

THE GEORGE WRIGHT

FORUM

Volume 19

❖ 2002 ❖

Number 3



THE JOURNAL OF THE GEORGE WRIGHT SOCIETY

Dedicated to the Protection, Preservation and Management
of Cultural and Natural Parks and Reserves
Through Research and Education

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US/ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites—U.S. Committee),
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ISSN 0732-4715

Editorial guidelines may be found on the inside back cover.

Text paper is made of 50% recycled fibers.

Printed by Book Concern Printers, Hancock, Michigan

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On the Cover: A view of Tytuvėnai Regional Park in Lithuania. *Photo by Roma Matiukienė*

Society News, Notes & Mail

Nash, Botkin to Address Joint GWS/CR2003 Conference

Preparations are in full swing for “Protecting Our Diverse Heritage: The Role of Parks, Protected Areas, and Cultural Sites,” the joint George Wright Society / Cultural Resources 2003 conference. By the time you read this, the deadline for receipt of abstracts will have passed and the Joint Conference Committee will be preparing to sift through the submissions.

As of this writing (mid-September), two of the four plenary sessions have been confirmed. Gary Nash, professor emeritus of history at UCLA, and director, National Center for History in the Schools, will address the conference on Thursday, April 17. He co-chaired the National History Standards Project from 1992-1996 and was also instrumental in developing the Liberty Bell exhibit at Independence National Historical Park, both of which proved to be contentious endeavors. The final plenary (Friday, April 18) will be headlined by Daniel B. Botkin, professor emeritus at UC-Santa Barbara, and director of the Center for the Study of the Environment. Botkin is well-known as the author of *Discordant Harmonies*, published in 1991. More recent titles of his include *Our Natural History: Lessons From Lewis and Clark* and *No Man's Garden: Thoreau and A New Vision for Civilization*.

In addition to these, we are finalizing a plenary on environmental justice and parks, which will be held Tuesday the 15th, and are working on an plenary to kick things off on Monday the 14th. For the latest information on the joint conference, go to <http://www.georgewright.org/2003.html>.

Evison Receives

2002 George Melendez Wright Award for Excellence

In early September the GWS Board unanimously voted to bestow the Society's highest honor, the George Melendez Wright Award for Excellence, on Boyd Evison for his many years of outstanding leadership in promoting research and resource management in the U.S. National Park System. Evison retired from the National Park Service in 1994 after career of more than 30 years which saw him work in a variety of parks and administrative offices, highlighted by superintendencies at Saguaro, Albright Training Center, Great Smoky Mountains, and Sequoia-Kings Canyon, and the directorship of the Alaska Region. He also taught at the University of Wisconsin and, after retiring, was a parks consultant in the Czech Republic and Bulgaria and the executive director of the Grand Teton Natural History Association. Among top NPS managers he was a leading advocate for resource management, inventory and monitoring, and for parks as places in which others could do research—even that which does not have imme-

diate or obvious management implications.

Evison's award is for the year 2002. The Society's Awards Committee is currently accepting nominations until October 31 for the 2003 round of awards, which will be given out at the joint conference in April. Details at <http://www.georgewright.org/2003awards.html>.



World Heritage: Thirty Years of U.S. Participation

The year 2002 marks the 30th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention, and we in the United States should use the occasion for celebration, since we were the first nation to ratify the convention, and it was American preservationists who conceived of expanding the draft convention from a protective tool for natural resources to include cultural heritage. Proof that this was a good idea is the convention's smashing success. Its ratification by 167 nations makes it the most popular pact in history. The World Heritage List has exceeded all expectations, with 721 inscriptions, of which 554 are cultural, 144 natural, and 23 a mix of the two. The nomination process has become so brisk that the World Heritage Committee has had to limit nominations to one per country each year.

This enthusiasm has not spread to the United States, where interest in the convention has been on the wane for the past decade. Over the past 30 years, only eight U.S. cultural sites have been inscribed on the list—scarcely a handful if we consider our country's size and diverse cultural history, and especially if we compare our participation with nations such as Italy, with 34 cultural sites on the list, or Spain, with 33, or Mexico, with 20. But our most gaping absence from the World Heritage List has to do with our historic cities.

The map of the United States is studded with brilliant cities that speak of our history, please our senses, and enrich our cultural life. Some of them played important roles in the larger history of the world, while others are the result of early experimental European settlements in the New World. American concepts of architecture and urban planning and their application have had a major impact on the mod-

ern development of all cities on the planet. Alexandria, Annapolis, Boston, Charleston, Chicago, New Orleans, New York, Newport, Philadelphia, San Antonio, San Francisco, Santa Fe, Savannah, Washington ... do any of these cities have the outstanding universal value required for World Heritage listing? Probably yes, and an overview of the list of World Heritage cities in the Western Hemisphere republics place the eligibility of U.S. cities in a favorable context. The urban history of the World Heritage cities of the Americas runs just as deep as ours. They include 37 Colonial and Republican cities, and even one Modern Movement city (Brasilia), that run from the universally recognizable, such as Mexico City, to the relatively obscure, such as Santa Cruz de Mompox (Table 1).

Fostering participation by the United States in all international cultural conventions is an integral part of the mission of US/ICOMOS [the U.S.

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Table 1. Colonial World Heritage cities in the Americas, by country.

Bermuda	St. George
Bolivia	Sucre, Potosi
Brazil	Brasilia, Diamantina, Olinda, Ouro Preto, Savador de Bahia, São Luis
Canada	Quebec, Lunenburg
Colombia	Cartagena de Indias, Santa Cruz de Mompox
Cuba	Havana, Trinidad
Curaçao	Willemsted
Dominican Republic	Santo Domingo
Ecuador	Quito, Cuenca
Guatemala	Antigua
Mexico	Campeche, Guanajuato, Mexico City, Morelia, Oaxaca, Puebla, Queretaro, Tlacotalpan, Zacatecas
Panama	Panama City
Peru	Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa
Uruguay	Colonia del Sacramento
Venezuela	Coro

Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites] since they provide one of the principal frameworks for international exchanges of information and cooperation. For this reason, our consistent failure to attain the full potential benefit from the World Heritage Convention has been a nagging frustration for the leadership of US/ICOMOS. As we celebrate 30 years of the convention's existence, this might be an appropriate time to examine the reasons for our poor national performance, and to launch a national debate on how to proceed. That debate should culminate in December, when US/ICOMOS and Harvard University Graduate School of Design will convene a conference on New World Cities and the World Heritage Convention.

Background

When an international convention is ratified by our Congress, it binds

our federal government. For that reason, a federal agency is responsible for managing the implementation of the World Heritage Convention: the National Park Service through its Office of International Affairs, which is both the convention's door and gatekeeper for all Americans. Only federal reserve lands and designated National Historic Landmarks are eligible for nomination. The only person who can lawfully nominate a U.S. site to the World Heritage List is the Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Fish, Wildlife, and Parks. That post is currently filled by Judge Craig Manson.

There are 18 U.S. sites inscribed in the World Heritage List: ten are natural; eight, cultural. Two additional natural sites span our northern frontier and are shared with Canada. All our listed sites, except for four, are national parks. Those four exceptions are Monticello, which is privately owned by a non-profit organization; Cahokia

Mounds in Illinois and the Jeffersonian Grounds of the University of Virginia, both of which are owned by state governments; and Taos Pueblo in New Mexico, which is owned communally by an independent First American nation.

Congressional Opposition and Public Indifference

For the last six years, activity related to the World Heritage Convention has been at a virtual standstill. There are several reasons for that, a principal one being the generalized public ignorance of or indifference towards U.S. participation in the World Heritage Convention. Another powerful reason is that a fringe element in the U.S. Congress has posted strong objections to the inscription of U.S. sites in the World Heritage List, alleging that in doing so we surrender our national sovereignty over those sites to the United Nations, and furthermore that it impinges on the private property rights of the communities in or surrounding World Heritage Sites who may be affected by use limitation on natural sites. The congressional concern either sprang from or resonated well among mining, logging, grazing, and energy constituencies, mostly in the West. The group in Congress is small, but in the absence of a champion for World Heritage on Capitol Hill, it has met little opposition. For the last four Congresses, legislation has been introduced and passed in the House—but stopped in the Senate—proposing far more stringent restrictions on our involvement in World Heritage. On these occasions, US/ICOMOS has often been the lone congressional witness from the private sector testifying

on behalf of greater international involvement. But if the bills themselves have not passed, they have had some successes, including getting the U.S. to pull out of the U.N. Man and the Biosphere Program and obtaining a cut in the State Department's FY2001 budget that eliminated the U.S. contribution to the World Heritage fund.

This, then, might be the place to dispel some of the broadly circulated misconceptions that appear to have driven congressional opposition to World Heritage listings:

1. Property of a World Heritage Site is not transferred to the ownership of the United Nations. Its property status remains unchanged.

2. Authority and responsibility for managing and protecting a listed site continues to rest exclusively with the national, state, or local authorities. Not a single function is transferred to the United Nations.

3. No instructions regarding management or protection are given by UNESCO [the U.N. Scientific, Education, and Cultural Organization, which oversees the World Heritage Convention] unless the country requests such assistance. If and when given, these instructions are in the form of recommendations, never binding obligations.

In other words, after inscription it's business as usual—there is no change in the legal, administrative, or protective status quo. If an American city were to be inscribed in the World Heritage List, no oversight contingents from abroad or from UNESCO would descend on the town to tell the locals

what to do. In the unlikely event the town were to fail in its preservation, the Blue Helmets will *not* disembark on our shores; no black U.N. helicopters will enter our airspace. No extranational body can order changes to local ordinances, and local authority cannot be taken away. No international body can fine or sanction a U.S. person, municipality, or corporation, nor the United States government, for failure to comply with the convention. The most extreme thing that could happen—and only under the most egregious mismanagement — is removal from the World Heritage List due to loss of significance, and that has never occurred.

What this political opposition on the one side, and public apathy on the other, have meant is that the National Park Service has given a very low priority to World Heritage, and no nominations have been submitted by our country in several years. The last U.S. property listed was Carlsbad Caverns in 1995. How can the process be reactivated? One approach would be for the White House to issue a specific directive to the Secretary of the Interior to pursue more proactively the nomination of our cultural sites. But unless World Heritage listing can acquire a substantial level of political value, this is unlikely to happen.

The U.S. Indicative List

The second obstacle to the nomination process is the content of the U.S. Indicative List. What is the Indicative List? In order for the World Heritage Committee to forecast the volume of nominations to be presented in the coming years, each State Party [i.e., signatory to the conven-

tion] is requested to put together a list, called the Tentative or Indicative List, which identifies the sites that each country may consider for nomination in the next ten years. Sites that are not on the list cannot be nominated unless the list is amended in advance, which can be done at any time. The U.S. Indicative List is compiled by the National Park Service's Office of International Affairs through official and non-official consultation processes with other agencies, experts, and interested parties, including US/ICOMOS. In most countries amending the Indicative List is not a big problem, but here in the United States procedures require that, prior to adoption, the list be published in the *Federal Register* with an adequate period for public comment. However, the Indicative List has not been revised since 1991, when minor adjustments to the 1982 list were published in the *Federal Register*. The Indicative List is outdated and in desperate need of revision to reflect our evolving appreciation of heritage (Table 2). Without public support and its resulting political pressure, the list is not likely to be opened for review. The only historic city that is on the U.S. Indicative List is Savannah, Georgia. It is hard to conceive that there are no others.

Landmark Designation

A third but minor obstacle to World Heritage nomination is the requirement for the candidate site to have National Historic Landmark (NHL) designation. Any historic district in an American city nominated to the World Heritage List has to be confined to existing NHL boundaries. Because the World Heritage guide-

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Table 2. U.S. Indicative List of cultural sites.

Alabama	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Moundville Sites
Alaska	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cape Krusenstern Archaeological District • Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge
Arizona	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hohokam Pima National Monument • Casa Grande National Monument • Ventana Cave • San Xavier del Bac • Lowell Observatory
Colorado	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lindenmier Site
District of Columbia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • L'Enfant Plan / Washington Monument • Chapel Hall, Gallaudet College
Georgia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ocmulgee National Monument • Savannah Historic District • Warm Springs Historic District
Hawaii	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pu`uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park
Illinois	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Auditorium Building, Chicago • Carson Pirie Scott and Co. store, Chicago • Frank Lloyd Wright Home and Studio, Oak Park • Leiter II Building, Chicago • Marquette Building, Chicago • Reliance Building, Chicago • Robie House, Chicago • Rookery, Chicago • South Dearborn Street – Printing House Row, North Historic District, Chicago • Unity Temple, Oak Park
Indiana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Harmony Historic District
Louisiana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty Point, Bayou Macon
Massachusetts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goddard Rocket Launching Site, Auburn
Missouri	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wainwright Building, St. Louis • Eads Bridge, St. Louis
New Jersey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Edison National Historic Site
New Mexico	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trinity Site
New York	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prudential (Guarantee) Building, Buffalo • Brooklyn Bridge • Bell Telephone Laboratories, New York • General Electric Research Laboratory, Schenectady • Pupin Physics Laboratory, Columbia University
Ohio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mound City Group National Monument (now called Hopewell Culture National Historical Park)
Pennsylvania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fallingwater, Mill Run
Texas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • San Antonio Missions National Historical Park
Virginia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • McCormick Farm and Workshop, Walnut Grove
Wisconsin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taliesin, Spring Green

lines are strict in that district boundaries really must embrace the entirety of all the valuable urban fabric that merits inscription, it may be necessary in some cases to enlarge the NHL boundaries to reflect that reality. Urban nominations can be smaller than the NHL district, but they cannot exceed it.

100% Owner Consent

The final obstacle to a nomination of any city in the U.S. is truly a formidable barrier: the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, requires that for any site nominated to the list there must be 100% owner consent. Everyone knows intuitively and empirically that there is not a single historic district in the world with universal agreement on this matter. The 100% consent differs qualitatively from that required for NHL status, in that for NHL status silence from an owner is assumed to be tacit approval, whereas for World Heritage, silence is the exact opposite: non-concurrence. The federal regulations require proof of owner consent from each and every individual owner in written form. In addition, in nominations of non-federal properties, such as an urban district, there has to be an irrevocable pledge of preservation by the proper local authorities and/or the owner of the site. These pledges are examined in detail by the Park Service's office of legal counsel to verify true irrevocability.

In 1995 the city of Savannah tried to circumvent the 100% owner consent requirement by limiting their nomination to the historic city plan, the squares, and some public buildings, but the nomination was stopped

in the official ICOMOS review process for not meeting any of the acceptable definitions of an integral historic district. The nomination was returned to the United States for revision and re-submittal in such a way that the real Savannah historic district was the basis for the nomination. There was also an informal comment from ICOMOS that the city appears to have sufficient significance for listing. The experience proved to be traumatic for the local community, especially those who had devoted so much time, effort, and TLC to prepare and submit the nomination.

Under these circumstances, officials at the National Park Service have no choice but to take the position that it is absolutely impossible at this time to accept any nomination of a U.S. city without prior proof of 100% owner consent, and they actively have to discourage any U.S. city from even considering it. The National Park Service is not to blame; they are only meeting legal obligations mandated by the federal laws enacted by the Congress. If there is fault, it lies in Congress, not in our civil servants.

Needless to say, all of these extraordinarily stern limitations are a great frustration to all American preservationists who work in the international arena. Not a single other country in the world has such unreasonable limitations on its World Heritage nominations. The United Kingdom and Canada—democratic, capitalistic countries with governing principles close to ours—each has two World Heritage cities: Bath and Edinburgh in the U.K., Quebec city and Lunenburg (Nova Scotia) in Canada. Italy

alone has Venice, Vicenza, Sienna, San Gimignano, Florence, Naples, Pisa, Ferrera, Pienza, Urbino, and Verona. France has the center of Paris, Nancy, Lyon, Avignon, Strasbourg, and the towns of Vézelay and Provins; Spain has 13 cities inscribed in the list; Germany, four; Norway and Sweden each have two. Morocco has five. There are private owners in all these cities, and surely not all of them would have consented if asked. Are we so different? Are we so unique?

Some Rationale for Our Limitations

Why all this fear, inflexibility, and excessive precaution? It is a drastic and sweeping response to the issue of the constitutional rights of the states and private property owners. Since under international law the federal government is the entity responsible for the safekeeping of all U.S. sites on the World Heritage List, there is a concern that if a private owner or a municipal government were to default on their preservation pledge, international law would obligate the Feds to step in and assume full responsibility for the site's conservation, thus forcing it to override state and local authority, and perhaps individual property rights. Another fear is that because of the federal government's obligation to protect these sites, any activity affecting the site's significance in a negative way, but somehow allowed at the local level, could bring about lawsuits against the federal government that, again, would demand their intervention in municipal matters.

How do other countries manage this dilemma facing every central gov-

ernment? Well, they do not really have to. The World Heritage Committee has tacitly accepted the normal limitations of government to protect every single element in a listed site. The purpose of the World Heritage Convention is to elevate the level of protection, not to impose a perfect foolproof system. There have to be acceptable agreements that can be reached between our federal government and its state and local counterparts who have constitutional authority over land use.

Into the Future

One way to overcome the 100% owner consent requirement would be to amend the National Historic Preservation Act to alleviate the perceived burden of the federal government, such as permitting nominations of historic cities on the Indicative List that have proven majority levels of popular and owner support, as is presently required for NHL status. Another path may be to override the National Historic Preservation Act through specific legislation enacted by Congress that would allow Specific Town, USA, to proceed with only a majority of owners consenting, per the same requirements imposed for NHL status. But some legal experts opine that such a law would be immediately challenged as unconstitutional, since the 14th Amendment provides equal rights for all under the law.

Obviously, better options need to be explored by legal experts. But this will only come about if there is strong support from the public and a strong alliance of historic American cities to change a system that limits our citi-

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zens' power of choice. Given the potential list of benefits for each community or site listed, the issue of World Heritage goes far beyond the interests of the preservation community: it concerns city managers, mayors, council members, local businesses, and all the citizens who want to make their town a better place.

One could interpret the sternness of Congress as a mere manifestation of how seriously the United States takes its compliance to international law under the conventions that we choose to ratify. But this is only the legalistic view, for it could also be argued that the exaggerated strictness of the self-

imposed limitations on the part of the U.S. government constitutes an overt negation of the spirit and the aims of a convention that we have pledged to abide by.

