KALEIDOSCOPIC COMMUNITY HISTORY:
THEORIES OF DATABASED RHETORICAL HISTORY-MAKING

by

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ABSTRACT

To accurately describe the past, historians strive to learn the cultural ideologies of the time and place they study so their interpretations are situated in the context of that period and not in the present. This exploration of historical context becomes critical when researching marginalized groups, as evidence of their rhetorics and cultural logics are usually submerged within those of the dominant society. This project focuses on how factors, such as rhetor/audience perspective, influence cross-cultural historical interpretation, and how a community history database can be designed to illuminate and affect these factors.

Theories of contact zones and rhetorical listening were explored to determine their applicability both to history-making and to the creation of a community history database where cross-cultural, multi-vocal, historical narratives may be created, encountered, and extended. Contact zones are dynamic spaces where changing connections, accommodations, negotiations, and power struggles occur, and this concept can be applied to history-making, especially histories of marginalized groups. Rhetorical listening focuses on how perspective influences understanding the past, and listening principles are crucial to both historians and the consumers of history. Perspectives are grounded in cultural ideologies, and rhetorical listening focuses on how tropes, such as race and gender, describe and shape these perspectives. Becoming aware of tropes—both of self and other—can bring to view the commonalities and differences between cultures, and allow a better opportunity for cross-cultural understanding. Rhetorical listening steers the historian and the consumer of history towards looking at who is writing the history, and how both the rhetor and the audience’s perspective may affect the outcome.

These theories of contact zones and rhetorical listening influenced the design of the project database and website by bringing perspective to the forefront. The visualization of rhetor/audience
tropes in conjunction with the co-creation of history were designed to help foster cross-cultural understanding.
To my parents: King John XXIX and his consort Queen Jean

You instilled in me the drive to learn
and gave me the freedom to fly.
Though your arms can no longer hold me,
your wings will always encircle my heart.

To D
This is yours too.
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I collect dead people. It has been an occupation, or preoccupation, of mine for over thirty years. See a cemetery? Stop and savor the history. It does not matter if we (the dead and I) are kin. I stop anyway and wander along the rows of markers finding fragments of life stories among the graves; pieces of history—evidence of peoples’ lives. As a genealogist and historian I collect and analyze these fragments of history, listening to the voices embedded in the evidence and clues I find, and strive to piece together a picture of a person and/or place in time. The blending of clues through analysis and narration becomes a story—a telling of the past. Through my research, I am actively listening to the past and constructing versions of stories I hear there; the creation of histories allows cross-cultural links to form between the past and present creating the potential for listening and learning about different peoples, places, and times. These cross-cultural links help me to understand how I am different from and yet like those who came before. Through the examination of the differences and commonalities between my own identity and the identities of past people (re)constructed from the historical record, I am able to form new cross-cultural links and histories, thus gaining a better understanding of the past.

Historians tell stories of the past in the hope that others will listen, and perhaps, tell their own intersecting stories so a dialogue of sorts can emerge. A conversation between the past and present allows us to understand the people and cultures of the past by seeing the commonalities we have with them and also understanding the differences between ourselves and our cultures across space and time. For a person to come to a cross-cultural understanding of the past—or the present for that matter—requires a negotiation of meaning derived from personal interactions with the
discourse of histories constructed by people with varying perspectives of the cultural group—those from within the group, those on the margins, and those with an outside perspective.¹ By conversing between cultures, across communities, and through time in a cross-cultural historical dialogue, we can also learn to apply the technique of listening to current day situations.²

Traditional print histories have been the dialogical space of academics, and although the general populace has access to these historical narratives, it is more difficult to respond to print histories or to add alternative versions of history to the academic conversation. Digital technologies have spurred the creation of tools for the collection and dissemination of data, and the impact on historical research is considerable. However, although many histories are now presented in digital form, most sites lack the tools for a true multi-vocal cross-cultural historical dialogue to emerge.

A goal of my research is to explore history, both traditional and digital, from theoretical, rhetorical, and methodological standpoints, and to offer a design of an archival database website where traditional and alternative histories may be created, listened to, and negotiated. This project has grown out of my genealogical and historical research on the nineteenth- and twentieth-century multi-racial Creole community of Pensacola, Florida, as the history of this multi-cultural city affords an opportunity to enact the theories I am exploring for creating multi-vocal, collaborative cultural histories. Although the roots of this digital history project are based on my personal research of Pensacola's past and on a particular set of histories I have created—and am continuing to create—

¹ The term *cultural group* is used to delineate groups of people with common ideologies. The Pensacola Creoles, who are my example group, could be described as a cultural group because of their common heritage, religion, and ideologies. However, the boundaries of inclusion in a cultural group are sometimes very fluid and identifying someone as part of a group, like the Creoles, can at times be problematic. I will use the term *cultural group* or *just group* when discussing the Creoles in an ideological context. (Appendix A contains a glossary of terms used in this dissertation.)

² For this project *community* is used in two ways. The first use denotes a geospatial area such as the multi-racial community that lived in the Tanyard section of Pensacola. The second usage is in regards to my dissertation title “Kaleidoscopic Community History.” In this context *community* is used as an adjective, along with kaleidoscopic, to describe the variety of intersecting communities involved in history-making and how histories are created and viewed from many perspectives. When community is meant as a term for a group with common heritage and/or ideologies, I will use *cultural group*. 
my design intent is for the database and website to not restrict participation to a single group and therefore it can be a place where construction of collaborative histories of any culture can occur. I acknowledge that databases are not neutral tools, yet as both a software designer and a historian, I have the benefit of multiple perspectives to bring to the design of a community history website.

The creation of digital community histories involves two groups of individuals: the designer(s) of the database system itself and the history-makers/users of the site. The users of the system bring their own perspectives to the creation and consumption of the histories in the database. These users could include descendants of early Pensacola Creoles, current Pensacola community members, individuals with knowledge of the cultural group from other perspectives, or those with no prior knowledge but an interest in learning about the history of this group. The rhetorical choices made by both designers and users impact the content and delivery of the histories contained therein. History-making interactions with the archived contents of the database occurs between the designer and the users with their various perspectives, between the users and the website software, between the traces of the past and the historian placing the archived data into the system, and between makers/readers and the histories themselves, with each of these spaces requiring negotiation of meaning. A theoretical understanding of why and how these rhetorical spaces can be negotiated is another important aspect of my research.

Rhetorical listening is a theoretical concept in rhetoric and composition studies proposed by Krista Ratcliffe. She defines it as a “stance of openness that a person may choose to assume in cross-cultural exchanges,” or, more concisely, as “a code of cross-cultural conduct.” Ratcliffe focuses on the impact of identity, gender, and race on various types of discourse and how the active process of rhetorical listening can be used to negotiate cross-cultural contact with the goals of self-

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awareness, identification, and understanding. True cross-cultural exchange requires participation and negotiations from the individuals on all sides of the discourse so each perspective is acknowledged and mutual understanding may be achieved. In some cases, the negotiations can be seen as occurring in what Mary Louise Pratt calls *contact zones*—“social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power….”4 These dynamic spaces can be seen as emerging from the surrounding discourses as the gap in understanding between cultures creates a zone where meaning can be negotiated and changing connections can continually affect that meaning. Although Ratcliffe is speaking to a contemporary audience in rhetoric and composition studies, I see intersections between her proposals, Pratt’s contact zones, and history-making. These intersections form two overarching research questions which helped direct my theoretical analysis: How might the theories of rhetorical listening and contact zones be used for the creation and consumption of historical narratives; particularly narratives concerning marginalized cultural groups such as Pensacola’s multi-racial Creoles?; and How might rhetorical listening and contact zones inform hypertext theory to guide the design of a dialogic community history database?

A research project such as this does not just come to life on its own (though it may take on a life of its own); it has its roots in past historical research and the growing need for a way to organize, access, and share the vast quantity of digital artifacts available to historians. As a historian researching and writing cross-cultural narratives of a marginalized group, my cultural perspective and research methods have evolved over time. The background information that follows will help ground this project in its own past and set the basis for the remainder of the discussion.

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Background

In following my penchant for collecting the dead, I engaged in a research project a number of years ago which involved analyzing the correlation between nativity and tombstone iconography.\(^5\) My research site was St. Michael’s, a Catholic cemetery in Pensacola, Florida, officially established in 1807, but likely begun much earlier. During my research, I analyzed burials from 1870 to 1939 using a variety of historical research methods. For each of the 1,447 grave markers in my study, I photographed the marker to capture the shape, size, and iconography of the stone. Among the tombstones was an unadorned marker for Theresa, with the epitaph, “THE FAITHFUL SERVANT OF THE MORENO FAMILY” next to which stands a plaque erected by the St. Michael’s Cemetery preservation group,

Purchased in 1844 at the age of seven at Mobile by Don Francisco Moreno, Theresa served the Moreno family for sixty-five years. She was midwife and nurse to many of the Moreno children. Moreno provided for her support in his will and she continued to work for the families of his children after his death in 1882. She rests in the family plot of Moreno son-in-law Hubert Jordan.

Based on Theresa’s marker and plaque, I assumed as I gathered my data that the only African Americans interred in St. Michael’s would be slaves or former slaves; however, through my data analysis I proved that assumption wrong.

Using federal and state census records and other historical documents, I determined the nativity for the people whose names were inscribed on the tombstones. As I researched the origins of the 1,676 individuals inscribed on the markers in my dataset, I recorded 89 African American burials. The racial designation of the individuals did not seem significant at that particular time as I was focused on nativity. As I visualized the data using Geographic Information System (GIS) maps

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\(^5\) Amy Larner Giroux, "Mea Familia: Ethnic Burial Identifiers in St. Michael’s Cemetery, Pensacola, Florida" (master’s thesis, University of Central Florida, 2009). In this cemetery project, the term “nativity” was used to encompass both specific birth places and regional areas.
of the burials, I created layers by ethnic group (nativity) and, since I had collected the data, by racial group. While presenting my research, I mentioned in passing the fact that I found African American burials in a white southern cemetery during a time period when African Americans were unlikely to have been buried there. The chair of the anthropology department stopped my presentation and made it clear to me that the existence of these burials was significant and that I needed to find out who these people were. The map I had created, color-coded by race, spawned research questions I have spent the last five years exploring. Who were these mixed-race and black individuals buried in St. Michael’s, a predominately white Southern cemetery? Why were their graves spread throughout the cemetery, combined in family groups, and not segregated into a section of their own as cemeteries of the time would typically do?

When I stood before each grave in my study photographing the marker I did not know I was collecting data on a group of African Americans that would consume my research for so many years. Their graves do not stand out among the others. Aside from Theresa’s plaque, there is nothing to say “I am different” or “I am not white.” Their markers are equal and in some cases more elaborate than those of whites in St. Michael’s. It was not until I mapped the racial groups in the cemetery that I became aware of their existence. How many other people have visited St. Michael’s and assumed, as I did, that Theresa was the only African American buried there? Although I was curious why these families and individuals were in St. Michael’s, at the time of my initial research I was quite ignorant of the history of Pensacola and the northern Gulf coast.6 My exploration into the

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6 A Spanish expedition led by Tristán de Luna y Arellano landed on Santa Rosa Island near present-day Pensacola on 14 August 1559. The group was comprised of approximately 1,000 settlers and 500 soldiers, and the settlement was intended to protect Spanish trade in the northern Gulf of Mexico. There were many difficulties and the area was abandoned by the Spanish in 1561. Spanish explorers continued to pass through the northern gulf on its trade routes, and in 1693, Captain Andrés de Pez and Dr. Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora conducted a scientific expedition to explore the bay. Five years later, the Spanish reoccupied the site and began the permanent settlement of Pensacola Bay.

lives of these people generated more questions than answers, but these questions of the past are what historians and other researchers use to explore bygone times, interpret what they find there, and explain their conclusions through historical narratives.

As I examined the historical record to look for answers to my questions I began a series of four historical narratives focused on Pensacola’s African Americans. These projects included an analysis of residential integration, an ethnographic study of the neighborhood surrounding St. Joseph’s Church, an investigation into African American literacy in the U.S. South during the nineteenth-century, and an exploration of possible reasons for Pensacola’s African Americans’ relocation to Tampico, Mexico, just prior to the Civil War. My first project was a historical analysis of residential integration. If the cemetery was integrated, was the city too? How could I determine whether it was or not? One of the first sources I consulted was an 1898 city directory of Pensacola. The directory identified three categories: colored, Creole, and white. This generated the question ‘what is a Creole?’ to which the answer depends on who you ask and when the designation was used.

**Creoles of Color**

The term creole has been described as deriving from the Portuguese crioulo (Spanish criollo or French créole), meaning “a slave brought up in the owner’s household.” Other early definitions

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8 It could be presumed that these categories denote race; however, Creole is a cultural or ethnic category and there were black, white, and mixed-race Creoles.

include people who were born in the New World or any local area who were first-generation immigrants.\textsuperscript{10} Scholars such as Daniel Usner have found early Louisiana baptismal records using \textit{creole} to refer to inhabitants—both free and slave—born in the colony.\textsuperscript{11} These Creoles formed a “culturally cohesive population of black, white, and racially mixed free people who were tied to the region through heritage and culture.”\textsuperscript{12} In the 1790s and early 1800s, the population of southern free people of color grew substantially because of the immigration of French Creoles from Saint Domingue (Haiti).\textsuperscript{13} Many of these new immigrants were educated and worked in skilled occupations and thus were moving to areas of good financial opportunity and settling in New Orleans and elsewhere along the Gulf coast.\textsuperscript{14}

In the early 1800s, “Creole” referred to native-born, French-speaking Louisianans and was “appropriated by the upper-class white Louisianans to designate the descendants of French and Spanish colonists.”\textsuperscript{15} The unnamed author of a Federal Writer’s Project vignette laments, “And it is natural that these [white] men and women should resent being confused with the Creole Negro, of

\begin{itemize}
  \item Daniel H. Usner, Jr., “‘The Facility Offered by the Country’ The Creolization of Agriculture in the Lower Mississippi Valley,” in \textit{Creolization in the Americas}, eds. David Buissner and Steven G. Reinhardt (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2000), 35.
  \item Usner, “The Facility,” 35.
\end{itemize}
mixed blood, or one so called to distinguish him from the Negro of Africa.”\textsuperscript{16} The upper-class Louisianans intended to exclude non-whites from the Creole appellation; however, Louisianans of African descent continued to use the term, and by the twentieth-century, “Creoles of Color” was usually used in regards to the free mixed-race descendants of European heritage—primarily French and Spanish. The ancestral link to the old families of the area gave a higher status to these free persons of color.\textsuperscript{17}

Miscegenation was common in Gulf Coast societies because of the Spanish and French relaxed racial attitudes and the relative racial acceptance of the Catholic Church. Free people of color along the Gulf coast enjoyed some elevated privileges of “citizenship, social opportunities, and economic freedom not experienced [by free blacks] anywhere else in North America.”\textsuperscript{18} Under Spanish law, free people of color were allowed to vote, testify in court, and own property. The Adam-Onis Treaty of 1819 promised equality and citizenship for all free inhabitants of Louisiana and West Florida—those areas under Spanish rule. The free people of color in these areas had educational opportunities through the Catholic Church, were allowed to bear arms, served in the militia, had equal property and inheritance rights, and lived in integrated neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{19} They were able, in some aspects, to live similar to white colonists and the stratification of social classes in Spanish and French society “elevated the Creole Colored to an intermediate position in the society not available to the mulatto in the English colonies.”\textsuperscript{20} The Creoles of Color were respected in the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} Domínguez, White by Definition, 263.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Ginger Gould, “Pensacola Creoles,” Accession #80-10, West Florida History Center and University Archives, University of West Florida, Pensacola, FL, n.d.
\end{itemize}
community and in describing Pensacola Creoles, one author says, “[b]eing free born, industrious, and frugal in their habits, law abiding and conservative in character, they became large property owners and useful citizens.”21 In Gulf Coast society, the Creole of Color became a third caste, “a floating compromise between the Negro slave and free white person; not free enough to be all intents and purposes a [full] citizen and yet sufficiently free to hover along the line of an undefined strata which touched the white margin of society.”22 Louisiana’s Supreme Court upheld this racial stratification stating, “in the eyes of Louisiana law there is… all the difference between a free man of color and a slave that there is between a white man and a slave.”23 Though the term “caste” is usually restricted to an endogamous group, it “might seem inappropriate for a racial system in which one group was in part the product of sexual relations between the other two,”24 however, researchers have applied the term to the Anglo/Negro/Creole society.

After the American purchase of Louisiana (1803) and takeover of West Florida (1810/1821), the new Anglo-centric rules eventually removed all of the liberties free Creoles of the Gulf coast had enjoyed. Throughout this period, the Creoles “strove to keep their creole heritage alive through French- and Spanish-language schools and by educating their children in Europe or the West Indies.”25 In the early 1840s, the French-speaking New Orleans Creole community “established a short-lived literary review entitled L’Album Littéraire in which they published poetry, short stories, and a few articles subtly attacking caste discrimination.”26 An anthology of poems was published a few years later with much of the poetry lamenting the societal changes in New Orleans and

26 Berlin, Slaves Without Masters, 278.
“suggested at once the free Negroes’ growing disenchantment with life in New Orleans and their close ties with French culture.”

Ultimately, many of the Creoles of Color of New Orleans returned to France so they could continue to live in the culture to which they were accustomed and to escape the increasing American racism. Immigrants from Saint Domingue who settled in Charleston, South Carolina, went so far as to create the Brown Fellowship Society, exclusively for free mulatto men.

Ultimately, the multi-racial Catholic culture was overpowered by a new white Anglo Protestant culture and the population was forced to change accordingly.

The Creoles of Color had to negotiate the cultural space between slaves and whites and adapt over time to try to protect their cultural identity and existence. As a cultural group situated between white privilege and the oppression of slavery, the Creoles of Color had multiple contact zones to negotiate. This contact occurred both at a societal level with laws affecting the interaction between cultures, and within individual daily life when Creoles, whites, and slaves interacted in the community through familial, business, and church relationships.

Creole culture and community life was centered on the church. Catholicism had deep roots in the region due to the Spanish and French colonial influence. Church tradition allowed and encouraged worshippers of all races. Whites, slaves, and free persons of color were baptized and married in the Catholic Church, and these Creoles of Color are among the African Americans buried in St. Michael's Cemetery.

*Listening to the Creoles of Color*

The data I collected and analyzed for my residential integration project consisted of city directory entries supported by research into other historical documents such as census and vital

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records. Using Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps and city directory entries spanning thirty-four years, I explored the entirety of Government Street down the length of my dining room table. I wanted to see how integrated the city was during the early twentieth-century, but the maps described the buildings without reference to who dwelled there. The maps showed the dwellings and commercial buildings along Government Street as colored shapes designating building materials, size, and other qualities pertinent to insurance adjusters, but I used them for purposes other than their original audience and context. The maps do not say much on their own, but by combining them with the city directory racial information, new images and data emerge. Could I listen to the maps and city directories and hear stories of the Creoles of Color? Were they visible in these documents? Could I understand the contact zones extant at this time and in this place?

Ratcliffe proposes inverting the term understanding discourse to be standing under discourse, both our own and that of others. Doing so gives us the opportunity for what she says is “hearing what we cannot see.” In history-making, the desire to collect evidence to tell a story sometimes overrides the story the evidence is trying to tell. Historians that stand under the discourse of the time and place of their narrative can gain an understanding of not only the commonalities and differences between the social actors of that time and place, but may also gain insight into contemporary times.

By standing under the discourse of city directories and maps, I found neighbors—Creole, black, and white living beside each other, some living with each other. This mash-up of historical genres made visible a snapshot of African American homes in Pensacola. The maps were drawn to scale and if you look closely you can see trends such as some Creole families living in houses larger than their white neighbors. This lens into the residential makeup of the city reflects the diversity of

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29 I chose Government Street because it was the most racially diverse street in the 1898 Maloney’s Pensacola city directory.


31 Ratcliffe, *Rhetorical Listening*, 29.
its inhabitants. Looking at this data synchronically tells us the city was integrated and viewing it diachronically shows an unfolding story of changing contact zones. Each successive year showed more whites populating the central portion of Government Street and the Creoles and other African American families were moving west away from downtown. This area of West Pensacola became known as the Tanyard, and historian Diane Gaines Jackson proposes that it was named for the diversity of skin colors in the neighborhood.\textsuperscript{32}

After telling a story of residential integration I wanted to know more. What was it like living in the Tanyard? How did everyone get along, or did they? I wanted to listen to their stories and try to understand what it was like to live in the South in an area that was racially diverse and supported an integrated community. Who could I listen to? How could I learn to understand what it meant to have society change to one of segregation after your community had been integrated for hundreds of years? How did residents of the Tanyard negotiate the cultural interactions between their lives and those of the residents in the rest of the city? The University of West Florida (UWF) oral history archive helped me listen, literally and figuratively, to Tanyard residents and allowed my second study to look at the Jim Crow era and its effects on the Tanyard including the racial tensions within the neighborhood.

The Tanyard was focused around St. Joseph’s Church, which was formed as Pensacola’s second Catholic Church. The first Catholic Church, St. Michael’s, was founded on 10 May 1781, the day after Spain recaptured the town from the British. St. Michael’s served the entire Catholic community of Pensacola, regardless of race or social status. A St. Joseph’s Colored Society was founded at St. Michael’s in the 1880s by Father Roache and a mixed-race Creole woman named

Mercedes Sunday Ruby. By the early 1890s, a new Catholic church (St. Joseph’s) was planned in the Tanyard area and there was speculation about the reasons for creating a new church. The possible reasons included overcrowding at St. Michael’s or that the “Creoles and Blacks of St. Michael’s could not take an active part in the activities of the church.” News of the pending construction set off rumors that it was to be a Creole and black church, prompting the newspaper to run the following notice:

The News is authoritatively informed that the new Catholic church building contemplated of erection in this city is not, as was stated, for the exclusive use of Creole and colored Catholics, nor will it be devoted to any exclusive purpose as respects classes. If built, it will be for the convenience of those residing nearest it, not with a view to the exclusion of worshippers of any class or color, either from it or from St. Michael’s. [The Daily News, Pensacola, 3 December 1891]

In early 1892, John Sunday (brother to Mercedes Sunday Ruby), and his wife, Seraphine, sold to the diocese of Mobile, the parcel of property that became St. Joseph’s Church. The church was the focal point of the Tanyard community where families of all races lived in the neighborhood and their children played together as friends. Catholics, regardless of race, attended St. Joseph’s. Everyone went to church and the whole neighborhood walked together. However, early on there was an unwritten code of color that caused the pews to be filled in skin color order with the whites and light-skinned Creoles in the front and the dark complexioned individuals in the back. “It was set up that way,” said one church member, “if you were of darker complexion you sat in the back. If you were of lighter complexion, you sat up front” because the church “went along with what was

36 Daniel L. Benboe, interview by Betty Sample, 22 July 2003, interview #03-017; University Archives and West Florida History Center, University of West Florida (UWF), Pensacola, Florida.
going on in the world and the country at that time; separation as far as state, as far as color was concerned.”37 The church also had separate schools for colored and Creole children which also caused discord.

All children of the families belonging to St. Joseph’s Church went to the church schools except for white members, who “left the neighborhood each day to attend one of the many all white Protestant or Catholic schools around Pensacola.”38 Those families in the neighborhood who did not attend St. Joseph’s and whose churches did not have schools had their children go to public school.39 Within the black and Creole Catholic schools, there was also segregation by skin color. Originally there was a separate school for colored children and a separate school for Creole children. One area resident described the issue:40

Generally, most people, when you think about Creoles, you think about light-skinned, fair complexioned, straight-haired individuals. And that is not necessarily the truth. Creoles came in a variety of colors, hair textures and complexions and what have you. So when the school was started, they set up two schools, they set up St. Joseph’s Creole School and they set up St. Joseph’s Colored School. And the problem started with that. The color of your skin was what made you a Creole or not. They did a survey over at the Colored School to find out how many people over there were Creole, and over about 75% of the population in the school raised their hand. They were very adamant about it and from that day forward that started the problem.

The internal church and school segregation continued until the late 1930s when Father John J. Raleigh came to Pensacola. A St. Joseph’s church member recalls, “My first pastor, Father Raleigh stopped it... he was saying Mass and he turned around and saw how it was separated and told them

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37 Dewey Crosby, interview by Charles Carrier, 7 June 1999, interview #M1999-055; University Archives and West Florida History Center, University of West Florida (UWF), Pensacola, Florida.
39 Daniel L. Benboe, interview.
40 Martin Lewis, interview by Krysta Littleton, 7 June 2000, interview #00-033; University Archives and West Florida History Center, University of West Florida (UWF), Pensacola, Florida.
to fill up the front pews. They went to tell him about this, he told them he didn’t care, to fill up the front pews from now on.”

Father Raleigh also combined the schools into one for all children.

When residents of the Tanyard went to other parts of Pensacola, they had to follow different codes of conduct than they were used to at home. When friends of different races met outside the Tanyard, they did not interact and had to show no sign that they even knew each other, and “black youngsters deeply resented what we saw as ‘two-faced’ behavior on the part of our white neighbors.”

There were times however when the groups could interact, such as “when our integrated neighborhood group went to the Saenger Theater, we used the back or colored entrance and our white playmates used the front Palafox Street entrance. When we were inside the theater, our white friends would join us in the balcony until the movie ended.”

There were also times when “white and other light-skinned black or Creole boys were known to sneak into an all-white movie theater if it happened to be showing a movie they wanted to see.”

But most of the time, each group ignored the other until they were back in the Tanyard.

Although friends of different races had to act differently outside the Tanyard, Jackson noted there was racial conflict within the community,

[D]uring the 1930s for instance…racial feelings ran stronger and were more openly hostile. Ironically, much of the hostility was directed at blacks not by whites, but by other blacks! Most “Creoles,” a name which evolved to include all light-skinned blacks, separated themselves from dark-skinned members of their race…. Back then, racism among blacks of different skin tones within the race was often more powerful in the Tanyard than it ever was in whites towards blacks in the area.

41 Dewey Crosby, interview.
When true segregation came to Pensacola in the 1950s and 1960s, it was the whites who were ordered by the bishop to leave St. Joseph’s and go to St. Michael’s. A nun at St. Joseph’s recalled a white woman who attended the church and when the bishop told the woman that she would have to be affiliated with St. Michael’s, the woman said, “you may make me register there [St. Michael’s], but you can’t make me go there.” It is voices such as these that can help us listen to the past.

