyes, National Recreation Area, National Seashore, CA, 1980, 37.

33. Architectural Resources Group, "Alcatraz Main Cell House H.S.R." (San Francisco, CA: 1990), 34. Emphasis added.

34. According to NPS ranger Craig Glassner, there is discussion about adding announcements about Alcatraz on the boat ride over, but as of this writing, only open-water safety rules were announced. Craig Glassner, personal interview, 2006.

35. The "Dock Talk" is so named by the NPS rangers at Alcatraz.

36. There is also an NPS brochure available in multiple languages for purchase (donation) that opens to describe four historic uses of Alcatraz: "Alcatraz,

The Fort," "Alcatraz, The Prison," "The Native American Occupation," and "Natural Alcatraz." The brochure unfolds into a map of the island with brief descriptions of the dock, guardhouse and sally port, post exchange/officers' club, military chapel, barracks/apartments, warden's house, lighthouse, cell-house, and the gardens.

37. Before the 1991 orientation film, a slide show was offered to orient visitors to Alcatraz Island. We were unable to locate a copy of the slide show.

38. All unmarked citations in this section are taken from the orientation film *Alcatraz . . . Stories from the Rock*.

39. Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), 105-9. There are several other forms of documentary films that restrict the use of particular images in their films, for example, some documentarists will not use historical re-creation under any circumstances.

40. "Fiction may be content to suspend disbelief . . . but non-fiction often wants to instill belief" (Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary*, 2).

41. Johnson, *Occupation of Alcatraz Island*, 38-39.

42. *Ibid.*, 11.

43. Indians of All Tribes Inc., "Why We Are on Alcatraz," *San Francisco Magazine* (undated); Alcatraz Island Archive Library, Alcatraz Island, CA.

44. Leonard Garment, *Crazy Rhythm* (Toronto, CA: Random House, 1997), 225.

45. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Federal Indian Policy," Department of the Interior (undated), 2; Alcatraz Island Archive Library, Alcatraz Island, CA.

46. Johnson, *Occupation of Alcatraz Island*, 220; Vine Deloria Jr., foreword to *Heart of the Rock: The Indian Invasion of Alcatraz* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), x.

47. John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking, *The Museum Experience* (Washington, DC: Whalesback Books, 1992), 3.

48. Anne Rosenthal, "Conservation Evaluation: Alcatraz Island Graffiti from the Native American Occupation, 1969-1971" (San Rafael, CA: 1996), 3; Alcatraz Island Archive Library, Alcatraz Island, CA. Several of the report's recommendations have been adopted. A binder in the Alcatraz Island archive documents all of the Occupation's graffiti, and some shelters have been built to protect graffitied surfaces from the weather.

49. Iglar, "'This Is My Land': The Indian Occupation of Alcatraz, 1969-1971," 45-46; Alcatraz Island Archive Library, Alcatraz Island, CA. The cause of the fire has been debated, with Native Americans claiming that government agents started the fire and government representatives in turn denying any part

in starting the fire and blaming the Native American occupiers. For further thoughts on the fire, see also Adam Fortunate Eagle, *Heart of the Rock: The Indian Invasion of Alcatraz*, and Johnson, *Occupation of Alcatraz Island*, 167–68.

50. Cantwell, personal interview with Teresa Bergman, October 2005.

51. Norman Johnston, *Forms of Constraint: A History of Prison Architecture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 144.

52. Michael Esslinger, *Alcatraz: A Definitive History of the Penitentiary Years* (Carmel, CA: Ocean View Publishing, 2003), 420.

53. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1979).

54. Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy, "Alcatraz Cellhouse Tour."

55. Sherry Butcher-Youngmans, *Historic House Museums: A Practical Handbook for Their Care, Preservation, and Management* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 207.

56. Glassner, personal interview.

III *Place*