At the beginning I wrote that we should be proud that the U.S. was the first nation to ratify the World Heritage Convention. Thirty years into the convention, we might also be very angry that our country is not meeting its full moral obligation under the convention and, more seriously, that it is preventing Americans from exercising our rights over the future of our own cultural heritage and our country's historic communities.

[Ed. note: This article originally appeared in the newsletter of the U.S. Committee for ICOMOS, January–March 2002, and is reprinted here by permission. For the record, in 1997 and 1998 the George Wright Society sent written testimony to Congress supporting World Heritage in response to the House legislation mentioned above.]

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Improving Protected Area Management in Lithuania: A View from Overseas

Introduction

Lithuania is among the countries of East and Central Europe that are in transition from authoritarian regimes to more liberal governments based on free markets and democratic processes. This transition is affecting all public and private institutions, including those charged with stewardship of natural resources. In this new era, public involvement in natural resource conservation is on the rise. Management of protected areas, accordingly, is changing from top-down administration and strict protection to a more collaborative approach that seeks to meet public demand for outdoor recreation and promote sustainable uses. In addition to internal challenges, Lithuania, like all the countries applying to the European Union, must also comply with international recommendations and requirements for managing protected areas.



Figure 1. Tytuvėnai Regional Park, Lithuania. *Photo by Roma Matiukiene.*

Improving Protected Area Management in Lithuania

The system of nature protection areas and their management is still evolving in Lithuania. Challenges include a lack of a clear strategy, political and personal influence on managers' activities and priorities, low participation by local communities, lack of research and monitoring data, and insufficient management capacity. Many of these problems have been addressed satisfactorily by other countries. Examining models used successfully elsewhere can help identify cost-effective approaches for Lithuania. This article recommends ways to improve protected area management in Lithuania, based on the experience of developed Western countries, primarily the practices used in New York State.

thus the management of protected areas began abruptly, without experience.

Lithuania's protected areas are roughly comparable to four categories of protected areas described by IUCN—The World Conservation Union (IUCN 1994b). Six strict reserves, five national parks, 30 regional parks, and 290 other reserves represent the country's most valuable landscapes and natural ecosystems and constitute 11.2% of the total area (Table 1).

Strict reserves exclude development and management activities. *National parks* have mixed regimes: no or minimal management in conservation zones, management for visitors' needs in recreation zones, and regulat-

Table 1. Protected areas in Lithuania.

	Number	Area, km ² (% of total area)
Strict reserves (IUCN category I)	6	255 (0.4)
National parks (IUCN category II)	5	1,381 (2.1)
Partial reserves (IUCN category IV)	300	1,892 (2.9)
Regional parks (IUCN category V)	30	3,809 (5.8)

Protected Areas in Lithuania

After the restoration of Lithuania's independence in 1990, the reprivatization of land required a review of conservation priorities. Regional parks were created over a very short period of about two months in 1992, before the law on private land restitution was adopted. The hasty formation of the park system left many political and ecological problems to be reconciled after the system was created,

ed management in forestry or agricultural zones. *Partial nature and culture reserves* protect specific parts of ecosystems and landscapes. *Regional parks* integrate development and conservation.

Not all the areas are intended to protect nature. Of the six strict reserves, two are cultural. Of the five national parks, one is historical, and of the 30 regional parks, there is also one historical park. Other protected areas

are managed for a variety of natural features: geological (10), geomorphologic (46), hydrographical (35), soil (12), botanical (38), wetlands (27), theriological (1), ornithological (6), herpetological (2), ichthyological (11), entomological (20), botanical-zoological (20), landscape (61), cartographical (1), and cultural (10).

Lithuania's regional parks are equivalent to protected landscapes (IUCN category V; IUCN 1994b). Such areas encourage sustainable development and support traditional land uses and promote the well-being of local communities. Their relative importance in Europe is shown by the numbers: Protected landscapes account for only 15.3% of the world's total protected areas but 66.8% of Europe's. Many protected areas in Europe are small, close to urban or industrial areas, and surrounded by incompatible land uses. Sustainable development within and outside the parks is becoming a significant issue, and these parks are pilot areas for implementing and disseminating sustainable practices in the surrounding communities (Gambino 2000).

Most American state parks are very small, entirely public, and focused on recreation. But the Adirondack State Park in New York, with its size, range of activities, mixed ownership patterns, inholdings, and side-by-side conservation and development, presents management challenges comparable with those of the parks in Lithuania. We use the experience of the Adirondack State Park and other protected landscapes in developed countries to formulate recommendations for improving protected area manage-

ment in Lithuania in six domains: administration, management, advisory boards, work force, stewardship, and zoning and borders.

Administration

Centralization. In most countries, protected areas are both established and managed by the central government; some countries give authority to regional or local governments (Leitmann 1998), or the administration may be mixed. The administrative method depends mainly on political and social traditions.

Decentralized management is used by Austria, Germany, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. The majority of European countries, like the United States and Canada, use a mixed model: the central government establishes and manages areas of national importance but may share responsibility for managing partial reserves and protected landscapes with regional and local governments.

Lithuania has a very centralized system: almost all protected areas are established and managed by the central government. Because the country is small and has a long tradition of strong centralized governance, this system is acceptable to its citizens. Collaboration with local authorities might be strengthened by allowing local governments to approve the strategic and management plans of the protected areas within their jurisdictions.

Consolidated management. Currently, management of protected areas in Lithuania is split: One historical national park and two cultural strict reserves are managed by the Ministry of Culture, and two regional parks are

managed by local governments.

In the Adirondacks, dividing management among separate agencies complicates the implementation of a general environmental policy (Meyers and Green 1989). To improve management of the Adirondack State Park, it has been recommended that all state and private lands be administrated together by the same agency (Commission on the Adirondacks in the Twenty-First Century 1990).

Similarly, Lithuania's nationally protected areas should all be managed by the same agency, with consistent regulations and goals.

Equivalence of boundaries. The boundaries of many regional parks in Lithuania do not follow administrative divisions. That some regional parks belong in two districts complicates management. The same problem exists in New York state, where Department of Environmental Conservation regions and the Department of Economic Development regions do not coincide with park boundaries. Developing common management strategies and coordinating activities are therefore difficult (Commission on the Adirondacks in the Twenty-First Century 1990).

Administrative and development districts and regions should coincide with the protected areas' boundaries where possible. Either the boundaries of the regional parks or the administrative borders should be reviewed and changed.

Separation of forestry and conservation. Lithuania has one Department of Protected Areas and Forestry within the Ministry of Environment. The financing of conservation can

thus depend on revenues from commercial use of forests. To separate protection and recreation from forestry, a new, independent Department of Protected Areas should be established under the Ministry of Environment, with a distinct mandate and mission.

Management

Regional management. New York offers a very efficient model for the management of state parks: regionalization. The state's parks are organized into 11 regions, each with its own administration, accounting, general maintenance, and police.

Regional management, rather than each protected area being operated independently, promises many benefits for protected area management in Lithuania. It permits the sharing of equipment and facilities, eliminates duplication of accounting functions, makes the best use of limited scientific and cultural resources, and facilitates establishment and implementation of regional programs and large-scale projects.

In Lithuania, ten regions could be created, each with a national park or regional park (Kurtuvėnai, Kauno Marios, Panemuniai, Biržai, and Krekenava) as its headquarters. The regions could also manage the partial reserves within their boundaries. Currently, no agency has direct responsibility for these 300 areas.

Collaborative management. Although the regional parks in Lithuania are established and funded by the government, they must meet the expectations of local communities. In the last decade, planners, managers, and politicians have changed their focus "from the products of their

activities (plans, projects, regulations, and realizations) to the process by which they are achieved" (Gambino 2000, 56), and parks everywhere now involve local residents in collaborative management. "Protected areas in Europe will only survive and flourish if they are supported by local people. Joint management will be the way of the future" (IUCN 1994a, 10).

Communities can be involved in natural resource management by different means and at different levels. Chase et al. (2000) describe a scale from "expert authority" through passive-receptive, inquisitive, and transactional approaches to co-management. The United States is at the far end of this scale and "co-management ... is already occurring in certain situations throughout much of North America" (Chase et al. 2000, 215); Lithuania is still closer to the authoritarian approach.

Both local communities and protected areas benefit from collaborative management. Local communities can obtain direct and indirect financial benefits from planning and management activities. Managers can gather additional information, make better decisions, implement ideas, and build trust with local communities, all yielding a better management environment (Lauber and Knuth 2000).

The Lithuanian government in its environmental strategy recognizes the need to encourage joint management of protected areas. This process will take time, but an intermediate solution is the strengthening of advisory boards (see below). Guidelines for co-management should be developed, and regional parks should be encouraged

to include local authorities, communities, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the decision-making process.

Evaluation of effectiveness. The management of protected areas is complex. Traditional functions include establishing protected areas, demarcating borders, detecting and enforcing violations of regulations, and planning and implementing management activities. Integrated management functions include attracting funding from government agencies and private investment, collecting user fees, maintaining relations with local and external stakeholder groups, carrying out administrative functions, providing tourist services, and facilitating research (Kramer et al. 2002).

Management effectiveness depends on many variables besides the capabilities, activities, and efforts of the managers. The most important matters for assessment are management plans, clarity of desired outcomes and evaluation criteria, and feedback (Hockings 1998).

Currently, evaluation criteria in Lithuania are not clear and are not based on objective and measurable variables of performance. Moreover, the agency evaluates all parks equally, even though the smallest (Rambynas) has two employees and an annual budget of about 25,000 Litas (US\$1 4 Litas), and the most developed (Kurtuvėnai) has a staff of 16 and an annual budget of 600,000 Litas. Managers should know what outcomes are expected, and the agency should take into account the capacity of the regional parks.

Advisory boards

Though variations exist, all fifty U.S. states have organizations that oversee their park systems and management. Advisory boards have no direct decision-making power, but they can usually influence decisions that are made (McLean and Smith 1990).

Decision-making power. In Lithuania, an advisory board analyzes the state of each park and its activities and presents conclusions and recommendations to the park's managers. The park director is the chair of the advisory board; in effect, then, she analyses her own results and then makes recommendations to herself.

Regional parks' advisory boards should be able to influence the decision-making process. Following the experience of New York state, the boards should review and approve annual budgets, reports of activities, and plans for the next year, and the comments should be presented to the agency. The advisory boards might also regularly evaluate the parks and their managers' performance. To assure objectivity, the advisory board should be independent of park management (i.e., park managers should not be board members).

Representation. Currently, Lithuanian boards comprise mid-level workers from regional and local governments, regional environment and culture conservation agencies, state forest enterprises, and representatives of the regional park; they serve regardless of their expertise or even interest in park management. The Adirondack State Park's board members, by contrast, are high-level representatives

who are approved by the governor (Adirondack Park Agency 2000).

The formation of Lithuania's advisory boards should be changed. Board members should be recognized specialists and respected authorities in fields related to park management, and they should be appointed by the mayor of the county and by the governor of the region. A rotation period would mitigate the effect of political changes. The chair of the board could be selected by board members but should be approved by the head of the agency. Managers of the regional park should participate in the board meetings to facilitate a two-way flow of communication between the managers and advisors, perhaps as *ex officio* members, but not having voting rights.

If a regional management model (see above) were implemented, regional advisory boards could be formed, perhaps with the chairs of the individual park boards as members.

Strengthening the boards. Currently, Lithuania's regional parks report on the previous year's activities to the Department at the end of January. On the basis of this report, the park's future financing and even staff salaries are determined. The results are then presented to the park advisory board, which has no opportunity to effect changes.

The process should be changed so that management plans have the approval of local authorities, land owners, and land users. Properly formed and representative, boards can reflect the positions of major stakeholders on different matters. An advisory board with representatives of local governments, NGOs, and inter-

est groups ensures public participation and collaborative management on a small scale.

Regional parks should present annual reports and proposals for the next year to their advisory boards, get members' approval or comments, and incorporate suggestions *before* the official presentation to the Department. The boards should meet at least twice a year: in February–March to present the results from the previous year, and in September–October to present the next year's activity plan.

Work Force

Development. Increasing management capacity is crucial for Lithuania's protected areas. Both the regional parks and the Department of Protected Areas and Forestry suffer from staffing problems.

In regional parks, most employees have biology and forestry backgrounds, but "managing parks calls more for the skills of working with people, organizing and financial skills" (Beresford and Phillips 2000, 16). The agency should therefore change its recruitment and development strategies to ensure that managers of protected areas have the necessary management skills, cultural and social skills, technical skills, and ability to guide policy development (Shepard 2001). Along with the matters of protection and recreation, staff should focus on improving the social and economic conditions for people living within the protected areas. Training of regional park staff should focus not only on general management, biodiversity conservation and monitoring, recreation, and visitors' needs, but also on public relations with tourists and

local residents.

Flexibility. Regional parks in Lithuania have very similar staff configurations despite significant differences in size, facilities, visitor numbers, ecological and cultural features, and the presence of settlements and inhabitants inside their boundaries. Managers' flexibility in selecting the most appropriate staffing structure should be greater. The number of positions should be based on the ecological, cultural, and social context and the stated goals for the protected area.

Seasonal and temporary positions. The recreation season in Lithuania lasts three to four months; there are almost no facilities for year-round uses. Hence, regional parks need recreation managers, ecologists, and rangers only seasonally. The use of part-time and seasonal employees in the Adirondacks can be a model for Lithuania.

University students could be offered summer internships. Volunteers and part-time workers could fill summer jobs. Foresters who work primarily in winter and high school teachers with two months of vacation could be attracted to working in regional parks during the summer. But again, managers must be allowed to use their staffing funds more flexibly and independently.

Sharing specialists. Some parks do not have the professionals they need to manage their resources well. A regional management model would permit better use of staff and increase the potential pool of specialists by locating the regional headquarters in the major parks, which are served by

nearby towns.

Even within the current structure, it is possible to improve the situation through job sharing and exchanges, particularly for planners, ecologists, and rangers. Some parks have architects and planners who could lend expertise to neighboring parks, for example, and an entomologist could swap positions with an ornithologist from another park.

Stewardship

The European Union defines protected areas as centers for promoting a general nature conservation policy. But regional parks exist in a social and cultural context and must not become islands (Council of Europe 1998). Their main purpose—superseding the traditional goals of conservation and public enjoyment—is improving social and economic conditions for local communities (Gambino 1998).

Although stewardship of natural resources is a widely used tool for managing protected areas, it represents almost unused potential in Lithuania. Along with the potential financial benefits, regional park managers can offer local governments and residents assistance in dealing with regulations and restrictions. And when regional parks have the technical and intellectual capacity, they should provide technical assistance for planning and zoning administration (Commission 1990).

Borders and Zoning

Management plans. IUCN strongly recommends that each protected area have a management plan (IUCN 1994b). Such plans are essential if the areas are to achieve their stated aims

(Beresford and Phillips 2000). Developing planning schemes for regional parks is included in Lithuania's environmental strategy.

Nevertheless, only about half the regional parks have developed management plans to date, mostly because of financial problems. At present, a plan for each national and regional park shows its functional zones—the type and intensity of development, if any. Management of the regional parks is thus based on zoning, and these schemes indicate only preliminary zoning and have no legal power.

Lack of individual planning documents thwarts the realization of the parks' potential. A real working document—the unit management plan—should be prepared for each unit of land (Thorndike 1999).

Given the lack of resources to prepare management plans, however, a partial planning method may be used, in which units are prioritized. Lands with conservation easements and those with designated scenic, wild, and recreational value have priority (Commission on the Adirondacks in the Twenty-First Century 1990). Privately owned parcels do not need to be evaluated in the first stage if the activities on this land do not conflict with park objectives (Meyers and Green 1989).

Borders. The borders of the Lithuanian regional parks and separate zones are often arbitrary—one of the legacies of the parks' rushed creation. Borders do not follow administrative divisions or, often, natural boundaries.

Boundaries should be reviewed, as the management plans are prepared.

The relationship between the parks and their natural and cultural context is important when delimiting a protected area (Gambino 1998). Adjacent cultural and natural assets may be included in the park if the administrative, ownership, and ecological situation permits.

The borders of the zones and units within the parks are problematic, too. Although the general pattern is consistent with zoning models used in other countries, zones and units should reflect natural borders, land uses, property rights, and the goals of management.



Figure 2. Tytuvėnai Regional Park, Lithuania. Photo by Roma Matiukienė.

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The Commemoration of Northern Aboriginal Peoples by the Canadian Government

Introduction

The government of Canada uses the national commemoration of the past to create a national image of the country. National commemoration highlights values and establishes the boundaries of community—recognizing, valuing, and protecting cultural interests by selecting an icon to represent the nation's past. In fact, this selection makes the icon “our” past. A designation of national significance is the construction of national identity; it is an expression of power. However, the highlighting of national values through commemoration also tends to obscure other icons or bend them to the national purpose. Edward Said stresses the significance of commemoration: “[T]he construction of identity is bound up with the disposition of power and powerlessness in each society, and is therefore anything but mere academic woolgathering” (Said 1978, 332).

This paper examines the disposition of powerlessness in the commemoration process. By reviewing the history of the national commemoration of aboriginal people in Canada's North, it becomes possible to see who have been left out of the national identity and who have been conscripted to fill needed roles in the national self-image. It also follows the fortunes of northern aboriginal people as they take action to regain control of their past, and explains how they are working at achieving national acceptance on their own terms. The paper also reflects upon how Canadians were able to accept this social injustice and are only now slowly recognizing changes to the national identity.

Creating the Shared Canadian Past and Future

The Canadian government established a program to create a national history early in the last century. The Dominion Parks Branch, established in 1911 as a part of the Department of the Interior, inherited the responsibility for the care of Canada's historic places. The Historic Sites and Monuments Act was passed in 1919 to regularize the identification and intent of these national historic sites (Anonymous 1996, 333-334). The act also created the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC). The board, consisting of knowledgeable individuals, was appointed to advise the responsible Minister on

noteworthy aspects of Canadian history and to recommend meaningful ways of commemorating it.

Until well into the 1930s, the board consisted only of members from eastern Canada, the political heartland of the country. These members were driven by a combination of nascent nationalism rising out of Canada's contribution to the First World War and a sense of responsibility for the cultural leadership of the country (Taylor 1990, 75). Not surprisingly, the common traditions commemorated in this period reflected those of the white European culture that had pioneered the St. Lawrence Valley and the Maritime provinces.