Blacks, whites, and mixed-raced individuals, interviewed by UWF students, spoke about their lives—they spoke and I listened. Part of listening involves being open-minded and trying to relate what you hear and learn to things you already know and value. By looking at the commonalities and differences between the lives of the Creoles and my own life I can begin to understand. When my family migrated from New York to Florida in the 1960s, my neighborhood and school were integrated and there was an array of economic classes and racial/ethnic groups in my life. My major challenge was learning to listen to Southern accents of both African American and white speakers. Now, decades later I still live in diverse neighborhoods and continue to listen to, and learn from, those who are marginalized because they do not have white privilege. Sadly, many of the racial conflicts I have found in the historical record still occur in today’s society.

While exploring nineteenth-century African American literacy in the U.S. Gulf South, I found that Creoles of Color did not have white privilege, but they were privileged in some other respects. Since the Spanish and French were Catholic cultures, the Creoles in Louisiana were able to open many schools as “there were not legal restrictions against free African-Americans being taught

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46 Sister Maureen Joseph Kirwan, interview by Betty Sample, 30 May 2003, interview #03-018; University Archives and West Florida History Center, University of West Florida (UWF), Pensacola, Florida.

47 The interviews were conducted by students at the University of West Florida, Pensacola, Florida. I obtained copies of audio tapes of the interviews from the University Archives and West Florida History Center at UWF.
or teaching in Louisiana.” 48 These schools were supported and run by wealthy Creoles. The Société Catholique pour l'instruction des orphelins dans l'indigence (Catholic Institution) in New Orleans had among its teachers “the leading French-speaking Afro-Creole intellectuals and writers in Louisiana.” 49 As Catholic Creole communities grew, they began to affect society in ways which made these Gulf coast areas distinctive. The Creoles were not the dominant culture, but they were not entirely dominated. The whites, Creoles, and slaves negotiated the contact zones between their cultures and lived together in unique multi-racial communities.

Louisiana Creole society was predominately French-based and larger than Pensacola’s Spanish-based culture, but by listening to the voices in the published Louisiana Creole newspapers and intellectual journals of the time we can better understand the cultural differences between Catholic Creole society and the Protestant English-based Americans. After the United States took over Louisiana and West Florida in the early 1800s, the privileges the Creoles of Color had attained were forcibly removed by the new Anglo-centric rules. The influx of white Americans contributed to the issue of racism as their religious Protestantism stressed racial purity and anti-Catholicism. The Anglos did not “distinguish socially or legally between Negroes or mixed bloods” 50 and preferred a two-caste system of whites and slaves, thus doing as much as they could to remove the free people of color from the country. 51

Increasingly restrictive laws were enacted removing the Creoles’ right to bear arms and serve in the militia, and to have equal property and inheritance rights. The Guardianship Laws (1842–


that were enacted prevented the Creoles from buying or selling property without the consent of their white guardian. The white Americans did not negotiate with, nor did they ‘listen’ to Creole society, and restricted the Creoles on many fronts. Eventually, many of the Pensacola Creoles of Color took action, and selling all of their property set sail to a new, less restrictive place—Tampico, Mexico. News of the Pensacola Creoles’ emigration appeared in the April 4, 1857, edition of the *Pensacola Gazette*.

The Exodus—On Tuesday last, thirty five free colored persons took their departure from this city for Tampico and in a few days the balance who are still remaining will also leave for the same place. It was a painful sight to see them parting from their friends and their native country to seek homes in a foreign land. They take with them the sympathy of all our citizens on account of the causes which have led them to leave us, and also their best wishes for their future happiness and prosperity in their new home.52

Historical records allow us to listen to the voices of the local whites from Pensacola lament the leaving of their friends.

After the Civil War and generations after the exodus, a number of families in Pensacola were enumerated in the census with children who were born in Mexico. For a time, after their return, the Creoles of Color were able to protect their cultural identity by practicing endogamous marriage and by becoming segregationist. The church priests, and the registers in which they documented the baptisms and marriages of Creoles, also validated their identities and were a safeguard of their cultural identity.53 They distanced themselves from the freed blacks by invoking discriminatory

52 The Tuesday the article refers to would be 31 March 1857. The group left Pensacola the same month as the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in the Dred Scott case. They sold property in the months prior to departure, and the court’s decision may have reinforced their reasons for leaving.

policies in their social clubs and community. St. Michael’s Benevolent Social Club appears in the city directories in the early twentieth-century and by 1916 is designated as Creole.

From his research, Donald H. Bragaw asserts that during the early 1900s, “Creole” transformed and became a term to distinguish mixed-race people from “pure” Negroes. He further suggests that Creoles were forced to choose a side in the biracial society of the times with some Creoles passing into white society and the remainder forever labeled as colored. The choice was not simple, nor complete. Some lighter colored Creoles chose to leave Pensacola and to live as white in places such as California, cutting off their associations with their darker relatives and friends. Some Creoles, like Sebastian Barrios, fluctuated between white and colored over the course of their lives and in the end were buried as blacks. Others who stayed had trouble with their own racial identities and felt “too white to be black and too black to be white.” Examining the contact zones affecting the Creoles and listening to their histories allows a fuller understanding of their culture.

Itinerary

So what has listening to do with history? Everything. As a historian I must listen to the traces of lives in the past; whether it is the lives of my ancestors or another group I study. Just because they are dead does not mean they cannot tell us things. Historians make use of a variety of historical genres that they analyze for clues and to use as evidence for inferring what may have

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57 Sister Maureen Joseph Kirwan, interview.
58 1898 Creole; 1905 White; 1909 White; 1910 White; 1911 Colored; 1913 White; 1916 Colored; 1919 Colored; 1920 Colored; 1924 White; 1927 White; 1931 White; 1934 White (Sebastian Barrios died in 1932 and the 1934 city directory entry is for his wife, Cecilia).
occurred in the past. We do not know positively what happened in daily life in Pensacola (or anywhere else for that matter) in the past centuries. We can only surmise scenarios based on the evidentiary clues found in the historical record and cultural memories passed down through oral traditions. Histories of the Pensacola Creoles offer a multi-perspective view of the intersections of race, contact zones, and rhetorical listening, and I will be using examples of this group throughout my project.

The lens through which I have viewed history-making has changed as a result of my exploration of rhetorical listening and contact zones. By moving from history-making to rhetorical history-making I can see different aspects of cross-cultural understanding in ways that may be beneficial to others. In some ways, rhetorical listening and the negotiation of contact zones is a personal, introspective pursuit. By focusing my chapter titles on a theme of words beginning with “I,” my “eye”-cons for each chapter, and my metaphor of a kaleidoscope (Chapter 5), I hope to make readers aware that rhetorical listening and the research and writing of cross-cultural historical narratives requires a reflexive awareness of self and promotes a new way of seeing. Other “I” terms used throughout this document such as invisible, identity, ideology, interface, and interpretation also focus on the effects of individual choices on understanding cultures during rhetorical history-making.

Self-reflexive awareness is necessary for actively engaging with hybrid historical research methods such as historiography, prosopography, and genealogy, which assist in the collection, analysis, and storage of rhetorical and cultural data, and can help answer the question, how do we listen to the data? (see Chapter 3 – Intermixing) This awareness is also useful for understanding the intersections of rhetorical theory and hypertext theory which can help us explore the question, how do we create a website to explore cultural rhetorical artifacts and enact listening to history in
particular ways? (see Chapter 4 – Instantiations) Overall, the ultimate goal is theorizing how a kaleidoscopic community history can be designed and implemented for cross-cultural exchange (see Chapter 5 – Intercontextuality).

To answer these questions and accomplish the goal of theorizing the creation and consumption of databased rhetorical histories, we will begin with defining, more fully, contact zones and rhetorical listening, and how they can inform rhetorical history-making. Understanding and implementing rhetorical listening begins with a look inward toward cultural and personal identities and thus, Chapter 2 – Introspection.
CHAPTER TWO: INTROSPECTION

It’s about listening. Sarah Orne Jewett writes about ‘an ear made delicate by listening.’ That’s what historians’ ears ought to be: delicate. How else to hear a conversation so faint, a conversation not meant for you, though it is in a sense about you?

—Chris W. Gallagher, Radical Departures

Whether canvassing a cemetery or examining artifacts in a physical or digital repository, the historian spends countless hours interacting with traces of the past. The act of history-making involves data acquisition, examination, analysis, selection and interpretation of evidence, and the writing of historical narratives. During this iterative process the historian not only interacts with the artifacts but also with the custodians of those objects, either through direct human contact or through a computer interface.

While Pratt defines a contact zone as a social space where cultural conflicts occur, I find the term can be applied to a more general notion of negotiated spaces. Contacts zones may illuminate negotiated spaces at many levels, such as meaning, conflict, or even access to materials. Negotiations in these zones occur not only from person to person, but also between people and objects such as historical documents and computers. Broadening Pratt’s contact zone to include all negotiated spaces helps make history-making contact zones visible, and reveals their ubiquitous nature in the rhetorical situatedness of history-making.

To me, historical research and writing has always seemed a solitary pursuit; however, because of my research I have moved conceptually from thinking about writing histories to thinking of the process as rhetorical history-making, and through this lens shift I have become aware of the multitude of contact zones in the work of a historian. These negotiated spaces were previously invisible to me,
and are likely invisible to other historians, because the interactions we have during the course of our research have become habitual and thus we do not see them as negotiated. This new visibility allows me to look at them as negotiated spaces where theories of rhetorical listening may be applied.

In *The Electronic Word*, Richard A. Lanham uses the terms *at* and *through* to describe how text is perceived in print versus electronic form.⁶⁰ He explains that the written surface of print is transparent to those who can read; we do not look *at* it aesthetically, we look *through* it for its content. Lanham argues that electronic text makes the reader look *at* the arrangement of the text on its surface before actually reading for content. Some historians look *through* the contact zones in history-making to the content, and I am proposing to look *at* them so that awareness occurs of these negotiated spaces. Collin Gifford Brooke applies the notion of *from* to Lanham’s *at*/*through* and stresses that perspective is also important.⁶¹ Self-awareness and an understanding of your own perspective in negotiated spaces is a fundamental part of rhetorical listening. The contact zones in which rhetorical listening occurs can be as diverse as between an archivist and historian, or between a historian and the members of the nineteenth-century marginalized cultural group he or she studies. The historian also may find—and need to interpret—contact zones between cultural groups within the past; for example, the Creoles of Color had many cultural contact zones to negotiate not only because of who they were but when and where they lived.

As I intimated in the introduction, cross-cultural understanding begins with a level of self-awareness and a willingness to be open to others. This openness can be applied both to contemporary contact zones and to those with/in the past. In “Arts of the Contact Zone,” Pratt includes in her list of suggested pedagogical arts, learning “ways for people to engage with

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⁶¹ Collin Gifford Brooke, *Lingua Fracta: Toward a Rhetoric of New Media* (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton, 2009), 140.
suppressed aspects of history (including their own histories); ways to move into and out of rhetorics of authority” and particularly, ways of “identifying with the ideas, interests, histories, and attitudes of others.”62 These arts allow openness to other voices and foster practices that define rules of engagement through what Pratt calls “cultural mediation.”63

Contact zones are spaces of negotiation and Jacqueline Jones Royster uses the phrase “code of better conduct” in a manner similar to Pratt’s cultural mediation.64 Royster ponders how to “talk across boundaries with others instead of for, about, and around them.”65 She points out that although we need to talk cross-culturally, we also need to listen. She asks, “How do we translate listening into language and action…so that we can exchange perspectives, negotiate meaning, and create understanding…”66 Ratcliffe builds on Royster’s concepts67 and proposes an answer to her question with the notion of rhetorical listening, which Ratcliffe defines as “a stance of openness that a person may choose to assume in relation to any person, text, or culture.”68 Pratt, Royster, and Ratcliffe are speaking to contemporary audiences about practicing honest, engaging ways to find meaning and understanding across cultures.

63 Pratt, “Arts,” 40.
67 Krista Ratcliffe’s work with rhetorical listening was a direct response to Jacqueline Jones Royster’s CCCC chair’s address in 1994. Royster’s address was subsequently published as “When the First Voice You Hear Is Not Your Own.” The concepts Royster proposes in her article are very relevant to any discussion of rhetorical listening, and although her subject was more applicable to writing pedagogy, her theories of subjectivity and behavior in cross-boundary discourse can be very useful when discussing the cross-cultural notions of contact zones. Therefore, I am applying these concepts to my research of rhetorical history-making. While I reference other works of Royster throughout my project, “First Voice” is an important basis for listening rhetorically in contact zones.
68 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 17 (emphasis in original).
Those interested in the past can engage in cross-cultural openness and learn to listen ‘delicately.’ Some historical explorations only listen and gather evidence from the dominant narratives. Many histories ignore, underrepresent, or misrepresent marginalized groups, and to narrate the history of such a group as Pensacola’s Creoles of Color requires recovering traces of their history submerged in the dominant rhetoric of their time.

The principles of rhetorical listening, which I will cover in more detail later in this chapter, allow us to recover these traces by looking openly and honestly at historic sources of the time and place. Many historical records are created by the dominant social group, and either minimize or exclude the marginalized. We must, however, examine and understand the context within which these documents were created so that we interpret them responsibly against their own time period and not ours. Only after standing under the historic discourse of that time and place, may we compare their situation to our own.69 Royster, in her examination of African American women’s literacy practices, acknowledges the impact of hegemonic historical bias (e.g. white, male, European) and the necessity of using both traditional and non-traditional sources in “this process of recovery and documentation.”70 She also encourages historians to develop a skill she calls critical imagination; that is, “a willingness to imagine the possibility of truth in order to develop an ability to recognize small pieces of a puzzle as meaningful.”71 Each sliver of evidence combines to form a more detailed picture of the past. By approaching the evidence—be it from traditional sources or not—with openness, and not making judgments without examining the rhetorical situations in which the sources originated, narratives of (and from) marginalized groups may be created from interpretations

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69 Ratcliffe, *Rhetorical Listening*, 28. Ratcliffe suggests we stand under the discourse of others to learn to listen.


of the recovered evidence. These alternative histories may compliment or contradict current views of history.

Gerard A. Hauser argues that narrative going against hegemonic views “requires the creation of conflict, from which social construction may develop, and a discursive space in which to raise it.”\textsuperscript{72} This cross-cultural discursive space, like Pratt’s contact zone, is a place where listening may occur, although as Royster points out these spaces or “areas of engagement…in all likelihood will remain contentious.”\textsuperscript{73} Delicate listening needs to occur across the multiplicity of contact zones in history-making to foster open, \textit{cross-temporal-cultural} communication. Not only are historians working cross-culturally, they are working across time—theirs and that of their subject. Awareness of the gaps between cultures and between times is crucial to history-making. Brooke’s \textit{from} combined with Ratcliffe’s rhetorical listening allows a fuller examination of the researcher’s perspective and role in affecting open communication across these contact zones.

Figure 1 displays the types of contact zones pertinent to rhetorical history-making. I used my Pensacola community history as an example to illuminate the types of negotiated spaces that may be useful for researchers to explore using rhetorical listening. Pratt similarly expands her notion of contact zones into other negotiated spaces when she describes the classroom functioning as a type of contact zone.\textsuperscript{74} In the example, the solid circles depict the people of the past and their contact: whites, blacks, and mixed race individuals interacted in both slave and free contexts.\textsuperscript{75} The rings indicate contemporary contact zones with the past. The dark brown ring signifies the extant

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{72} Gerard A. Hauser, \textit{Vernacular Voices: The Rhetoric of Publics and Public Spheres} (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 158.
\item \textsuperscript{73} Royster, “First Voice,” 33.
\item \textsuperscript{74} Pratt, “Arts,” 39.
\item \textsuperscript{75} Not indicated on the diagram are Native Americans who were sometimes part of mixed-race individuals. Additionally, slave ownership is not included. Both whites and free people of color owned slaves in Pensacola.
\end{itemize}
historical records and shows more white (hegemonic) records exist than those of the marginalized groups. The tan ring represents the archival records and finding aids encompassing only a part of the existing records. The yellow ring is the historian’s contact with the aforementioned groups. The historian selects records of the past from both the archives and other sources to analyze and narrate the cross-temporal-cultural history of the group. Many of the records are hegemonic in nature and therefore require delicate listening for traces of the marginalized.

Figure 1. Contact zones of rhetorical history-making diagram
As an example, the United States federal census has been taken every decade since 1790, and it is used to enumerate the country’s population for various purposes including government representation. All categories of people represented by the solid circles in Figure 1 were enumerated in U.S. census records. Up through 1840, only the head of household was listed by name, and therefore all slaves and any free people of color living in a white household would only be enumerated by gender and age range.76 Beginning in 1850, all persons in free households, regardless of color, were listed by name, and slaves were listed under their owner’s name by gender, color, and individual age. Genealogists and historians use census records (dark brown ring) to collect evidence for their research. All of the extant U.S. federal census population schedules have been digitized and indexed, and are available in various online repositories (tan ring). Since slaves were never named and free people of color were not named in censuses before 1850, only by careful analysis of census households combined with research in other documents (e.g. manumissions, bills of sale, deeds, wills) can any of these nameless become identified.77 Listening carefully can help identify some of these nameless individuals—whether non-white or white—listed in the historical record.

In this chapter I will illustrate how contact zones exist within the context of history-making and I will argue that Ratcliffe’s theory of rhetorical listening can explicate ways of negotiating these spaces. I will begin by focusing on applying these theories to interactions with past cultures (particularly within a digital history framework), and also to those involved in their research—the descendants of their focus group, archivists, county clerks, copyright holders, other historians, and

76 If a free person of color headed a household, his or her name would be listed. For example, see 1840 U.S. census, Escambia County, Territory of Florida, West of Escambia River, p. 11, line 4, for Euphrasine Hinard; NARA microfilm publication M704, roll 36. She headed a household of five free females and twelve slaves.

so forth. I will follow with a discussion of how the theories of contact zones and rhetorical listening may affect the overall design of a community history database and website intended for cross-temporal-cultural understanding.

**Contexts and Constraints of Contact Zones**

The contact zones of history-making encompass four broad types. The first type of contact zone is between cultures within the past, such as the contact between whites and free people of color illustrated by the two nineteenth-century petitions I will introduce below. Interactions between different cultures in the past are more difficult to investigate since evidence of them must be found in historical sources. Evidence of multiple instances of these historic contact zones need to be found to ensure the researcher has not found a single unique example and made the assumption that it is the norm.

The second type of contact zone is between the historian’s own culture and the culture he or she studies. An example of this would be my interest in the Pensacola Creoles of Color, which involves research and interpretations of a nineteenth-century multi-racial cultural group by a white, twenty-first century woman who is committed to racial justice. James Berlin asserts, “All histories are partial accounts, are both biased and incomplete. The good histories admit this and then tell their stories.” I need to, as Berlin suggests, explain my perspective (subjectivity) and then tell my cross-cultural stories.

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78 Throughout my database and website design for this project, I have tried to incorporate the concepts of rhetorical listening and contact zones in ways that allow collaborative creation of history and promote openness during the negotiation of meaning. The site includes areas where users may reflect on their interactions with the narratives and also areas where they may observe the commonalities and differences between themselves and other co-creators of the histories.

The third type is between the historian and the repositories housing the historical artifacts of interest. These repositories include institutions like archives but would also include private collections and personal oral histories. The acquisition of the two nineteenth-century petitions from the State Archives of Florida as described below is an example of the contact zone between historian and archive repository, and the participants in this type of interaction normally converse bi-directionally and adhere to professional codes of conduct. By working with/in the archive(s), the historian conducts a broad search of record types to ensure that the correlation of evidence found includes the best representative sources to help answer the research question.\textsuperscript{80}

The final category of contact zone is between the makers of histories and the consumers of those histories. This zone involves two aspects: the physical medium (e.g. print or digital) and the ideologies of rhetor and audience.\textsuperscript{81} The rhetor/audience ideological dynamic fits the context of Pratt’s definition of contact zone when the rhetor and audience are from different cultures, and especially when subject and audience are both from a marginalized group. My discussion of this type of contact zone will be covered in Chapter 4 – Instantiations.

I will illustrate this variety of negotiated spaces encountered in history-making and some of the constraints imposed within them. Although complex community research may involve ethnographic studies with interviews of community members, collections of oral histories, and interactions with Institutional Review Boards (IRB), historical research also involves locating and accessing historical artifacts. The extended example which follows is based on the retrieval and examination of two original documents from the State Archives of Florida and is sufficient for the

\textsuperscript{80} These sources may include oral, physical, print, or digital items.

\textsuperscript{81} I will discuss the contact zone between user and print/digital history in later chapters as I discuss my implementation of a community history website.
purpose of identifying multiple contact zones in history-making, both in my broader sense of the term and in Pratt’s cultural context of power relations.

**Contact Zones between Cultures within the Past**

I had requisitioned two petitions at the State Archives of Florida. One was an 1847 petition by a group of white male residents of Pensacola, and the other was an 1850 petition by white male residents of Leon County, the county which includes the state capital of Tallahassee. I wanted to listen to voices from within the Pensacola community and also to those in the same time period and region of the state, but in a different community culture, to try to understand more about the multiracial interactions within antebellum north Florida. I knew from the catalog description that the Pensacola petition concerned my research topic, and I hoped the Leon County item would give me a comparison for the prevailing attitudes of the time. Both petitions were dated before the U.S. Civil War, and not long after Florida became a state in 1845. Prior to statehood, Pensacola was part of West Florida that was controlled by Spain, France, and for a period of time, Great Britain, up until 1821 when it became a territory of the United States. Leon County was in British East Florida until 1783 when Spain regained all of Florida and, like Pensacola, Leon County passed to the United States in 1821. During its early period and up through the Civil War, Leon County was a large producer of cotton with many large plantations, and thus had a different cultural background than the port city of Pensacola.

The transcriptions of the two petitions (below) are important for making visible the historical contact zones between different peoples in the past. It is important when reading texts

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82 Pensacola is called the city of five flags. They have been under Spain, France, Great Britain, the Confederate States of America, and the United States of America.
such as these petitions to look at the historical context (as briefly described above) for interpreting
the text in the context of its time.

Both petitions were written by white men and concern free people of color, illustrating
Pratt’s cultural contact zones between whites and non-whites, and between citizens and government
officials. The power relationships Pratt discusses are evident and the cultural differences between
Pensacola and Leon County will become visible from reading the petitions. Later in this chapter I
will apply rhetorical listening concepts to these contact zones, but first it is important to read these
texts as a historian and see the negotiations in play.

The first petition was signed in 1847 by fifty-nine white men of Pensacola. It was submitted
in protest of the three dollar tax assessed on every free man of color between twenty-one and sixty
years of age, since white males were only taxed fifty cents, and slaves were initially taxed thirty-seven
and a half cents (later raised to fifty cents).83

Petition of White Citizens of Pensacola Against the Tax on Free Persons of Color.84

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the General
Assembly of the State of Florida

The undersigned Memorialists resident white inhabitants of the City of Pensacola
would respectfully call the attention of your honorable body to the claim of Sundary
free colored persons, to wit: Benj Ruby, Eugene Collins, Raphel Monton, Francois
Casiano, Jean Baptiste Bernard, Jean Baptiste Barcelo, Raimond Lambert, Joseph
Goumarin, Alexander Goumarin, Robert Panton, Bicente Goumarin, Pedro Rach,
Nemecu Lenteno, Jaimez Gareta, Louis Dunn, John Fisher, Abrois Vaughn, Pierre
Delandre, Jean Garcia, Bernard Collins, Francis Lopez, Manuel Pargas, Valsin

83 The Acts and Resolutions of the State of Florida Passed at its First Session (Tallahassee, FL: W&C Julian Bartlett, 1845),
thereof,” § 4. This section had the tax for slaves at thirty-seven and a half cents and free men of color at three dollars.

The Acts and Resolutions of the First General Assembly of the State of Florida, Passed at its Adjourned Session (Tallahassee, FL:
Florida, and defining the duties of the assessors and collectors thereof,’” § 3 (whites at fifty cents) and § 6 (slaves at fifty
cents).

84 Petition of White Citizens of Pensacola Against the Tax on Free Persons of Color,” Florida State Archives,
Tallahassee, Florida, S.2153, Box 5, FF 62. Image of original document is in Appendix B.
Borras, Thomas Carr, Thomas Goumarin, Antoine Collins, Vilerez Bertrand, Francis Estavan, Verino Barrios, Joseph Durante, Edmond Vaughan, Richard Gagnet, Jean Gareta, Octavio Gagnet, Emille Sykes, Adolph Bertrand, William Keyser, Constantine Perez, Bicente Preva, Alexander Ruby, Francisco Casiano, [Jas] Joseph Gallez. Who reside within the limits of said City, for such relief as to your honorable body may seem proper to grant. Your Memorialists are moved to this application in behalf of these free colored persons, by considerations of their faithfulness, and fidelity to the laws of the land, – the interest which they have ever manifested during a long residence in our midst, in the welfare of the person and property of the white residents of this city; Your memorialists would therefore ask your honorable body to relieve said free colored persons from the burthen of tax imposed upon them by the Revenue law passed at the first Session of the General Assembly of this State 1845. So as to reduce said tax to the same amount assessed against white persons, And for further reason why your memorialists think this relief ought to be granted, they would state the fact, that the persons in whose behalf this request is made, have been for a long period of time, and are still members of the only efficient fire engine company in our City, that they have ever been prompt and active in every instance of fire, evidencing as already stated their attachment and fidelity to our interests.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

The Pensacola petition illustrates the high regard to which these white residents held these forty-two free men of color, and the contact between these two groups was evidently respectful. In 1847, a group of prominent white men were complaining the free people of color were being taxed unfairly and they should be taxed the same as whites. To find a request for equality by race in the pre-Civil War Southern U.S. is rare; however, since I have been listening to the voices of nineteenth-century Pensacolans for many years, I know this cross-racial code of conduct is normal for these groups in this time period as they were part of a blended Creole culture.

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85 It is presumed there were other free men of color who would have belonged in this group if not for their ages at the time of the petition.