The national commemoration program was, and remains, a concrete representation of a created past—a past shaped and molded so that it will help create and maintain a nation. The board's early vision of "common traditions" emphasized the heritage of the trans-Atlantic cultural ties to western Europe, the geography of the country, and its "natural" boundaries, thus justifying both its existence and its difference from the Americans. This vision was drawn from contemporary Canadian intellectual activity.

Harold Innis's seminal work in the 1920s and 1930s, describing the economic history of Canada (e.g., Innis 1930, 1936), connected the exploitation of the country's originally abundant natural resources with the importance of the trans-Atlantic communication links back to the center of the British Empire in England. His subsequent work, and that of his intellectual offspring, expanded the trans-Atlantic idea to include such other staple

industries as the Atlantic cod fishery (Innis 1940), the timber trade (Lower 1933), and the mercantile empire of the St. Lawrence valley (Creighton 1937). All of these works focused upon the importance of the St. Lawrence as the core of the Canadian economic and political system. The resulting historiographic direction, described as the "Laurentian thesis," became the unchallenged analytical framework for the study and understanding of Canadian history to the 1960s.

The Laurentian thesis grew out of the primary concern of Canadian intellectuals in the first half of the century: the fixing of Canada as a distinct and organically logical country in its own right. The idea, emphasizing the trans-Atlantic economic and political linkages, also incorporated the trans-continental transportation system of rivers and, later, railways, built upon trade and communication. These defined what seemed the logical boundaries of Canada. The thesis rested upon the importance attributed to the major metropolitan centers shaping the country: London, Montreal, and Toronto. These centers of agency extended links outward into the periphery of the country, knitting it into a single national entity.

The Laurentian thesis was also a distinct nationalistic reaction against the republican environmental determinism of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis and the resulting concept of an America free of European influence. However, by emphasizing the importance of the connection to the Metropolitan centers, the Laurentian thesis was anti-regional in under-

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standing Canada (Morton 1946). Commemorations arising from this historiographic representation of the country tended to emphasize both the role of the expanding center (rather than that of the regions) and the logical and natural character of this relationship.

This approach had significant consequences for northern aboriginal people: they were either rendered invisible or incorporated as components of the national vision. In national commemoration, the North as a whole was regarded as merely an adjunct to the development of central Canada. By 1955 the HSMBC had identified twenty-five northern icons of national historic significance (Table 1; see Parks Canada 1999; Neufeld 2001). For the purposes of this essay, northern sites were loosely defined as those north of 60° and those south of 60° that had direct or significant connections to the North. These northern commemorations were exclusively in the Canadian Northwest and the Arctic. The fur trade in the northern parts of the western provinces accounted for ten of the twenty-five. Another four celebrated the extension of southern Canadian administration into the North. The sites highlight the commercial links across the Atlantic and the extension of the power of the Metropolis bringing meaning to the North.

Another nine designations described British voyages of Arctic exploration and discovery. From the 1870s, when the British government transferred its claims over the Arctic to Canada, there had been periods of acute concern over national sovereign-

ty in the region (Zaslow 1971, 251-255, 264-268; Zaslow 1988, 199-202; Fogelson 1983, esp. chapters III and V; Anonymous 1957). By the end of the 1920s, however, Canada's Arctic claims seemed secure and the HSMBC celebrated by designating Parry's 1819 winter camp at Winter Harbour on Melville Island as a site of national historic significance. Between then and 1945, four subsequent commemorations of British exploration of the Arctic and the Northwest Passage continued the government's use of northern historic sites as statements of Canadian Arctic sovereignty and the "logical" northern boundaries of the country.

The Laurentian thesis clearly framed how nation-building contributed to Canada's national identity. The interests of the center of this national history paradigm, the St. Lawrence Valley, were thus well represented in national commemorations. In contrast, the North was perceived only as a place subject to the interests of the core. To the middle of the 20th century, it was the Laurentian thesis and the imperatives of Dominion government interest that shaped the commemoration of northern history. The historic sites program was thus utilized exclusively to explain the prominence and importance of the South, that is, it was used to give power to the South and, because no northern perspective was addressed, to make the North powerless. And even after the mid-1950s, when more prominence was given to northern sites, it was to expand the South's importance, not to recognize the North's.

The management of the national

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Table 1. National commemoration in Canada's North, 1920-1955.

Date	Commemoration	Commemorative Intent
1920	Fort Churchill	Built by Samuel Hearne, 1763; reached by rail in 1929
1920	Prince of Wales Fort	18th-century stone fur trade fort on Hudson Bay
1923	Explorations of Mackenzie	Discovered Mackenzie River (1789); reached Pacific overland
1926	Yukon Gold Discovery / Claim	Gold reported in 1840s, expanded in 1870s, rush in 1897-1898
1929	Collins Overland Telegraph	Intended to link Europe and America via Russia, abandoned in 1867
1930	Parry's Rock Wintering Site	Wintering site of William Parry's expedition of the Northwest Passage, 1819
1932	Norway House	Major 19th-century Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) post
1933	Methye Portage	Only practical link from east to Athabasca region from 1778 to 1820
1936	York Factory	HBC principal fur trade depot from 1684 to 1870s
1936	Hearne, Samuel (1745-1792)	Explorer, Coppermine River; governor, Fort Prince of Wales
1937	Dawson, Dr. George Mercer (1849-1901)	Director of the Geological Survey of Canada
1937	Simpson, Thomas (1808-1840)	Arctic explorer, charted the western Arctic coast
1938	Belcher, Sir Edward (1799-1877)	Canadian-born naval officer and surveyor; led Franklin search
1938	Steele, Sir Samuel (1849-1919)	Soldier; superintendent of the North West Mounted Police (1885-1903)
1943	First eastward Northwest Passage	Arctic voyage of the "St. Roch," Vancouver to Sydney, 1940-1942
1945	Franklin, Sir John (1786-1847)	Explorer, charted Arctic coast; lost in 1845
1948	Morice, Adrien-Gabriel, O.M.I. (1859-1938)	Oblate Missionary, northern British Columbia, Athapaskan dictionary
1948	Ross, James Hamilton (1856-1932)	Member, North-West Council; Commissioner of the Yukon
1948	Fort St. James	1806 fur trade post founded by Simon Fraser
1951	Pond, Peter (1740-1807)	Explorer and fur trader, one of the founders of the North West Company
1953	Fort Reliance	Oldest continuously operating HBC post, 1833
1953	Fidler, Peter (1769-1822)	HBC trader on the Saskatchewan and Churchill Rivers
1954	Alaska Highway 1	Joint U.S.-Canada defense project 1941-1943, Dawson Creek to Fairbanks
1954	Alaska Highway	Joint U.S.-Canada defense project 1941-1943, Dawson Creek to Fairbanks
1954	Ile-a-la-Crosse	HBC fur trade site

commemoration program was vested in the Department of the Interior. It was a natural fit—the commemoration program existed to describe what Canada was and should become, and the department existed to alienate Crown lands and resources so that Canada could become what it was supposed to be: an economic powerhouse of North America. Not surprisingly, the national commemoration program was often used to forward departmental objectives.

From the late 1940s, there were significant changes in Canadian social and economic development policies that affected northern aboriginal peoples. The North continued to be perceived as an area without a past, an area whose only significance was as part of Canada's distinct and independent identity. As the fifties boomed, the North was increasingly seen as the country's future. The stunning victory of John Diefenbaker's Conservatives in 1958 was built partially upon his promotion of a "northern vision" for Canada. Gordon Robertson, Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources, concluded a presentation in 1960: "We own the north.... It belongs to us. Canadians for this reason, must look to the north to see what it is good for, to see how to use it" (Robertson 1960, 362). In 1966, Prime Minister Lester Pearson voiced similar sentiments when he declared that "the joining of [the departments of] Indian Affairs and Northern Development is a national step which cannot but strengthen both the well being of Canada's indigenous peoples and the cause of northern expansion and

development" (quoted in Lothian 1976, 23). Thus the well-being of northern aboriginal people was inextricably linked to the desired economic development of the North by southern interests.

In addition to this economic development vision, there was also a more active state role in daily life. The provision of such social interventions as expanded educational infrastructure, old-age pensions, Medicare, and family allowance (a cash payment made monthly to mothers to ensure that each child had access to good food and clothing) effectively redefined what it meant to be a Canadian in the 1950s. The new Canadian vision of citizenship—to be a productive participant in an economically dynamic social democracy—was, like the earlier extension of southern Metropolitanism, simply another example of the cultural emasculation of northern aboriginal people. The universality of these services had unintended cultural consequences for aboriginal people. While the benefits to individuals were obvious, the new definition of citizenship undermined the specific cultural institutions and relationships that shaped the cultural identity of northern communities. The new programs established a tension between a universal model of morality and the defense of particular cultural values in the North (cf. Marshall 1978 and Fischer 1998 for parallel situations with the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec and American Peace Corps volunteers overseas, respectively). The lack of northern representation or consultation on issues of northern concern by state programs, including national

commemoration, effectively denied the region anything beyond a supporting role in Canadian history. In fact, the commemorations were for the South.

This general perspective of the North as vehicle for southern interests was cogently reinforced in May 1963 with the release of the Baker Report (Baker 1963). After a two-year study, William Baker, a parks and recreation planner acting as consultant to Parks Canada, recommended an aggressive program of national park and historic site development in the North to meet the recreational needs of southern Canadians and to prod northern economic development. In his review of the draft report, the History Division chief for Parks Canada noted that "the primary objective of the Historic Sites Division is the commemoration of history. The weight of its work is thus directed to those parts of Canada which have been settled the longest. On this scale, the Division ranks the north last. Furthermore, because it places its primary emphasis on the commemoration of sites, events, buildings and people, rather than in the commemoration of ways of life as such, it has found little reason for taking much interest in the north" (Parks Canada 1963). There was no history in the North, and from the southern intellectual perspective, there were no aboriginal people there either.

Edward Said identifies this denial of history as a tool of an imperialist power seeking to gain control over and understand a foreign region. The creation of a past is to gain control over the present (Said 1978, 66, 108-109). Thus, by denying the North its histo-

ry, national commemoration helped create, and maintain, the Metropolitan vision of an empty land, one which noted the aboriginal presence only as a contrast to the strengths of the immigrant population and through its commemoration program regularized this state of affairs as the norm. Northern heritage, especially the heritage of aboriginal peoples, remained invisible. The social consequences of these attitudes would eventually lead to organized political protest and legal challenges to the Canadian state.

The Federal Commemoration of Northern Aboriginal History, 1956-1997

How have northern aboriginal peoples been nationally commemorated within this Metropolitan paradigm of "national history"? Has national commemoration actually contributed to the destruction of aboriginal culture through its power of defining what has meaning and what has not?

Northern aboriginal commemorations are fairly recent additions to the system. As we shall see, today, national historic sites in the North do not commemorate only newcomers. However, from the time of the first such commemoration in 1956 until about 1990, every one of the 20 northern aboriginal designations focused on the importance of northern indigenous peoples from a newcomer perspective (Table 2; Figure 1). An analysis of these early designations illustrates three general themes: culture contact, shared activity, and archaeological sites, each reflecting the structure of the Laurentian thesis.

The first commemoration noting aboriginal presence in the North was

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Table 2. National commemoration in Canada's North, 1956-1997.

Date	Commemoration	Original Commemorative Intent
1956	Discovery of Coppermine river (Hearne and Matonabbee)	culture contact
1969	Sea Horse Gully remains (Dorset and pre-Dorset remains)	archeology
1969	Inukshuk group of 100 at Enusko Point	archeology
1971	Kitwanga Fort	archeology
1972	Arctic Exploration	culture contact
1972	Herschel Island	culture contact
1976	Bering Yukon Refugium	archeology
1976	Eastern Arctic Whaling Industry	shared activity
1978	Bloody Falls (prehistoric fishing and hunting)	archeology
1978	Igloodik Island	archeology
1978	Kittigazuit	archeology
1978	Port Refuge	archeology
1978	Thule Migration	archeology
1981	Kitwanga Totem Poles	ethnographic
1981	Ipirvik and Taqulittuq (helped explorers)	culture contact
1981	Matonabbee (helped Hearne)	culture contact
1981	Peter Pitseolak	artist
1985	Blacklead Island Whaling	shared activity
1985	Kekerton Island Whaling	shared activity
1992	Hay River Mission Sites, Dene Missions	community
1994	Snookum Jim	culture contact
1995	Arviat and Qikiqtaaluk Inuit Summer Occupation Sites	community
1995	Fall Caribou Crossing Inuit Hunt Site	community
1996	Grizzly Bear Mountain and Scented Grass Hills	community
1996	Deline Fishery	community
1997	Nagwichoonjik	community

the 1956 designation of Samuel Hearne's discovery of the Coppermine River. The role of the Chipewyan chief, Matonabbee, in guiding Hearne and negotiating with other northern people for him, was noted. Matonabbee was subsequently given his own commemoration for this assistance to Hearne in 1981. The theme of aboriginal support for European visitors exploring the North was also noted in the 1976 Arctic exploration commemoration. Five years later, specific commemorations to honor the service of two Inuit couples to northern explorers were also made.

The shared or cooperative nature of cross-cultural northern resource exploitation was also identified in the 1976 and 1985 commemorations of eastern Arctic whaling. In all of these instances it is the support of indigenous peoples in the exploration of their homelands and the exploitation of northern natural resources by Euro-Canadians that is being commemorated. These kinds of commemorations, stretching between 1956 and 1985, define the North, making it a part of Canada.

Another set of designations in this period rises from the efforts to estab-

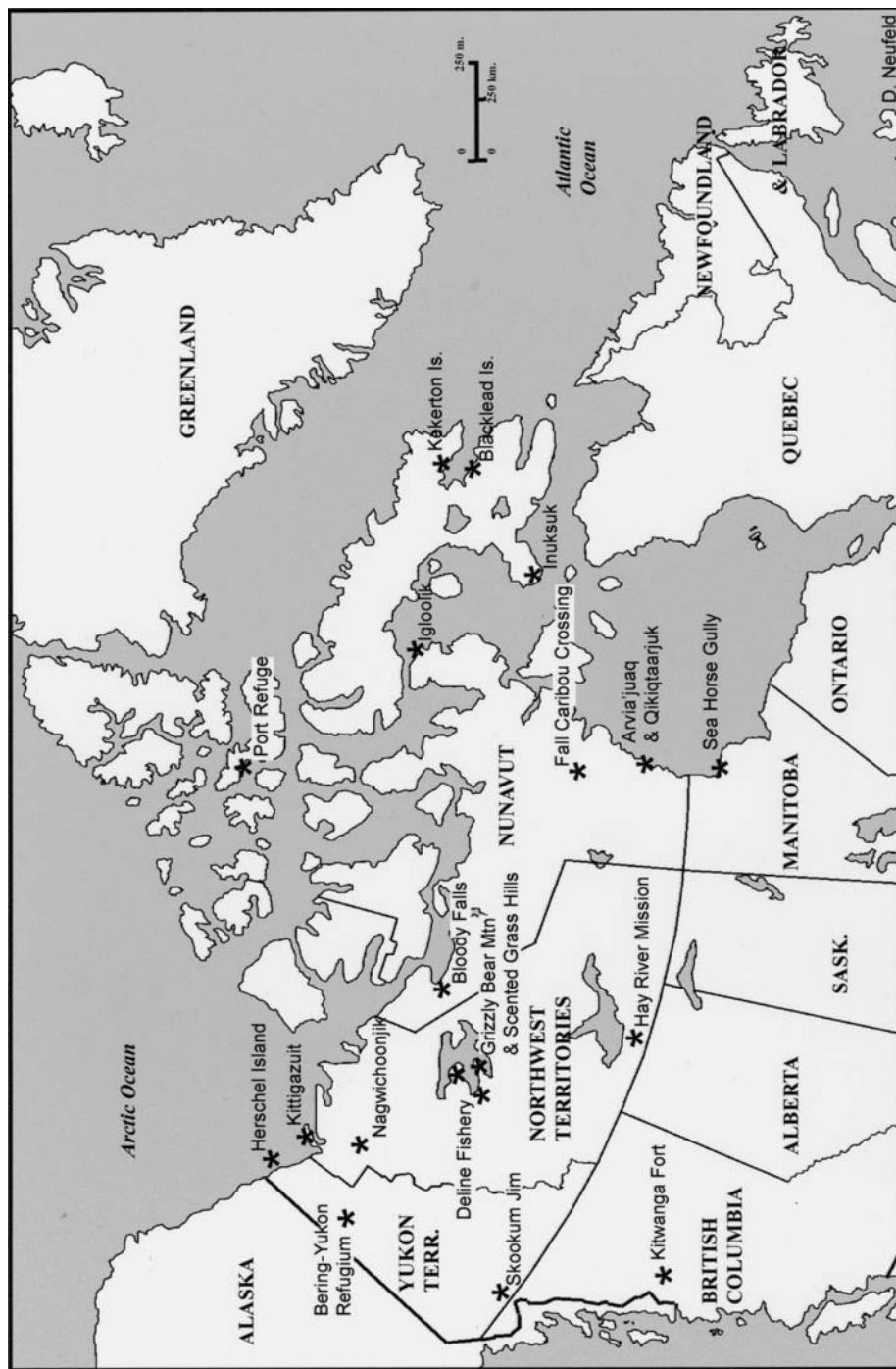


Figure 1. Northern aboriginal sites designated by the HSMBC, 1956-1997.

lish a long history for Canada. Based upon the material culture of people from long ago, the national program's interest in archeological heritage stems from a 1961 report (HSMBC 1961) prepared by A.R.M. Lower, one of Innis' students of the staple industries. Lower concluded that most Indian sites were archeological in nature. He recommended that the program consider only Euro-Canadian contact with aboriginals as history and that "representative remains" of burials, the pre-historic economy, and sites related to community life, traditions, and religion be considered for commemoration.

Archeologists, following up on Lower's recommendations, obtained national designations of northern sites between 1969 and 1978, seeking to profile their research into the populating of the Canadian Arctic. The identification of Dorset and pre-Dorset remains near Churchill, Manitoba, was commemorated in 1969, while the roles of the Bering-Yukon Refugium and the Thule migrations in shaping Arctic populations were commemorated in the late 1970s. These designations publicized the importance of these places and things and the ideas of the archeologists forwarding them. Thus, these national historic designations in the North also helped create and sustain the Canada of the Laurantian thesis.

In all of these designations northern aboriginal people were seen either as subjects of newcomer actions, or dead and gone. There was no sense that aboriginal people had any effect upon the course of history, with their apparently timeless lifeways being

only on the receiving end of alterations wrought by contact and trade with newcomers. And there was no sense that the designations and the re-creation of their past would have any effect upon them. Without any understanding, newcomers perceived contemporary aboriginal people as hollow, stripped of religion or spiritual structure, and thus "close to anarchy and suicide." In the end they were cast as victims; unable to save themselves, it was only humane for church and government to step in and ensure that their cultural demise was painless (Said 1978, 271).

By themselves the national commemorations addressing northern aboriginal people did not create this situation or the attitudes leading to it, but they were an accurate reflection of and active participant in a broad social and cultural milieu that did create and accept this situation. The commemorations helped perpetuate stereotypes of the dying culture and reinforced the social and political structures developing and implementing those policies of Indian assimilation and destruction. This acceptance of how Canada became and was a country had significant consequences for aboriginal people. By establishing a broad understanding of our national community, it was possible to minimize any sense of individual responsibility or morality that might address this destruction of the discrete cultural identity of aboriginal peoples. There was a sense that the boundaries of the community did not include those under threat, that they could be safely ignored as they did not come under the protection of our care—or often even our conscious-

ness (Brittain 2001).

Conclusion

There was a growing aboriginal restiveness through the 1960s. Aboriginal people, drawing upon the universal liberal principles of social justice, developed and forwarded their own agendas for cultural survival (Nagel 1996). In Canada, the Department of Indian Affairs' *White Paper* of 1969, with its bald statement of an assimilationist agenda, inspired Canadian First Nations (as the country's aboriginal people have come to be known) to organize political and legal challenges to this prevailing attitude. Over the course of the following three decades there has been a gradual, though often grudging, federal recognition of aboriginal rights and cultural existence as treaties have been revisited and land claims addressed. Aboriginal political activity, with its major judicial victories and substantive land claim agreements for First Nations, has begun to alter the broad Canadian understanding of aboriginal people and their place, and rights, within the national cultural mosaic. The First Nations success has begun to alter institutional agendas and the social expectation that accepted Indians as remnants of a dying culture.

National commemoration of aboriginal people has also undergone a significant change. Questions of the legitimacy and utility of a commemoration set within a hostile national historical paradigm have led to a rethinking of the purpose of designation. What social and cultural purposes would a commemoration serve for a First Nation? What can it offer in addition to the national recognition

already gained by aboriginal political and legal actions? Since the mid-1980s, the HSMBC has pondered the direction of the national designation program. Reflections on why First Nations were neither represented—nor especially interested in being represented—ultimately led the HSMBC in November 1986 to recommend that the aboriginal communities themselves be consulted to see what might be commemorated.

Northern aboriginal communities have always been conscious of the importance of their cultural heritage. Their struggles to preserve languages, to reintroduce traditional place names, and to control their relationship to their traditional lands are all evidence of the contribution of a firm cultural identity to community health and cultural survival. First Nations have a set of tools for cultural reproduction, and the national commemoration program can be interesting to First Nations only if it is a useful mechanism for achieving community objectives. As northern First Nation communities evolve to meet contemporary changes in self-government and education methods, they are also exploring the value of designations for their own purposes. With these cultural values foremost in mind, national historic sites need to deliver programs for community youth, support for elder involvement, and a calendar of activities to reach out to their own community. The community priority is the identification of cultural values and the passing on of identity to the young. Thus, federal recognition of these cultural values can be a community tool for the "creation" of northern aboriginal identities

on their own terms and for their own purposes. National commemoration also offers a platform to gain acknowledgment of their existence by outsiders and broad respect and support for their interests (Nagel 1996, 27-32). First Nations have seized the power of their past: they are creating their heritage and history to serve their purposes, not the purposes of a national government, nor the perceptions of a social majority.

Between 1990 and 2000 seven northern aboriginal national designations were made. Six of these were nominations from communities for elements of their past or their homelands that they felt deserved broader recognition for both community and external purposes. The Harvaqtuurmiut Inuit in Nunavut have marked out a traditional summer hunting camp, Fall Caribou Crossing, to highlight their close relationship with the caribou. In the Northwest Territories, the Sahtu Dene at Sahyoue (Grizzly Bear Mountain) and Edacho (Scented Grass Hills) and the Gwichya Gwich'in at Nagwichoonjik (Mackenzie River) have both identified large portions of their traditional cultural landscape where mythic heroes created the world, where they met their neighbors and other newcomers, and where their grandparents, parents, and, now, they and their children live a life of richness, spiritually and physically connected to their lands. The national designations of these places should be recognized as important

cultural gifts from the First Nations to all Canadians. And in the tradition of potlatch gift-giving, the acceptance of gifts entails the acceptance of obligation. Our obligation as a country is to remake our past so that no member is left out, so that no member bears the costs of carrying a national vision for others, so that we have a sense of ourselves as part of a common community, so that we expand the boundaries of our local community to include every element of the national community.

The national commemoration program, reflecting Metropolitan Canada's political and social interests, worked diligently to construct a national entity, defining and highlighting the icons of meaning, applying a universal principle of what it means to be Canadian, of Canada as being something other than a republican America. It created power, but in the process also created powerlessness. It built a community, but it did so by establishing rigid boundaries of history and clear criteria for belonging. This left out many parts of Canada and accepted a host of evils within our national community. As we have become more secure with our national identity, we are gradually becoming more like a real community, one in which "the obligation to assist others in danger or distress is a powerful imperative" (Brittain 2001). The national commemoration program continues to play an important role in this creation of a new and more inclusive Canadian national community.

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Crossing Boundaries: Interpreting Resource-Related Issues

National Park Service (NPS) interpretation of resource-related issues has made a necessary and notable expansion at Richmond National Battlefield Park in the twenty-first century, as we strive for better understanding of the Civil War by a diverse audience.

During the American Civil War, from the first battle of Manassas until the guns fell silent four years later, the cry of the Union armies was “On to Richmond.” Richmond’s battlefields and related resources have a myriad of deep and abiding stories to tell visitors.

NPS involvement in the history of the preservation and interpretation of Richmond’s Civil War battlefields began in 1936 when battlefield land that had been saved privately was given to the Commonwealth of Virginia, which in turn gave it to the federal government. Congressional legislation authorized a huge boundary for donation of land to commemorate the more than 30 battles in the vicinity of Richmond. Only about 500 acres constituted the land that was actually preserved at that time, however, in a still-rural landscape.

The first visitor center was built in the 1940s on an 1864 battlefield, in a small building, with sons of veterans offering their interpretations of the military actions and soldier valor. In 1959, the main visitor center was moved to the city of Richmond in anticipation of the centennial anniversary of the Civil War. The emphasis of the interpretation was still on the military tactics and strategy and the well-known names of the war.

From 1992-1996, the park struggled with formulating a new general

management plan (GMP). A central concept in the new GMP was that at Richmond National Battlefield Park, there is an opportunity and an *obligation* to convey to visitors at least an introduction to the full and deep meaning of the Civil War. Not only are there strategic explanations for the battles at Richmond, but also the battlefield stories merge with the Confederate capital’s industrial, economic, political, and social fabric. The concentration of diverse Civil War resources in the Richmond area is unparalleled. Understanding why the battles occurred at Richmond and who was involved contributes to a visitor’s grasp of the complexity of the American past and provides a means to appreciate strengths and shortcomings in our collective heritage. Richmond National Battlefield Park is a prime place for helping visitors to understand specific earthworks and tactics as well as individual tragedies. Richmond National Battlefield Park is also a prime place for helping visitors to understand why the Civil War happened, and so why more than 620,000



Figure 1. Tredegar Visitor Center, Richmond National Battlefield Park. (*National Park Service photo.*)

men died, and what the legacy of the war means to us today. The interpretation was planned to be expanded not to substitute social history for military history but to relate each to the other when possible.

Richmond's identity as the former capital of the Confederacy has over time variously been celebrated, excoriated, and ignored by its residents. The same has been true for many battlefields around Richmond. In planning the twenty-first-century visitor center, we wanted all people to be invited in, to be able to find something of relevance to them in this facility and also in the battlefield resources. Key to the success of the project are: (1) its location on the James River waterfront, which is part of a multi-million-dollar renovation project with an emphasis on history, and (2) its location in the famous Tredegar Iron Works, the "iron maker" to the Confederacy, with a rich legacy itself of industrial, social, labor, and political history.

In 2000, our planning and our

partnership with the private sector came to fruition with the dedication of the new Richmond National Battlefield Park visitor center at Tredegar Iron Works. We had spent \$3 million and two years on the exhibits. We had started with formulating interpretive themes and objectives. First, we wanted to have visitors begin to acknowledge or affirm in their minds the watershed nature of the legacy of the Civil War. Also, we wanted them to register that Richmond was at the heart of the Civil War and that the related resources are overwhelming. We didn't want visitors actually overwhelmed, so we crafted an orientation to be seen soon after they enter the building.

A visitor has a variety of options for orientation and introduction to resources in the map room. He or she can engage a ranger or volunteer in discussion or can immerse him- or herself in the two large wall maps that identify separately the 1862 and 1864 battles. The 1862 Seven Days Battle

and the 1864 battles occurred on much of the same acreage; each has a number of complex stories and are easily confused by the first-time visitor. Individual battles and troop movements are illustrated by a digital, moving map that has proven to be a favorite of visitors young and not-so-young. Significantly, there are six more large wall maps that orient a visitor to the political sites of the capital of the Confederacy, wartime homes and neighborhoods, churches and cemeteries, hospitals and prisons, monuments and other sites, and Civil War-related museums and collections. Our hope is that by this point, we have achieved the orientation and motivation objectives for the visitor, particularly for Richmond's battlefields but including a wide range of related interests.

A motivated visitor may explore the rest of the Tredegar visitor center, moving to the lower level, dubbed the "War Room." A 27-minute film there in an open auditorium offers more orientation and specifics on Richmond's battlefields and their context, although by means of media different from those of the middle level. The auditorium also contains somewhat unusual museum objects displayed to provoke different ways of thinking about the inventions and horrors of war. For instance, a case of shells and bullets, some embedded in pieces of trees, are captioned with a *video label*: "While some men made their living making artillery, guns, and ammunition, those same products cost other men their lives." There are dice, cards, a drum, and a Bible displayed together, the celebratory, profane, and the sacred, uti-

lized as necessary on the battlefield. Soldiers had lots of down-time on their hands as well as moments of crisis and action. Unusual artifacts are displayed here to give visitors a clue about instruments of war and the genius of their invention. For instance, pontoon boats were lashed together to create the base of floating bridges across the many rivers in Virginia, and were used extensively by Union and Confederate forces. Another display case that intrigues visitors contains flag staffs, without the flags, captured at Appomattox Courthouse. Flags were extremely important to armies and regiments: medals of honor were earned for their rescue and capture, and their symbolism took many forms in the Civil War as in other wars. Tredegar made over 1,100 cannon for the Confederacy, and the park displays eight of them, including one of the largest and the smallest, a rare bronze tube, displayed side-by-side. When the movie is not showing, casualty statistics run on the film screen to remind visitors of the cost of war. Grim images reinforce the tragic drama that played out on the battlefields.

The third floor of the visitor center was designed to be the most museum-like section of the facility as well as the greatest work-horse for carrying the multiple themes and reaching the emotional objectives. Called "Richmond Speaks," the exhibits are divided into the military stories and the home front or civilian stories, but we hope the interrelationship is apparent through the duplicative timelines and the meat of "April Essays" for each side. History is a continuum and its threads are not easily confined to sep-

arate spools. Military strategy, political leadership, industrial strength, scientific innovation, home front conditions, and individual motivation and personalities all affected what happened on the battlefields.

It was imperative that we set the stage for the exhibits by framing the war in the “why” and the “so what.” So, there are almost literal bookends to the exhibits that explicate the causative issues, the larger war aims, effects, and accomplishments and failures. Other important interpretive objectives were to provide an opportunity to understand political and mili-

tary chronologies as well as the interrelationship among the political and military victories and defeats and home front struggles and perceptions.

Particularly in light of racial strife and distrust in Richmond and recent history involving media hype over the public display of an image of Robert E. Lee among other historic visages, the prologue was especially difficult to craft. We did not want to pull punches but we did not want to exaggerate or oversimplify the reasons for the war. The prologue as written seems to have hit the mark properly and crosses a necessary boundary in connecting



Figure 2. Dressed in mourning black, two war widows make their way through the devastation that befell Richmond during the Civil War. (*National Park Service photo.*)

resources with greater meaning:

The Civil War (1861-1865) remains the central event in American history. Richmond was at the heart of the conflict. More than seventy years after the adoption of the Constitution, a nation founded on principles of liberty and equality still allowed human enslavement and quarreled over the balance between state and federal powers. These interrelated issues led to Constitutional crises that were merely patched over, satisfying neither North nor South. The growing nation became increasingly divided over the existence and expansion of slavery.

Lincoln's election to the Presidency in 1860 convinced many southern leaders that their slave-based economy and social order would soon be threatened by federal restrictions. Seven states quickly passed articles of secession and created the Confederate States of America. After the new Confederacy fired on a federal fort in Charleston harbor and Lincoln called for troops to preserve the Union, Virginia joined the Confederacy and prepared to resist invasion.

Richmond, the Confederate capital and industrial center of the South, was a major objective of Union strategy for four years. As war began, neither side anticipated the brutal clashes, long sieges, and home front destruction that brought death or injury to more than one million Americans and devastation to a broad landscape, much of it in Virginia.

Within the bookends, we bring the interpretation back to the resources, the battlefields of Richmond, Virginia. And then, we focus closer, on the individual soldiers.

As the visitor approaches the military side of the exhibits adjacent to the

prologue, he or she reads that soldiers joined the armies for a myriad of reasons, often unconnected with the overt racial issues and rather related to the more theoretical reason of either preserving the Union or preserving states' rights. The dense texts, April Essays, timelines, variety of artifacts, and photographs all layer together, but separate with concentration to provide visitors with a smorgasbord and a relatively complete introduction to the Civil War history of the area. The reaction has been tremendously positive. People spend hours in the Tredegar visitor center. We did not have to stretch to have something for everyone; there really is more than plenty for everyone's particular interest in Richmond's Civil War history once you can get past the traditional "Lost Cause" filter for the past. My favorite part of the visitor center is the "voices" component, which reflects the larger themes through individual stories conveyed by a selection of letters, diaries, remembrances, and newspaper correspondence.

The other bookend, the "Epilogue," brings the visitor back out to the overarching theme of "so what," with the help of an enormous photograph of Richmond's turning basin, which was for ocean-going ships that transferred cargo between the canal and the James River. The Epilogue is somber in tone and factual in content but is designed to raise the consciousness of the reader to reflect on the state of the reunited nation in 1865 and today:

Beginning as a war to determine the preservation or the division of the United States, the Civil War ended in emancipation of four

million Americans as well as preservation of the Union. Three Constitutional amendments—the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth—promised former slaves freedom and rights as citizens. The war decisively answered the question of whether states might leave the Union and shifted the balance of political power toward the federal level.

But much remained unresolved in Richmond and in the nation. The war did not solve issues of racial prejudices, nor did it establish final meanings for freedom and equality in the United States. These meanings began to evolve in law, practice, and history.

After April 1865, Richmond witnessed both commemorations and celebrations of the Civil War. Many white Richmonders tended graves and erected memorials, while blacks celebrated emancipation with parades and religious services. How well Richmonders, and the rest of America, could overcome their divisions was a challenge for the future.

Civil War battles erupted around Richmond in 1862 and 1864, and the threat of them was ever-present from 1861 to 1865. The memory of them has been seared on the descendants of all involved and all who have heard the stories. How time and history have treated those memories has differed, evolved, been hidden, and been exaggerated depending on the audience as well as the particular era and storyteller. The National Park Service must tell all true stories, as well as provide thorough and honest frameworks and contexts for the history of Richmond's Civil War battles. Equally important, NPS must preserve the actual resources of the battlefields; and most important, we must provide a link between the stories and the resources in order to encourage the most thorough understanding of them, their time, and ourselves today. The more context we can provide for a diverse public to see themselves in the history, the more relevant the resources will be to them.

[Ed. note: this paper was originally given at the 2001 GWS Conference.]

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Native Americans, the Earliest Interpreters: What is Known About Their Legends and Stories of Yellowstone National Park and the Complexities of Interpreting Them

The thermal wonders of the Park did not frighten the native peoples of the region. Euro-Americans originated this idea and it must be dispelled before we can understand the true nature of Yellowstone's human past.

—Joseph Weixelman, “The Power to Evoke Wonder” (1992)

What did the Indians say about Yellowstone? They must have told stories about its strange wonders, but what were those stories? Historians have long wondered. Answers have been slow to appear.

Native Americans probably had many more tales, legends, and myths about the Yellowstone country than the few we currently know of, but thanks to Peter Nabokov and Larry Loendorf, we now know more than ever before about some of those early Yellowstone stories. Prior to the emergence of their manuscript *American Indians and Yellowstone National Park: A Documentary Overview*, historians trusted only one Indian legend relating to Yellowstone; that is, they knew of only one that appeared to be genuinely Indian rather than “white” (the Ralph Dixey story discussed below). Moreover, before the Nabokov book appeared, only small, unsatisfying tidbits of Yellowstone information were known to us in general about the Sheepeaters, Shoshones, Crows, Bannocks, Blackfeet, Flatheads, Kiowas, Arapahoes, Nez Perce, Assinboines, Northern Cheyennes, Gros Ventres, Sioux, and other tribes who inhabited the upper Yellowstone country and its edges at various times prior to 1870. But now, because of that book, we know more than ever before about how these tribes related to Yellowstone.