86 Among the petitioners was the Mayor, the Clerk of Courts, the Assistant Marshall, a notary public, two lawyers, and nine merchants with cumulative land assets of $43,800. Additionally, the signees owned 144 slaves and two of the free men of color owned three slaves each. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), microform publication M432.
The second petition, signed in 1850 by forty-four white residents of Leon County, presents a much different picture.

Petition from Citizens of Leon Co. to remove from the State all free persons of color

To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Florida
The undersigned citizens of the State of Florida residing in the County of Leon respectfully represent into your Honorable body that a crisis like the present when the stability of the institution of domestic servitude is threatened and every means are adopted by our enemies to compass their ends it is not only the right but the duty of the Southern States to protect themselves by every means in their power. The safety of our lives and of our property demands that energetic measures should be adopted to remove from our midst not only ____ agencies which may be destructive[sic] to both or to either or to both, but also those which may at any time contribute to such a result – Your petitioners are impressed with the necessity of removing beyond the limits of the State all free persons of Color resident therein who may not be entitled to exemption from the operation of such a law as may be passed for that purpose, by treaty stipulation or otherwise – They respectfully represent their continuance amongst us as an evil of no ordinary magnitude, and one for the removal of which they believe the State should take prompt action – Your petitioners do not deem it needful to give at length the reasons for the conclusions they have come to because they believe them to be so obvious as to suggest themselves at once to the mind of every reflecting man. Your petitioners therefore pray that your Honorable body will at the present session pass a law providing for the removal of all free persons of Color in this State who can be made subject to its operations, and if necessary that a sufficient sum may be appropriated to defray the expenses attending their removal. And your petitioners will ever pray &c.

Some of these petitioners were slave owners and all were concerned about the influence of free people of color on slavery. Colonization groups, those who wanted free people of color to leave the country, were “primarily motivated by a desire to reduce or eliminate the free black population in order to strengthen and preserve slavery.” This movement became more organized

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87 “Petition from Citizens of Leon Co. to remove from the State all free persons of color,” Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida, S.2153, Box 5, FF 66. Image of original document is in Appendix C.

88 Of these forty-four men, fifteen were identified as owning slaves on the 1850 U.S. census slave schedule of Leon County, Florida. These fifteen men owned 159 slaves. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*. Washington, D.C.: NARA, microform publication M432.

around the time the Florida Territory came under United States control. These Leon County petitioners were—from my twenty-first-century liberal perspective—racist, and they felt the free people of color were a threat to their livelihood as the white planter ideology of that time and place dictated. The cultural contact zones between white, slave, and free people of color were very different in Leon County versus Pensacola, and these contested zones will be discussed later in regards to rhetorical listening.

**Contact Zones between the Historian and the Culture Being Studied**

Interpretation, which comes with its own challenges, occurs in the contact zone between the historian and cultural artifacts of the past. Among these challenges are gaining familiarity with old handwriting, and vernacular and legal terminology. In trying to negotiate the meaning of the Pensacola petition for example, the term “memorialist” would need to be defined. It means one who writes a memorial, which according to Merriam-Webster, is “a statement of facts addressed to a government and often accompanied by a petition or remonstrance.”90 The white Pensacolans were addressing the General Assembly of Florida, laying out the facts—faithfulness, fidelity, firemen—why the free men of color should be taxed equally. Archaic spellings such as “burthen” for “burden” need to be understood in the context of their time and not thought of as typographical errors. In the Leon County document, the writer uses the word “compass” as a verb to mean “to devise or contrive,” which is not a common usage today.91 Additionally, in the Leon County petition, the word just before “agencies” (left blank in the transcription) defies interpretation. Careful analysis of the handwriting suggests the letters a-t-i-c-e; however, this does not spell an English word. After crowdsourcing the image, there was no clear consensus as to what the word was meant to be. Some

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90 Merriam-Webster online (www.merriam-webster.com).
91 Merriam-Webster online (www.merriam-webster.com).
suggestions were misspellings of “other” or “active”—either of which makes sense in the context. Another suggestion was that it was the Spanish word “atice” meaning “to stir,” so figuratively “disturbing agencies.” However, one Spanish speaker surmised that if by chance the author of this petition was indeed fluent in Spanish, he would have selected a different term. Illegibility due to bad handwriting or deterioration of the physical document may keep historians from hearing all the nuances of a text; therefore, though they must settle for partial understanding, researchers need to make the effort to try to understand the whole of it by soliciting the interpretations of others.

The contents of the two petitions, in concert with sources from other repositories, helps build a picture of the historical cultural contact zones (Pratt’s definition) within nineteenth-century north Florida. As I read the petitions, I saw that the attitudes of the Pensacola petitioners of 1847, requesting equal taxation for free men of color, echoed the sentiments expressed in the 1857 Gazette article which detailed the free people of color’s exodus to Tampico, Mexico (Ingress, p. 19). I tried to listen to how the whites talked about the free people of color to better understand their relationships. It was important to me to try to verify my perception that the relationships between whites and free people of color in Pensacola, though complicated, were relatively respectful. The petition helped reinforce my understanding of Pensacola being an integrated community where there was a general level of respect between the various racial groups. Having the short, 1857 article mentioning that the free people of color were leaving and they would be missed is one thing. Having a petition naming forty-two free men of color and being signed by fifty-nine prominent white men helped validate my interpretation. The Leon County petition, entitled “Petition from Citizens of Leon Co. to remove from the State all free persons of color,” reinforced my original feelings.

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92 Delia M. Garcia, e-mail message to author, 19 November 2013.
concerning the pre-Civil War south, and showed me that multi-racial communities like Pensacola were not the norm.

Each piece of history collected during a project, such as these petitions, adds to the historian’s body of knowledge of the time and place. Sometimes new information may disrupt the interconnections of the known pieces and cause the historian to rethink and reconstruct the overall picture to include the new perspective. Other new information can be conflicting evidence—errors or omissions in the record caused by clerical error or willful choice. Genealogists or historians cannot just ignore erroneous records; we must analyze and satisfactorily explain the discrepancies to ensure we reach a sound conclusion. Wrong conclusions could be drawn without a broad collection of material, an accurate analysis, and an informed interpretation of the evidence.

A historian works with available evidence to tell an accurate, well-documented story about the locations, items, and people involved with events in the past. Like other researchers, historians are selective and make rhetorical choices concerning which facts (evidence) they will use in their analysis and narrative. Arnaldo Momigliano agrees with the selective process; however, he compares history to other literary genres, such as epic, and concludes that the distinguishing feature of historical discourse is its compulsory requirement of evidence, which to him equates to truth.93 There can be many “truths” depending on the perspective of the rhetor—and audience—of a narrative. Truth depends on which discourse you are standing under and what your personal subjectivity is in relation to that discourse. If what you hear connects with what you know and value then the narrative will ring true. Although I was trained as a genealogist to rely on original documentary evidence to prove identities and relationships, I know that cultural narratives can be

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the truth to many without documentary “proof.” By listening rhetorically we may be able to open
our minds and hear new truths that we may not have been aware of before.

One of the goals of my project is to allow users to explore the database contents and use it
to tell their stories and construct new sets of historical discourse. Hopefully, over time, stories from
multiple perspectives of the same event will be told. Additionally, the author of each story will have
ways to self-identify his or her perspective, and thus allow other users the chance to understand the
author’s subjectivity. Researchers are not the only ones whose subjectivity affects history-making;
looking at the authors of historical documents can also reveal biases that are important to
understand in the contact zones of history-making. The authors of the petitions reveal their biases
(positive and negative) quite visibly, whereas other types of documents may have more subtle clues.

**Contact Zones between Historian and Record Keepers**

Historians seek to negotiate the gap between themselves and the records they seek. This
involves interacting both with human record custodians, and various databases of materials, whether
physical or digital. In *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Michel-Rolph Trouillet
describes archives as “institutionalized sites of mediation between the sociohistorical process and the
narrative about that process”94 and thus archives can be viewed as a contact zone in a number of
ways. Access to historical records requires an understanding of the protocols belonging to the
archival institutions housing the records. A researcher cannot normally walk into a repository and
have direct access to all its wares. There are system constraints requiring careful negotiations or the
historian may never gain access to the documentary evidence required for an accurate analysis of the
subject. For example, the State Archives of Florida has various collections in closed stacks, meaning
that a researcher must request specific items to be pulled by an archivist and the items are brought

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out to the researcher for examination. This contact zone between archivist and historian is asymmetrical in the sense that the archivist has complete power over access to the records in the repository, and the researcher must follow protocols to gain access. The historian needs to navigate multiple archival contact zones to successfully request and examine the data.

Access to records is not only constrained by closed stacks but also by finding aids such as the catalog. With the advent of digital technology, the card catalog of a repository has become much more dynamic and easier to use; however, finding items in the archive is constrained by whoever created the index entries in the catalog. How accurately does the catalog entry index data (metadata) reflect the contents of the archive? How encompassing are the entries? Is the catalog at the broad collection level only or is each item cataloged individually? Did the programmatic constraints for the catalog database force the archivist to adapt the cataloging techniques to the software system? Even with a robust catalog, at times the archivist is the best finding aid. The specialized knowledge of the archive contents can allow an archivist to suggest relevant materials that may be cataloged differently than the historian would imagine. An archivist’s perspective can also give insight on the rhetorical situation surrounding the creation and provenance of the items in the collections.

If the cataloging (or the archivist’s knowledge) is such that you are able to find items worthy of examination, accessing those items is the next step to navigate. In some archives with limited cataloging you may find yourself pulling collection pieces as potential sources versus knowing specifically what item you will see. Once the researcher negotiates the interfaces with the catalog and the archivist, and has the items pulled, the historian then begins contact with materials of the past. Some contact requires donning white cotton gloves to handle the original material, or the item may require the use of a microfilm/fiche reader. The contact with the historical material may be physical or digital, each requiring its own set of protocols and behaviors.
Historians need to examine a variety of sources, usually at various repositories, to get as accurate a picture as possible of the time, place, and people they study. An historian’s work within a repository is usually guided by a research question whose answer requires access to a certain document or record group. The majority of the time the historian prepares, in advance of the visit, a list of items to procure and analyze. The more the historian listens to the collected data, other research questions, possibilities, and paths emerge. Clues within the records typically suggest other avenues of research, and through this network of interconnected evidence the historian may begin to hear the story contained within it. Ultimately, the historian strives to reach a conclusion based on the evidence collected from a wide range of sources, and then narrates the story found therein.

Prior to my State Archives visit, I navigated (negotiated) their online catalog and located entries for two nineteenth-century petitions which, based on their descriptions, appeared to be potentially helpful for my historical research of Pensacola. I sent an email to the archive indicating the items I wished to see and the date I would arrive, and the archivist notified me the day before my visit that my items had been pulled and were awaiting me on a cart. By knowing how to negotiate the contact zone between researcher and archivist, we both were prepared for my visit. The protocols (codes of conduct) used by archives constrain not only the access to the records but also the researcher’s interaction with them. For instance, upon arrival at the State Archives patrons must pass through security and sign-in to the building. In the reading room, the only writing utensils allowed are pencils, and all notebook pockets must be empty. Cameras and computers are allowed, but no flash or flatbed scanners. Any prohibited items must be secured in a locker. Many of these rules were implemented because of irresponsible researchers who stole or damaged artifacts. I believe that researchers should act professionally and follow the rules set forth by each institution. There have been times at certain repositories when I have unfortunately needed to resort to calling
myself a historian instead of a genealogist, as the misbehavior of some hobbyist genealogists have created conflicted contact zones at those institutions. My scenarios very briefly outlined a few of the contact zones included in my broader definition; these interactions with archive personnel may seem trivial, but they are negotiated spaces that require proper codes of conduct.

By negotiating the contact zones between the historian and archivist to retrieve the documents, and by examining the texts carefully (i.e. negotiating the space between historian and artifact), one can make visible some of the contact zones within which the peoples of the past negotiated their lives.

Once the contact zones of history-making are visible, the historian can apply Ratcliffe’s principles of rhetorical listening to assist in navigating these spaces to more fully understand the past. Seeing the interactions of people with/in the past as negotiated spaces will bring the historian’s perspective more visibly into play; thus bringing awareness to how the past is interpreted through the historian’s point of view. Through cross-temporal-cultural narration, the historian bridges the contact zone between past and present allowing the histories of these past cultures to affect present-day readers. However, constraints inherent in history-making contact zones may also include limits on who can speak within them. My application of rhetorical listening principles to these contact zones through my database and website design is intended to remove some of the constraints and expand the number of voices that can and should be heard within them.

**Who Can Speak in the Contact Zone?**

I will begin with Walter Mignolo’s concept of border thinking as he uses it to discuss the contact zone between hegemonic and marginalized cultures and also to identify those who he feels should speak in this discursive space. Mignolo embraces the rhetorics of the Other in the space he
terms the “colonial difference”—the site where power and knowledge meet.\textsuperscript{95} He situates his argument in relation to the modern/colonial world model which began with Spain’s colonization efforts in the sixteenth-century in the Americas, and the colonial difference is still present today.\textsuperscript{96} Mignolo’s exemplar of Guaman Poma’s epistle, \textit{Nueva corónica y buen gobierno},\textsuperscript{97} is the same used by Pratt when she defined contact zones as usually being “in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power.”\textsuperscript{98} It is the asymmetrical power relationship within Mignolo’s colonial difference and the subaltern’s use of blended local and hegemonic rhetorics that result in border thinking. The subalterns use their interpretations of the dominant rhetoric along with their own ideologies to tell their stories.

Mignolo has definitive criteria for who would be considered a border thinker, outlining where they exist, how they see themselves, and what discourse they produce. Mignolo acknowledges that the border thinkers he is most concerned with are from two geospatial groups: those migrant intellectuals “either living in the former colonizing or the former colonized countries and moving between the two,” and the Amerindians and Native Americans “who did not move, but around whom the world moved.”\textsuperscript{99} He also classifies Chicana/o intellectuals as border thinkers who span both of the aforementioned geospatial areas. The Afro-Creole intellectuals in early Louisiana who I mentioned in the introduction (Ingress, pp. 17–18) are examples of Mignolo’s border thinkers.


\textsuperscript{96} Mignolo, \textit{Local Histories}, Kindle loc. 75.

\textsuperscript{97} New chronicle and good government.

\textsuperscript{98} Mignolo, \textit{Local Histories}, Kindle loc. 75; Pratt, “Arts,” 40.

\textsuperscript{99} Mignolo, \textit{Local Histories}, Kindle loc. 1663.
In addition to cultural location, Mignolo sees border thinkers as possessing W.E.B. Du Bois’ “double-consciousness.”\textsuperscript{100} In \textit{The Souls of Black Folk}, Du Bois describes double-consciousness as the “sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of the world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.”\textsuperscript{101} Mignolo sees the subaltern intellectuals as possessing this double-consciousness; they see themselves through the eyes of both their own and the dominant culture. It is this way of seeing that produces “an epistemological fissure” which border thinkers inhabit and in this space they create discourse from their particular dual perspectives—their subjectivity.\textsuperscript{102} I see Mignolo’s epistemological fissure as a form of Pratt’s contact zone insofar as the border thinkers are interacting both with the dominant and their own ideologies. Their perspectives are unique as they are able to examine themselves from both sides: marginalized and dominant. Border thinkers also, as Guaman Poma did, create histories with blended forms of ideologies. Poma’s work is a lens through which readers can see/listen to his telling of both his culture’s present and past.\textsuperscript{103}

Another example of border thinkers would be the free children of color at the Catholic Institution in New Orleans in the 1850s and 1860s, whose letters describe their interpretations of the political and economic climate of the time.\textsuperscript{104} W.H. Green, who was contemplating his economic future, said in a letter to his brother John (who lived in Vera Cruz, Mexico),\textsuperscript{105}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[100] Mignolo, \textit{Local Histories}, Kindle loc. 2883.
\item[102] Mignolo, \textit{Local Histories}, Kindle loc. 2883.
\item[103] Guaman Poma’s “chronicle” was written in 1613, in both Spanish and Quechua. It described a new version of the history of the world from the perspective of an Andean, and his “good government” condemned the Spanish for their treatment of the Inca.
\item[104] Mitchell, “Good and Delicious,” 123–144.
\item[105] W.H. Green to John Green, Esq., Vera Cruz, Mexico, 28 May 1857. Catholic Institution English Copybook, Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans. Image of original document and transcription are in Appendix D.
\end{footnotes}
I would like better to be a farmer than carry on any other profession, for I can make money by it in the markets... They say that the government grants land to any one who settles there, and at the expiration of five years, you have to give it back or pay the amount of its value. Please tell me if this is true for I should like to go there.

Mary Niall Mitchell’s analysis of the boys’ letters revealed changing attitudes about emigration from New Orleans—first to Mexico, and eventually to Haiti.106 The boys’ goals changed from individual success and freedom, to the desire to live in a nation “where ‘colored’ people are in charge.”107 The frustrations of the political climate are evident in letters such as one from A.F. Frilot who complained,108

You know yourself, dear brother, that the prejudice against the colored population is very strong in this part of the country. The Legislature used to give every year, for this establishment, fifteen hundred dollars; but this year, when they went to get it, they did not want to give anything at all, and they treated them very bad…. Is this not too bad, my dear brother? The white people have an Institution in every district, and they are all protected very well. But we, who have, but a single one, cannot be protected at all.

Although these letters were not intended for us, we can see and hear these children’s voices describe their cross-cultural interactions from their own perspective.

History, as David Lowenthal states, “depends on someone else’s eyes and voice: we see it through an interpreter who stands between past events and our apprehension of them.”109 He suggests that histories are biased by both rhetor and audience because of inherent subjectivity.110 Royster argues all cross-cultural encounters are “definable through the lens of subjectivity, particularly in terms of the power to speak and make meaning,”111 and she suggests the need for a

106 Mitchell believes that some of the letters may have been fanciful and just for class assignments.
108 A.F. Frilot to L. Armstrong, Esq., Attakapas, Louisiana, 27 May 1858. Catholic Institution English Copybook, Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans. Image of original document and transcription are in Appendix D.
110 Lowenthal, The Past, 214.
negotiator that “can cross boundaries and serve as a guide and translator for Others.”\textsuperscript{112} Mignolo’s border thinkers would be this type of negotiator as they traverse the boundaries between the hegemonic and subaltern cultures and speak in both places. Royster’s definition of a negotiator and Mignolo’s requirements for the intellectual to inhabit the subaltern space and speak from a perspective of double-consciousness would eliminate me as a border thinker in relation to the Pensacola Creoles of Color as I am not part of that cultural group; I can only negotiate the space from the perspective of an outsider. I am a historian, but an outsider to the group about which I am writing. This, however, can be said about many historians as most are, at a minimum, removed in time from their subject. However, I can see myself as a form of reverse border thinker; my cultural location is within the dominant society, yet I am striving to learn about the perspectives of a marginalized group, understand my own perspective in relation to theirs, and blend my ideologies with those with whom I wish to converse.\textsuperscript{113}

Historical scholarship used to be the purview of white, male Europeans. Jami L. Carlacio points out that “the coterie of rhetorical historians shaping the majority of [today’s] scholarship …focusing on race, gender, class, ethnicity, and so on, are frequently carried out by those who occupy the same categories”\textsuperscript{114} and she questions why outsiders cannot speak as long as they are “accountable to those with and to whom [they] speak.”\textsuperscript{115} I believe that outsiders should listen delicately before speaking about other cultures, and not try to speak for them. By using the principles

\textsuperscript{112} Royster, “First Voice,” 34.

\textsuperscript{113} The term border thinker can also be applied in other non-contested contexts. I also see myself as a border thinker in regards to traditional versus digital history-making. I work in both traditional and digital modes, see the value in each, and blend the ideologies of both schools into my work.


\textsuperscript{115} Carlacio, “Speaking With and To Me,” 130.
of rhetorical listening, outsiders can understand how their own perspectives in relation to others can shape their contributions to ethical cross-cultural discourse.

Royster talks about the perspectives of strangers, which to me denotes someone who is unfamiliar and therefore potentially unknowledgeable about the community. She declares “the obvious need to contextualize the stranger’s perspective among other interpretations and to recognize that an interpretive view is just that—interpretive.” To me, not only do stranger’s perspectives need to be interpreted, so do the views of both insiders and outsiders who are more intimately familiar with the community, because how else would cross-cultural understanding occur? Mignolo’s border thinkers and Royster’s negotiators should not be the only ones allowed to speak in the contact zones of their communities as that would not foster cross-cultural discourse. Outsiders who responsibly study and write about a culture could help encourage better communication and understanding as they are intentionally trying to learn about the culture and interpret it from their own perspective. These outsiders move away from having a stranger’s perspective and towards that of a border thinker. Royster also stresses “that point of view matters and that we must be trained to respect points of views other than our own.” Although I am white, and a Pensacola Creole descendant may or may not be, we both can respect each other’s views by listening rhetorically, and apply our understanding appropriately to stories of the historical time period.

Current community members and descendants of Pensacolans, regardless of race, bring their own heritage to the stories of Pensacola’s past. Each would have a different stake and claim to the histories than I have, and their cultural histories would be different than any I could write. However, my contributions to the history of Pensacola are also of value as they add to the conversation and are alternative histories. The intent of my project is to design a database and website based on the

principles of rhetorical listening where histories can be shaped and reshaped from many points of view and the perspectives of the rhetor and audience can be stored and visualized. My own narratives of Pensacola’s past could intersect with stories from descendants and community members. By co-creating history from many points of view with the understanding that we all look at things from our own subjectivity, we can find commonalities and differences not only between ourselves and the people of the past, but between ourselves and the other rhetors. Ratcliffe’s rhetorical listening principles are one way that we can make our own perspectives visible to others and learn to be open and respect all points of view while speaking in cross-cultural contact zones.

**Historical Listening in Contact Zones**

Cultural contact zones in history-making may involve present day negotiations with the living (e.g. historian and descendant) and/or negotiations with the dead (e.g. historian and nineteenth-century Pensacolans). Whether dealing with the living or the dead, researchers must achieve an understanding of the past by examining the perspectives of both themselves and the people they study. Ratcliffe’s theories of rhetorical listening can be used as a way to help examine both perspectives in relation to each other.

To reiterate Ratcliffe’s definition of rhetorical listening, it is “a trope for interpretive invention…signifying a stance of openness that a person may choose to assume in cross-cultural exchanges.”\(^{118}\) Ratcliffe uses the term “trope” in variety of ways and I will be focusing on a particular usage. She defines tropes as figures of speech and argues that since all language “is inherently figurative…all terms are tropes.”\(^{119}\) Ratcliffe states that tropes function within discourse and that “socially constructed attitudes and actions associated with these [tropes] become embodied

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\(^{118}\) Ratcliffe, *Rhetorical Listening*, 1.

\(^{119}\) Ratcliffe, *Rhetorical Listening*, 111.
in all of us (albeit differently) via our cultural socialization…." 120 Her simplest example is the term “student” and she explains how with this trope people may perceive “certain attitudes and actions about learning and classroom behavior” differently based on their cultural background.121

Ratcliffe specifically analyzes “whiteness” as a trope since she considers socially constructed categories such as race and gender to be tropes.122 I will be using “trope” to mean the broad level socially constructed categories such as race and gender. I also will use the term “attribute” or “trope attribute” as a descriptor for terms that are subcategories of tropes. For example, under the trope of race, I include attributes such as mixed-race, black, and white. These attributes, as I will explain later, are found in the historical record, and when examined within the particular context of their moment of usage, can help historians understand (stand under) the cultural ideologies of a particular place and time.

Ratcliffe suggests three tactics of rhetorical listening to be used in different inventive situations. These tactics are: listening metonymically (for public debates), eavesdropping (for scholarly discourse), and listening pedagogically (for classroom resistance) and these can be used as ways to examine positions of both self and other. Before reapplying these tactics to history-making, it is important to understand the space where Ratcliffe sees rhetorical listening occurring.

By examining your own perspective and position in the exchange (cross-cultural or otherwise) and that of the other (be they contemporary or historical), an understanding of the respective cultures may possibly be reached. Ratcliffe describes three terms that together help define a space where rhetorical listening can be used: identification, disidentification, and non-identification. She associates identification with Kenneth Burke, modern theory, and the use of

120 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 111.
121 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 111.
122 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 112.
metaphor, and suggests it is normally used when describing the commonalities between parties.\textsuperscript{123} Ratcliffe associates the term \textit{disidentification} with Diane Fuss, postmodern theory, and the use of metonym, and suggests it be used for the analysis of differences.\textsuperscript{124} She then uses the term \textit{non-identification} to label the “interplay” between identification (Burke) and disidentification (Fuss) and she calls this a metonymic gap.\textsuperscript{125} She proposes that rhetorical listening occurs in this gap —where commonalities and differences are examined together. Ratcliffe uses the term “non-identification” itself as an example of a metonymic gap.

The hyphen in \textit{non-identification} signifies a place where two concepts are metonymically juxtaposed—that is, where concepts of the negative and of identification are associated but not overlapping. As such, the hyphen represents the ‘margin between,’ a place wherein people may consciously choose to position themselves to listen rhetorically. This [gap] does not transcend ideology; it does, however, provide a place of pause, a place of reflection, a place that invites people to admit that gaps exist.\textsuperscript{126}

By associating Pratt’s contact zone with Ratcliffe’s metonymic gap I am proposing rhetorical listening as a way to examine the interplay between the parties in history-making. By examining the commonalities and differences between rhetor and subject, and between the audience, subject, and rhetor (historian), better cross-cultural understanding may occur. The categories within which we compare the commonalities/differences can be as simple as vocational occupation, or as troubled as race. Each of us understands these classifications based on what we have learned within our base culture or “home place” as Royster would call it.\textsuperscript{127} These shared beliefs, or “cultural logics,” inform and complicate our definitions and usage of terms such as race and gender when trying to

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\textsuperscript{123} Ratcliffe, \textit{Rhetorical Listening}, 48–60.
\textsuperscript{124} Ratcliffe, \textit{Rhetorical Listening}, 48.
\textsuperscript{125} Ratcliffe, \textit{Rhetorical Listening}, 63.
\textsuperscript{126} Ratcliffe, \textit{Rhetorical Listening}, 72–73.
\textsuperscript{127} Royster, “First Voice,” 32.
\end{flushleft}
understand other cultures.\textsuperscript{128} Ratcliffe uses the trope of race as an example of how terms (tropes) differ within cultural logics such as white supremacy (race as biological difference), and multiculturalism (race as imaginary construct that should be replaced with “ethnicity”).\textsuperscript{129} I will be using trope attributes found in the historical record to examine the usage of tropes such as race to attempt to understand the ideologies of the Pensacola Creole culture.

To navigate the metonymic gap, Ratcliffe suggests listening “\textit{with} intent—with the intent to understand not just the claims, not just the cultural logics within which the claims function, but the rhetorical negotiations of understanding as well.”\textsuperscript{130} The analysis of commonalities and differences may allow the perspectives of the conversing parties to become visible within cross-cultural contact zones and assist with listening with intent. Lanham’s concepts of \textit{at} and \textit{through} can apply to rhetorical listening in history-making contact zones as it is important to look \textit{at}, not \textit{through}, both commonalities and differences so a fuller understanding can occur. Brooke’s concept of \textit{from} is also applicable to rhetorical listening as it acknowledges that evaluating all perspectives is crucial for understanding.

It is important to be open to each other’s views and strive to understand the perspective (the \textit{from}) of all parties. By becoming conscious of the perspectives of others, rhetorical listeners may move towards becoming border thinkers. Although this takes time and effort, it makes the goal of cross-cultural understanding reachable. Without examining the positions of insiders, outsiders, and those on the margin, it makes interpretation not only more difficult, but the outcome could be skewed toward a single point of view. Royster suggests that analyzing the perspectives of outsiders is

\textsuperscript{128} Ratcliffe, \textit{Rhetorical Listening}, 10.

\textsuperscript{129} Ratcliffe, \textit{Rhetorical Listening}, 14–15. The terms “white supremacy” and “multiculturalism” also fall within Ratcliffe’s usage of trope as they embody attitudes and actions.

\textsuperscript{130} Krista Ratcliffe, “Rhetorical Listening: A Trope for Interpretive Invention and a ‘Code of Cross-Cultural Conduct’,” \textit{College Composition and Communication} 51, no. 2 (1999):205.
also fruitful as they “embody ways of seeing, knowing, being, and acting that probably suggest as much about the speaker and the context as they do about the targeted subject matter.” Ratcliffe’s three tactics of rhetorical listening—listening metonymically, eavesdropping, and listening pedagogically—bring out these perspectives. Although she applies these tactics to more contemporary sites (public debate, scholarly discourse, classrooms), I find them useful for examining history-making as they allow you to look at people in the past and examine the perspectives of rhetor, audience, and subject.

The following discussions outline Ratcliffe’s explanations of her three rhetorical listening tactics, my application of these to history-making, and how these concepts broadly inform my design of a digital community history website. I will use the two aforementioned petitions as examples of instances for rhetorical listening.

Listening Metonymically

Ratcliffe associates the tactic of listening metonymically with public debate and defines it as the “moves that listeners may make...when identifying a text or a person with a cultural group; specifically, this tactic invites listeners to assume that a text or a person is associated with—but not necessarily representative of—an entire cultural group.” She proposes listening metonymically as a way to “[resist] a gendered and racialized silence that haunts U.S. public discourse.” This “dysfunctional silence” as she calls it, “masks coexisting commonalities and differences” and makes people focus only on the negative aspects of binary oppositions such as black/white.

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132 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 78.
133 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 79.
134 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 87.
links the dysfunctional silence with seeing only commonalities (listening metaphorically) as it “assumes that a text or person shares substance with all other members of it/his/her associated cultural group.” The metaphorical aspect of this silence is what generates and extends stereotypes as it focuses on negative commonalities. If we examine the 1850 petition metaphorically—looking only at commonalities—we would see that the Leon County petitioners are acting in what would be considered stereotypical ways for white Southern planters during the time period, and then we would extend the pro-slavery, racist attitudes to other white planters we may find living in the area who did not sign the petition. Identification by way of commonalities exacerbates issues of stereotyping.

Ratcliffe’s use of non-identification—a contact zone in which to listen metonymically—allows for examination of both commonalities and differences in cross-cultural exchanges. She uses metonym to “signif[y] figurative juxtaposition” whereby two texts or people “do not share a common substance but are rather merely associated.” For example, Benjamin Ruby and Raimond Lambert are listed among the free men of color on the 1847 Pensacola petition, and share the commonalities of race, gender, age range, and traits of faithfulness, fidelity, and firemen, with the rest of the group; yet they were more unique among the group as they were slave owners. Thus the focus of metonymical listening is on people not being a stereotypical reflection of the whole, but instead are unique individuals that are just associated with the whole. Identifying both the commonalities and differences, and bringing them into the discussion, allows a move away from the dysfunctional silence towards cross-cultural understanding.

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135 Ratcliffe, *Rhetorical Listening*, 92.
136 Ratcliffe, *Rhetorical Listening*, 98.
Listening metonymically to the white men who signed these petitions allows us to look more closely at the group of agrarian planters and farmers in Leon County,\textsuperscript{137} and the group of businessmen in Pensacola. Some of the commonalities between the Leon County and Pensacola petitioners were that they were white, male, and slave owners. Ideological differences include that the Leon County men wanted the free people of color removed from the state, whereas the Pensacola men had a respectful relationship with the free men of color and felt they were an integral part of the community. Even though some of the Pensacola men were slave owners, their ideologies were different; these white men were trying to give white privilege—if you could call equal taxation a privilege—to the free people of color. By listening metonymically, one would not then expect these Pensacola white men to be reflective of all whites in the city. Not every white male in Pensacola signed the petition and likely not all men would sign it. This brief example shows that by examining both the commonalities and differences between these two historical groups one can gain a better understanding of their cultures.

Additionally, by examining the commonalities and differences between the Pensacola and Leon County petitioners and myself I can see how my perspective and subjectivity may influence how I view their cultures, and how I may write about this history. I acknowledge commonalities including that we are white, privileged, and have petitioned the government for what we feel is a wrong that needs corrected.\textsuperscript{138} Further commonalities with the Pensacola petitioners include living in mixed-race neighborhoods, and that I feel people should not be discriminated against because of

\textsuperscript{137} Of the men from the Leon County petition identifiable on the 1850 U.S. census, only one had an occupation other than farmer or planter; he was a butcher. (Robt. B. Campbell, 1850 U.S. census, Leon County, Division 8, page 43B, dwelling 162, family 162, NARA microform publication M432, roll 59.)

\textsuperscript{138} I have petitioned the government a number of times; for example, in 2012, I signed a petition in Orange County, Florida, to put on the ballot a requirement for businesses with more than fifteen employees to have paid sick leave. Although the petition garnered enough signatures, the Orange County Commission refused to put it on the ballot. It is frustrating that it was quashed.
race, gender, or any other reason and that puts me at odds with the Leon County men as they do not feel that way. Differences include that I am a woman, I am not a southerner nor have I farmed, and I do not have familial connections with slavery as none of my known ancestors—which I have traced back to the early seventeenth-century—owned slaves. I was raised to embrace diversity, and in bringing my subjectivity and cultural ideologies to bear on my first impressions of these petitions, I reacted positively to the Pensacola document, and negatively to the one from Leon County. My initial reading of the Leon County petition elicited anger as they labeled free people of color as “an evil of no ordinary magnitude” which goes against my values. By reading these documents within the frame of rhetorical listening I examined the differences and commonalities between the cultures of the Leon County Southern planters, the Pensacola Creoles, and my own.

Applying Ratcliffe’s tactic of listening metonymically to history-making involves identifying commonalities and differences between not only past cultures but between rhetor, audience, and subject. From a database design standpoint, commonalities and differences can be defined as categorical data and can be stored quite easily in a database. A community history website can be designed to collect and store this data for the rhetor(s), audience members, and subjects, and have it available for users of the site to compare and contrast with their own tropic attributes. Additionally, I have incorporated a self-reflection area called “What Did You Hear?” where listeners can reflect on the commonalities and differences they see between themselves and the particular narrative they viewed. These reflections are then available for other rhetors and listeners to consume.

*Eavesdropping*

Ratcliffe’s second tactic, eavesdropping, is defined as an “ethical tactic for resisting the invisibility of a gendered whiteness in scholarly discourses within rhetoric and composition
The tactic of eavesdropping includes moves such as: “choosing to stand outside...in an uncomfortable spot...on the border of knowing and not knowing...granting others the inside position...listening to learn.” By listening to the discourses of others, from an outside position, eavesdropping is intended to look at cultural positions from outside your comfort zone so you can view yourself and your own identity in relation to others. When I began researching the African Americans buried in St. Michael’s Cemetery, I did not feel comfortable with researching and writing about them as I did not think it was appropriate to do so. I felt at the time that descendants or other African American scholars would be better for the task. However, I found that there was little scholarship on Pensacola’s Creoles of Color as compared to Louisiana, and it bothered me that they were, in a sense, lost to history. So I eavesdropped on African American scholarship until I felt comfortable enough to join the conversation.

Ratcliffe describes a mode of historiography which allows us to “eavesdrop on history” by focusing on “travelling back from a particular moment of usage” instead of “travelling back to a moment of origin.” She wants to use eavesdropping to examine what tropes mean at a specific moment of usage. Ratcliffe uses Susan Jarratt’s rhetorical sophistry to “link history to bodies, tropes, and culture,” so the focus is on usage instead of origin. In this way, the eavesdropper follows tropes, which Ratcliffe admits become embodied within everyone as they are socially

139 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 101.
140 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 104-105 (ellipses in original).
141 I engaged with scholarship on other Gulf coast societies like New Orleans and other Louisiana groups such as the Creoles of Color along the Cane River.
143 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 111.
144 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 109.
constructed and they may “(un)consciously inform our own attitudes and actions.” She uses an example of the trope of whiteness and how it applies to both “people and practices” and while a non-white person can visibly perform white practices, a white person often does not see themselves as performing them. Similarly to Ratcliffe’s dysfunctional silence that is overcome by listening metonymically, she uses eavesdropping to follow the “dysfunctions of whiteness.”

Her focus is on how the four rhetorical agencies (discursive, authorial, readerly, and sociopolitical) tie in to Jarratt’s linkages of history, bodies, tropes, and culture. Ratcliffe proposes “associating discursive agency with tropes, authorial and readerly agencies with the body, and sociopolitical agency with culture” so that these “agencies of different sites converge to effect moments of usage.” Ratcliffe uses the trope of whiteness as her extended example for how these agencies are affected. Of importance to community history-making is her use of Royster’s listening model as an example of how readerly and authorial agency can function as “subject positions, with everyone rotating in and out of each agency, assuming respect for the process, the people, and each other’s subject positions.”

My rhetorical choices in the design of the website make discursive agency available to those who wish to use it, and over time as the number of narratives grows, the cultural aspects of early Pensacola may become visible in particular ways. By designing a community history database which allows multiple versions of histories to be written and interact, the readerly and authorial agencies are blended in one site. Users can create their own historical narratives within the framework I have created, and the stories may intersect with others, or even contradict each other.

145 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 111.
146 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 112.
147 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 121.
148 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 121.
149 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 128.
By applying Ratcliffe’s tactic of eavesdropping to history-making, it allows us to focus on the narratives and how we can follow tropes to identify commonalities and differences between historian, audience, and subject. There are two sections of the website (“About Me” and “About the Site”) which I use to acknowledge my own identity, perspective, and design rationale—essential elements of rhetorical listening. The “About Me” page contains a personal narrative and lists some of the tropic attributes with which I identify so users can become aware of some of my cultural logics and perspective. I used the “About the Site” to explain how my perspective influenced the design of the website.

**Listening Pedagogically**

Ratcliffe defines listening pedagogically as the “moves that students and teachers may make in classroom discourses in order to recognize resistance, analyze it, and, when necessary, resist it.”\(^{150}\) The idea is to “redefin[e] gender and race not as problems to eradicate but as differences to be more successfully defined, negotiated, and celebrated.”\(^{151}\) She suggests to “lay all gender and race ‘cards’ on the table in hopes [of] negotiating the existing (mis)conceptions about them and their intersections.”\(^{152}\) Carlacio questions whether these calling cards are an “act of symbolic representation used to authenticate our work, or whether it makes a positive contribution to clarifying the material conditions that made this textual, symbolic production possible.”\(^{153}\) I think it is more than an either/or situation. The acknowledgement and visibility of the tropes, such as race and gender that help define us are crucial to understanding perspective in an online discursive environment such as a community history website. Both the calling cards of the rhetor(s) and

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\(^{150}\) Ratcliffe, *Rhetorical Listening*, 133.

\(^{151}\) Ratcliffe, *Rhetorical Listening*, 135 (emphasis in original).

\(^{152}\) Ratcliffe, *Rhetorical Listening*, 135.

\(^{153}\) Carlacio, “Speaking With and To Me,” 132.
audience are as important as those of the subject as they allow us the opportunity to listen rhetorically by comparing ourselves, preferably at the level of cultural ideologies, to others in the discourse community. Although the ideologies of rhetor, audience, and historical subject are more difficult to discern, I am foregrounding tropes (via their attributes) as a way for users to think about how tropes—through our cultural ideologies—affect understanding and perhaps for the users to extrapolate possible cultural ideologies from the data. Neither I, nor the system design, can make users listen rhetorically; however, by explaining the premise behind examining tropes in an effort to expose cultural ideologies, I hope users approach my project with the intent of trying to listen.

Ratcliffe defines a number of moves for listening pedagogically with the focus on the functionality of tropes. Tropes such as race, gender, and class, are culturally coded and “function as cultural categories that, in turn, inform how we see, order, analyze, and make meaning in the world.” Each person’s ideologies define that these tropes (race/gender) and their attributes (white/female) mean. Although I have defined attributes for the purpose of my project as a subcategory of trope, the attributes themselves can sometimes function as tropes, such as Ratcliffe’s example of “whiteness.” Ratcliffe uses an example of how her personal tropes (woman, middle-aged, white, feminist) affect the constraints and opportunities of the roles she performs. My own personal tropes parallel many of Ratcliffe’s. Tropes, however, change over time and it is important to define the usage based on its historical context. Ratcliffe identifies this in eavesdropping where it is necessary to travel “back from a particular moment of usage.” For example, what would free mean in 1850 versus now? How would white male be different between Pensacola and Leon County prior to the Civil War? Mixed-race is another trope which changed meaning over time and place. In early nineteenth-century Louisiana, the Creole caste was significant, and though the law forbade

154 Ratcliffe, *Rhetorical Listening*, 147.

mixed-race unions, the “number of free people of color was so high, and the link between free-
colored status and mixed ancestry was so strong, that in 1810 the Louisiana Supreme Court
presumed all people of mixed race to be free.”\(^{156}\) The trope of mixed-race in Louisiana had a
different meaning during this time than it did within the rest of the United States. It is these
historical tropes and how they intersect with current day tropes that my website is designed to make visible.

Ratcliffe applies listening pedagogically to the classroom, but I wish to use it for bringing awareness to the cultural ideologies of people in the past and how we, as historical authors and consumers, should distinguish past usages from present, but still see how each use informs our current ideas. By analyzing the tropes of others, within the context of cultural ideologies, we can possibly see the differences in a more positive way and show how people are positively unique in the world. My database design incorporates the collection and annotation of trope categories and attributes of historic locations, items, and people, along with those of the rhetor and audience, to allow examination of the intersections of the tropes between past and present. In my narrative database website, users cannot physically “see” the other rhetors or readers, but by having self-identified tropes stored in the system, users can trace the commonalities and differences between themselves and others.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter I have argued that Pratt’s concept of contact zones is applicable to history-making in a number of ways, both within the past, and between the present and the past. The broadening of her definition is not intended to diminish the use of contact zones in areas of cultural

conflict; it is intended to allow *contact zone* to function as a descriptor for all negotiated spaces. By examining these spaces within the lens of Lanham’s *at/through* and Brooke’s *from*, I have shown that historians can benefit from looking *at* the contact zones of history-making, and *from* an awareness of how their own perspective and the perspectives of others may affect the process and the results. Historians can also benefit from recognizing the process of history-making as a negotiation, both between the historian and the keepers of the traces of history, and between the peoples of the past.

Royster pointed out the need for people to not only talk cross-culturally, but to listen. I proposed that a historian should learn to listen across the multiplicity of contact zones in history-making to foster positive, open, cross-temporal-cultural communication. Once the contact zones of history-making become visible, we can apply Ratcliffe’s rhetorical listening theories to enact Royster’s call for actively seeking to understand each other’s perspectives, and negotiate mutual understanding.

Ratcliffe uses identification and disidentification to define the metonymic gap as a place where commonalities and differences are juxtaposed (non-identification) and where she proposes rhetorical listening as a lens to examine self and other. Ratcliffe’s three rhetorical listening tactics: listening metonymically (identifying commonalities *and* differences), eavesdropping (focusing on listening to learn), and listening pedagogically (examining tropes), are not directly transferable in their entirety to a digital implementation of rhetorical history-making because they involve human perceptions, interactions, and thought processes, and a website/database cannot control those particular aspects. However, the user interface can be designed to teach those users who are willing to listen about how Ratcliffe’s tactics can be used while interfacing with the histories on the site. A “new listener” path walks the user through the evolution of my implementation of the theories of contact zones and rhetorical listening with examples and directives on how to join the conversation.
Ratcliffe’s tactics of rhetorical listening can assist in navigating the contact zones of history-making to help historians and others more fully understand the past. By making our own perspectives visible to others, we can learn to be open and respect all points of view while speaking in cross-cultural contact zones. I am proposing to use Ratcliffe’s counsel to listen “with intent” to help historians listen delicately and to examine the commonalities and differences visible in life, and reflect upon them to help gain a better understanding of the past.\footnote{Ratcliffe, “Rhetorical Listening,” 205.}
CHAPTER THREE: INTERMIXING

Historiography is a process, a recognition of the fictionality, the scriptural status of the story we tell assembled from the fragments of the past, objects, bits of stuff embedded in other narratives or standing alone, receiving their status as fragments only from our point of view within a narrative. We use these fragments as we seek coherence.

—Page duBois, *Sappho is Burning*

As Page duBois eloquently states, historiography includes the process of writing historical narratives based on fragmented evidence found within rhetorical artifacts of the past. Typically, the artifacts are documentary evidence of a particular event such as a baptism, land transaction, or census enumeration. The artifacts were usually created for a specific purpose in addition to just recording the occurrence of the event. These purposes could include documenting church membership, property ownership, or the collection of demographic data. Unfortunately, not all rhetorical artifacts have survived to the present, and the need exists for researchers—particularly those researching marginalized groups—to be able to locate and reassemble “bits of stuff” within the extant historical record.¹⁵⁸

The fragments that have survived to the present are usually artifacts of the dominant culture as people in power had more reasons for preserving records of the federal government, ownership of property, and so forth. If these hegemonic records mention the marginalized, many times it is in a biased way. It is important for historians to evaluate the context of the artifact along with the evidence it contains so that the cultural ideologies of the rhetor and his or her intended audience are better understood. As historians, we are not the intended audience for these records; nevertheless,

Ratcliffe’s theories of rhetorical listening allow us to examine the original rhetor’s intent and listen with an open mind.

For example, the United States census bureau’s task was not to specifically document individuals, but to collect demographic data. The census marshals navigated the contact zone between the census bureau and the population of the country. This contact was very prescribed as the enumerators had detailed instructions on how to conduct the survey. Beginning in 1850, the census enumeration forms had a column for “Color,” and the enumerator instructions were exacting as to what was to be put in this column. Over the decades, the instructions were modified to reflect the needs of the time; by way of illustration, in 1870—the first census after the Civil War—the instructions for color were the following: 159

It must not be assumed that, where nothing is written in this column, “White” is to be understood. This column is always to be filled. Be particularly careful in reporting the class Mulatto. The word is here generic, and includes quadroons, octoroos, and all persons having any perceptible trace of African blood. Important scientific results depend upon the correct determination of this class…

The “scientific” data was used to create statistical compendiums of the aggregate data. When I listen to the 1900 instructions, I hear white society telling the enumerator that it is his job to determine the color of the person: 160

For census purposes, the term “black” (B) includes all persons who are evidently full-blooded negroes, while the term “mulatto” (Mu) includes all other persons having some portion or perceptible trace of negro blood (emphasis added).

The designation of the individual’s race was selected by the enumerator, not the person being enumerated. Categorical labels in many historical documents were from the subjectivity of the

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hegemonic group, and rarely was a marginalized person allowed to self-identify. Although the categorical data available from rhetorical artifacts, such as the census, are hegemonic in nature, historians must work with the data that is available, and examine the tropes (e.g. census column for Color) with the understanding of the perspective in which they were assigned.

Part of the process of researching history is learning how to critically examine primary documents to determine their credibility by understanding why the record was created and by whom. By looking at the enumerator instructions, not just looking at the color column, I can better understand the enumerator's function in making that document. The extra step to examine the original record’s rhetorical situation helps the historian listen and understand the context within the contact zones of the past.

Historical research and analysis should be based on primary documentation—where possible—as interpretations of the past founded upon scant knowledge can lead to a less credible result. Since working with a marginalized group implies a lack of direct data, it would behoove researchers to look for methods which gather data both at an individual artifact level, and at an overall group level. Multi-layer data allows for a richer resource of rhetorical artifacts available for broader interpretation. Group level data can come from using research methods such as oral histories, but this method is difficult when researching people of the distant past. My particular research of nineteenth-century Pensacola relies primarily on the analysis of historical documents. Some cultural histories of marginalized groups, however, may only exist in the stories transmitted through oral histories, and these stories of the past would not be recoverable from physical documents. Although my project design allows for the inclusion of digitized oral histories, in either

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161 I have never heard historians describe this as rhetorical analysis, nor has the discussion of documentary analysis covered the entirety of the exigence, rhetors, audience, or constraints surrounding the rhetorical act.
video or audio format, I will only be discussing methods of data collection for historical documents as they typically contain the categorical data on which this project relies.

I used historiography to collect and analyze community and social information and influences external to the Pensacola community. I also worked primarily with two methods of research while listening to Pensacola’s history: prosopography and genealogy. Prosopography is a historical research method which allows analysis of social classes using categorical data. By collecting and analyzing attributes of individuals in a group, trends in the data may enable historians to make correlations among their subject population, and to find formal and informal connections about the group. Genealogy is a method used to collect and analyze data to prove\textsuperscript{162} identities and relationships, and much of the data collected via genealogical methods is categorical (e.g. gender, race, occupation). Rhetorical listening involves examining identities by becoming more aware of the interactions of tropes and how they are informed by ideologies, and prosopography and genealogy assist in the collection of identifying data. I use the intermixing of these methods to listen to historical data and create narratives; this process of historiography is aided by prosopographical and genealogical methods, and I have coined the term hiprogeny to be the use of mixed methods resulting in a product—historical narratives.

In this chapter I will argue that hiprogeny is a useful construct for collecting and analyzing historical data—including trope attributes—for both hegemonic and marginalized groups. I will also show how a database schema can be designed to hold the data generated by these methods.

\textsuperscript{162} The Board for Certification of Genealogists defines “prove” as “the process of using the Genealogical Proof Standard to show that a conclusion portrays identities, relationships, and events as they were in the past or are today; to establish that a genealogical conclusion is acceptable or accurate.” Board for Certification of Genealogists, \textit{Genealogy Standards} (New York: Ancestry.com, 2014), 73.
Hiprogeny

Each inclusive method of hiprogeny contains its own analytical component. Much of the research and data collection for a genealogical project is applicable to a prosopographical project; the main difference is at the level of data analysis. Genealogical resources help identify individuals relationally within the group, and also can identify particular attributes such as racial categories, literacy, marital status, and so forth. Prosopographical analysis of these same attributes allows generalizations to be made about the group. The use of both these methods allows the collection and analysis of not only relationships, but of the trope attributes that assist us with rhetorical listening. The following sections describe in more detail the methods of historiography, prosopography and genealogy, and how they pertain to rhetorical history-making.

Historiography

Historiography encompasses the writing of history and it is necessary when researching any historical subject to analyze what previous historians have said about the group (i.e. a literature review). When working with a marginalized group, much of the previous published history is from the dominant subjective perspective; however, an historian can still glean information from the dominant discourse to help understand parts of both groups. As I noted in Chapter 1, the scholarly literature concerning the Pensacola Creoles of Color is limited. Virginia Meacham Gould, a principal scholar of Gulf coast Creoles, studied the cities of New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola. She described the economic status and religious significance in Creole society. Bragaw studied Pensacola specifically and documented occupations and the diachronic shift of free people of color from middle class occupations to manual labor—their further marginalization. Louisiana’s Creoles

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of the nineteenth-century have been covered in more detail and breadth as although they were a subaltern group, they were a larger community and their society within the greater New Orleans and regional area was more influential. The Pensacola group was much smaller and while there were prosperous members of the community, it was less prosperous overall.

**Prosopography**

The more recent uses of prosopography date from the late nineteenth-century when researchers wanted a better way to analyze the limited data they had about the ancient world and the Middle Ages. Prior to the advent of prosopography, a historian may have done research by studying the law and the works of prior historians. Prosopography added the acquisition and analysis of primary documents in a way which allowed new interpretations of the past, not just the remediation of previous historians’ interpretations.

Analyses, such as onomastics, would be applied to the composite prosopographic data, allowing generalizations to be formed based on the “material characteristics of a more or less homogenous group.” These characteristics are compiled via what is termed a questionnaire and the collected data describes attributes of the individuals (e.g. occupation, racial category, religion, literacy) versus their personalities and other biographical information. Many prosopographic projects, such as *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (1897–1898), cover the political elite; however, I feel that this method can be applied to most cultural groups as it is intended to show patterns within the

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166 Onomastics is the study of names and naming conventions.


168 Questionnaire is an odd term as I think of this as a person asking another living person questions. In this context, questionnaire is the living asking questions of the dead.
social structure. Katharine Keats-Rohan, editor of the definitive handbook on prosopography, describes it simply as: 169

concerned with what the analysis of the sum of data about many individuals can tell us about the different types of connexion\textit{sic} between them, and hence about how they operated within and upon the social, economic and other institutions of their time.

Prosopography is used to assist in research where there is limited data, such as for marginalized groups, by applying general statistical methods to a controlled group of categorized data. I have used prosopography as a research method, because although selected primary documents can inform an analysis of individuals, the documents in and of themselves cannot give broader evidence of group functionality. Each collected item of information (attribute) from the questionnaire is turned into a data point which, when analyzed as a group, can yield trends in the relationships between group members and allow historians to “gain insight into social structures and processes determining everyday social life.” 170 This insight can help historians practice rhetorical listening.