There seems to have been an effort by early whites in Yellowstone National Park to make the place “safe” for park visitors, not only by physically removing Indians from the park and circulating the rumor that “Indians feared the geyser regions,” but also by

attempting to completely segregate the place in culture from its former Indian inhabitants, including their legends and myths. If historians cannot conclusively prove that whites conspired to do this, many of us who have spent years studying Yellowstone’s literature

certainly cannot escape the overarching feeling that something like that happened. Superintendent P.W. Norris's 1870s statements that "these primitive savages" feared the geyser regions are well known. Even as early as 1895, historian Hiram Chittenden could not find much about what Indians thought about Yellowstone nor about what they told whites of it. "It is a singular fact in the history of the Yellowstone National Park," wrote Chittenden, "that no knowledge of that country seems to have been derived from the Indians.... Their deep silence concerning it is therefore no less remarkable than mysterious" (Chittenden 1895: 8, 99).

One wonders whether Chittenden (like so many later writers) simply could not find information about Yellowstone Indians, or whether the Indians would not talk to him because of religion (we know that many tribes considered Yellowstone sacred) or because of other reasons (see the following paragraph), or whether he purposely fostered this thinking for motives of his own. At this late date it is difficult to point fingers at our "white" forebears and accuse them of such conspiracies, but that belief must figure at least a modicum into the fact that until American Indians and Yellowstone was written, we knew less about Indians in Yellowstone than about Indians anywhere else in the American West.

It now turns out that there may be a fascinating reason after all for Chittenden's comment concerning Indians' "deep silence" about Yellowstone. I searched for this information for nearly thirty years and only recently found

it in a rare book that came to the park via the massive collections of Jack and Susan Davis of Bozeman, Montana. The source is a man named John Hamilcar Hollister who visited Yellowstone in 1883 with the well-known Rufus Hatch party. Hollister published an account of that trip in 1912, and in it he told the now disreputable story of Indians fearing the park's geyser regions. But following that story, Hollister stated that his attempts to find Indian legends about Yellowstone had been unsuccessful. He, like me many years later, wondered why he could not find such Indian legends of Yellowstone. He then made the following statement that appears in no other known place in Yellowstone literature:

... there are but few [published] Indian legends which refer to this purposely [!] unknown land. Of these I have found but one [other than for the Indians-fearing-the-geysers story], and that is this—that no white man should ever be told of this inferno, lest he should enter that [Yellowstone] region and form a league with the devils, and by their aid come forth and destroy all Indians. Hence the trappers, who were the first white men to enter these western lands, learned little or nothing [about Yellowstone] from that source [Indians] (Hollister 1912: 145).

This is a fascinating assertion that we can prove neither absolutely true nor absolutely false. Hollister does not tell us whence he obtained this supposed legend of Yellowstone, but the fact that he apparently heard it in 1883, very early in the park's history when hundreds of pre-1872 Indians were still living, gives me great pause. I believe that we must consider this story as possibly true until such time

that we get good information debunking it. In light of all that we know about how fervently some Indian tribes believed in the park as a sacred place, the idea of not revealing it to whites makes total sense. Of course we have no idea exactly which tribes Hollister referred to, and, again, we do not know whence he obtained the legend. If true, the Hollister rendering of this Native American story represents a very large and possibly final piece of a long, incomplete puzzle relating to Yellowstone, i.e., the fact that some tribes may have kept the place a secret and why they did it.

The idea that at least some Indians (we do not yet know which tribes might have had such a policy or how many such tribes there were) might have kept the existence of Yellowstone a secret for religious reasons squares well with both known native proclivities for not telling certain things to white men and with Chittenden's 1895 perception of a deep Indian silence about Yellowstone. It also begins to explain why historians Nabokov and Loendorf, Aubrey Haines, Joseph Weixelman, I, and others have all had a fair amount of difficulty finding good numbers of literature connections between Indians and Yellowstone. Finally, it explains why we have so few known Indian legends about a place that must have generated dozens or hundreds of such legends among ancient natives. Thus, we now must, in my opinion, begin asking our Native American friends whether there is anything in their oral traditions to confirm this, and hope that one or more of them will tell us whether they indeed kept the place

secret on purpose. Considering how we white people have spoken "with forked tongue" in the past, I certainly would not blame them if they would not tell us.

One final point with regard to Hollister. A critic has suggested that Hollister's use of the word "devils" here might somehow negate his statement because it might show that the Indian(s) he talked to were "Christianized." Here is why I believe Hollister's statement is not negated by that.

Christianization and the accompanying linguistic translations about it back and forth from Indians to whites and vice versa were (and are) very complicated things. And white men were notoriously poor at understanding Indian religion, whether it had been "Christianized" or not. Note that historian Colin Calloway says many white men tended to dismiss Indian religion as "devil worship" (Calloway 1997: 68). Thus, just because Hollister used the term "devil" does not mean we should jump to conclusions about what he meant or what the Indian(s) he spoke to meant. For all we know, Hollister simply mistranslated what the Indian(s) told him into "white-man vernacular."

Secondly, Indians did not always "buy into" Christianization. In this case, if they did not buy into it, then their comments to Hollister were probably still based upon their intact native religion. Even if their buy-in to Christianity was partly complete, they still might have been using a religion that involved pieces of their original religion and hence their statement on the taboo might still have made it through Hollister to us as a true state-

ment.

Indians' buy-in to Christianity ran the gamut from "not at all" to "partly" to "completely." That is a point Calloway makes over and over again in his chapter on religion entitled "A World of Dreams and Bibles." His chapter discusses the complex interplay between Indian religion and Christian religion in the new world. Calloway mentions instance after instance wherein Indians simply played along with white Friars and Fathers (merely mouthing their words and phrases in order to placate them, or remaining silent, which the Fathers often incorrectly took to mean tacit agreement) before returning to their old ways of religion. In many other cases, Indians simply took pieces of the white man's religion and incorporated them into an already-established native religion. That often meant that the native religion was essentially left intact with only a few baubles-and-bangles-and-crucifixes thrown into the mix. A few attempts by whites at Christianization undoubtedly worked, wherein Indians were mostly or totally converted, but we cannot assume that this was the general rule, as many white people have assumed.

We now move to other known Indian legends about Yellowstone. For many years, Yellowstone historian emeritus Aubrey Haines believed that only one Indian legend relating to Yellowstone was genuine. It is a tale of the origin of the Snake and Yellowstone rivers, apparently truly handed down in Shoshone and Bannock families and published in Ella Clark's *Indian Legends of the Northern Rockies* (Haines 1982; Clark 1966: 174-177).

Other than for this story, there was, until the production of American Indians and Yellowstone, little reliable information or documentation on legends, myths, or other folklore that may have been communicated by Indians about the present Yellowstone National Park. Even after the emergence of the Nabokov and Loendorf's book, the "Coyote" Yellowstone stories that have been bandied about by both Indian and popular "white" writers remain controversial in that historians disagree as to which are genuine and which are made up by whites.

And, too, we now know that there are a great number of other so-called Indian stories that can be totally dismissed as tales made up by whites to explain what Indians "should have thought" about Yellowstone. Again, the most common example of such misinformation is that Indians "feared the geyser regions as inhabited by evil spirits." Virtually all of the stories included in Mary Earle Hardy's *Little Ta-Wish: Indian Legends from Geyserland* (1913) and La Verne Fitzgerald's *Blackfeather: Trapper Jim's Fables of Sheepstealer Indians in Yellowstone* (1937) are, in the opinion of this historian, "white baloney," that is, faked Indian tales. At the least, if they are real, there is no documentation to prove it.

With all of that as background, we now begin looking at Indian legends in the Yellowstone country by examining the known Indian names for the place. Nabokov and Loendorf, after years of looking at the ethnological, anthropological, archeological, and historical literature and interviewing dozens of tribal members, have concluded that

certain Indian tribes did have names for the upper Yellowstone country. Most of those names referred to the park's hot springs and geysers. The Crow Indians called Yellowstone "land of the burning ground" or "land of vapors" while the Blackfeet called it "many smoke." The Flatheads called it "smoke from the ground." The Kiowas called it "the place of hot water." Only the Bannocks had a name that did not call to mind the park's thermal regions: "buffalo country." Additionally, the Crows specifically called the Yellowstone geysers "Bide-Mahpe," meaning "sacred or powerful water."

As for the stories themselves that might have been told about Yellowstone by the Indians, the Ralph Dixey story is thought to be genuine. It is a tale concerning the origin of the Snake and Yellowstone rivers and long known to have been handed down in the Shoshone tribe (both Ralph Dixey and his Bannock wife stated that this story was handed down in both of their families). The story begins with "long ago there was no river in this part of the country. No Snake River ran through the land." A man came from the south who was always sticking his nose into everything. He traveled north past the Tetons and went up onto a mountain in what is now called Yellowstone. There he found an old lady with a basket of fish. Hungry, he asked her to boil some fish for him. She offered to make him food but warned him not to bother her basket. He did not listen, stepped on the edge of the basket, and spilled its water and fish. The water spread all over. The man ran fast, ahead of the water, trying

to stop it. He piled up rocks to hold the water back, but the water broke his dam and rushed on. That is where the Upper Falls is today. The man ran on ahead of the water and again built a dam of rocks, but it did not hold the water back either. That is where the Lower Falls is today. The water kept on rushing and formed the Yellowstone River. The man then ran to the opposite side of the fish basket and followed its waters downstream, building several dams of rocks, but the water would not be stopped. Those broken dams are the site of American Falls and Shoshone Falls today on the Snake River. The big fish basket that the man tipped over is Yellowstone Lake while the old woman with the fish was Mother Earth. The man himself was Ezeppa or Coyote (Clark 1966: 191-193).

Until recently this Dixey story was arguably the only known, genuine (truly known to have been told by Indians) Native American story about Yellowstone National Park. But there is now new evidence (per Nabokov and Loendorf) not only as to the fact that Indians told stories about Yellowstone but also as to what some of those stories were. In particular we now have several "new" (actually old) stories known to have been told by the Crow tribe.

A Crow narrative from a man named Sharp Horn, who passed it down to his son who passed it to his grandsons, concerns the mythic deeds of a character named "Old Woman's Grandchild" and how at least two of Yellowstone's geysers were supposedly created. This Crow said that in one of the thermal regions of the park, Old

Woman's Grandchild fought many beasts and turned them into mountains and hills after he killed them. A large buffalo bull that he killed was turned into a geyser formation that continued to blow out hot air. Near it he placed a mountain lion, also a geyser formation blowing hot air, in order to keep the buffalo bull from coming back to life (Nabokov and Loendorf 1999: 107).

Another mythic tale, told by the Crow and associated with the park, concerns Yellowstone Lake and what happened to the dinosaurs. A thunderbird grabbed a Crow Indian by his hair and took him to "Overlook Mountain," on the southeast side of Yellowstone Lake, and placed him in a nest there. The thunderbird told the Crow that he wanted him to help him fight the giant water beast that lived in Yellowstone Lake and which ate the thunderbird's young. The Crow built a large fire and heated many rocks and boiled much water. When the beast came out of the lake and climbed up the mountainside, the Indian pitched hot rocks and hot water into its mouth. Steam came out of the monster's mouth and it tumbled down the mountainside and into the lake. Supposedly this was the last "dinosaur," and steam vents around Yellowstone Lake may be remnants of this event, a myth from Crow history (Nabokov and Loendorf 1999: 107-109).

Of course, as Paul Schullery pointed out to me when we discussed this subject, the very idea of dinosaurs and Indian tales generates numerous immediate questions. Is this tale perhaps younger than other such Indian tales? Is it only as aged as the old nine-

teenth-century white guys who first discovered dinosaur fossils? Or did Indians themselves find dinosaur fossils and generate stories about them long before the nineteenth-century white guys found the "terrible lizards"? Did Indians perhaps have contact with the nineteenth-century white-guy dinosaur hunters and merely generate the story after talking to them? Or is this story just pure "Native American baloney," a faked Indian tale? There are no easy answers to these questions.

From Hunts-to-Die, a Crow Indian born about 1838, we have it that his tribe believed there were spirits in Yellowstone geyser areas who were benevolent and helpful rather than malevolent and dangerous. This tends to correct what is perhaps the worst piece of supposed Indian information about Yellowstone—the long-surviving but incorrect notion that Indians feared the geyser regions. Even though this piece of white baloney has been thoroughly discredited by Weixelman, Haines, and Nabokov and Loendorf, we can look for it to continue to appear in the shallow, unresearched, and thoughtless writings of popular journalists for years to come. It belongs in the same class of malarkey as the notion that "Yellowstone Park was once called Colter's Hell" (Nabokov and Loendorf 1999: 83; Mattes 1949).

The incorrect notion that Indians feared the geyser regions seems to have originated in Euroamerican literature from a note that William Clark added to his notes after 1809 when he returned to St. Louis. It is not known whence Clark obtained this informa-

tion, but here is the relevant quote (complete with misspellings and incorrect syntax and punctuation):

At the head of this [Yellowstone] river the natives give an account that there is frequently herd a loud noise, like Thunder, which makes the earth Tremble, they State that they seldom go there because their children Cannot sleep—and Conceive it possessed of spirits, who were averse that men Should be near them (Haines, 1974: 4).

Unexpectedly, the Kiowa tribe is now known to have oral traditions associated with the upper Yellowstone country. The Kiowas, who eventually settled in western Oklahoma, were earlier located in the present Crow country near the headwaters of the Yellowstone River. Lewis and Clark found them below there in 1805 “in seventy tents,” somewhat near the Yellowstone Valley. One of their descendants, N. Scott Momaday, has written that around the time of the Revolutionary War the Kiowas migrated from a place near the “headwaters of the Yellowstone River.” In this earlier history they were friends and trading partners with the Crows, but nevertheless it was an unexpected surprise for Nabokov and Loendorf to find that the Kiowas had traditions associated with present Yellowstone National Park (Nabokov and Loendorf 1999: 93-96).

Nabokov and Loendorf found what so far may be the most important piece of Indian “interpretation” associated with present Yellowstone National Park. It is the legend told by the Kiowas about their origins in the present park. It concerns a man whose name no Kiowa remembers but who

“was one of the greatest Kiowas who ever lived.” The Kiowa informant called him “Kahn Hayn” for the purposes of the story. He said that when Doh Ki, the Kiowa equivalent of the Great Spirit, put people on earth he had no homeland for Kiowas, so he promised them a homeland if they could make the difficult sojourn through a barren and desolate volcanic land where clouds of steam shot from holes and fissures in the ground. Doh Ki called all of the Kiowas around one particularly disturbing steaming pool, a deep caldron of boiling water that surged and smashed against jagged rock walls and made fearsome sounds as if a great beast were just below the surface. Most of the Kiowas ran away, but a few remained, including Kahn Hayn. Doh Ki then pointed to the fearsome pool and said that the land there would belong to the tribe of any man who would dive down into it. While some of the Kiowas did not want this hot land, Kahn Hayn knew that Doh Ki was a benevolent spirit whose rewards were always good and lasting, so he decided to take Doh Ki’s test. He dove into the boiling pool and was immediately panic-stricken. He burned and ached and thrashed and lost consciousness. Suddenly he felt himself being lifted from the water by the hands of many Kiowas who were yelling excited, victory cries. As he looked about he saw that Doh Ki had vanished and that the landscape was no longer barren and desolate. Instead it was covered with rich forests, lush meadows, cascading streams, and large animals. This spot in the present Yellowstone National Park was now the most beautiful and abundant of all

places on the earth, and it became the homeland of the Kiowas.

The Kiowas today have a name for the place where these mythic events supposedly occurred. It is at the Dragon's Mouth Spring near Mud Volcano in the park, and the Kiowas call it "Tung Sa'u Dah" which means "the place of hot water" (Nabokov and Loendorf 1999: 97-100).

Historians have long argued about whether Ella Clark's tales of Yellowstone in her book *Indian Legends of the Northern Rockies* (1966) are genuine tales passed down by Native Americans or whether Clark made them up herself, either partially or fully, by being careless in how she translated the stories, by failing to tell us enough about who her Indian sources were, or both. Haines and I take the side that we should not always trust Clark, an English teacher with little or no training in history or anthropology. We believe that she was primarily interested in the stories themselves and not in whether they were truly Indian rather than made up by whites, in whether they had been genuinely passed down orally through Indian history, or in how carefully she translated them.

On the other hand, Nabokov and Loendorf take a more charitable view of Clark's book. As anthropologists, they see in her stories a thread of consistency to other parts of Native American folklore (especially, they say, that of the Blackfeet and Flathead) and they tout that connection as evidence that Clark's stories may be genuine Indian tales (Nabokov and Loendorf 1999: 129-132).

But of course one can argue that

anyone who has spent a small amount of time reading Indian legends and myths can easily make up new ones in the same vein as the genuine ones that they have just read. I could certainly do it easily, and, in my opinion, this would be the very type of thing an English teacher or journalist might be tempted to do in "doctoring" Indian stories that did not otherwise quite "work" for them. Because Clark talked to a lot of Indians and produced three books on Indian legends in the Northwest, I have no doubt that some if not many of her stories are indeed genuine. But she did such a poor job of telling us where they came from that I remain suspicious of some of them.

As it turns out, however, probably the best known of Clark's Yellowstone legends may well be a genuine Flathead tale. It is the one that she calls "Coyote's prophesy concerning Yellowstone Park," and according to her, it goes like this:

In generations to come this place around here will be a treasure of the people. They will be proud of it and of all the curious things in it—flint rocks, hot springs, and cold springs. People will be proud of this spot. Springs will bubble out, and steam will shoot out. Hot springs and cold springs will be side by side. Hot water will fly into the air, in this place and that place. No one knows how long this will continue. And voices will be heard here, in different languages, in the generations to come (Clark 1966: 103).

As one might expect, less-discerning writers, especially journalists, have glommed onto this story like flies to a carcass. They have not been able to resist it, in the apparent belief that

surely the story contains some kind of ancient Indian wisdom about Yellowstone that accords with the later “good” judgments of whites about the place, and which must thus somehow give dramatic credence to those judgments. I remain suspicious of the story, because it sounds fake and because Clark did such a poor job of documenting it. It is exactly the type of contrived-sounding piece that white writers would make up as a faked Indian legend. It is written too slickly and has too much perfectly balanced drama in it to ring true as a real Indian legend (which generally are neither slick nor perfectly balanced). The prediction about the pride of future generations sounds European. The business about future voices in different languages seems beyond the reach of the normal Indian legend.