My first foray into prosopographical research was my cemetery study of St. Michael’s as I created a dataset of attributes of both the deceased and their grave markers, and I analyzed the data statistically to test my hypotheses concerning cemetery iconography and ethnicity. My data included columns marking the absence or presence of a particular grave marker or personal attribute. Instead of a single field with grave marker size, (XS, S, M, L, XL) or a field for birth nativity (Southeast US, Central Europe, etc.), the attributes were designated in separate fields as yes/no (1/0) values. Using a 1/0 identification allowed counts to be collected and statistically manipulated.


With the results I was able to make generalized statements about iconographic preferences of regional groups. I examined the commonalities and differences in iconographic choices between regional groups and found, for example, that Central Europeans prefer large vertical headstones, with molding on the edges, and floral iconography, and Southern Europeans prefer granite markers and non-floral motifs. The prosopographical process of hypothesis generation, data collection, and statistical analysis of the categorical attributes can help with rhetorical history-making by helping us look at what the attributes can tell us, in this case, about iconographic choices of Catholics buried in Pensacola.\textsuperscript{171}

In my second prosopographical project, I wanted to see if the migration of Pensacola Creoles to Tampico, Mexico, was in response to the passage of a number of laws meant to curtail the freedoms of the Creoles.\textsuperscript{172} Understanding both the laws in effect at the time, and the attitudes of whites with respect to the colonization movement were important to proposing reasons why the Creoles would have sold their land and moved to Mexico in 1857.

Primary literature written during the time period under study is important for understanding the impact of the dominant culture on a marginalized group. In an effort to understand the impact of the out-migration on the community, I collected data of Pensacola households in 1850, and examined the commonalities and differences with households in 1860, to determine how many Creoles had left, and the value of their relative worth (calculated by the value of real estate indicated on the census and the number of slaves). To accomplish this, I analyzed historical census data to assess the changes in population, value of real estate, occupations, and literacy levels of the group.

\textsuperscript{171} At the time of my cemetery project I was not examining race. I intend to revisit the data and examine African American iconography.

\textsuperscript{172} Giroux, “Why Tampico.”
In 1850, there were 319 free people of color residing in the enumeration district of Pensacola. These individuals represent 13.7% of the total population of Pensacola (2,334). Over one-third of Pensacola households (95 of 284) contained free people of color in 1850, which is quite a large percentage for a city in the antebellum south. Sixty-six households (23.2%) were headed by free people of color, with a total real estate value of $25,100 and ownership of 55 slaves. The census bureau recorded the number of persons over 20 years of age who could not read or write and of the Free People of Color in Pensacola, 39.5% (60 of 152) of the adults were literate as compared to 86.1% (477 of 554) of white adults. Literacy is a good indication of higher status and occupational options for both whites and non-whites.

By 1860, only 125 free people of color remained in Pensacola residing in 9.1% (33 of 361) of the total households and only 25 households were headed by free people of color. During the intervening decade, the value of real estate owned by non-whites dropped by 54.6% from the 1850 level and only seven slaves remained in bondage to free people of color. The only demographic indicator increasing by 1860 was the literacy level with 63.2% of non-white adults achieving literacy (36 of 57). Using this method of data analysis I compared the commonalities and differences between 1850 and 1860 to determine generalizations about the portion of the population that vanished.

Without researching the laws and the overall attitudes of whites (their ideologies) during the colonization efforts prior to the Civil War, this data showing the reduction of the population of free people of color would be meaningless. Use of the prosopographical method is intended to allow “particular characteristics of [the] population as a whole to become visible,” and bringing the pattern of attributes such as literacy to light allows us the opportunity to examine how the Creoles

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of Color navigated the contact zone between their culture and the Anglo culture that had invaded Pensacola. They navigated the contact zone by sailing away.

**Genealogy**

Genealogy is the study of human familial relationships. Genealogists are schooled to work from the known to the unknown. They correlate and analyze evidence and information contained in historic documents and extend family lines forward and/or backward one generation at a time. Some genealogies focus on direct lineal ascent, following only the paternal line backward in time. Others concentrate on descent, although in many cases it is a direct lineal descent, which ignores sibling descendants. Community level genealogies are more inclusive and form a web of relationships between families, neighbors, and associates.

Genealogists examine sources for relevant information that may help answer their research questions. As they analyze their sources, they categorize the information using attributes of the sources of information to build a case for identifying individuals and relationships. There are three sets of source attributes:

1. original/derivative/authored narrative,
2. primary/secondary,
3. direct/indirect/negative.

The left term in each group is the privileged and therefore the preferred type of evidence; however, proof arguments can be built using any combination. The source documents collected during

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genealogical research contain a variety of evidence and genealogists use these attributes to analyze the credibility of the source material—they listen to the data.

Original, derivative, and authored narrative are used to describe the actual physical source document. An original contains the rhetor’s actual text and is not seen through the lens of someone creating a derivative work such as an abstract, compilation, transcription, or other authored narrative. A derivative has more chance of error and of added bias than an original. This does not imply that all originals are accurate, or unbiased, because they are not. Original, derivative, and authored narrative are used to describe the actual physical source document. An original contains the rhetor’s actual text and is not seen through the lens of someone creating a derivative work such as an abstract, compilation, transcription, or other authored narrative. A derivative has more chance of error and of added bias than an original. This does not imply that all originals are accurate, or unbiased, because they are not.175 Primary (firsthand knowledge) and secondary (recorded at a different time than the event) are terms used to describe the quality of the information found in the source. Like a derivative source, secondary information may be more likely to have inaccuracies. Direct and indirect are terms used to describe the actual evidence found in the source. Direct evidence is something stated specifically in the source, and indirect evidence, which is sometimes called circumstantial, is something that needs a mental process or other corroborating items. Negative evidence is when a genealogist does not find expected information in the extant records.176 Interpretation may be more accurate when genealogists rely on primary, direct information contained in original records, but they can listen delicately to all pertinent sources and narrate the stories. The attributes described here can also be applied to cultural stories from marginalized groups as the stories would be authored narratives (oral or written) possibly containing primary or secondary information (depending on the theme of the story and if the rhetor was present at the described event). Direct and indirect could also be applicable as the rhetor may include statements of fact. Oral histories may contain information on identities and/or relationships and could intersect with other stories supported by historical documents.


176 For example, someone not appearing in a tax list could indicate he moved or died.
As genealogists extend family lines further back in time, original records directly identifying familial relationships may no longer exist, and the genealogist may need to build a case on indirect evidence. This is true for both members of the dominant culture and for marginalized groups as many early vital records (e.g. births, marriages, and deaths) have not survived. African American research in the Southern United States has been rumored to be difficult because of the lack of documents pertaining to blacks, the issues surrounding surname changes during slavery, and other ‘myths’ refuted by Elizabeth Shown Mills, a genealogist whose research includes the Creoles of the Cane River in Louisiana. Mills explains the basis of these rumors and gives evidence that there is hope in finding data to trace genealogical relationships among African Americans in the South. Even though they are a marginalized group, many of the Creoles of Color were free, land-owners, and at times slave-owners, and primary documents may still exist.

Birth, marriage, and death records, though helpful, are not a requirement for relational evidence as other types of records can contain that information. As slaves were considered property, transactions such as sales and manumissions can contain more detailed information. Also, within the Creole communities, these types of records can contain more details than would be considered the norm, such as birthdates, as these mixed families were sometimes involved on both sides of the transaction. For example, in 1826, the Clerk of the Escambia County Court recorded the manumission of three slaves owned by a Creole woman.

Know all men by these presents, That I Adelaide Petit, a free mulatto woman of the City of Pensacola in the County of Escambia, and Territory of Florida, for and in consideration of the natural love and affection, which I bear unto my son Baptiste Bernardo, and for divers other good reasons, and considerations me hereunto


178 Escambia County, Florida, Deed Book A:417, Adelaide Petit manumission, 3 June 1826; County Clerk’s Office, Pensacola. Images of the document, and a full transcription, are in Appendix E.
moving; as also for the sum of three dollars, lawful money of the United States, to me in hand paid by the aforesaid Baptiste Bernardo the receipt whereof I do hereby confess and acknowledge, have manumitted; enfranchised, renounced and redeemed from slavery and forever set free… my three mulatto[sic] slaves, herein after particularly mentioned and described, being my grandchildren and the children of the aforementioned Baptiste Bernardo and my negro woman slave Gertrude. Viz Eusebia Angela, born on the fifteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, being now eight years, five months and eighteen days old; Dominga Mariana, a girl, born on the twentieth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, being now six years, five months and twelve days old; and Valerio Baptiste Bernardo, a boy, born on the eighth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and twenty one, being now five years, five months and twenty four days old….(Emphasis added.)

This particular original document answers questions of relationship and provides secondary information of the children’s births. Correlating this with the original baptisms of the children in St. Michael’s Catholic Church “Baptismal Record of Negroes,” lets us listen to the complicated relationships in this household. Both Eusebia Angela and Dominga Mariana were baptized as “una niña libre…hija de Gertrudis esc[la]va de la parda libre Adelaida Petit” or “a free girl…daughter of Gertrude slave of the free mulatto Adelaide Petit.” When Valerio Baptiste Bernardo was baptized on 26 January 1822, his baptism record has “hijo libre de Gertrudis esclava de la parda Adelaida Petit,” the “libre” indicating that he was born free. Typically the child’s status would be that of the mother; however, Adelaide Petit specifically had these children baptized free, “p[ar]a const[anci]a la firma con la ya citada Adelaida Petit la libertad que expresa en esta partida” or “as proof I [the priest] sign along with the cited Adelaida Petit the liberty expressed in this certificate.” The question that arises is why, if the children were set free at their baptisms, did Adelaide file the manumission in 1826? Perhaps, since the United States took over West Florida in 1821, the new government did not allow slave owners to manumit

179 The Records of St. Michael’s Catholic Church, volume 3, “Baptismal records of Negroes, 1817–1882.” State Archives of Florida, M74–5, reel 1. Eusebia Angela, 22 May 1818 (#50) and Dominga Mariana, 2 February 1820 (#111). Images, transcriptions, and translations are in Appendix F.

180 “Baptismal records of Negroes,” Valerio Baptista Bernardo, 26 January 1822 (#173). Image, transcription, and translation are in Appendix F.
at baptism, and Adelaide was ensuring that her grandchildren remained free. Another question that comes to mind is why did Adelaide Petit wait until her grandson was five years old before filing this manumission? Perhaps she waited until she thought there would be no more children to set free.182

I used Ratcliffe’s tactic of eavesdropping as a reading strategy for this record, as the document stirs up others questions such as why a Creole woman sets her grandchildren free, yet does not free their mother? Ratcliffe describes eavesdropping as “hearing over the edges of our knowing, for thinking what is commonly unthinkable within our own logics,”183 and I, with my values, struggle to comprehend why Adelaide would not free the mother of her grandchildren. Transactions such as these original records were recorded in the deed books. Since the documentation of property ownership was extremely important, deed books are more likely to have survived and could contain information like this on marginalized groups.

The data collected from prosopographical and genealogical research can be analyzed and interpreted, and historical narratives can be created to explain the findings to others. By using hiprogeny to collect attributes pertaining to events, locations, items, and people, the building blocks of narratives are made available. This categorical and relational data can be used to build a database with kinship, occupational, residential, and other relationships between the members of the community.

181 Elizabeth Shown Mills, e-mail message to author, 11 June 2014.
182 Giroux, “Creole, Colored, and Caucasian.”
183 Ratcliffe, Rhetorical Listening, 105.
Designing the Database Schema

Databases are designed to store data and link it relationally. In this section, I will focus on the storage of historical events along with the locations, items, and people associated with the events. These pieces are what I call narrative building blocks. Additionally, the categorical trope attributes that describe the locations, items, and people, such as church, census record, race, gender, and occupation will be stored in the database to help enact Ratcliffe’s rhetorical listening principles.

There are a number of challenges inherent in the design of a community history database and accompanying website intended to embody contact zones and rhetorical listening. The first challenge is creating a data structure capable of representing the complex relationships of life. The people, places, and events of the past, and the documents, items, and artifacts that give historians and others the clues and evidence for research, analysis, and writing need to be stored and organized relationally. The second challenge is that since the website will be a contact zone between Pensacola’s Creoles of Color and people in the present, everyone will have a different perspective and knowledge of the history. There is no one “right” version of history and the database needs to be designed to allow multiple user-entered narratives to intersect or even contradict each other. The third challenge is that the database must allow anyone interested in the history of this group to participate, whether they are within the cultural group or outside of it. I am hoping this database will become a contact zone of not only different socio-cultural groups but of scholars, genealogists, historians, and rhetoricians. The last major challenge is the database should enable rhetorical listening principles allowing users to read, create, and reflect on the databased narratives, preferably

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184 Relational databases are organized with tables containing related fields (e.g. a locations table containing latitude/longitude), and the tables are relationally organized using primary and foreign keys. For example, the primary (unique) identifying key from the location table could be stored as a foreign key in corresponding rows of a map table to link the locations pertaining to each map.
enacting Ratcliffe’s “code of cross-cultural conduct.” My rhetorical choices for addressing these design challenges have resulted in a database schema that can be generalized as in Figure 2.

**Challenge 1 – Life Relationships**

Life is a series of contiguous moments in time with each person’s timeline interacting with others. Historians collect documents and artifacts that give evidence of these intersections. My schema design allows a moment in time to be documented in the database by defining the moment as a Chronology entry and attaching the associated Locations, Items, and People to that moment. Each unique combination of Chronology, Locations, Items, and People becomes a CLIP—like a film clip to capture the moment. The CLIPS can be woven together in different ways to form user-created narratives or in the database schema lexicon, Stories.

The **Chronology** entries include data such as the date/time the event occurred, the event type (e.g. birth, death, transfer of property), a short title to label the event, and then a longer text field to more fully describe the event. **Location** data includes the type (point or map), the coordinate data for mapping, a short title to label the location, and then a longer text field to more fully describe the place. **Items**, which could include oral histories, documentary sources, or photographs, allow the digital media (image, video, or audio), the source citation, places to store descriptions of rhetorical analysis (e.g. rhetor, audience, exigence, and constraints), a short title to label the item, and then a longer text field to more fully describe the item. The **People** record contains space for name, birth/death dates, links to parents, and a text field to fully describe the person.

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185 Ratcliffe, *Rhetorical Listening*, 1.

186 The Stories contain whatever form of “narrative” the user creates. These can include text, images, audio, and video. I will use the capitalized term “Story” or “Stories” when discussing narratives that are stored and accessed in the database.
Figure 2. CLIPS database schema diagram
Each Chronology record can be linked to any number of locations, items, or people. For example, a death event could have the location of the death, the birth places of the decedent and parents, and/or the grave site (Figure 3). The items could include a death certificate, a newspaper announcement, and/or a photograph of the grave marker. The associated people could include the decedent, the parents, the doctor, or in this case the slave owner. The locations, items, and people are extra parts to the Chronology and are not required; a chronology entry can be created as a placeholder with the associated data being added by any user, or combination of users over time. As new evidence of an event is found, it can be added to the database.

Figure 3. Chronology data entry screen example
Challenge 2 – Intersecting Narratives

To serve as a contact zone between past and present, the system was designed to allow multiple user-entered narratives to be created. Each user of the system may have different perspectives and knowledge of history, whether of the Pensacola Creoles of Color or another group. Each chronology describes a moment in time where different lives intersect; therefore, the CLIP constructs made by users of the system will be available to all users to incorporate into their own Stories.\textsuperscript{187} For example, a CLIP of the 1847 Pensacola petition concerning the taxation of the free people of color would contain a digital copy of the petition in the Items, a Location for Pensacola, Escambia County, Florida, and separate People rows for the forty-two free men of color and the fifty-nine white men. This CLIP could then be included in multiple Stories. One narrative could be an argument about how the free men of color in Pensacola were an integral part of the community and had the support of prominent white residents. Another narrative could be about Charles Evans, the mayor of Pensacola, and his involvement in the community.

The CLIP pieces can be used in any order within a Story. Figure 4 shows the chronology order for the “Kaleidoscopic Community History” descriptive Story. The order number in this example increments by five so that if a new chronology entry needed to be inserted into the order, the remaining entries would not need reordering.\textsuperscript{188} By giving users of the system the opportunity to use CLIP pieces contributed by others in their own Story allows the narratives to intersect. Additionally, this eliminates some data redundancy, as a CLIP (or part thereof) only needs to be entered once.

\textsuperscript{187} This multivocality will be discussed further in the next chapter.

\textsuperscript{188} Later revisions of the system will include drag and drop reordering of chronology entries within a story.
Rhetorical listening is a way to promote cross-cultural understanding, and I have designed the database and website to allow anyone to participate; however, participation is implemented at two levels: anonymous listener and contributing listener. Either type of listener has access to all of the explanatory information, can view any of the CLIPS either by browsing the detailed data or by visualizing them through the viewers, and is allowed to participate in the rhetorical listening functionality described in the next section. To be able to participate fully, the user would become a contributor. By registering for the site, contributors may add CLIPS, create a user profile that could include a biography and picture (Figure 5), select their rhetorical listening attributes (discussed in the next section) and edit any CLIPS or rhetorical listening comments that they have entered.

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189 The timeline and map viewers will be discussed in Chapter 4, Instantiations.
Challenge 4 – Rhetorical Listening

Ratcliffe’s research goal was to suggest ways of using the concept of rhetorical listening “to foster conscious identifications with gender and whiteness...to facilitate cross-cultural communication about any topic.” I am enacting this conscious identification by foregrounding the hiprogeny attributes as value-laden categories to allow conscious, visual identifications of the tropes and trope attributes by which we categorize people. In this project I am using these attributes as a way for users to become more aware of their own ideologies and how the attributes can mean different things over time and cross-culturally. Gender and race are two of many. In Figure 5 above, there is

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190 Ratcliffe, *Rhetorical Listening*, 2 (emphasis in original).
an example of my profile, and it shows in the lower right hand box the attributes with which I identify. Since I am living, I have the opportunity to speak for myself and choose my identifying attributes; however, people of the past do not have the option to identify their own trope attributes and thus the attribute data that genealogists and historians collect may be a way to identify some of the tropes of the past. I have designed the database to include categorized hiprogeny data (Figure 6) that can be connected to locations, items, people, and stories. These categories keep the vocabulary consistent and allow for prosopographical analysis of the data. Within each category (Figure 7) are the individual attribute values. Race is always a troubled category, and I have chosen to include the terminology I have found within the historic documents so that historic individuals are categorized as they were in the past and not (necessarily) by today’s terms. The tropes and attributes are not rigid categories; they change over time. The database is designed to attach hiprogeny values at the chronology level so that if, for instance, on one year of a city directory, someone was identified as colored and then on another as white, the CLIP could accurately represent the change. A future enhancement to the database will be the addition of an annotation feature that allows a description to be attached to each hiprogeny attribute/chronology combination. This annotation feature will allow the attribute to be described within its historical usage and help give users insight into the prevailing ideologies of the associated time and place. This will also give users a better opportunity to examine the commonalities and differences between their own ideologies and those in the past, thus allowing them to listen metonymically and not metaphorically. It will also allow users to explore changes in attribute meaning over time. Also, in a later revision of the system, contributors will be able to add new hiprogeny categories and values. Also, as the amount of data added to the system grows, so will these lists as new categories become visible in the historical record.
Hiprogeny attributes can be attached to any location, item, or person to help describe them categorically. For example, a location that has been identified on a Sanborn Fire Insurance map can be categorized by building material, and residential versus commercial use. An item can be
categorized by document type, original versus derivative, or, if it refers to a physical object, it could identify the material from which it is made. Personal attributes have more variation and can change over time, so the trope attributes are linked to the combination of chronology and person. A single woman enumerated on the 1900 census may be married by 1920 and divorced by 1930. Therefore, the categorizations must be tied to the chronology for each event.

The hiprogeny attributes associated with locations, items, and people are used in the visualization portions of the website to make the user more aware of the trope attributes. In addition to collecting and visualizing the attributes, I wanted to create a section of the website where listeners could reflect and respond to the stories they accessed. These responses (labeled Commentary in the schema diagram) are entered via a viewer option called “What Did You Hear?” All users may participate in listening and join in the conversation. Users do not have to be registered to listen and comment as I feel that some people may prefer to participate anonymously, and I did not want to exclude anyone.

I designed the “What Did You Hear?” screen (Figure 8) to steer the commentaries that can be attached to these stories towards enacting rhetorical listening. Acknowledging where the viewer is coming from and understanding the commonalities and differences between their ideologies and those of the culture they are interacting with can help produce understanding. My reflections on the Pensacola and Leon County petitions (Introspection, pp. 33–35) as illustrated in Figure 8, describe how my cultural ideologies affect my perception of the petitions and their authors. The commonalities and differences I perceived would be different than a descendant who may comment on how their family heritage was influenced by of one of these men. The comments made within
“What Did You Hear?” are available for others to read in the “Who’s Listening?” area of the website.191

Figure 8. “What Did You Hear?” data entry screen example

**Conclusion**

In this chapter I have argued that hiprogeny, a term I coined fusing historiography with the research methods of prosopography and genealogy, is useful for collecting historical data on marginalized groups. I see the methods themselves as a form of rhetorical listening as they can be used to make identifications of people in the past, and allow listeners to stand under the discourse of the past of both hegemonic and marginalized groups. Additionally, hiprogeny assists listeners in navigating the contact zone between the present and the past as the resultant attributes help

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191 “Who’s Listening?” will be discussed in Chapter 5, Intercontextuality.
structure ways of seeing. Each historical document found via these methods is a place for negotiation of meaning, and requires analysis and interpretation based on the document’s context within the surrounding discourse.192

Another important aspect of hiprogeny is the methods allow the collection of categorical data that can be examined for trope attributes. Listeners may examine this data to become more aware of perspectives and how they affect cross-cultural understanding. The design of the database schema (hiprogeny/CLIPS) outlined in this chapter holds the data generated by these methods and incorporates my ideas of how to enact rhetorical listening.

I do acknowledge that there are constraints inherent in any database system, although I have consciously attempted to remove some from the design. For example, even though my focus group is the Pensacola Creoles of Color, I have designed the site to be general in structure so it is not limited to just the histories of that group. The data entry screens, hiprogeny categories and values, and all of the visualizations are not constrained to the Creoles of Color. Anyone, any group, could use the system to create historical narratives that intersected (or not) with the histories of Pensacola. For example, the Pensacola residents who migrated to Tampico in 1857 intermarried with other families in Mexico, and histories of the African Americans in Mexico could intersect with histories of New Orleans, Mobile, Pensacola, and other places whose migrants left for Tampico at that time.

The system, in its current form however, is constrained to be in English. The prompts and textual explanations are all in English and the text entry fields will not allow diacritical marks unless they are entered using hypertext markup. Constraints such as English only could be programatically removed in a future version. Additionally, as with any online system, not everyone

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192 I gave examples of this using census enumeration instructions and the Petit manumission.
has computers or Internet access, and by creating this site as an online digital community, it limits users to those who have access and the technical knowledge to work within the system.

My website design is based on the principles of rhetorical listening where histories can be shaped and reshaped from many points of view. By co-creating history from many perspectives, we can find commonalities and differences—via tropes that may help illuminate ideologies—not only between ourselves and the people of the past, but between ourselves and the other rhetors. Ratcliffe's rhetorical listening principles are one way that we can make our own perspectives visible to others and learn to be open and respect all points of view while speaking in cross-cultural contact zones.
CHAPTER FOUR: INSTANTIATIONS

The many parallels between computer hypertext and critical theory have many points of interest, the most important of which, perhaps, lies in the fact that critical theory promises to theorize hypertext and hypertext promises to embody and thereby test aspects of theory, particularly those concerning textuality, narrative, and the roles or functions of reader and writer.

—George P. Landow, *Hypertext 3.0*

Much of the knowledge we have of the past is filtered through a hegemonic lens. The history of the Americas I learned in much of my schooling concerned how whites explored and settled the land, how they faced adversities, and how they used others to prosper. What I did not learn, until I sought it for myself, was any history from the perspective of the oppressed. Cross-cultural understanding requires knowledge of multiple “sides” of history, but often only one side of the story has been told. The creation of alternative histories, with which we can examine the perspectives and experiences of others, allows a fuller understanding of the past for those, like me, who would listen.

In Jaishree K. Odin’s study of what she terms the “hypertext/postcolonial aesthetic,” she proposes the use of hypertext as a metaphor for describing how dominant cultures are being “displaced by minority cultures which demand recognition of their histories.” In her argument, she explains that the concept of time represented in postcolonial experience is “discontinuous and spatialized” and “thus composed of cracks, in-between spaces, gaps where linearity and homogeneity

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are rejected in favor of heterogeneity and discontinuity.”

This discontinuity is represented in her model of hypertext by fragmentation, and she applies this both to postcolonial literary works and to the postcolonial subject inhabiting the contact zones between cultures. This personal and literary fragmentation is visible in postcolonial works such as those of Gloria Anzaldúa, whose *Borderlands/La Frontera*, chronicles the challenges of existing in marginalized space. The arrangement of Anzaldúa’s text is fragmented—hypertextual—with her multivocality emerging through Spanish dialects and English alongside the transitions between her varying border subject identities. Odin’s hypertextual aesthetic also describes the concept of identity within the border subject—“the self is always emerging and processual, constituted not of synchronous presence, but in asynchronous realization of moments of repetition and difference.”

This speaks to me of rhetorical listening as it is the recognition of repetition (commonalities) and differences within and between identities and ideologies that allow us to approach cross-cultural understanding.

Odin’s concepts of equating hypertext and the postcolonial aesthetic were embraced by George P. Landow. He proposed to elevate hypertext to a paradigm, a model for postcolonial uses, because of the value, he said, “in its essential multivocality, decentering, and redefinition of edges, borders, identities[, and intertextuality].” Although scholars from many disciplines discuss these traits as applicable to their theories, not all equate them with hypertext theory. Landow, as noted in the epigraph I chose for this chapter, observes the correlation between critical theory and hypertext theory where hypertext “promises to embody and thereby test aspects of theory, particularly those

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194 Odin, “Performative and Processual.”


196 Odin, “Performative and Processual.”

197 Annotating the trope attributes over time may show discontinuity in the use of the terms.

198 George P. Landow, *Hypertext 3.0: Critical Theory and New Media in an Era of Globalization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 356. In addition to this particular quote, Landow uses *intertextuality* as another criteria in his paradigm (55).
concerning textuality, narrative, and the roles or functions of reader and writer.”199 Creating a hypertextual narrative website incorporating aspects of critical theory, such as contact zones and rhetorical listening, would test Landow’s correlation.

In this chapter I will explain how I have attempted to design my hypertextual project to embody aspects of Pratt’s contact zones and Ratcliffe’s rhetorical listening in ways that focus on the multivocality, decentering, borders, identities, and intertextuality of Landow’s hypertext paradigm.200 I also will explain my user interface design which allows narratives to be created, encountered, and extended from the contents of the database. This interface can be understood as a contact zone between the listener and the database since cross-cultural exchanges of information and perspective are encompassed in its design.

My project also enacts Vannevar Bush’s proposed ‘memex’ in which a variety of rhetorical artifacts are collected into a single new source, and each item within the collection can be joined in numerous ways into what Bush terms “trails.”201 These trails, or what I introduced in Chapter 3 (Intermixing) as the Stories formed by CLIPs, are the multivocal narratives created to make meaning out of the collected rhetorical artifacts stored in the database. By constructing stories from the building blocks of chronologies, locations, items, and people, users can leave Story trails for others to follow.

**Bricoleurs Build with LEGOs**

The French anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss, used the term *bricolage* to label the way primitive societies constructed knowledge through using what was available to them; they reworked

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what they had on hand until it became useful to them. Bricolage has been used to describe music, visual art, and architecture—combining diverse items into other objects. The idea of bricolage also blends well with databases since a database, such as my project, can be seen as a set of objects from which multiple user-created narratives can be drawn. New media theorists extol the virtues of the filtering, combining, and juxtaposition of databased information, and it is these characteristics that bricolage and the database embody.

Historians do not use the term bricolage; however, they enact the concept to create meaning from the historical data they collect—whether from traditional sources or out of the decentered contents of an archival database. Landow includes decentering as one of the criteria for his hypertext paradigm and uses it to describe the basis of the “textual universe” where the only time a lexia is centered is when it is being read. In hypertext there is an immense quantity of unread opportunities—free-floating lexia waiting to be read—their many meanings only occurring in the context of other lexia. Bricoleurs using my website combine the lexia (rhetorical artifacts, tropic attributes, CLIPS) to make meaning and the hypertextually linked CLIPS sit in potentia—waiting to be read.

In *Writing Spaces*, Jay Bolter gives the literal definition of the Latin word *lego* as “to gather, to collect” and in its figurative sense “to make one’s way, to traverse” and he applies this to reading—explaining it as “the process of gathering up signs while moving over the writing surface. The reader

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202 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966). Bricolage was used by researchers with Western ideologies to explain the practices of indigenous people. I will be using it to describe the creation process of annotating and combining databased objects into user-created narratives.

203 Landow, *Hypertext 3.0*, 120.

on a journey through symbolic space....” Because lego fit the concept of a database (gather/collect) and the traversal of narrative, I chose it as an acronym and metaphor for my user interface, the LExical-Graphical Organizer (LEGO). LEGO users construct their narratives with the building blocks of historical objects stored within the database. These building blocks are the Chronologies, Locations, Items, and People described in the previous chapter (Intermixing, p. 78). The content of the database is what bricolage requires—a set of materials, relationships, and processes with which the user can become familiar enough to manipulate into user-created historical narratives. The database enables LEGO users to become bricoleurs.205

James Berlin sees a traditional historian as a constructor or builder who is “responding to an elaborate web of interconnected practices.”206 The historian makes rhetorical choices such as selecting which data to use, choosing the style of presentation, and then compositing new objects such as historical narratives. Lev Manovich connects database to compositing and identifies compositing as the “key operation” in our technology-saturated postmodern culture.207 Compositing via the historical objects and narrating the spaces between the facts allow us to “write” history. Within my project each building block may contain user-entered narrative text and annotated hiprogeny attributes, and I am supplying this place, and a means for rhetors to narrate these interstitial spaces. Figure 9 is an example of the data entry screen for a particular historical narrative assigned to the location of St. Michael’s Cemetery and each instance of a chronology, location, item,

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205 I had come up with the phrase, “Bricoleurs Build with LEGOs,” when I initially decided on my LEGO acronym in mid-May 2012. During further research, I found that Sherry Turkle and Seymour Papert had actually studied children using Lego® brand building blocks and described the children as bricoleurs. The authors do not use my phrase. Sherry Turkle and Seymour Papert, “Epistemological Pluralism: Styles and Voices within the Computer Culture, Signs 16, no. 1 (1990):128–157.


person, or Story record is capable of storing user-entered narrative text. My intent is for users, as rhetorical listeners, to enact bricolage by exploring within (or adding to) the set of historical databased rhetorical artifacts, applying their cultural knowledge and perspective, narrating and annotating the associated trope attributes, and combining those building blocks into Stories. The Stories are built from the bricoleur’s (re)arrangement of the database of materials within the framework of LEGO. Depending on the intent of the rhetor (bricoleur), the Stories may reflect the subject’s and/or rhetor’s ideologies through the narrative and tropic attribute annotations.

Figure 9. Narrative data entry screen example

**The Quandary of Big Data**

My database is designed to store both categorical and descriptive data about the digitized rhetorical artifacts, and connect them relationally with their associated locations and people. When you research a subject through methods such as genealogy and prosopography, a large group of objects/artifacts about a single subject or group may get collected. Until the database, rarely could all this data be spatially or temporally associated. Having a focused location of data allows a much

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208 The potential exists for the rhetor to accomplish this level of cultural narrative; however, the system cannot control the actual content.
different and associative exploration of the subject than if multiple repositories housed the data. This data can come from the methods I used or from ethnographies, oral histories, or any other option that can be captured in a digital image, video, or audio file.

Historians may welcome these types of online database repositories for they make vast quantities of data available; however, historians also may rue the amount of data as it is impossible to narrate the totality. Historians, like new media designers, borrow and reformulate previous versions of history; therefore, they are not only remediating it, they are selecting from a grand database of all past events.\(^{209}\) My intent is to have a large database containing records of Pensacola events, including and surrounding the Creoles of Color. Conceptually, my database is designed to allow any number of intersecting or parallel histories to be created. Programmatic constraints, however, restrict that number to approximately two-billion user-entered Stories. The human comprehension factor would preclude the system from ever reaching that size, but as it grows, modifications may be needed to keep the data organized and accessible in an understandable way.

For example, filtering of selection criteria such as the location in Figure 10, incorporate drop-down choice lists. As the quantity of locations in the database increases, the drop-down would become too cumbersome. The filtering could be changed to the type-ahead lists similar to browser search functionality. This would allow selection of pertinent items without overwhelming the user.

The LEGO User Interface

The entrance screen to *Kaleidoscopic Community History* (Figure 11) allows users to access historical overviews of cultural groups represented in the system. As an example, Figure 12 shows part of the overview about the Pensacola Creoles of Color. The historical overviews help establish the context within which the narratives of the database reside. Users may also access a “new listener” path from the entrance screen. This explanatory path walks the user through the theoretical concepts of rhetorical listening and contact zones. At the end of the textual explanation, a *Story of my explorations into the history of the Creoles and how I learned to listen* is displayed in the Map Viewer (discussed in a later section of this chapter). For returning users that are familiar with the histories and the theories may open the door to access the portal navigation page.
The portal navigation page (Figure 13), is intended to be an eclectic but understandable contact zone—a place of negotiation between the database and users and the possible cross-cultural
experiences they find there. The idea was to employ defamiliarization so that the user would need to look at the interface instead of through it. Across the top of the screen under the “CLIPS: Narrative Building Blocks” header are icons that give the user access to the data entry functionality of the individual pieces: Chronologies, Locations, Items, People, and Stories. The interface allows lexical and graphical objects (locations, items, and people) to be intertextually organized and linked into an individual lexia (Chronology). Additionally, each object connected to a chronology lexia can be assigned tropic attributes to assist with rhetorical listening thus helping to enact Ratcliffe’s theories hypertextually. These attributes may be annotated to describe their usage at the point in time of the chronology and within the cultural ideologies of the time and place.

A contributor can assign multiple attributes to the locations, items, and people within a chronology record. Figure 14 is an example of a person’s tropic attributes showing, in this case, that

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Henry S. Pons was identified as Creole and male. Annotations attached to these attributes for the 1898 city directory in which Henry was listed could describe that Creole in 1898 indicated a multi-racial social group comprised primarily of Catholic individuals who has a shared cultural heritage. In addition to the tropic attributes of the subject, attributes for the rhetor and audience are also stored and visible within the system, thus allowing users to examine rhetorically some of the “roles or functions of reader and writer” that Landow mentions. Users perform the role of a listener (e.g. reader) by selecting (and annotating) the tropic attributes when viewing CLIPS within the user interface, and by responding to the prompts in “What Did You Hear?” option. The role of writer is performed when a listener becomes a bricoleur and builds his or her own Stories.

Figure 14. Henry S. Pons data entry screen attribute example

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211 Further discussion on tropic attributes assisting in the examination of rhetor, subject, and audience will be covered in Chapter 5, Intercontextuality.
Contributing rhetors can upload new items or choose existing rhetorical artifacts from the database, narrate them (if they wish), and use them as building blocks to assemble a Story. The rhetor can become the bricoleur and explore the database objects, arranging, rearranging, annotating, and/or linking the materials in a way that is meaningful. Once the rhetor is satisfied with the composite, the resultant CLIPS are then saved and available for listeners to traverse. There is no single linear history of the world; the past is fragmented into innumerable intersecting histories. People live their own individual history and intersect with the cultural narratives of their time and place. Similarly, the stories created through the LEGO interface can be intertextually connected in many ways. The building blocks are tagged with the contributor’s name (Figure 14) and although constraints are in place that restricts editing to the contributor of the item, anyone can connect any other contributor’s locations, items, and people into their own chronologies and narrate them within their own story. Also, the tropic attributes can be different for the same person attached to a different chronology, as the rhetor may have a different story to tell and would want to stress certain attributes over others.

The flexibility of interlinking CLIP building blocks into multiple CLIPS allows multivocal narratives to be created and extended. Landow includes multivocality as one of his criteria for hypertext as paradigm. This term is associated with Mikhail Bakhtin, who analyzed literature to distinguish different ideological voices within a text. Depending upon the intent of the rhetors of the interlinked narratives within LEGO, listeners may be able to use the narrative text, and tropic

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213 On page 81 of Chapter 3 (Intermixing), I gave an example of interlinking narratives.

attributes (with their ideological annotations) to try to understand the individual rhetor’s ideologies and perspectives.

In the lower right portion of the portal screen (Figure 13), there are three visualization options under the Digital Eyes History header. I chose this phrase (and matching domain name) to represent the site as a new way of seeing historical narratives created from digitalized (digital-eyes-ed) items. I also chose these visualization options as there is a correlation between CLIPS and the viewers. Chronologies are event-based and the Timeline allows listeners to view CLIPS in a chronological way. Locations are place-based and the Map allows listeners to view CLIPS geospatially. Items are central to all Stories and therefore appear in any viewing option. People are related to events, items, and places in many ways and like items, appear in any viewing option.

In the following sections I will discuss the Timeline and Map viewers. The Kaleidoscope viewer will be included in Chapter 5, Intertextuality, as it is the embodiment of the kaleidoscope metaphor which I will introduce in my conclusion.

**History-making in the Contact Zone**

Full CLIPS, or pieces thereof, may be selected individually in any of the viewers (map, timeline, or kaleidoscope). However, if the rhetor’s intent was to create a chronological narrative, the CLIPS for that narrative may not be fully displayed in the map viewer. The same applies to spatial narratives being displayed in the timeline. By way of illustration, if a CLIP contains no locations; the parts cannot be displayed in the map viewer, as there would be no coordinates to place it. Similarly, if a CLIP is created to describe a family photograph and the date it was taken is unknown, it would not be displayed in the timeline.\(^{215}\)

\(^{215}\) The nuances of the design and intertextual connections between CLIPS parts will be explained in the help system and video tutorials in a future update to the website.
Listeners enter the viewers through a data entry screen (Figure 15) that allows them to select the subset of CLIPS they wish to view and the specific narrative. Additionally, they are prompted to self-identify their tropic attributes to participate actively in the listening process. When trope attribute annotations are implemented in a future version of the system, the categorical attribute list will display an additional level of nuanced categories based on the annotations. For example, “Ethnicity: Creole” may have annotations for “19th-century Pensacola” and “present-day Louisiana.” If the listener cannot find categories suitable for selection, the listener will have the option of adding a new annotated category by clicking on the “Add New Category” button. By shuffling the selected items to the right-hand list, these attributes will be included in the Listener Legend of the viewer.

![Mapping](image)

Figure 15. Story viewer entry screen example

I designed the viewer interface to be a contact zone between the listener and the histories stored in the database. The viewer is common across the three visualizations and is designed to help
users listen rhetorically (Figure 16). In the top right hand corner of the viewer is a link to the “What Did You Hear?” reflexive response area where listeners may comment on the commonalities, differences, and perspectives they noticed while exploring the Story. Displayed down the left hand side of the viewer are the Story and Listener trope attributes in legends where listeners can examine the commonalities and differences between themselves and the overall content of the Story. Each item within the Story also includes the specific tropic attributes that were assigned by the contributor.

**Timeline Viewer**

The timeline in the center of the screen displays each CLIP in the Story that has a date or time span assigned. The story in this example is titled “Pensacola’s Public Squares,” and this CLIP concerns an 1813 map that was created by Sebastian Vincente Pintaldo. The displayed tropic attributes for him show he was a white male whose language was Spanish. Each Story is a set of linked building block icons that spell out CLIPS with duplicate letters for multiple items. There are four Locations for this Story denoting the water line in 1813, a particular street (Calle de Tarragona) and two public squares (Plaza de Constitucion and Plaza de Fernando). The Item links to a digital scan of the 1813 map. If the story were to continue, there would be other points on the timeline showing different maps and the changes of name for the public squares up to the present day names of Plaza Ferdinand VII and Seville Square.

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216 The “What Did You Hear?” section was described in the previous chapter, Intermixing, on page 86.
217 In the annotated version, the annotations would by hypertextually linked to the legend items.
Figure 16. LEGO Timeline viewer screen example
Since the timeline viewer is chronology based, stories that reference dated items would be useful for trying to visualize contact zones in history. For example, a narrative including the individual Guardianship laws that were passed beginning in 1842, the Dred Scott Supreme Court case of March 1857, and the April 1857 newspaper article describing the Pensacola exodus to Tampico, Mexico, could help show Pratt’s “asymmetrical relations of power” along the timeline. Table 1 lists some of the hegemonic laws that controlled the lives of African Americans in Florida, and one of these laws, the Guardian Law of 1848, had a major impact on all free people of color. The United States government blamed the Spanish policies “concerning religious sanctuary, manumission, and slave access to the court system for creating dissent among the enslaved population” and the law was intended to control the free people of color because of the fear that they would stir up rebellion among the slaves and cause them to revolt. The law required any free colored person over the age of 12 to have a legal white guardian and the free person of color was not allowed to transact business without approval of his or her guardian. White friends—and sometimes white fathers—acted as guardians so that the free people of color would not be penalized. The Pensacola Creoles of Color had to navigate the contact zone between not only their neighbors, but the laws impacting their lives.

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218 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

219 Mullins, “Cultural Continuity,” 49.
Table 1. Chronological narrative example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>Restrictions on carrying firearms (excepting St. Augustine and Pensacola).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Free blacks barred from entering Florida.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>Free people of color are forbidden to assemble in large groups, give seditious speeches, sell liquor to slaves, or conduct business on Sunday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>Slave owners are required to forfeit $200 per person emancipated plus post a bond equivalent to the value of the slave. Also, within 30 days of emancipation, the freedman must leave Florida.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>The penalty for free people of color who migrate into Florida territory and return a second time: sold into slavery for five years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Right to bear arms removed entirely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Guardianship Law - All free people of color must have a white guardian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>A tax of $3.00 is assessed on every free person of color between 21 and 60 years of age. Slaves and whites were only taxed 50¢. (The petitions mentioned in Chapter 2 would be associated with this date.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>Any ship captain bringing free people of color into Key West is fined $100 per person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>The guardian law of 1842 is strengthened and now requires ages twelve and over. Additionally, vessels arriving at Apalachicola must anchor out five miles and let no free person of color off the vessel or let them communicate with other vessels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>There were 319 free people of color residing in the enumeration district of Pensacola during the U.S. Federal census. (Prosopographical project mentioned in Chapter 2.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Increase of 1848 guardian law implementing fines of not less than $10 and if not paid, the free person of color could be jailed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Dred Scott v. Sandford (March). The exodus of Pensacola’s Free People of Color to Tampico, Mexico (April 4th). The schooner Pinta, mentioned as clearing the port of Pensacola on April 4th, arrived in Tampico on April 15, 1857, carrying lumber and presumably these passengers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>An act permitting a free person of color to choose his or her own master and become a slave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>By 1860, only 125 free people of color remained in Pensacola.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The timeline viewer is designed to embody some of the qualities of Landow’s paradigm such as intertextuality, rhetor/audience identities, and multivocality as the displayed CLIPS can encompass many contributor voices. It also helps listeners with the aspects of contact zones and rhetorical listening through the tropic attributes and the “What Did You Hear?” response area. However, while this viewer is adequate for displaying the tropic attributes and CLIPS, to me it has...
less impact in illuminating contact zones and rhetorical listening than the map viewer. The timeline viewer requires the user to click on each part of the CLIP to view the individual tropic attributes and narrative. The map viewer allows all attributes of the CLIPS to be present on the map simultaneously and is therefore more useful for seeing patterns.

**Map Viewer**

The map viewer (Figure 17) was designed to use Google® Earth to spatially represent the Stories and is limited to only those CLIPS that contain valid latitude, longitude, or map overlay coordinates. The viewer works with the native tour functionality embedded in Google Earth, and guides the user through the Story using the Google Earth tour controls (Figure 17, lower left corner of the map). The dynamic narrative will fly between locations and pause at “tour stops” for each CLIP in the Story. The display of tropic attribute icons and map overlays are triggered at each stop.

The Stories are displayed in a combination of story line order and chronological order. Story line order takes precedence and defines the tour stops during the narrative. For each CLIP within the Story, I programmed the Google Earth tour functionality to stop at the first defined location of the CLIP and display the associated narrative text. For map overlays, the chronological order of the CLIP pieces defines how many tour stops a particular map overlay is visible.

For example, Figure 17 shows Sanborn Fire Insurance maps overlaid across the city of Pensacola. These maps were pertinent to a number of tour stops in this particular Story, so instead of requiring the maps to be added to each CLIP, the design uses the dates on the Chronology to determine when items appear and disappear during the Story. The map overlays were added to the first CLIP of this Story and were left visible for the duration.
Figure 17. LEGO Map viewer screen example
At each tour stop (CLIP), the narrative text box associated with the first location in the CLIP is automatically displayed. The other CLIP locations visible at a tour stop can also contain narration, and the listener can click to read the others if they so desire. Interrelated locations, like the St. Joseph’s Church and Mercedes Sunday Ruby icons visible in Figure 17, can be accessed in any order, or not accessed at all.

Figure 18 shows, in a simple way, how both the rhetorical listening attributes and contact zones can be visible in this viewer. The location of this set of tropic attributes is St. Michael’s Cemetery near the grave of John Sunday, one of the most prominent of Pensacola’s Creoles of Color. The present day imagery of the cemetery is visible through an overlay map of the African American burials in St. Michael’s. The graves marked in red are African Americans and it is visible in this image that whites and non-whites were buried side-by-side. The individual tropic attributes to assist users with rhetorical listening are displayed as icons at the associated location on the map. This example shows four attribute icons for John Sunday: Ethnicity: Creole, Gender: Male, Race: Mulatto, and the D (Document) is a photograph of his grave marker. Clicking on an attribute icon displays any associated narrative text, images, audio, or video.\footnote{The next revision would have the trope attribute annotations also.}
Figure 18. LEGO Map viewer screen, John Sunday tropic attribute example
The power of this viewer for displaying contact zones and tropic attributes comes when the rhetor creates a story showing change over time. The example shown in the map video (Media 1) is from the residential integration project I have mentioned before. The video shows two blocks of East Government Street and the residents who lived there based on city directory entries from 1898 through 1934. The names and icons on the maps in the video indicate Creole (light green), Colored (purple), and White (orange). Table 2 shows the changes in residential racial categories over time depicted in the video.

Table 2. Chronological residential change, 400–500 blocks of East Government Street

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Four households designated Creole: George R. Pons, Henry S. Pons, Theodore Pons, and Sebastian Barrios.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Eight Creole households: Henry S. Pons, Herbert Pons, John Pons, Mary E. Pons, R.H. Pons, Theodore Pons, Telisfor D. Quigles, and Arthur S. Reache. Sebastian Barrios, previously listed as Creole, is listed as white.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Eight previous Creole households now designated as colored: George R. Pons, Henry S. Pons, Herbert Pons, John Pons, Mary E. Pons, R.H. Pons, Theodore Pons, Telisfor D. Quigles, and Arthur Reache. One Creole household, Sebastian Barrios, is designated as white. In this year, John Garretta is listed as colored, but from 1919 on he is listed as white. Also, Arthur S. Reache (now colored) was living in a household with E.H. Hall, who was listed as white.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Five previous Creole families are still shown as colored: George R. Pons, Henry S. Pons, Mary E. Pons, R.H. Pons, and Arthur S. Reache. Sebastian Barrios, who was listed as white in 1905 and 1907, is now listed as colored. W. Blumer, listed as colored in this year will be listed as white in 1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Four previous Creole households are still listed as colored: Sebastian Barrios, Charles H. Pons, George R. Pons, and Henry S. Pons. Joseph Garretta is now listed as white.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Four Creole households now listed as white: Sebastian Barrios, Charles H. Pons, Mrs. Eliz Pons, and George R. Pons. Joseph Garretta is still listed as white. Only one colored household remains, Haydee Barrios.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Two remaining Creole households are listed as white: Mrs. Cecile Barrios and Charles H. Pons. Haydee Barrios is still the only remaining one listed as colored.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

221 The city directories are not contiguous chronologically. The years included are: 1898, 1905, 1907, 1913, 1919, 1927, and 1934.
Media 1. Chronological changes of ethnicity and race on East Government Street
In the earliest years, the city directory company designated Creole as a subset of the population and also marked colored residents. Creole is a cultural not racial designation, and interestingly, the 1898 Maloney directory of Pensacola listed all Creoles, regardless of race, in the white alphabetical section of the directory. 222 As the chronology advances over the next 36 years, you can see how the residents went from being called Creoles to colored after 1905 when the city directory company dropped the Creole designation, and then eventually a number of Creole families crossed the color line and were designated as white. Although these blocks stayed racially integrated over the years, eventually towards the end of the time period the area was predominately white.

Some of the contact zones in which the Creoles of Color had to negotiate are visible in the video. They lived in an integrated city with all races living along the street blocks. Over time the ratio of non-whites to whites changed in this area, and more whites moved into these particular blocks of Government Street. The city directories themselves are also a contact zone of sorts as the companies dropped the Creole appellation and at that point the Creoles were forced to designate as colored or white if they could and desired to. The video shows the progression over time of the whitening of these two particular blocks of Government Street.

Conclusion

The exigence of my project was the lack of written histories of the Pensacola Creoles of Color, and the lack of alternative history-making options for those interested in narrating the histories of this and other marginalized groups. Therefore, I designed a database where these other narratives can be created and where, hopefully, different people can come together and learn about their own and other cultures in a way that may foster cross-cultural understanding.

222 I plan to revisit this research and broaden my analysis beyond just Government Street.
The LEGO user interface, which brings visualizations to the CLIPS database, was designed to incorporate, and enact my broader version of Pratt’s theory of contact zones. The decentered contents of the database and the narratives created in this space allow people from different cultures to negotiate meaning from each other’s histories and ideologies. The interface also shows how contact zones, such as those in Pensacola’s integrated neighborhoods, can become visible within the narratives.

In addition to the theory of contact zones and the cultural exchange that it suggests, I also incorporated Ratcliffe’s theory of rhetorical listening within the interface by collecting and visualizing the tropic attributes. The LEGO user interface was designed as a way to give users the opportunity to practice rhetorical listening tactics. The rhetor designates tropic attributes for the locations, items, and people in his or her story. When listeners enter one of the viewers, they select tropic attributes of self-identity and then can explore the intersections between the sets of attributes. Although the system constrains the categories and values of tropic attributes from which the listener can select, the rhetor will have the opportunity to add new categories and values to the possible choices of attributes.

By enacting the theories of rhetorical listening and contact zones, we could view this website as one example of Landow’s suggestion that critical theory could inform hypertext and that hypertext could test critical theory. Odin’s hypertextual aesthetic and Landow’s use of hypertext as paradigm inform how histories of marginalized groups can be seen as hypertextual constructs. Multiple voices can come together and create histories—distinct but variously interconnected histories. Landow’s criteria of the hypertext paradigm can also be seen in my project with the multivocal CLIPS narratives, the decentered contents of the database, the aspects of contact zones and rhetorical listening, and the system’s inherent intertextuality.
What the users of the LEGO interface create with the rhetorical artifacts via bricolage will be histories—subjective multivocal histories. The bricoleurs are builders of rhetorical histories as they can create not only the historical narratives but also annotations for the tropic attributes contextualized in the cultural ideologies of their time and place. To understand the subjectivity and cultural ideologies of the rhetors, listeners, and subject, annotated tropic attributes will be incorporated in the system to help bricoleurs also become listeners. My design of LEGO was informed by the theories of Pratt, Ratcliffe, Odin, and Landow, and I have enacted the theories with the goal of supporting cross-cultural understanding. In my next chapter, Intercontextuality, I will conclude my arguments by explaining how seeing the cultural ideologies that inform the tropic attributes can assist with practicing rhetorical listening. Additionally, I will discuss current hypertext metaphors and how they could describe the intercontextual connections of an online rhetorical history database designed for rhetorical listening.
CHAPTER FIVE: INTERCONTEXTUALITY

Identification names the entry of history and culture into the subject, a subject that must bear the traces of each and every encounter with the external world. Identification is, from the beginning, a question of relation, of self to other, subject to object, inside to outside.