But, again, the story may well be genuine. Clark claims (1966: 79) that most of her Flathead stories came from Pierre Pichette or Bon Whealdon. Pichette was a completely trustworthy source, because he was a blind Indian who spent at least fifty years of his life becoming an authority on the traditions and culture of his people. Clark would have us believe either that Pichette told this story to her from one handed down to him by elders in the summer of 1953 (the year before he died), or else that Bon Whealdon told it to her. Whealdon came to Montana’s Flathead reservation in 1907, and he too spent many years gathering information on the Flathead culture. Unfortunately, Clark not only does not tell us exactly from where she got the story or when, but her citation (1966: 366, 376) lists only an article by her-

self, “How Coyote Became a Sachem,” as the source. Worse, the story does not appear in a pamphlet by Pichette found and cited by Nabokov and Loendorf. Thus, while I am suspicious of this Yellowstone legend, if it truly came from Pichette or Whealdon, it must be a genuine Flathead story rather than a piece of white baloney.

Another of Clark’s stories, “Defiance at Yellowstone Falls” (1966: 361-362), is a fascinating mystery. It is the supposed Crow legend of thirteen Crow braves and five Crow women taking a raft over Lower Falls to their deaths in a suicide story that Clark says originated because the Crows wanted to escape the U.S. Army. She attributes it to Charles M. Skinner’s *Myths and Legends of Our Lands* (1896), and indeed a look at that book reveals that Clark merely rewrote Skinner’s “A Yellowstone Tragedy” (Skinner 1903: 204-206).

We do not know whence Skinner got the story, but he may have gotten it from Charles Sunderlee. Sunderlee’s version appeared many years earlier in a purported news story in a Helena, Montana, newspaper (*Helena Daily Herald*, May 18, 1870) under the headline “A Thrilling Event on the Yellowstone” (Kearns 1940). There, Sunderlee listed the five members of his party and claims that they witnessed the event above Lower Falls on April 2, 1870. Suspiciously, none of the five men he mentioned appeared in the 1870 Montana census. Haines dismissed the Sunderlee story as fiction inspired by Clark’s Crow Indian legend (Haines 1974: 40-41; 1977: 339n49).

At first I thought that Sunderlee's newspaper story might have inspired a fake (white) Indian legend that Skinner and Clark passed on. After all, there is no hint of U.S. Army soldiers chasing Crows in the upper Yellowstone country in 1870, as Skinner and Clark say, and in fact Sunderlee says nothing about soldiers being present. And, too, Sunderlee's story is 26 years older than the first known appearance of the legend (some of its details seem at least partially convincing as a news story). But later I found that it was not that simple.

Two present-day Crow experts know nothing about this supposed legend. When I ran the story past Burton Pretty-on-Top, the current chairperson for the Crow Tribal Cultural Committee at Hardin, Montana, he told me that it sounded like "hog-wash" to him. "Crow people do not kill themselves," he said to me. He also stated that he knew of no Crow historians nor "tribal elders" that had ever passed this story on in oral history as a Crow legend, at least to him. While he was not familiar with Clark's book, he stated that he had read numerous comparable works by white authors, and he stated that all too often he would have to "put these books down without finishing them" because they were filled with so much bad information. I also spoke to Tim McCleary, head of General Studies at Little Bighorn College, Hardin, Montana, and a Crow expert. He too was suspicious of the Clark "legend," but cautioned me about how easy it was to be wrong about such things, regardless of which side one is on. He had read the Clark version of the legend but had

never heard it in any other form (meaning from Crow elders or otherwise in Crow oral history). He agreed with Pretty-on-Top's assessment of Crows generally not committing suicide, and expanded on that, saying that those beliefs were based in Crow religion. McCleary says that the Crow belief was and is that if one commits suicide, one's spirit will remain on earth rather than ascending to some promised land, so they do not generally commit suicide. McCleary was also suspicious of the idea of Crow Indians being on rafts or boats, because "they tend to avoid boats and water and getting onto water" (Pretty-on-Top 2000; McCleary 2000).

But even with all of this evidence for the proposition that Clark's "Defiance" legend is false, Haines points out that Clark got a number of her Indian stories from military man Lt. James A. Bradley. A look at Bradley's long Crow discussions makes it clear that Bradley did get a lot of stories, legends, and general information during the period 1871-1877 from Little Face and numerous other Crows (Haines 2000; Bradley 1917: 197-250). If Clark truly got the story from Bradley (and one of his stories bears some resemblance to it) rather than pirating it strictly from Skinner, then perhaps the Crows do (or did) have such a suicide legend even though certain Crow experts have never heard it. All in all, I do not know what to think about this convoluted mess.

These problems with both Clark's "Defiance at Yellowstone Falls" and her "Coyote's prophesy concerning Yellowstone Park" point up the difficulty of determining whether or not

some reputed Indian legends are truly Indian. They also point up how easy it is for any of us to get confused when white baloney, known or suspected, enters the picture. For those of us who do not always trust the vagaries of oral tradition (was the story passed down correctly by one person and was it remembered/retrieved correctly by another, especially over many generations?), having to worry about white baloney adds one more complex and troubling wrinkle to the equation.

And these problems also point up the reasons why all researchers, including those who talk to Indians simply to write down their stories, must be meticulous in documenting their sources. We must be certain that we ask the tribal person conveying the story to us (1) from whom he heard the story and (2) whether others in his tribe have also heard it. These two questions are important because they give us clues as to both the antiquity of the story and how widespread it is (or was) within the tribe. For example, I am a lot more willing to believe Joe Medicine Crow's story if he tells me that he heard it from his 100-year-old grandmother than if he tells me he isn't quite certain from whom he

heard it but only that he remembers hearing it. And, too, I am a lot more willing to believe that the story is truly established within the tribe if I also hear from several other tribal members that they heard it from their forebears.

Finally, we should end by making one thing perfectly clear even if some of this is murky. While Indians appear not to have feared the Yellowstone geyser regions, we know that many tribes revered them. Revere and fear are two different things, reverence referring to beliefs in something sacred. There is much evidence put forth by Weixelman, Haines, and Nabokov and Loendorf that a number of tribes considered the Yellowstone country sacred and used it as a vision-questing, prayer-making, and gift-bequeathing place, and there is much other material in their writings that disproves the theory that Indians feared Yellowstone.

These few known Indian stories then, and probably dozens or even hundreds of others that are now lost to us or perhaps still in the oral traditions, were among the first known attempts to interpret the strange Wonderland country at the head of the Yellowstone River.

[Ed. note: This paper represents the first chapter, with title and text somewhat modified, from the author's upcoming book *Yellowstone's Horse-and-Buggy Tour Guides: Interpreting the Grand Old Park, 1872-1920*, which is as yet unpublished. The paper will also appear in the forthcoming proceedings of the 6th Yellowstone Science Conference, to be published later this year by the Yellowstone Center for Resources and the GWS.]

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Exploiting the Human Need for Nature for Successful Protected Area Management

Nature's Importance to People

For the purposes of this study, "nature" is defined as wilderness, semi-wilderness, and non-built places, and the components of nature such as wildlife. Many researchers have provided evidence that people need nature (Driver et al. 1987; Driver, Nash, and Haas 1987; Ewert 1996b; Kaplan and Kaplan 1989; Kaplan and Talbot 1983; Leopold 1966; Maslow 1962; Manfredo, Vaske, and Sikorowski 1996; Mannell 1996; Montes 1996; Schroeder 1992; Schroeder 1996; Ulrich 1984; Wilson 1984). In addition, there are now many studies on the outcomes desired from recreational experiences in outdoor environments. According to Kaplan and Kaplan (1989, 141), the themes of stress mediation, competence building, and the search for environmental diversity dominate the literature. They also state: "Nature is a valued and appreciated part of life.... Nature seems ... important to people.... Human functioning is impacted by its evolutionary origins which speaks loudly for our strong connection to nature in our primitive role before technological advances" (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989, 1, 7).

Ulrich (1984, 420) demonstrated that nature content in a hospital patient's view contributes to faster recovery. Many studies provide further evidence for the importance of nature to people (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989, 2).

Kaplan and Talbot (1983, 178) declare that "the wilderness inspires feelings of awe and wonder, and one's intimate contact with this environment leads to thoughts about spiritual meanings and eternal processes." Individuals feel better acquainted with their own thoughts and feelings, and they feel "different in some way—calmer, at peace with themselves, more beautiful on the inside and unstifled" (Kaplan and Kaplan 1989, 141).

Maslow (1962, 40) details peak experiences as "moments of highest happiness and fulfillment" that are often achieved by a nature experience and other experiences such as creative movement and intellectual insight.

Craik (1970) suggests that human beings have deeply rooted definable and measurable psychological dispositions toward the physical environment—dispositions that help drive environmental attitudes, preferences, and behaviors. He also reported that the deepest and strongest attachments between people and natural environments may give birth to spiritual experiences in which people feel a sense of connection with a larger reality that gives meaning to their lives. Schroeder

(1992) added that in some cases, people report that natural areas provide them a sense of refuge and an escape from the pressures of urban environments and daily routines.

Dwyer, Schroeder, and Gobster (1991) stated that research on people's experiences of natural environments shows that strong emotional ties exist between people and elements of natural settings such as trees and forests. Montes (1996, 109) adds that some scientists have argued that natural environments are preferred by many people over indoor or highly urbanized settings because the former offer therapeutic advantages. Driver and co-authors (1987) felt that nature experience provided benefits while built environments had constraining or deleterious qualities. Others have argued that "the way in which humans are programmed by evolution causes people to experience and perceive natural environments in a way that promotes relaxation and restoration; to realize nature benefits is, in a sense, built-in" (Mannell 1996, 412; quoting Hartig and Evans 1993).

Some researchers have suggested that some aspects of connecting with nature, such as wildlife viewing and other forms of contact with wildlife, are essential to human well-being (Katcher and Beck 1983; Kellert and Wilson 1993; Leopold 1966; McVay 1993; Soulé 1991; Ulrich et al. 1991; Wilson 1993). McVay (1993, 3) has proposed that we have a "Siamese" connection to wildlife, but that we do not totally understand our human-animal interactions. Our capacity for survival is impressive so far, but our perceptions of who we are and how we

fit into the world ecosystem are still vague. According to Edward O. Wilson, the originator of the biophilia hypothesis, the more we know of other life forms, the more we respect ourselves: "Biophilia ... is the innately emotional affiliation of human beings to other organisms" (Wilson 1993, 31).

Biophilia: Is the Need for Nature in Our Genes?

Kellert and Wilson (1993) have stated that there is an inherent human need for contact with a variety of life forms, which includes wildlife. Their biophilia hypothesis asserts the existence in humans of a biologically based, inherent need to affiliate with life and life-like processes. Accordingly, human identity and personal fulfillment depend on our relationship to nature. The human need for nature is linked to the influence of the natural world on our emotional, aesthetic, cognitive, and spiritual development; it is not restricted to our material exploitation of nature. Biophilia, then, is the natural emotional affiliation of human beings with other living organisms.

A core premise of biophilia is an intrinsic, genetic predisposition to react to biological phenomena. Evidence supporting such a premise would add weight to the argument that the wildlife component of nature is essential to human well-being and growth. An inborn need for wildlife and nature justifies conservation as both a biological and social imperative. The question is whether biophilic responses reside in our DNA and, therefore, our minds, and if they do, whether and to what degree such

primitive responses and behavior have been affected by a few millennia of agriculture and technology (Soulé 1991). More research is needed in this area.

Therapeutic Effects of Nature

Katcher and Wilkins (1993) have stated that certain natural stimuli, including wildlife viewing, have strong therapeutic effects that are beneficial to individual health and to society. Even if this is plausible, conservationists are still concerned that electronic substitutes for nature (for example, virtual reality) will some day displace the need to experience real animals and real nature (Katcher and Wilkins 1993). More study is needed in this area as well.

Another important area lacking study is the question of whether natural or human-made sounds are more relaxing (Soulé 1991). The sound of a rose-breasted grosbeak singing during a wildlife viewing experience, for example, may provide a person with greater innate satisfaction than does the sighting of a bison through a car window. The interplay of a multitude of other variables that influence our choice of recreational preference suggests the extreme complexity of understanding the wildlife viewing phenomenon.

Conclusion: Biophilia and Protected Area Management

To successfully manage protected areas, we must include human dimensions. Of the vast field of human dimensions, we can focus on the biophilia hypothesis, which asserts in humans a biologically based, inherent need to affiliate with life and life-like

processes (Wilson 1984). This will allow us to place preservation of the protected area first while incorporating the human need to affiliate with intact ecosystems. More and more studies point to the biophilia hypothesis as a major reason people visit protected areas. People seem to have a built-in need to connect with nature.

Protected area managers can incorporate this human need for nature into their planning documents and everyday management. They can do this starting at the protected area planning document level by incorporating the biophilia hypothesis into their park vision. They should start with the premise that a primary reason people visit protected areas is to have a biophilia connection. This means that all visitor services must be focused on this end. It may, for example, mean lowering the speed limit on a parkway to allow for a greater biophilia connection between visitor and wildlife. It may mean rethinking visitor services and dropping some, if necessary, in favor of more environmentally friendly and ecologically enhancing methods of recreation. For instance, power boating was banned from Elk Island National Park (Alberta, Canada) in 1979; as a result, red-necked grebes and many other species of waterfowl returned to the park in greater numbers.

A case study for inclusion of the biophilia hypothesis in the planning process has been completed at Elk Island. The park is a wildlife sanctuary formed in 1905. The new park management plan has been rethought to place emphasis on ecosystem preservation and rehabilitation, and includes

a strong biophilia hypothesis connection. Previous plans placed recreation at the same level as ecosystem protection, and the park tried to fulfill the role of being all things to all visitors, even allowing such ecologically non-conforming facilities as a dance hall. Now, wildlife viewers—those trying to have a biophilia connection—have been identified through extensive surveys as being a major user of the park. As well, traditional human-induced involvement in shaping the ecosystem has been identified, such the aboriginal use of fires. Other national parks in

Canada are pursuing the same path of placing ecological integrity first, as opposed to placing visitor opportunities at the same level as the ecosystem.

Despite the wealth of literature on biophilia, to many skeptics the biophilia hypothesis is just wishful thinking. The criticism is also sometimes made that biophilia is either unintelligible or self-evident to indigenous people. While initial contacts with aboriginals seem to indicate that they do have a biophilia connection, more work needs to be done in this area (Chapman 2002).

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Forest and Tree Conservation Through Metaphysical Constraints

*Here stands a silent grove black with the shade of oaks;
at the sight of it, anyone could say, "There is a spirit here!"*

— Ovid (Fasti 3. 295-296)

Introduction

All cultures of which I am aware have separate, dedicated, hallowed natural spaces. They may be mountain summits, caverns, headlands, springs, or pools. They are very often single trees, tree groves, or forests. Faulstich (1998) suggests that this reverence and love of natural places be called "geophilia," and says that we need natural landscapes, not only as terrain, territory and resource, but as cognitive sustenance. Edward O. Wilson (1984) suggests the term "biophilia," which implies that we have a genetic basis for a love of nature. For some traditional cultures, e.g. North American First Nations or aboriginals, all land and water are a sacred environment, as are the associated flora and fauna and the overarching sky. But even among such cultures there are special places or manifestations of additional significance. This paper will deal with trees and groups of trees as such manifestations or places of significance.

Most people feel kindly disposed to, or even "love" trees, since they provide them with many directly useful resource products. Moreover, they are a habitat for desired fauna; protect watershed lands, streamsides, and springs from erosion; provide shade for humans and their animals; and are a source of aesthetic enjoyment. A utilitarian attitude often results in their being removed in order to convert them into useful material. Other relationships toward trees, however, involving respect, awe, worship or fear, will be referred to as "sacred," and usually result in tree or forest con-

servation and preservation, rather than utilization.

Trees, groves, or forests become sacred through a recognition of some kind of power that they express. This power may evoke in us attitudes of worship, awe, or fear (many other emotive feelings have been suggested, but these three span a spectrum which is sufficient for this paper). Sacred individual trees and groups of trees have characterized almost every culture and religion where trees are capable of growing. Even in virtually treeless deserts, the date palm became the Tree of Life to early Semites and

Assyrians (Altman 1994). To our ancestors who lived closer to the earth than many of us do today, or to traditional societies even now, trees were often not only essential providers of resources, but became powerful symbols of fertility, generosity, permanence, birth and growth, refuge, healing, strength, energy, beauty, and inspiration. Moreover some species and some individual trees or groves were regarded as cosmic centers, the abodes of gods or powerful spirits (such as dryads), and homes of the ancestors. These trees, groves, and whole forests were protected because of these metaphysical aspects, very often to the entire exclusion of any utilization. However, some were carefully used for specific purposes, such as collecting medicinal plants for healing or for repair of a temple or shrine.

Unfortunately, these sacred trees have all too often been destroyed, in the name of religion and in the name of progress, because they were considered primitive or pagan remnants of a conquered culture. In Guatemala, the Maya-revered kapok tree (*Ceiba pentandra*) is removed in modern land clearing or for construction, though I know of one tree which was saved due to local protest: the road makes a strange diversion around it. In the 8th century, the oak of the god Thor at Geismar was cut down by the Christian, St. Boniface; and the Grove of Trmnsul, or Yggdrasil, the Universal Tree, the most sacred place of the Saxons, was destroyed at the order of Charlemagne (Hughes 1991).

Many legends also recount the unfortunate events that often befell those who did not respect the sanctity

of these trees and groves. My first encounter with sacred forests, and the stimulus of my interest, occurred in Venezuela in 1974, when I encountered María Lionza. She is the forest goddess who is depicted astride a tapir, and is still worshipped and held in fear by a rather substantial number of Venezuelans. The forest abode of María Lionza is tropical rainforest of 40,000 ha and has not been entered for slash and burn agriculture (*conuco*) by campesinos because of the dire misfortune that befalls anyone who cuts or burns her trees. The forest was officially gazetted in 1960 as the María Lionza National Monument and is one of the best protected areas in the Venezuelan park and reserve system (Hamilton 1976). What follows deals with metaphysical relationships between people and nature. The metaphysical constraints providing for tree and forest conservation usually have as a result a long-term utilitarian benefit. They often were “codes of conduct” towards nature—perpetuated by wise shamans, whether they be ancient seers or witch doctors or modern ethicists such as John Muir.