—Diana Fuss, *Identification Papers*

Genealogists work to identify individuals and their relationships to others. Their research questions typically involve aspects of parentage but may also include other degrees of kinship or external relations. As each document is found, it adds new information to the body of evidence. The categorical data describing the individuals found on these documents are what I have been discussing as tropes with their associated attributes. Race, gender, occupation, birth place, marital status, and other quantifiable attributes can be identifiers that, in combination with others, help define an individual as being unique in the world. That is what a genealogist seeks to do: identify someone uniquely and relationally.

The relationships between people, perspectives, and time pieced together by texts—a type of intertextuality—can help historians examine the context and cultural ideologies surrounding their subject. I named this chapter *Intercontextuality* as a blending of context with intertextuality as not only are the relationships important but the context in which they are formed. Each time a person appears in the historical record, the stamp of that moment marks him or her in some way, causing the subject to “bear the traces of each and every encounter with the external world.”  

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the labels with which society marks us. These labels may become tropes based on the context, time, place, and cultural ideologies within which they are used. When studying a marginalized group, examination of the dominant group is imperative as they are the ones labeling the marginalized within the contact zone.

Marginalized groups are typically stamped with dominant markers, and even documents that do not name specific individuals can mark the entirety of a group. As an example, Figure 19 is a map of Jacksonville, Florida, created by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board in 1937. The map was created to show what the board termed the “grade” of residences, and they were labeled A through D. My ideologies, and my reading of the dominant cultural ideologies of the time, translated the word “grade” to the trope “class.” The pamphlet attached to the map described the red “D” areas as “characterized by detrimental influences in a pronounced degree, undesirable population or an infiltration of it” and that section D1 “contains all of the areas on the Realty Area Map which are classified as hazardous and embraces principally the negro areas of the City.” This map, made by the federal government, essentially color coded the city by race and class, and stamped the marker of “undesirable” across the “Negro race.”

By seeking historic documents that mark people, such as this particular map and its accompanying pamphlet, researchers can better examine the cultural ideologies of the time and place. By correlating the historical tropic attributes within their context, and the cultural ideologies that inform them, historians may listen and better understand the context of the history. The context, perspectives, and biases of the society under study are important aspects for researchers.

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224 Home Owner’s Loan Corporation, Division of Research and Statistics with cooperation of the Appraisal Department, Residential Security Map of Jacksonville, FL (Duval Co.), 11 January 1937; RG 195, Records of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, City Survey Files, 1935–1940; National Archives and Records Administration, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. A map for Pensacola does not exist in this Record Group.

225 Home Owner’s Loan Corporation, 1 and 13.
While genealogists search for documentary evidence of identity and relationship, they also must understand the context, and broader ranging documents, such as this map, assist with that understanding. When genealogists come across other documentation identifying someone living at an address in Jacksonville in this time period, they would then be able to correlate that evidence with the tropic attributes gleaned from this map.

Figure 19. Residential Security Map of Jacksonville, FL (Duval Co.), 11 January 1937
The intercontextual examination of trope attributes complicates our perceptions of self and other. When I began this project in 2012, I came up with the kaleidoscope metaphor to replace the typical hypertext metaphors as they were inadequate for my needs; they describe hypertext intertextually, and I needed to describe tropes, attributes, and ideologies intercontextually. In Royster’s examination of African American women writers, she focused on how their rhetorical actions were “multi-dimensional, textured, and subjective” and she examined their writing at “the intersections of context, ethos formation, and rhetorical action.” I would suggest that she was examining them intercontextually. I did not encounter Royster until later in my research, and at that point I found that she also was using kaleidoscope as a metaphor. Royster argues that the kaleidoscopic view is designed to make the hidden and unrecognized visible. This view, by its very framing (that is, in being multi-lensed), encourages us above all else, to complicate our thinking rather than simplify it, in search of greater clarity and also greater interpretive power.

I found her metaphor and my own compatible as I wanted to make the tropic attributes visible so historians could interpret the contexts in history.

Thinking kaleidoscopically, and returning to the housing map in Figure 19, the map image resembles the colored shards of glass in a kaleidoscope. Our perspectives of this image and the information it provides will be different based on our cultural ideologies. Each person examining this map turns the kaleidoscope barrel and sees a different meaning even though the size, shape, color, and quantity of glass pieces remain the same. These green, blue, yellow, and red stamps of the external world show the contact zones of distinct communities within a community.

My use of the adjectives “kaleidoscopic community” in my dissertation title, *Kaleidoscopic Community History: Theories of Databased Rhetorical History-Making*, is intended to describe the variety of

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intercontextually related communities involved in history-making and how histories are created and viewed from many perspectives. This intercontextually is exemplified by the video in the previous chapter. Each culture rubs against others in contact zones where border thinkers cross the boundaries to intersect with other groups and communities. Exploring the theories of rhetorical listening and contact zones in regards to rhetorical history-making from databased artifacts, helps to foster cross-temporal-cultural understanding.

In this chapter I will argue that the hypertext metaphors of rhizome, fractal, and mosaic are inadequate to fully represent the bricolage and rhetorical listening concepts I have proposed for a rhetorical history-making system, and that the metaphor of a kaleidoscope may be a better choice. I will also explain how the LEGO Kaleidoscope viewer allows users to examine the tropic attributes stored in the database to analyze commonalities and differences between rhetor, audience, and subject as a way to engage with rhetorical listening. I will conclude with a discussion of how tropic attributes, when annotated to describe their use within the cultural ideologies of their time, can assist users with the stance and performance of rhetorical listening in history-making contact zones.

**Metaphor Criteria**

Theodor H. Nelson coined the term *hypertext* almost fifty years ago, and the use of the term and concept has become ubiquitous. Theorists, including more recently those in new media studies, have spent the intervening decades analyzing various hypertext incarnations and expanding the theoretical uses of the concept. When Nelson coined the term hypertext, he also used the terms *entry* and *link* to designate the informational units and how they connect. As theorists began looking for connections between hypertext and literary theory, they looked at the structuralist and

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poststructuralist theorists who used *link*, along with *web*, and *network*. These three base terms are still ubiquitous today.

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Landow proposed the use of hypertext as a paradigm for the postcolonial because of the value, he said, “in its essential multivocality, decentering, and redefinition of edges, borders, identities[, and intertextuality].” I will be using these criteria plus those of scalability, fragmentation, perspective/filtering, and representations of tropes for my analysis of hypertext metaphors. Before delving into the metaphors themselves, I want to explain my usage of each term briefly.

Landow’s implementation of *multivocality* focuses on the voice “distilled” from each lexia being read along the reader’s narrative thread. I will use multivocality when discussing the expansion of the hypertext paradigm into rhetorical history-making, as the multiplicity of voices is inherent in hypertext and history. I also use it to label interconnected narratives created by bricoleurs from the rhetorical artifacts and ideologically annotated tropic attributes stored intercontextually in my database.

Jacques Derrida used the term *decentering* in relation to signifiers and the idea that meaning cannot be stable since it comes from complex traces in the context and, therefore, outside the signifier. Landow, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, uses decentering to be the opposite of centered—which is when a lexia is read. I will use decentering in a similar manner to Landow when describing lexia in larger systems where the lexia are waiting to be read.

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230 Landow, *Hypertext 3.0*, 53. Landow credits Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault, Mikhail Bakhtin, and Jacques Derrida with the use of link, web, network, and interwoven.

231 Landow, *Hypertext 3.0*, 356. In addition to this particular quote, Landow uses *intertextuality* as another criteria in his paradigm (55).


233 Landow, *Hypertext 3.0*, 120.
Landow’s discussion of the “redefinition of edges, borders, [and] identities” is in reference to electronic texts in the sense that physical texts have tangible edges and borders (a beginning and an end), while electronic texts are “woven of codes” and thus cannot be contained.\textsuperscript{234} He also uses it to describe how things (icons, lexia, or people) can be associated in groups or categories and that “the most important function involves not so much delimiting an edge or border of a document as indicating its relation to, or membership in, one or more subwebs.”\textsuperscript{235} I will use his edges and borders concept (hereafter \textit{borders}) when discussing tropic attributes and their intercontextual associations with people as the edges of our tropes are permeable. I will also use \textit{border} within his context of subwebs, which I equate to categories. The LEGO hiprogeny categories such as race and gender could be seen in this manner.

The quality of \textit{scalability} was cited by both Manovich and Brooke as being important to hypertext systems. Modularity, one of Manovich’s five principles of new media, uses scalability when “a new media object has the same modular structure throughout…these elements are assembled into larger-scale objects but continue to maintain their separate identities.”\textsuperscript{236} I will use scalability similarly in regards to lexia and the LEGO building blocks of narrative.

Odin uses \textit{fragmentation} to explain the discontinuity of time she sees in postcolonial literary works, and in the postcolonial subject inhabiting the contact zones between cultures.\textsuperscript{237} I will use it in a similar manner in regards to history as the past is fragmented into many intersecting histories, and in regards to fragments of evidence (rhetorical artifacts) found in the historical record. Fragmentation describes the rupture of the direct enchainment of events in history so multiple

\textsuperscript{234} Landow, \textit{Hypertext 3.0}, 357 and 37.
\textsuperscript{235} Landow, \textit{Hypertext 3.0}, 172.
\textsuperscript{236} Manovich, \textit{Language of New Media}, 30.
\textsuperscript{237} Odin, “Performative and Processual.”
histories can be created, and Susan Jarratt calls this “the denial of progressive continuity.” There is no single linear history of the world; people live their own individual history and intersect with the cultural narratives of their time and place. These fragmented individual histories form an intercontextual web, and my database captures some of these aspects of fragmentation.

My criteria for a hypertext metaphor also includes whether it can represent perspective/filtering, and tropes as these are involved in rhetorical history-making. I include perspective and filtering together as the terms are associated with ideologies and bias. The rhetor’s and audience’s views of history are interpreted (i.e., filtered) by their ideological perspective. These perspectives are based in cultural ideologies, and by identifying (and annotating) the tropes that surround us, ideologies may become visible and assist with the process of rhetorical history-making. My database and website design privilege tropic attributes and their connections to rhetor, audience, and self, as these tropes signify the concept of rhetorical listening.

The present metaphors of rhizome, fractal, and mosaic are adequate in some ways of representing my project, but they lack certain aspects which I feel are a requirement. The following section will detail how each metaphor meets or fails the criteria of multivocality, decentering, borders, scalability, fragmentation, perspective/filtering, and representations of tropes.

**Hypertext Metaphors**

Each of the popular metaphors for hypertext have qualities that are pertinent to my project; however, as I will outline below, the kaleidoscope as metaphor may be a better aid for the comprehension of the cultural extensions of both Landow’s hypertext paradigm and the bricoleage

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and rhetorical listening principles of rhetorical history-making. In the following sections I will
discuss the affordances and limitations of each metaphor in regard to my project.

**Rhizome**

The most popular metaphor used to describe the interrelationships of hypertext is the
rhizome from Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. Their description of rhizomatic connections invokes
just the lines:239

lines of segmentarity and stratification as its dimensions...these lines, or lineaments, should
not be confused with lineages of the arborescent type...the rhizome operates by variation,
expansion, conquest, capture, offshoots...the rhizome is an acentered, nonhierarchical,
nonsignifying system...

Landow quotes extensively from Deleuze and Guattari to reinforce his argument about the
connection between hypertext and critical theory—the intertextuality, multivocality, and decentering
which are criteria of his paradigm. The quotes chosen by Landow as a way of describing his
paradigm criteria are quite pertinent to my database: “multiple entryways and exits” and “connects
any point to any other point.”240 As a metaphor for the connections and traversal of hypertext—the
paths between the lexia—the rhizome is sufficient. However, it does nothing to incorporate the lexia
themselves; in fact, Deleuze and Guattari state, “[The rhizome] is composed not of units but of
dimensions, or rather directions in motion.”241 While the connectivity of hypertext is central to its
structure, it is only part of the overall framework.

Landow’s criteria of borders are partially present as a rhizome can show traits of
categorization; however, since there is no substance on either side of the line, or at points along the
line, the rhizome cannot represent either the lexia or the permeable borders between them. The


240 Landow, *Hypertext 3.0*, 60.

branching of the rhizome could depict the intertextuality of categories (subwebs) that Landow describes; but again, there is no substance. The branching of the rhizome could also help to describe fragmentation since there is no single thread throughout the organism. Without the substance of the lexia, the rhizome is not sufficient to describe the remaining criteria: scalability, perspective/filtering, or tropes.

Fractal

Fractals have also been used as a metaphor for hypertextual constructs. As I mentioned earlier, one of Manovich’s five principles of new media is modularity, assembling smaller distinct objects into larger objects, and he uses fractals to describe modular system scalability.242 Brooke, in *Lingua Fracta*, brings in fractals as a puncept and then uses them “to call our attention to the fact that our understandings of technology frequently depend on the scale at which we choose to consider them.”243 Scalability can be seen in the building blocks of my LEGO system, as the individual chronology, location, item, and person records can be combined into stories in the sense of Manovich’s modularity. However, using a fractal for scalability is inadequate since in the fractal sense scalability is based on the retention of form. Regular Mandelbrot and Julia Set fractals show symmetry at all resolutions (Figure 20) and thus within the concept of a lexia, all would be homogenous and thus unchanging. The only point in time that a standard fractal shows change is during its creation; yet the pattern is just duplication. Hypertext, such as that used in the World Wide Web, does not show properties of symmetry, or homogeneity, and, though some pages are static, the overall intertextuality is dynamic.

Some of Landow’s criteria can be seen in the fractal in Figure 20. If one focuses on the pattern unit (the brighter points of the fractal) these could be characterized as lexia, embodying some of the attributes required for decentering, borders, and intertextuality. Also, the multiplicity of them could be tied to multivocality. However, since the base pattern in a standard fractal is repeated, it equates more to a single voice that repeats versus multiple unique voices. This lack of uniqueness also impacts the usefulness of a standard fractal with regards to fragmentation, perspective/filtering, and tropes. Since the pattern of the form is duplicated at all magnifications, the pattern could only represent commonalities, not differences. The homogeneity defeats much of the criteria of hypertext.
and therefore, the more common generalization of fractal is an insufficient descriptor for a hypertextual system such as my project.

_Mosaic_

The final common metaphor needing mention is mosaic, used by Marshall McLuhan in the physicality of his books, and by Christian Vandendorpe to further his argument on the visual tabularity of text in the layout of newspapers and web pages.²⁴⁴ Communication theory also invokes the mosaic as a metaphor to describe complex communication as “an immense number of fragments or bits of information on an immense number of topics…scattered over time and space and modes of communication.”²⁴⁵ To me, of the three common metaphors, the mosaic comes the closest to the requirements of rhetorical history-making.

The mosaic helps to describe the physical layout of hypertext lexia, and if it is a random pattern of tiles, the mosaic would cover Landow’s criteria—multivocality (following the grout lines), decentering (no tile is prominent), borders (there is no closure), and intertextuality (the tiles are all related to the one mosaic but many tile paths). The separate tiles can represent fragmentation, and if they are varied enough in shape and size (but with some duplication), they could represent tropic attributes. In my opinion, the mosaic does not represent scalability, or filtering/perspective. Scalability is lacking as there is only one level of increase, that from tile to mosaic. Also, once a mosaic is created, it is a static solid image and therefore cannot capture the movement and dynamism necessary to represent filtering and perspective. The ideological filtering and the


perspective of a person can change with each encounter with the world. The static mosaic cannot represent this change.

**Kaleidoscope**

The proposed metaphor of a kaleidoscope is descriptive of an online rhetorical history-making system that is designed to have users act as bricoleurs who make their own narratives, and listen rhetorically. The kaleidoscope also has ties to Landow’s criteria, rhizomatic connections, fractal scalability, inter(con)textuality, mosaics of lexia, and also embodies filtering/perspective, and trope attributes.

To begin to build the rationale behind my choice of kaleidoscope, I will start with a building block of a Voronoi diagram, which is part of computational geometry (Figure 21). One of the common uses of Voronoi is in Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to decompose space for nearest neighbor calculations. Sections are arranged around each point to enclose all the area closest to that particular point versus any other point in the system. Each section has its own identity, which is one of Landow’s criteria of hypertext. Note that the points, which I equate to lexias, are contained within their own borders or edges at this resolution. Also, the borders of each lexia represent its links. Each lexia can have a different number of connections, just like a web page can have any number of hyperlinks.

![Figure 21. Simple Voronoi diagram (public domain at commons.wikimedia.org)](image)

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247 Borders and edges are also part of Landow’s criteria.
When Voronoi diagrams are processed recursively, they become fractalized (Figure 22). The points in the lexias are not visible at this resolution and though they are contained within their individual borders, in this grander picture they are decentralized—none taking precedence over any other. Of note at this magnification is that the lexias are represented and resemble McLuhan’s mosaic. The lexical fragments also follow Manovich’s description of new media culture “as an infinite flat surface where individual texts are placed in no particular order.” Additionally, the recursive Voronoi fractal has the capabilities of Manovich’s and Brooke’s scalability without the symmetry problem of common fractals.

Figure 22. Recursive Voronoi diagram
(Used with permission, Frederik Vanhoutte, wblut.com)

248 Another of Landow’s criteria.
249 Manovich, Language of New Media, 77.
The rhizomatic qualities of connecting all points to all other points and “multiple entryways and exits” are now visible in the lines of linkage in the recursive Voronoi fractal.\textsuperscript{250} The longer (darker) connections are similar to the aristocratic networks discussed by Mark Buchanan, who argues that the only way the Internet and Stanley Milgram’s six degrees of separation work is with an aristocratic network where certain elements are highly connected, versus an egalitarian network where the lexia are distributed “more or less equally.”\textsuperscript{251} The asymmetrical linkages also conform to the nonlinearity of Lanham’s argument, and the multiplicity of rhizomatic pathways are representative of Landow’s criteria for multivocality.

At this broader resolution of the recursive Voronoi fractal, all the elements covered by previous hypertext metaphors are incorporated and each of the criteria defined by Landow as valuable to the hypertext paradigm (multivocality, decentering, and borders) are included. The next step is to embody this in the form of a kaleidoscope.

Kaleidoscopes form patterns by allowing light to filter through fragments of colored glass. Figure 22 can be seen as a visualization of the colored light and pattern viewed through a kaleidoscope lens. This colored filtering is critical to applying the kaleidoscope metaphor to the hypertext paradigm and rhetorical history-making as both the audience’s and rhetor’s views are always colored. Manovich discusses the filtering involved specifically in electronic media objects,\textsuperscript{252} but it is the same for any human consumed media. The user’s own experiences and ideology are the filters through which he or she sees the world. Although a new media designer, such as myself, has access to various programmatic filters, it is first my ideological filters that are applied before any physical (electronic) filter is added. As the designer, I choose what data is collected and how it is

\textsuperscript{250} Deleuze and Guattari, “From \textit{A Thousand Plateaus},” 409.


\textsuperscript{252} Manovich, \textit{Language of New Media}, 132.
stored, along with how the user will experience the interactions with the website. My ideologies of
diversity and inclusion are visible in the privileging of tropic attributes on the site.

Although Lanham’s *at/through* pertains to how text is perceived in print versus electronic
form, *at/through* can theoretically be applied to the acts of both rhetor and listener. The effect of
their own ideological filters needs to be admitted so they understand the inherent subjectivity of
how they view the world and history. Lanham’s *at/through* could also apply to the researcher’s
struggle with objectivity; the researcher needs to look consciously *at* his or her ideological and
cultural filtering to ensure it is not treated transparently and ignored. The reader of the text needs to
look *at* the same filtering to understand where the author is grounded. Instead of seeing through
rose-colored glasses, perhaps we need to be aware that we are seeing *through* kaleidoscope-colored
glasses as our experiences are filtered through many ideologies. My LEGO viewer design includes
colored legends of tropic attributes (annotated for context) so that listeners can visualize some of
the filters through which they perceive the attributes of the rhetor and subject.

The changing pattern of the kaleidoscope is another crucial aspect related to hypertext and
history-making. When a viewer turns the chamber of a kaleidoscope, the fragments shift and so does
the viewer’s perspective. Following different paths through a text gives a reader a different
perspective and even if multiple readers follow the same path, they will see it from a different-
colored perspective and not get the same experience. The individual colored fragments in the
kaleidoscope do not change; the patterns change, which force the viewers to reinterpret what they
see and gain a different perspective. Additionally, many kaleidoscopes incorporate a small mirror
within the chamber and this mirror embodies the need for the listener to be self-reflexive.

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One of the attributes of Mark Johnson and George Lakoff’s mind-as-body metaphor is “Knowing from a ‘perspective’ is seeing from a point of view”\textsuperscript{254} and the perspective from which hypertext and other media is viewed is always colored. Brooke applies this notion of from to Lanham’s at/through oscillation to make it more applicable to interfaces in electronic media. Brooke stresses that perspective is “both macro- and microperceptual” and the interface is where perception and reality meet.\textsuperscript{255} When multiple users navigate the same hypertext, Brooke says the shared experience is at the medium level.\textsuperscript{256} The changes of pattern within a kaleidoscope mimic the perspective of the user of hypertext since “users do not passively rehearse or receive discourse, they explore and construct links.”\textsuperscript{257} The changing perspective opens up new paths through the fragments of glass (lexia) and gives the user a new way of seeing, particularly when the fragments are envisioned as the tropic attributes.

The rhizome as metaphor only describes primarily the traversal of hypertext; the fractal describes homogenous scalability; the mosaic though a fuller option lacks filtering and perspective. As the kaleidoscope embodies the principles of individual lexia, borders, links, multivocality, decentering, scalability, ideological filtering, and tropes, it can be used as more useful metaphor for the concepts of hypertext for rhetorical history-making. With the kaleidoscope in mind, the next section will discuss its implementation in LEGO.


\textsuperscript{255} Brooke, \textit{Lingua Fracta}, 140 (emphasis in original).

\textsuperscript{256} Brooke, \textit{Lingua Fracta}, 11.

**Kaleidoscope Viewer**

The kaleidoscope viewer is designed to assist listeners with analyzing tropic attributes within the context of Stories by giving them the opportunity to view and identify commonalities and differences. The viewer is called from both the main portal page and the “Who’s Listening?” option, and each option gives the listener a different point of comparison.

The portal screen version of the kaleidoscope viewer interacts with the listeners and the CLIPS they select to view. Figure 23 is an example of the Pensacola Public Squares Story that was used as an example in the previous chapter for the timeline viewer (Instantiations, p. 105). Like the other viewers, the story legend and listener legend are listed down the left side of the screen. In the center is a kaleidoscope made from all the tropic attributes for this particular story with their relationships to the CLIP pieces linked by colored lines. Additionally, the listener’s attributes are put into the kaleidoscope so that visual comparisons can be made. When a user clicks on an icon in the viewer, the selected icon is highlighted and the lines to all connecting attributes are also highlighted. Down the right side of the viewer, the highlighted connections for this attribute are listed. These connections will eventually link to the annotations for the attributes so that the ideological context is available for analysis.

The kaleidoscope viewer enacts its metaphorical image, Landow’s hypertext paradigm criteria, and my addendums for rhetorical history-making:

- If the listener chooses to view a Story that was intertextually connected with another, the attributes from the connected story would also be displayed—illustrating the multivocal capabilities of this database and the fragmented histories joining together.
- When the viewer is first displayed, no item is selected in the viewer—each lexia is decentered, none taking precedence over another.
Figure 23. LEGO Kaleidoscope viewer screen, story example
- Landow’s borders are also visible through the color coding of the icons and lines. These groupings show an icon’s relationship to the trope categories such as race or gender.

- The viewer is also scalable in two ways; the simplest being visually by using the mouse wheel to zoom in or out. The second way is with Manovich’s use of scalability relating to modularity—the joining of modules into larger structures. Within the kaleidoscope viewer, the separate chronologies, locations, items, people icons, and trope attributes, are modularly linked under the story title (Figure 24).

![Figure 24. LEGO Kaleidoscope viewer screen, scalability example](image)

- The tropic attributes are visible and the listener may manipulate them via drag/drop, clicking to highlight, or clicking the small red “x” to remove them from the viewer. By rearranging the trope attribute icons, the listener can filter what is viewed and then, through the annotations of the attributes, compare and contrast their
ideological tropes to others within the Story. These aspects give the listener different perspectives based on who in the viewer is highlighted (centered) and how they are related to the surrounding tropes. Figure 23 has the Listener chosen, and it shows that the listener shares the tropic attributes of race and gender with the Spanish map maker, Sebastian Vincente Pintaldo, but also that the listener and Pintaldo do not share the same language. By viewing the annotations for these trope attributes, the listener may get a better understanding of how these attributes were perceived in the early 1800s.

The second kaleidoscope viewer option is available from “Who’s Listening?” (Figure 25). This area of the website allows users to examine the commonalities and differences among rhetors (through the “What Did You Hear?” icon) and listeners (through the kaleidoscope icon). The “What Did You Hear?” option allows users to browse the comments left by contributors and view their user profiles if available (Figure 26). These profiles may include a biography, photograph, and the tropic attributes self-identified by the contributor.

Figure 25. “Who’s Listening?” entry screen example
Figure 26. Browse user comments screen example

The kaleidoscope viewer from this area is designed to allow users to examine the tropic attributes of all users who have listened to Stories on the website (Figure 27). The icons include registered user screen names and anonymous listeners. The user can compare and contrast themselves to other users of the system. The database and website design enable the tracing and formation of moving, shifting patterns of tropic attributes that assist users in perceiving and examining the commonalities and differences in ideologies between themselves, peoples of the past, and other users of the system.
Figure 27. LEGO Kaleidoscope viewer screen, “Who’s Listening?” example
Inference

My project is informed by hypertext, rhetorical, historical, and cultural studies. This interdisciplinary project provides a unique view on the creation of histories from digitized documents, and offers a suggested mixture of methods intended to enhance a researcher’s toolkit. My study produced a digital community history website through which, and from which, I theorized about history-making from databased rhetorical artifacts. By designing and building the website as a site of rhetorical listening, I made choices during the design of the system that were geared toward allowing the data of marginalized groups to ‘speak’ in new ways, and for listeners to be able to ‘hear’ rhetorically.