I contend that the more we know about these sacred trees, groves, and forests, the better can we understand their conservation status, their likely future without intervention, and possible methods of perpetuating their conservation. In this process a classification or typology of these would appear helpful. Such a suggested typology would include: (1) cosmic species; (2) trees of unusual size, age, or species; (3) historic trees; (4) sacred groves and temple groves; (5) temple-support forests; (6) trees and groves of malevo-

lence; (7) patterns of landscape harmony; (8) forests of healing or sanctuary; (9) restoration and dedication forests. It must be noted that these are not discrete classes, but grade into each other, just as groves grade into forests.

Classification

Cosmic species (trees of life). The cosmology of many early cultures involved a mythical tree which was the axis of the world, with branches reaching far into the heavens and roots penetrating into the underworld. An excellent discussion of this topic, with examples from Norse, Russian, Babylonian, Indian, Aztec, Mayan, Egyptian, Greek, Chinese, and many other cultures has been presented by Altman (1994) in a book entitled *Sacred Trees*. He classifies cosmic trees into three groups: world trees, trees of life, and trees of knowledge. For the purposes of this paper these distinctions are not made, but a few examples will serve to illustrate the metaphysical relationship that resulted in the physical species manifestation of these cosmic trees becoming “no” trees—so revered that they were strongly protected by the culture involved. The life-force aspect is evocatively summoned by Mathiessen (1972) in his book *The Tree Where Man Was Born*:

The tree where man was born, according to the Nuer, still stood within man's memory in the west part of the south Sudan, and I imagine a great baobab thrust up like an old root of life in those wild grasses that blow forever to the horizons, and wild man in naked silhouette against the first blue sky. That bodeful man of silence and the past is everywhere in Africa.

And indeed today in parts of Africa, the bodies of certain important individuals are placed in the hollowed-out trunk of the baobab as a coffin to symbolize the communion between the vital forces of the plant gods and the body of the departed (Altman 1994).

In classifying sacred mountains, Bernbaum (1997a) has a category he calls “mountains as centre”—for example, Kailas in Tibet and Gunung Agung in Bali—as representing the cosmic axis around which the universe is organized. Cosmic species of trees have some of this same meaning. The mythical Yggdrasil of the Norse was an ash tree (*Fraxinus excelsior*), and all ash trees took on some of the awe of this cosmic tree. The first tree of the world to the Mayans was the *Ceiba pentandra*, the silk-cotton tree, or bombax. There are many other well-known cosmic species. One of the most revered is the pipal, or bo, tree (*Ficus religiosa*), whereunder the Buddha received enlightenment; consequently all pipal trees are considered holy by Buddhists everywhere. The mythic world tree of the Hindus is represented by a banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*) which protected the infant Lord Krishna. Even today, no Hindu or Buddhist shrine is complete without a pipal or banyan tree planted nearby. Moreover, these fine, wide-branching trees have become natural assembly points for village meetings, community events, and dispensation of justice. All species of *Ficus* in South Asia seem to be revered because of their association with various deities (Chandrakanth and Romm 1991). It is of interest to note that biologists have

now recognized the importance of the genus *Ficus* as a keystone mutualist of great significance to maintaining biodiversity (especially of frugivorous insects, birds, and mammals) in tropical forests.

Members of the genus *Quercus*, the oaks, were trees of life to Greeks and early northern Europeans. This was the tree symbol of Thor, Jupiter, and Zeus. It was believed that Zeus could communicate to mortals through the oak tree, and a sacred oracle grove was protected at Dodona, Greece (Altman 1994). Other cosmic trees have to do with knowledge or wisdom, one of the most well known being the one which stood in Christianity's Garden of Eden and which bore the forbidden fruit of knowledge of good and evil. It is thought that the apricot, pomegranate, or fig should be the representation of this fruit, even though northern artists and writers have usually depicted it as an apple. This is a vast subject, but these few examples will have to suffice.

Trees of unusual size, age; special species. Unusually powerful patterns in trees, such as old, hoary, spreading-crowned trees, tall, sun-dappled woodland groves, or dense ancient forest, have always invoked in men and women (and even technologically oriented people today) a feeling in which their self-importance is at least temporarily shed and they feel connected to some greater context in which they are embedded. Such trees and groves become objects of awe and are saved from the axe (and nowadays from the chainsaw and bulldozer). Perhaps the banyan tree (*Ficus bengalensis*), with its strange pattern of aerial roots, is

given special meaning by virtue of its appearance, large size, and longevity. Certainly today, thousands of visitors (are they "pilgrims"?) come from far distances to view the famous Curtain Fig tree on the Atherton Tableland of Queensland, Australia, and many tourists in Honolulu wander in awe through the aerial roots and trunks of the fine banyans on the grounds of the 'Iolani Palace. But the banyan has other metaphysical properties that promote its conservation wherever Hindus live. This is the tree of immortality or tree of life (also of love, fertility, protection and healing) and is protected throughout India, Sri Lanka and Nepal.

In the United States, very large trees, such as the sequoia (*Sequoiadendron giganteum*), or very old trees, such as the bristlecone pine (*Pinus aristata*), are given protection in many places, including Sequoia National Park and the Forest of the Ancient Bristlecone Pine, respectively. Some individual trees are named (the General Sherman sequoia; The Patriarch bristlecone), and seem to command special awe to beholders, who attempt to capture their "essence" on film, or who, preferably, sit and look in contemplation. Hoary, wide-crowned, stout-branched oaks have, by virtue of these characteristics, become revered and protected. Perhaps for this reason, and also because of its production of mistletoe the oak was adopted by the Druids as the most sacred tree. One of the two famous Druidic oaks (which subsequently attained Christian significance as "Gog and Magog") near Glastonbury, England, was over 2,000 years old and 3.4 m in diameter when



Figure 1. The Patriarch Tree, a bristlecone pine over 4,000 years old, is protected in a "Forest of the Ancient Bristlecone Pine." (Photo Lawrence S. Hamilton.)

cut down finally in 1906 (Altman 1994). Oaks also achieved sacrality in other metaphysical terms, as in the oracle grove of Dodona, Greece, where priests and priestesses would go to consult Zeus and hear his messages in the rustling of the wind.

Historic trees. Many significant events in history have taken place under the shade of specific known trees, and these trees have taken on a symbolic affection or reverence, associated with the event that occurred there. The North American Iroquois Confederacy was founded and nurtured under a tall white pine (*Pinus strobus*) called the Great Tree of Peace, and the trunk symbolized the law and its branches meant shelter and protection for the six nations, or tribes (Alt-

man 1994). When the early European colonists came to America, treaties and charters were signed under the branches of large elms and oaks (e.g., Treaty Elm and Charter Oak), which were then preserved as trees of special significance. Their large size and historical connections made them revered until their demise. It is of interest to note that their wood was often used to make objects of public importance, and the "power" kept active in this manner. Moreover, seedling descendants of many of these historic trees are lovingly planted in public and private places to keep the tree spirit alive.

In Central Europe, the most venerable oak in many towns and villages became the site of justice where the

magistrate sat when he passed judgment (Altman 1994), and these trees were preserved as “justice trees” under which many agreements were made, involving only the spirit of the tree rather than the presence of a lawyer. Altman also writes of the *canelo* or cinnamon tree of the Mapuche people of Chile and Argentina, who believe that no one can tell a lie under its shade, and all promises made there must be kept.

Sometimes a grove or forest symbolizes a historic event that is honored. A treaty of brotherhood after long strife was agreed to in Sikkim in 1463 in a forest area called Kabilongchuk by the Bhutia and Lepcha peoples (Chakraborti and Bose 1995). They reported that as of 1995 no felling of trees is allowed, and local belief is that anyone damaging trees will become sick. There is no grazing. Though small in size (6.5 ha), the almost total protection has maintained a rich mix of tree and other plant species, including three orchid species. Each year the motivation for protection is strengthened by a brotherhood ceremony in the grove.

In the water-scarce Canary Island of El Hierro, a laurel tree (*Ocotea foetens*) is commemorated on the coat of arms (and as a taxicab logo) because of its long history of capturing cloud water, and is called the fountain tree, *Garoe* (Gioda et al. 1995). It was used by pre-Hispanic populations as a water collector until 1610 when a hurricane removed it. “Garoe” means sacred or holy tree. In memory of this Garoe, another laurel was planted at the same place in 1945. Today, this is a new fountain tree producing potable

water for the citizens of El Hierro. Many other fountain trees exist around the world in areas of low rainfall but having fog which is captured (e.g. Chile, Peru, Oman, Cape Verde). Indeed, in dry country, any tree or cloud forest that supplies water should be revered and conserved.

Sacred groves and temple groves.

Almost all ancient peoples of whom we have knowledge demarcated some areas of forest that held special meaning as places of worship. Sir James George Frazer in *The Golden Bough* (1935) has given an elegant account of this process and of how “in them no axe may be laid to any tree, no branch broken, no firewood gathered, no grass burnt; and animals which have taken refuge there may not be molested.” In this he alluded to the Kikuyu tribe of Africa setting aside groves. Such sacred groves worldwide were surely our first and best biodiversity preserves. Gods or goddesses lived therein, or could be induced to appear or give messages, if the worshippers danced hard enough, sang well enough, or prayed enough. In the worlds of ancient Greece and Rome, these special groves (each tree with its own wood nymph or dryad) were often enclosed by stone walls that protected them from grazing animals, and they were called *temenos*, a cut-off place, i.e., a sacred enclosure (Skolimowski, undated). In Latin the term was “templum,” the original root of the word “temple.” In these open-air sanctuaries and places of worship, shrines—and, gradually, elaborate temples—were often constructed, or sacred stones were contained therein. These gave further protection to the

surrounding trees, plants, and animals.

There is indeed in Europe a strong visual connection between sacred groups of trees and temples. Evans (1901), in his study of the Mycenaean tree and pillar cult, suggested that wooden and stone pillars resembling tree trunks were thought to be able to harbor the souls of sacred trees and the god or goddess therein. One suspects that the Greek temple with its myriad stone columns may have been an architectural way of symbolizing a sacred grove (Harrison 1992). Even the Gothic cathedrals of Europe with their imposing columns may have symbolic (as trees) as well as architectural value. And, conversely, when impressed with the lofty trunks of trees (e.g., a California redwood grove), people are prone to talk about "cathedral groves," and experience feelings akin to religious reverence.

Sponsel and Natadecha-Sponsel (1993) pointed out that Buddhist temples in Thailand were often built in forests (*wat pa*), and by association the surrounding forest became sacred space. These forest temples ranged in size from 0.5 ha to 8 or more ha. The authors suggest that there are approximately 37,000 temples in Thailand, almost all of which have a sacred tree or a sacred forest. In some heavily transformed landscapes, the few natural forest areas remaining are temple forests, as in Lebanon, where they occur within monastery walls. Elsewhere, as in the Western Ghats of India, the sacred groves, although they may or may not have temples or shrines within, represent the last vestiges of wild biodiversity in the land-

scape, since any product removal is religiously restricted (Gadgil and Vartak 1976). In one instance, Nair and Mohanan (1981) discovered four threatened plant species in two sacred groves in Kerala. Pei Shengji (1993) points out that the temple yards of Buddhist temples in Yunnan, China, maintain biodiversity of many useful plants for ritual, edible, or ornamental purposes, and has documented this amazing variety. In the United Kingdom, a Living Churchyard program has developed in recent years to arouse interest in nature conservation in church and chapel yards and cemeteries (numbering over 20,000 sites in England alone). Since most of these were carved from ancient forest and meadows, they often contain plants now locally rare, and some of the largest trees in the environs may be found there.

In Japan, shrine and temple groves in both the Shinto and Buddhist faiths are extremely common, and Oyadomari (1990) estimated that the total area of shrine groves was 117,300 ha as of 1980. She indicated that these areas not only provide an important reverential landscape for the shrines or temples, but that they are used as places of festivals and community gatherings. An old Japanese proverb says that spirits left alone cast no curse, and hence these shrine groves were in the past seldom touched for fear of evil spells. In the urban areas of Japan today these groves are often the only green fragment of semi-wild nature in a sea of concrete and stone.

In the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal, where the many sacred groves appear as vegetative islands in an intensively

used landscape, like spiritual oases (Mansberger 1991), they usually contain unhewn sacred stones representing clan or family ancestral guardian deities, but sometimes contain shrines or sculptures. In most cases they are located at sites of visual prominence, or the site of a spring or a traditional trail crossing or a stream ford. Mansberger pointed out that they are *in situ* storehouses of useful plants that are otherwise rare or absent in the valley (150 different species representing one-tenth of all plant species in the Valley). He recognized that they are also important as repositories for religion and culture. In the Khumbu region of Nepal, sacred groves around monasteries and temples are better preserved than forests protected by the Nepali government or in Sagar-matha National Park (Stevens 1993).

Temples have, in some places, promoted the planting of trees around them to enhance their spiritual integrity and force. This seems to be particularly the case with Shinto temples, where awe-inspiring groves of *Cryptomeria* were planted (Oyadomari 1990). These entranceway trees induced an appropriate mood of worship in the temple visitor, even before entering the temple. Chandrakanth and Romm (1991) describe how particular species in specific orientations to one another and to the temple are planted in Karnataka state, India, as "star," "zodiac," and "planet" forests.

Sacred groves, without shrines or temples, are manifestations of the human spirit and human imagination as abodes of deities or ancestors in very many cultures around the world. Early Greek, Chinese, and Sanskrit

classics attest to their age and universality. The origin of the many sacred groves and holy forests scattered over the landscape of India is well recounted by Wachtel (1993), who summarized the story from the Ramayana. They are supposedly clumps of an Himalayan mountain torn up by the monkey general Hanuman in order to bring sacred medicinal plants to the wounded man-god-king Rama. In flying 3,000 km with the mountain and back (after the healing plants were taken), bits of mountain and vegetation dropped off and became the sacred groves. These holy forests are often today still a source of healing plants. In the Coorg district of Karnataka state there were at least 600 sacred groves of various sizes, ranging from a single tree to an area of 40 ha and totaling in all at least 4,050 ha (Chandrakanth and Romm 1991). Here local people worship to appease the local and family deities and their ancestors.

Sacred groves have been perhaps best documented and studied in the field in India and Nepal. Madhav Gadgil has been a leader in India in documenting the *raison d'être*, distribution, and status of the sacred groves in several regions. He and Vartak (1975) for instance, describe two groves, one of which is sacred to the goddess Janni and the other to the goddess Kalkai. A recently published UNESCO-sponsored book, *Conserving the Sacred for Biodiversity Management* (Ramakrishnan et al. 1998), contains an imposing set of descriptions and case studies of sacred groves in India (plus a few sections on groves elsewhere), and is a welcome and sub-

stantial addition to the literature. In Nepal, Ingles (1990) has recently summarized much of the knowledge and documentation of sacred groves and carried out extensive field study of the present management in 26 of them. One of the most interesting studies of sacred forests has been carried out among the Dai people of Yunnan in southern China by Pei Shengji (1993). The hill-top forests here are where the gods and ancestors reside, and any gathering, hunting, wood chopping, or cultivation are strictly taboo, thus protecting essentially 1.5-2.5% of the total area of the prefecture of Xishuangbanna. Indeed, Frazer, in his great work *The Golden Bough*, gives examples of sacred groves from every inhabited continent. Other chapters in this volume bring into the available literature many new examples of sacred groves, and moreover indicates their value as reservoirs of biodiversity as well as places where traditional cultural values are reinforced.

Temple-support forests. Also in a sense "temple groves," but susceptible to harvesting, are those which are set aside as forests dedicated to sustain a temple nearby or its rituals. Such temple-support forests may be managed for narrowly economic objectives if the temple needs money (Chandrakanth and Romm 1991). For instance, some in Karnataka, India, are managed to fund temple trusts. In Nepal, the *guthi* forest is managed to provide forest products to a religious center, and villagers refrain from using the forest otherwise because it is sinful. Ingles (1990) did an interesting survey and analysis of the management and condition of religious forests in Nepal, most

of which were of the *guthi* type rather than sacred forest where no harvesting went on. Products from these forests included wood for use in cremations, for idols, for temple repair, for construction of orphanages or schools, and fuelwood for cooking in religious festivals. Some forests were harvested to provide cash for funding temples, or for performance rituals.

It is of interest to note that the Wood Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) has embarked on an historic forest preserves project. This promotes the use of authentic wood restoration in temples or other significant cultural structures, especially those associated with World Heritage Sites. In order to achieve this, the project seeks to identify and protect nearby existing groves or forests, or to plant such preserves for the future. In many cases these will be de facto temple-support forests, for many of the World Heritage structures are religious in nature and constructed with wood.

Trees and groves of malevolence. In many places trees are protected out of a fear of misfortune befalling the person who injures or cuts the trees, or who otherwise does not treat the trees circumspectly. Of course, any tree or grove that is the abode of, or is beloved of, a deity often has penalties associated with any human harm to it. But the essence of the relationship in these cases is ostensibly one of reverence or worship.

Another class is oriented chiefly to the metaphysical influence of malevolence or punishment. The forest of María Lionza in Venezuela, already

mentioned, seems to be less a place of worship than a place where harm befalls those who disturb this forest, where the goddess roams.

There are many examples of individual tree species being associated with misfortune because the spirits that dwell therein are quick to anger if insulted. Of course, any sacred tree that was violated brought on penalties. Buddhist monks in Thailand are today taking advantage of this phenomenon by wrapping important trees in their orange robes so that it is a spiritual crime to destroy them, thus saving them from the axe or chainsaw—and with them some of the surrounding forest (Ekachai 1990). But elsewhere there seems to be something almost like malevolence involved. In Ecuador, for instance, the *compadre aluvillo* tree (*Toxicodendron striatum*) reportedly imparts a rash to anyone who does not take off his or her hat in greeting when passing under the canopy (McComb 1998, personal communication). Also in Ecuador, the *Ceiba pentandra* (a cosmic tree in some places) has within it a small man (a *supi*) who protects forest fauna. Hunters become confused by the sound of him banging the tree with his axe and begin to wander in decreasing spirals toward the tree. When they reach the tree the *supi* changes to a snake, a boa, and the hunter is never seen again (McComb 1998, personal communication).