*Kaleidoscopic Community History* has particular exigence as it situates the creation of history as a rhetorical act. The project included a meta-level exploration of the making of history from the perspective of the rhetorical choices a historian makes, the analysis of rhetorical artifacts used in evidence-based historical analysis, and the choices I made as a historian-designer of a rhetorical listening database system. Within this work, I offered suggestions to expand the historical methods needed to collect enough information on marginalized groups to be used for history-making and suggested ways that rhetorical analysis of historical documents can assist a historian. Thus *history-making* became *rhetorical history-making*.

My LExical-Graphical Organizer (LEGO) interface was created as a contact zone between the user and the project database, and also between the listener and the Pensacola Creoles of Color. It can also be seen as a palimpsest, where history is overwritten with *many* kaleidoscopic versions of Pensacola Creole history. It is my hope that the descendants of Pensacola’s Creoles can begin to overwrite hegemonic history with their own versions, and historians can revise histories of this group based on listening to the Creoles’ perspective. As a site of rhetorical listening, my project
allows users to become aware of how tropes, such as racial identity, affect the histories that are created.

In this respect, the power of history—categorized by race, class, and gender—is white, elite, and male. These dominant histories, and all histories for that matter, are inherently subjective, as all researchers have their perspectives set within their cultural ideologies. Cheryl Glenn reminds us that, “rhetoric itself has always inscribed the relation of language and power at a particular moment, indicating who may speak, who may listen, and what may be said…”258 The power to write history is slowly shifting, and indigenous and marginalized groups are “rewriting and rerighting” their place in history in an effort to fill in the gaps and to rectify the differences between the dominant views of the past and their own histories.259 The complicated histories that we investigate in the past, especially topics of race, gender, or power relation differences, are still culturally situated today. Provided with tactics for rhetorical listening, we may be able to apply the concepts for cross-cultural understanding within the contact zones of the past, and apply the same tactics to situations in the present.

Hauser believes that the variety of attributes that are part of—inscribed in—every interaction (e.g. class, race, gender) contain “a surplus of meaning that exceeds what any single speaker might express and remains open to the possibilities for new insights.”260 These attributes are the tropes that Ratcliffe wants brought into the open to be able to practice rhetorical listening. By visualizing the tropic attributes through the LEGO user interface I have created a contact zone—a place for negotiation and interpretation—where we can forge “new insights.” An awareness of how


260 Hauser, Vernacular Voices, 9.
tropes surround us and affect our perspectives can give us a better chance at achieving cross-cultural understanding. When we try to listen cross-culturally, our tropes collide. Perhaps extending the kaleidoscope metaphor one step further to collide-o-trope will remind us to be more aware of our cultural ideologies and to open our minds to see new perspectives.
APPENDIX A:
GLOSSARY
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition                                                                ива</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bricolage</td>
<td>Claude Lévi-Strauss used the term <em>bricolage</em> to label the way primitive</td>
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<td>societies constructed knowledge through using what was available to</td>
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<td>them. Others have used the term to describe creating something from</td>
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<td></td>
<td>whatever parts are available. The Stories in my project are built from</td>
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<td>the bricoleur’s (re)arrangement of the database of materials within the</td>
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<td></td>
<td>framework of LEGO. (pp. 92–95)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLIPS</td>
<td>An acronym for the narrative building blocks of this project:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chronologies, Locations, Items, People, and Stories. (pp. 78–81)</td>
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<td>Community</td>
<td>For this project <em>community</em> is used in two ways. The first use denotes a</td>
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<td>geospatial area such as the multi-racial community that lived in the</td>
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<td>Tanyard section of Pensacola. The second use describes the variety of</td>
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<td>intersecting communities involved in history-making and how histories</td>
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<td>are created and viewed from many perspectives. When community is</td>
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<td>meant as a term for a group with common heritage and/or ideologies, I</td>
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<td>use <em>cultural group</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contact zone</td>
<td>Mary Louise Pratt used <em>contact zones</em> to describe socially conflicted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spaces. I use the term more broadly for dynamic negotiated spaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>where changing connections, accommodations, and power struggles may</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>occur. Contacts zones may illuminate negotiated spaces at many levels,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>such as meaning, conflict, or even access to materials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>A term typically used to define a multi-racial cultural group of French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and/or Spanish heritage. (pp. 7–9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural group</td>
<td>The term <em>cultural group</em> is used to delineate groups of people with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>common ideologies. The Pensacola Creoles could be described as a cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>group because of their common heritage, religion, and ideologies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>However, the boundaries of inclusion in a cultural group are sometimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>very fluid and identifying someone as part of a group, like the Creoles,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>can at times be problematic. I will use the term <em>cultural group</em> or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>just <em>group</em> when discussing the Creoles in an ideological context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural ideologies</td>
<td>Cultural ideologies are the shared beliefs of a culture that inform and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>complicate our definitions and usage of terms such as race and gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>when trying to understand other cultures. Personal perspectives are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grounded in cultural ideologies, and rhetorical listening focuses on how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tropes, such as race and gender, describe and shape these perspectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In my project I foreground tropes (via their attributes) as a way for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>users to self-reflect about how tropes such as race and gender—through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>our cultural ideologies—affect cross-cultural understanding and perhaps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for the users to extrapolate possible historical cultural ideologies from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the data.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eavesdropping</td>
<td>One of Krista Ratcliffe’s tactics for rhetorical listening. It is intended for people to look at cultural positions from outside their comfort zone so they can view themselves and their own identity in relation to others. (pp. 55–58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genealogy</td>
<td>Genealogy is a field of study concerning human familial relationships reconstructed through research of kinship and community. It is a method used to collect and analyze data to prove identities and relationships. (pp. 72–76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiprogeny</td>
<td>A term I coined to encompass the methods used in this project: historiography, prosopography, and genealogy. Using these mixed methods results in a product—historical narratives. (pp. 66–67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historiography</td>
<td>The process and product of historical writing. (pp. 67–68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercontextuality</td>
<td>A blending of context with intertextuality as not only are the relationships between people, perspectives, and time important but the context in which these relationships are formed. (p. 116)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEGO</td>
<td>An acronym for the user interface of this project: LExical Graphical Organizer. (pp. 93–94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening metonymically</td>
<td>One of Ratcliffe’s tactics for rhetorical listening. It is intended for examination of the commonalities and differences between cultural ideologies. (pp. 52–55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening pedagogically</td>
<td>One of Ratcliffe’s tactics for rhetorical listening. It is intended for examining tropes and how their embodiment affects cultural understanding. (pp. 58–60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>A historical, cultural memory, anecdotal, user-created, or other type of story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prosopography</td>
<td>A historical research method, first described in 1743, which allows analysis of social classes using categorical data. (pp. 68–72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetorical history-making</td>
<td>I use this term to describe the process of history-making through the application of rhetorical listening theories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetorical listening</td>
<td>A theoretical concept in rhetoric and composition studies that I am using to focus on how perspective influences understanding the past. Ratcliffe proposes three tactics of rhetorical listening: listening metonymically, eavesdropping, and listening pedagogically.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Story</strong></th>
<th>In this project the term <em>Story</em> refers to narratives that are stored and accessed in the database. The Stories contain whatever form of narrative the user creates. These can include text, images, audio, and video.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trope</strong></td>
<td>Ratcliffe states that tropes function within discourse as socially constructed categories, such as race and gender, and that people embody tropes based on their ideologies. She specifically analyzes <em>whiteness</em> as a trope. In this project the term <em>trope</em> is used to mean broad level socially constructed categories such as race and gender.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trope attribute</strong></td>
<td>In this project the term <em>trope attribute</em> or just <em>attribute</em> is used as a descriptor for items that are subcategories of tropes. For example, under the trope of race, attributes such as mixed-race, black, and white would be used. These attributes are found in the historical record and when examined within the particular context of their usage can help researchers understand the cultural ideologies of a particular place and time. I examined the attributes of race to attempt to understand some of the ideologies of the Pensacola Creole culture. Both trope categories and attributes are stored in the database for use in visualizing rhetorical listening concepts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B:
PETITION OF WHITE CITIZENS OF PENSACOLA AGAINST THE TAX ON FREE PERSONS OF COLOR
APPENDIX C:
PETITION FROM CITIZENS OF LEON CO. TO REMOVE FROM THE STATE ALL FREE PERSONS OF COLOR
“Petition from Citizens of Leon Co. to remove from the State all free persons of color,” 1850, Legislative Petition, State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, S.2153, Box 5, FF 66, image 1.
To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Florida,

The undersigned citizens of the State of Florida residing in the County of Leon respectfully represent unto your Honorable body that at a crisis like the present when the stability of the institutions of domestic society is threatened, and every means are adopted by our enemies to compass their ends it is not only the right but the duty of the Southern States to protect themselves by every means in their power. The safety of our lives and of our property demands that energetic measures should be adopted to remove from our midst not only the alien agencies which may be destructive to us, but to others but also those which may at any time contribute to such a result. Your petitioners are impressed with the necessity of removing beyond the bounds of the State all free persons of color resident therein who may be entitled to exemption from the operation of such a law as may be passed for that purpose by treaty stipulations or otherwise. Your petitioners respectfully represent their continuance amongst us as an act of ordinary magnitude, and one for the removal of which they believe the State should take prompt action. Your petitioners do not deem it needful to give at length the reasons for the calamity they have come to believe them to be so serious as to suggest themselves at once to the minds of every reflecting man. Your petitioners therefore pray that your honorable body will of the present session pass a law providing for the removal of all free persons of color in this State who can be made eligible to its therein, and if necessary that a sufficient sum may be appropriated to defray the expenses attending their removal. And your petitioners will ever pray for the

John H. Shiver

153

"Petition from Citizens of Leon Co. to remove from the State all free persons of color," 1850, Legislative Petition, State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, S.2153, Box 5, FF 66, image 2.
“Petition from Citizens of Leon Co. to remove from the State all free persons of color,” 1850, Legislative Petition, State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, S.2153, Box 5, FF 66, image 3.
APPENDIX D:
LETTERS FROM THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTION COPYBOOK
W.H. Green to John Green, Esq., Vera Cruz, Mexico, 7 May 1857. Catholic Institution Copybook; property of the Office of Archives and Records, Archdiocese of New Orleans. Used with permission.
To John Green Esq.
City of Vera Cruz
Mexico.

Dear Brother,
I have just this little time to spare, and I take up my pen to inform you of what is going on here; and also pray you to do the same. What do you think of the place, where you are? Please tell me if the sugar cane, corn and other products grow here; and do you think the ground will be good enough to raise some. I would like better to be a farmer than carry on any other profession, for I can make money by it in the markets. They say that the government grant land to any one who settles there, and at the expiration of five years, you have to give it back or pay the amount of its value. Please tell me if this is true for I should like to go there. Some persons said some time ago, that the sugar-cane grows there to the height of twelve feet. Write me in your next if the persons that started from here have arrived in safety. I close my letter by sending you the best respects of the family and mine also.

I still remain your affectionate
W.H. Green

W.H. Green to John Green, Esq., Vera Cruz, Mexico, 7 May 1857. Catholic Institution Copybook; Office of Archives and Records, Archdiocese of New Orleans. Transcription.
New Orleans, May 27th, 1858.

To Mr. Armstrong, Esq.,
Attakpas
La.

Dear Brother,

The Catholic Institution to which I belong has increased its price two hundred dollars and I will tell you the cause thereof. You know, no doubt, my dear brother, that the prejudice against the colored population is very strong in this part of the country. The Legislature used to give every year for this establishment fifteen hundred dollars, but this year, when they went to get it, they did not want to give anything at all and they treated them very bad. Then the Directors of this establishment had a session, so as to see what could be done. They saw that they could not go any further. Then they increased the contribution of every scholar by a few cents. The pupils who have father and mother, have to pay fifty cents a month, instead of twenty, but who have their mother only, have to pay half price. But the one who are deprived of both their father and mother, have to pay nothing at all. Is this not too bad, my dear brother? The white people have an institution in every district, and they are all protected very well. But we, who have but a single one, cannot be protected at all.

Your amiable friend,

A.F. Frilot

P.S. I wish you would send that letter to my friend, so he could see how the prejudice is bad in this moment.

A.F.F.
New Orleans May 27th 1858.

To L. Armstrong, Esq.,
Attakapas
La.

Dear brother

The Catholic Institution, to which I belong, has increased its price two weeks ago, and I will tell you the cause thereof. You know yourself, my dear brother, that the prejudice against the colored population is very strong in this part of the country. The Legislature used to give every year, for this establishment, fifteen hundred dollars; but this year, when they went to get it, they did not want to give anything at all, and they treated them very bad. Then the Direction of this establishment had a session so as to see what could be done. They saw that they could not go any further. Then they increased the contribution of every scholar, by a few cents. The pupils who have father, and mother, have to pay fifty cents a month, instead of twenty, those who have their mother only, have to pay half price. But the ones who are deprived of both, their father and mother, needn’t to pay nothing at all. Is this not too bad, my dear brother? The white people have an Institution in every district, and they are all protected very well. But we, who have, but a single one, cannot be protected at all.

Your invariable friend.

A.F. Frilot

P.S. I wish you would send that letter to my friend Léon, so he could see how the prejudice is bad in this moment.

A.F.F.

APPENDIX E:
ADELAIDE PETIT MANUMISSION OF EUSEBIA ANGELA, DOMINGA MARIANA, AND VALERIO BAPTISTE BERNARDO
Know all men by these presents, That I Adelaide Petit, a free mulatto woman of the City of Pensacola in the Territory of Florida, for and in consideration of the natural love and affection, which I bear unto my son Baptiste Bernardo, and for divers other good reasons, and considerations me hereunto moving; as also for the sum of three dollars, lawful money of the United States, to me in hand paid by the aforesaid Baptiste Bernardo, the receipt whereof I do hereby confess and acknowledge, have manumitted; enfranchised, renounced and redeemed from slavery and forever set free; my three mulattoe slaves and by these presents do manumit, enfranchise, renounce and redeem from slavery and forever set free, my three mulattoe slaves, herein after particularly mentioned and described; being my grandchildren and the children of the aforementioned Baptiste Bernardo and my negro woman slave Gertrude. viz Eusebia Angela, born on the fifteenth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, being now eight years, five months and eighteen days old; Dominga Mariana, a girl, born on the twentieth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, being now six years, five months and twelve days old; and Valerio Baptiste Bernardo, a boy, born on the eighth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and twenty one, being now five years, five months and twenty four days old: To have and to hold unto the said Eusebia Angela, Dominga Mariana, and Valerio Baptiste Bernardo their full and free manumission, enfranchisement, emancipation and freedom, from the day of the date of these presents fully, freely and absolutely, for their own use, behoof and benefit forever: subject to no labor, service, or servitude to, or for the service or profit of me, my heirs, executors or administrators or any or either of them or of any other person or persons whomsoever claiming the said Eusebia Angela, Dominga Mariana and Baptiste Bernardo as slaves, so that neither I the said Adelaide Petit, my heirs, executors or administrators no any other person or persons whomsoever, can or shall have any right, title, interest or property of, in or to the said Mulatto children or to their servitude or benefit advantage or emolument therefrom; but from henceforth I the said Adelaide Petit, my heirs, executors or administrators as well as all and every person or persons whomsoever shall and will be therefrom forever barred and excluded by these presents.

In testimony whereof I hereunto set my hand and affix my seal at Pensacola aforesaid this the third day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty six and in the Fiftieth year of the Independence of the United States of America.

her

N.S. Parmantier

Adelaide X Petit

{Seal}

Witness

mark

Territory of Florida

County of Escambia } Before me M. Crupper Clerk of the County Court for the County aforesaid personally appeared Adelaide Petit and acknowledged the foregoing instrument of writing to be her act and deed for the purposes therein mentioned, the same having been fully explained to her before signing;

Acknowledged before me this the third day of June A.D. 1826

M. Crupper Clke

By W. Hasell Hunt D.C.

APPENDIX F:
ST. MICHAEL’S CHURCH BAPTISMS OF ADELAIDE PETIT’S GRANDCHILDREN
In the town of Pensacola, on May 22, 1818, I, Don Santiago Coleman, vicar priest of the parochial church, Saint Michael, in another square, baptized and put the sacred oils on a free girl who was born on December 15 of last year, daughter of Gertrude a black slave of the free, light-skinned Adelaide Petit, neighbor of hers and of an unknown father and I exercised on her the sacred ceremonies and rites and named her Eusebia Angela. Her godparents were the free, light-skinned Valerio Petit and Felicitas Dede, whom I advised of their spiritual relationship and as proof I sign along with the cited Adelaide Petit the liberty expressed in this certificate. At the request of Adelaide Petit.

Antonia/o Pieruas and Santiago Coleman signatures.

Transcription and translation by Miguel E. Garcia.

Translation: 263

En la plaza de Panzaco[la], en dos de Febrero de mil ochocientos veinte yo Don Santiago Coleman Cura Vicario, de la Iglesia Parroquial de San Miguel de otra plaza bautize y puse los Santos Oleos a una niña libre que nacio el dia veinte de Diciembre del año pasado hija de Gertrudis negra esclava de la parda libre Adelaida Chonriac vecina de esta y de padre no conocido y en ella exercí las sacras ceremonias y preces y puse por nombre Dominga Mariana. Fueron padrinos los morenos Ricardo Colman y Mariana Villiers, a quienes advertí del parentesco espiritual y para que asi conste a mi la libertad firmo con migo la citada Adelaida Chonriac. A ruego de Adelaida Chonriac por no saber firmar. Benito López Santaglo Colman.

Translation:

In the town of Pensacola on February 2, 1820, I, Don Santiago Coleman vicar priest, of the parochial church, Saint Michael, in another square, baptized and put the sacred oils on a free girl who was born on December 20 of last year, daughter of Gertrude a black slave of the free, light-skinned Adelaida Chonriac, neighbor of hers and of an unknown father and I exercised on her the sacred ceremonies and rites, and named her Dominga Mariana. Her godparents were the free, brown-skinned Ricardo Chonriac and Mariana Villiers, whom I advised of their spiritual relationship and to affirm the liberty and as proof I sign along with the cited Adelaida Chonriac. At the request of Adelaida Chonriac for not knowing how to sign, Benito Lopez signed.

Benito López and Santiago Coleman signatures.

263 Transcription and translation by Miguel E. Garcia.

Transcription:264

Translation:
In the town of Pensacola, on January 16, 1822, I, Don Santiago Coleman, vicar priest of the parochial church, Saint Michael, in another square, baptized and put the sacred oils on a boy who was born on December 8 of last year, free son of Gertrude a black slave of the light-skinned Adelaida Petit, neighbor of this town and of an unknown father and I exercised on him the sacred ceremonies and rites and named him Valeria Baptista Bernardo, his godparents were Cayetano Garcia and the light-skinned Clara Garcia, whom I advised of their spiritual relationship and to serve as a record along with the liberty of the child I sign along with the cited Adelaida Petit. At the request of Adelaida Petit for not knowing how to sign, Jose Gonzalez has come to see.


264 Transcription and translation by Miguel E. Garcia.
Dear Mr. Crosby,

I am a student/volunteer oral historian with the Oral History Program of the University of West Florida Department of History's Public History Program. I am conducting oral interviews to examine the history, environment, people, and culture of Pensacola, the Florida Panhandle, and the Gulf South.

Your participation will involve an audiotaped or videotaped interview session. Your participation in this program is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the program at any time, it will not result in any repercussions. The materials obtained from the study may be used in future studies, exhibits, displays, programs, and publications. Your name will not be used without your permission. Your interview will also be made available to the public but not without your permission.

If at any time you have questions about this interview or the materials obtained, please feel free to contact me at:

If you have any questions about this interview, your participation as a subject in this program, or if you believe you have been placed at risk, you may contact Dr. Patrick Moore at (850) 474-2680 or (850) 474-2683.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Charles R. Cass
Student/Volunteer Oral Historian
University of West Florida Department of History

***********************

I give consent to participate in the program described above.

I understand that I will receive no remuneration for my participation.

I give permission for my name to be used by the program:

Yes [ ] No [X] 

I relinquish and transfer to the University of West Florida Department of History: (1) all legal title and literary property rights that I have or may be deemed to have in any audio or video recording of the interview, and any recordings or documents that are derived therefrom; and (2) all my rights, title and interest in copyright which I have or may be deemed to have in the audio or video recordings of the interview, and any recordings or documents that are derived therefrom:

Yes [X] No [ ]

I give permission for the public to use the audio or video recordings of the interview, and any recordings or documents that are derived therefrom:

Yes [X] No [ ]

Signature: [Signature]

Date: 6/21/99

[Footer]

HISTORY
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
11000 University Parkway, Pensacola, FL 32504-6764 850/474-8880 FAX 850/857-6015
An Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Institution
Dear Sister Maureen J. Kirevan,

I am a student/volunteer oral historian with the Oral History Program of the University of West Florida Department of History's Public History Program. I am conducting oral interviews to examine the history, environment, people, and culture of Pensacola, the Florida Panhandle, and the Gulf South.

Your participation will involve an audiotaped or videotaped interview session. Your participation in this program is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the program at any time, it will not result in any repercussions. The materials obtained from the study may be used in future studies, exhibits, displays, programs, and publications. Your name will not be used without your permission. Your interview will also be made available to the public but not without your permission.

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Sincerely,

[Signature]

Student/Volunteer Oral Historian,
University of West Florida Department of History

***************

I give consent to participate in the program described above.
I understand that I will receive no remuneration for my participation.
I give permission for my name to be used by the program: Yes ___ No ___

I give permission for the public to use the audio or video recordings of the interview, and any recordings or documents that are derived therefrom: Yes ___ No ___

[Signature] Maureen Joseph Kirevan     Date 5/30/03
Dear Dan Benboe,

I am a student/volunteer oral historian with the Oral History Program of the University of West Florida Department of History’s Public History Program. I am conducting oral interviews to examine the history, environment, people, and culture of Pensacola, the Florida Panhandle, and the Gulf South.

Your participation will involve an audiotaped or videotaped interview session. Your participation in this program is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the program at any time, it will not result in any repercussions. The materials obtained from the study may be used in future studies, exhibits, displays, programs, and publications. Your name will not be used without your permission. Your interview will also be made available to the public but not without your permission.

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If you have any questions about this interview, your participation as a subject in this program, or if you believe you have been placed at risk, you may contact Dr. Patrick Moore at (850) 474-2680 or (850) 474-2683.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Student/Volunteer Oral Historian,
University of West Florida Department of History

I give consent to participate in the program described above.
I understand that I will receive no remuneration for my participation.
I give permission for my name to be used by the program: Yes ☐ No ☐

I give permission for the public to use the audio or video recordings of the interview, and any recordings or documents that are derived therefrom: Yes ☐ No ☐

[Signature]  7-22-03

Date
I relinquish and transfer to the University of West Florida Department of History: (1) all legal title and literary property rights that I have or may be deemed to have in any audio or video recording of the interview, and any recordings or documents that are derived therefrom; and (2) all my rights, title and interest in copyright which I have or may be deemed to have in the audio or video recordings of the interview, and any recordings or documents that are derived therefrom.

Yes ☐ No ☐

__________________________
Signature,

__________________________
Signature, UWF Oral Historian

7-22-03
Date

7/22/03
Date
Dear Mr. Martin Lewis:

I am a student/volunteer oral historian with the Oral History Program of the University of West Florida Department of History's Public History Program. I am conducting oral interviews to examine the history, environment, people, and culture of Pensacola, the Florida Panhandle, and the Gulf South.

Your participation will involve an audiotaped or videotaped interview session. Your participation in this program is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the program at any time, it will not result in any repercussions. The materials obtained from the study may be used in future studies, exhibits, displays, programs, and publications. Your name will not be used without your permission. Your interview will also be made available to the public but not without your permission.

If at any time you have questions about this interview or the materials obtained, please feel free to contact me at:

If you have any questions about this interview, your participation as a subject in this program, or if you believe you have been placed at risk, you may contact Dr. Patrick Moore at (850) 474-2680 or (850) 474-2683.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Student/Volunteer Oral Historian, University of West Florida Department of History

I give consent to participate in the program described above.

I understand that I will receive no remuneration for my participation.

I give permission for my name to be used by the program: Yes [ ] No [x]

I relinquish and transfer to the University of West Florida Department of History: (1) all legal title and literary property rights that I have or may be deemed to have in any audio or video recording of the interview, and any recordings or documents that are derived therefrom; and (2) all my rights, title and interest in copyright which I have or may be deemed to have in the audio or video recordings of the interview, and any recordings or documents that are derived therefrom: Yes [ ] No [x]

I give permission for the public to use the audio or video recordings of the interview, and any recordings or documents that are derived therefrom: Yes [x] No [ ]

[Signature]  [Date]
Dear Amy,

of course this is ok.

Cheers,

Frederik

Amy Larner Giroux schreef op 29/05/2014 0:48:
Dear Frederik,

In 2012 I received your permission to use a modified circular version of the attached voronoi diagram in my candidacy exams (attached also). I would like to ask for your permission to now use it in my dissertation manuscript and project. I have incorporated it into an "eye-con" that I use as a common theme in my chapters and website. I've attached a copy of the image showing its use. I would also use it in its circular form in the dissertation itself as an example of a kaleidoscope. Any use of the diagram will be attributed to you and I will link to your wblut.com website.

Thank you very much for your consideration in this matter.

Best regards,
Amy Giroux

Doctoral candidate, Texts and Technology program
University of Central Florida
Subject: permission to publish in dissertation
From: Emilie G. Leumas
Date: 7/7/2014 12:06 PM
To: Amy Giroux
CC: Michael Courtney

Amy,

You have permission to publish the scanned images in your dissertation. Please cite them as property of the Office of Archives and Records, Archdiocese of New Orleans with the other appropriate information. If you plan to publish these letters in any other format, you must again request permission.

Please let me know if you need any other assistance.

Best regards,
Emilie Gagnet Leumas, PhD, CA, CRM
Archivist Archdiocese of New Orleans
7887 Walmsley Ave. New Orleans, LA 70125-3496
(504)527-5780
LIST OF REFERENCES


———. Legislative Petitions. S.2153, Box 5. State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee.


Home Owner’s Loan Corporation. Division of Research and Statistics with cooperation of the Appraisal Department; RG 195, Records of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, City Survey Files, 1935–1940; National Archives and Records Administration, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.