Trembling aspen trees (*Populus tremuloides*) have been considered bad luck trees by French-Canadian wood cutters. The redbuds or Judas trees (*Cercis* spp.) are considered cursed by many, because it was sup-

posedly the tree on which Judas Iscariot hanged himself after betraying Jesus. The Basoga people of central Africa believe that when any tree is cut down, the tree spirit is angered and can cause the death of the tribe's chief or a member of his family; a medicine man appeases the tree spirit before the tree is felled (Altman 1994). This same metaphysical relationship existed between some trees (especially cottonwoods, *Populus* spp.) and several North American First Nation peoples, and such trees were only cut down after a ceremony to appease the spirits. I have also heard of a tree of the rainforest of Ghana and neighboring countries that has a reputation for evil power because it is toxic to almost all other plants (presumably through allelopathy) and creates a mini-desert around itself. I seek confirmation of this and the name of the species (though the one given to me was *Oukoybaka aubrevillia*).

Some forests have been avoided by people due to the real or imagined presence of beasts, witches, or evil spirits. While many investigators actively seek in remote forests a sight of yeti (Nepal), Sasquatch (western North America), a bigfoot (China), Mapinguari (Brazil), and others such creatures elsewhere, many folk shun these forests out of fear, and they remain safer from logging and land clearing. Old European legends and fairy tales often depicted gnarled, dark forests where evil spirits lurked—haunted forests. The Grimm brothers' collection of fairy stories out of Germany perpetuated for many children an attitude that the forest is a place of enchantment where misfortune or

misadventure are common. In Europe these superstitions have largely disappeared, though in remote areas one still hears stories of trespassers having misadventures or disappearing.

In some villages of Kerala state, India, rattan (*Calamus* spp.) is thought to be associated with snakes, and since snakes have a strong religious connection, locals do not harvest the very useful rattan out of fear (Mohan and Muraleedharan 1988). They do, however, use a tribal group called Ulladans to do the harvesting—and suffer any evil consequences!

In Pohnpei, Micronesia, Pohnpeians have an ambivalent attitude about the *nanwel* (upper wild lands), but the principal one is that of fear of supernatural dangers from the *eni* spirits therein (Anson and Raynor 1993). While they will enter the *nanwel* for short periods to extract resources, they are unwilling to live in it. Even when in this forest, they do not call each other by name but shout in brief animal cries, for fear that an *eni* may identify that person and lure him or her to some unlucky or disastrous experience. This belief has slowed markedly the rate of conversion of this upland forest to agroforestry and cropping.

However, just as it is with the weakening protection provided by worship and reverence, fear of the mysterious and malevolent in nature is being dissipated by science and rationalism. Allelopathy seems to be a much more satisfactory explanation for sparse or no growth around some tree species than is evil emanation. And, increasing technology—the power of machines—has overpowered the uneasy feelings

that these trees and forests were better left alone.

Patterns of harmony in the landscape. The human spirit is more tranquil, and feelings are more kindly, when there is a “fit” or harmony between elements in a landscape, including the relationship of human built environment to the mosaic of hills and dales, fields and forests—domesticated and wild places. Forests, groves, windbreaks, and even scattered trees have important roles here in engendering positive feelings toward the environment. Where such tree elements do give harmony, in some places and times, tree landscapes have been conserved. In particular, the placement of groves with respect to wind direction, water source protection, and aspect has given rise to what have been termed “spiritual landscapes” in China. These have developed using geomancy and driven by the mystical insights of *feng shui*, which arose as early as the Sheng dynasty, 1766-1123 BC (Rossbach 1983).

“Feng” (wind) and “shui” (water) were forces to be reckoned with, and when these forces were ignored in carrying out landscape-modifying activities, the human occupants or users suffered, and when they were harmonized, people prospered. Modern-day soil and water conservation advocates might think about adopting some of the *feng shui* approach since they often deal with wind and water erosion processes and control. Lovelace (1985) described the application of *feng shui* to the interpretation and manipulation of landforms, vegetation, and hydrology to ensure the well-

being of villagers in South China, and illustrated the concept, which included the location of a tree grove with respect to water source, settlement, and grave sites. In many places, these feng shui groves constituted the only samples of the original native vegetation. These groves became sacred to the Hakka people, and even today both natural and human-made feng shui forests are given the utmost protection as the home of spirits (Ni Gen-jin 1994). The Hakka also realize the importance of these forests in conserving water and soil and in preventing shallow landslips on the mountain slopes. They believe that the trees secrete natural disinfectants for diseases, as well as producing rich anions, which are a longevity element. Chandrakanth and Romm (1991) feel that *de facto* feng shui patterns are at work in Vietnam and Nepal. Perhaps it is overdue in the Western world to adopt concepts of landscape harmony in the conservation of strategic trees, groves, and forests. Perhaps one even sees it in practice, for intuitive ecological reasons, in some of the splendid forest mosaic landscapes of the United Kingdom and elsewhere in Europe.

Forests of healing and sanctuary—wilderness. A Buddhist monk, Phra Paisal, was quoted in the *Bangkok Post* as saying:

The forest commands a magical, mind-calming power which is conducive to the meditation process. Deep concentration becomes easier. When your mind is at peace, life becomes one with simplicity. This is the first level of the relationship between forests and dhamma. Lack of inner peace accounts for a person's constant hunger for external arousals and

sensory pleasures (Ekachai 1990).

Great religious figures and philosophers have gone to the wilderness or the forest, or contemplated beneath great trees, in order to heal a troubled spirit or to find peace and sanctuary. In many cases these places have become sacred sites, or, as in the case of the Buddha, all trees of the species under which he attained enlightenment have become sacred. Modern urban people often find the need to turn to trees and wildlands to achieve respite from the noise, pollution, crowds, and stresses of their lives. Forests that provide refuges from the pressures of industrial society are becoming increasingly important and being given protection. A Texas A&M University environmental psychologist has found that even the sight of trees (in a city) can quickly lower a person's blood pressure and relax muscle tension and brain wave patterns, which indicate reduced stress (Wexler 1998). Even in the mid-1800s, Henry David Thoreau fled to Walden woods to simplify his life; there, partly through what might be termed "forest therapy," he developed his extremely moving philosophy. Thoreau wrote in 1851: "From the forest and wilderness come the tonics and barks which brace mankind" (Thoreau 1893).

In all countries of the world, it is important that forest areas of healing and sanctuary be set aside and protected from logging, clearing for conversion to other uses, motorized travel, and the noise of technology. Fortunately this is being done as governments respond to public clamor for such places, and even the private sec-

tor has joined in. I regard all of these declared and protected wilderness areas, primitive areas, core zones of national parks, and the like as examples of this class of metaphysically protected forest. Perhaps even the nature-tourism sites, though having an economic role, may also have some elements of *re*-creation as well as recreation. Faulstich (1998) opines that nature tourism (one of the fastest growing sectors of the global economy), however dysfunctional, has evolved as a means to reconnect us with the sacred landscapes of our heritage. While we may dismiss the tourist experience in national parks as somewhat superficial, it reveals the power of landscape, trees, and wildlife to reflect the myths of who we are and where we belong.

It is this love of nature, and the desire to maintain as much of it as possible free from the major imprint of human activities, that spawned the wilderness movement in the United States. This resulted in the establishment of a National Wilderness Preservation System in 1964. Currently, around 5% of America's land surface is in wilderness status. This movement has spread to other countries where the history, geography, and population situation has been favorable for dedicating large blocks of forest land as wilderness or strict reserve (e.g., Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Russia). The core areas of biosphere reserves around the world are also essentially dedicated to strict protection in order to let natural processes function largely uninfluenced by humans. Such areas often provide forests of healing and sanctuary, as

well as reservoirs of biological diversity and places where evolutionary processes can continue without warping by human action. Currently in the United States a network of enthusiastic groups, highly motivated by "biophilia" or "geophilia," but firmly science-based in conservation biology, are attempting to enlarge and link existing wild protected lands into large wildland ecosystems and corridors. They are united under the umbrella of The Wildlands Project and are attempting an intriguing, almost spiritual, crusade for wilderness recovery. This includes, as an example, a continuous corridor from Yellowstone National Park in Wyoming USA to the Yukon in Canada (Wild Earth, undated). This concept is gradually spreading to other countries, as a vision of large species- and gene-conserving ecosystems or bioregions is captured by others. A vision of a more-or-less continuous linked series of protected areas along the Andean Cordillera is being proposed by Jose Pedro de Oliveira Costa (Brazil) and Danilo Silva (Ecuador). And, in their wilder moments, James Thorsell (formerly IUCN's World Heritage advisor) and the author are talking and writing about a Conservation Corridor of the Americas, from Tierra del Fuego to the Bering Sea. A MesoAmerican Biological Corridor of connected wild lands has been endorsed by the seven Central American governments, and would be an important middle segment of this Corridor of the Americas.

In a paper originally entitled "Wilderness is Where my Genome Lives," but now in his book *Traces of*

an Omnivore, Paul Sheppard suggests that “although we may define ourselves in terms of culture, language, and so on, it is evident that the context of our being, now as in the past, is wilderness—an environment lacking domestic plants and animals entirely, and to which, one might say, our genes look expectantly for those circumstances which are their optimal ambiance” (Sheppard 1996). Indeed, our previously mentioned Thoreau said: “In wildness is the preservation of the world” (Thoreau, 1893). Even in landscapes that have been mostly culturally altered for a long time, there are wilder places in rough topography or inaccessible areas where a seeker may find relative solitude and sanctuary. And there are still existing some of the sacred groves mentioned previously, particularly around water-source areas and holy wells.

Spiritual restoration and dedication. Metaphysical forces sometimes work not only to give sacredness to trees or forests, but to establish new trees or forests. Some examples of this may serve to provide some hope in an overall worrisome picture of the destruction of holy trees, groves, and forests around the world by increasingly secularized human societies.

When one stops to think of it, this very day or week many ceremonial trees are being planted to honor a fine person, memorialize a loved one, celebrate a birth or graduation, or commemorate some other significant personal, community, or national event. In such ceremonies, cuttings (or seedlings grown from seed) from already revered trees often are used to perpetuate, in a sense, the spirit of the

tree. In the United States, offspring from famous trees are perpetuated and offered as planting stock for these special occasions. The American Forestry Association is currently offering descendants of the George Washington tulip tree (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), for instance.

“Forest monks” are promoting tree planting in Thailand as a mark of respect toward nature and other living things (Sponsel and Natadecha-Sponsel 1993). Pei Shengji (1993) points out that the taboo on tree cutting in the holy hills of the Dai people in Yunnan (see above) is responsible for them planting trees for use at lower elevations in fuelwood forests and agro-forests; somewhat of a “spin-off” from sacred forests, yet it is reforestation due to metaphysical constraints.

A recent and excellent example of “sacred” reforestation in India is described by Bernbaum (1997b), who participated in developing the program together with two Indian scientists (Drs. Purohit and Dhyani) and the chief priest of the Badrinath temple (His Holiness Sri P. Shredharan Namboodari) for degraded slopes and valleys nearby. Badrinath has been a religious site, regarded by many Hindus as the most important pilgrimage site in the Indian Himalaya, with around 450,000 pilgrims coming per year. Badrinath has its name from the sacred *badri* tree (a juniper), which was the form that Lord Vishnu’s wife Lakshmi took to protect him from a snow storm. The first tree planting ceremony in September 1993 resulted in roughly 20,000 seedlings being blessed by the chief priest and planted for religious merit by pilgrims. Pil-

grims also provided donations for tree care, and the many beggars who frequent such a pilgrimage site received cash and food equivalent to their daily begging earnings, plus religious merit, to care for the trees instead of begging. According to Bernbaum, all agreed. Though there were some problems, both physical and political, with this first planting, the process has been repeated and extended in 1996 to sites at Kedarnath, Tungnath, and Hanumanchatti, and continues today. Also, the idea of giving pilgrims packages of blessed tree seeds to take back home and plant is being tried. Bernbaum listed the metaphysical reasons that various interviewees gave for planting trees as follows: (1) re-establishment of the ancient sacred forest of Badrinath; (2) sacred plants, herbs, etc., needed for religious practice; (3) worship and service to a deity (e.g., Hanuman or Lord Vishnu); (4) religious duty (dharma); (5) selfless action (karma yoga); and (6) restoration of a healthy environment as a basis for religious practices and goals. Perhaps this kind of "religious merit planting" might be replicated in many other areas where pilgrimage sites exist.

Deterioration of Metaphysical Protection

In view of the scope of the many metaphysical influences and forces giving protection to trees, groves, and forests, it would seem as though the world would be clothed in sacred verdure. Not so, as we all know. The alarming rate of loss of forests worldwide has been periodically documented by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO)

through surveys. Currently the planet is losing forest cover (i.e., totally deforestation, not just logged and left in forest) at an annual rate of 13.7 million ha (FAO 1997). Some of these are sacred forests. And though not quantified, we are all aware of single-tree attrition as houses, roads, parking lots, industries, and so forth remove ancient and even once-revered trees in clearing for urban and transportation infrastructure. Trees and groups of trees once protected out of reverence, awe, fear, or love are being lost, and with this disappears some of our biological and our cultural heritage.

Two major underlying forces seem to me to be responsible for the deterioration of sylvan sacrality and other metaphysical influences conserving trees and forests (or, as a matter of fact, other sacred spaces as well). Can anyone doubt that there will be awesome pressures for degradation and destruction of these sites in a world which is currently adding almost one billion individuals every 10 years to the human population? Moreover, the world has been in a demographic runaway situation for many decades, and the impact is compounded by increasing per capita consumption or wants, plus a proliferating technology. A second major force is the more subtle cultural changes taking place, largely due to increasing secularism, materialism, and consumerism. The traditional taboos and values of the elders are no longer held as tightly by each younger generation who have been conditioned by education, advertising, and entertainment media to put more value on physical resources and want-satisfaction than on spiritual resources and

ethical conservation. This is not true everywhere, of course, but it is an all-too-common syndrome in traditional cultures that have long been the custodians of sacred or taboo trees and forests.

Unfortunately, the economic development aid being extended to developing countries emphasizes natural resource management for commodities, energy intensive technology, cash cropping for export earnings, privatization, and global markets. These imperatives tend to ignore or ride roughshod over subtle forces that protect forests. In the past, proselytizing by organized religions of the Western world often resulted in so-called pagan sacred groves being deliberately destroyed and their metaphysical protection denounced as either silly superstition or worship of false gods.

In a study of 660 sacred forests among the Zigna ethnic group in Tanzania, Mwihomeke et al. (1997) found that, on average, only 60% were intact or only slightly disturbed. They found that the main causes for destruction in the remainder were clearing for farming and overharvesting for building poles, timber, and fuelwood. They also found that the most numerous instances of destruction occurred where there was a high influx of immigrants from outside the village area. Similarly, in the Western Ghats of India taboos were increasingly violated under extreme duress, or by outsiders (Gadgil and Vartak 1976). In Thailand, Taylor (1991) indicated that forest monks find it necessary not to wander the country, but to stay put to protect forests in the Northeast, for when they are absent the resource-

hungry villagers often exploit the forest. In Nepal, the detailed study by Ingles (1990) found significant modification and degradation of understory vegetation and soils due to grazing, even though there might still be sanctions on tree cutting that limit it to religious purposes. The same general situation of deterioration comes in reports from Pacific islands, Malaysia, Philippines, and central Africa.

Governments seem to have little concern for the conservation of these special forests or trees, and in developing or developed countries alike it is often only the confrontational actions of concerned locals or preservation-minded nongovernmental organizations that save them from the grindstones of economic development. A great decline in the sacred forest estate took place when European colonial administrations took charge of what had been "unowned" forest land in spite of a long history of traditional occupancy and use. These administrations put forests into managed units for timber resource production, and sacred forests frequently lost their identity as they were incorporated into production forests or into areas earmarked for plantation estate development. Basically the same process occurred in many newly-independent (from colonial rule) nations, where governments claimed all land to which no clear private title existed. To earn funds for their nascent economies, logging concessions were granted to foreign companies, and these production areas ignored any special religious sites in these forests. They also fostered large land clearing and settlement schemes that ignored sacred

trees, groves, or forests.

Even in this climate of pro-development, however, metaphysical attitudes of reverence for trees broke out in many places as confrontation with governments. One of the most interesting of these was the Chipko Movement, carried out largely by women who hugged trees in the Garhwal Himalaya (India) to prevent their being commercially logged. While the most direct motivation was ecological and utilitarian, the movement derived much of its force from spiritual leaders, especially from the philosopher Sunderlal Bahuguna and the Chipko poet Ghanashyam Raturi. An account of this interesting phenomenon, its evolution, and impact was given by Shiva and Bandyopadhyay (1986). This process was emulated in New Zealand by the Native Forest Action Council a few years later by conservation activists, who climbed trees and stayed aloft for days and weeks to prevent these special native old growth forests being harvested. Tree perching and tree-top living is currently in effect in some old-growth forests of the western United States, to protect what are being almost religiously called "ancient forests."

Biodiversity and Cultural Diversity Conservation: Some Suggestions

Several years ago I asserted to the natural science community in the Pacific that the application of more ecological science will not halt the serious loss of genes, species, and ecosystems; nor will more recycling or application of more pollution control technology and so forth. It is not the

ecologists, engineers, economists, or earth scientists who will save our biotic component of spaceship earth, but the poets, priests, artists, and philosophers (Hamilton 1993). It is this latter group that deal with the human emotions, attitudes, and thoughts that vibrate between humans and their biophysical environment. In the face of the destruction and deterioration of the sacred trees and groups of trees just discussed, due partly to the changed sacrality of nature as older mores, taboos, ceremonies, and belief systems increasingly lose their power, we need to turn to the fields of ethics, values, and religion, rather than to science and technology, for increasing our conservation of biodiversity. There are at least eight arenas of hope, or suggestions for strengthening metaphysical tree and forest conservation.

1. Let me commence with a Western science-dictated task: inventory. Heinen (1994) suggested locating all existing sacred forests in the mid-hills of Nepal in a geographic information system (GIS) to permit landscape-level analysis as to their regional extent and position with respect to each other and with other types of parks and preserves. An inventory of all sacred trees and groves in Nepal's Kathmandu Valley was conducted by Mansberger (1991), who speculated about a pilgrimage trail that might even be used by ecotourists so that they become an economic asset to the area as a means of increasing their protection. In addition to location and mapping, inventory of their biological components of groves and forests would reveal something of their biodiversity importance. Ingles (1990) sur-

veyed 26 religious forests in central Nepal, obtaining physical, biotic, and social information, with emphasis on how they were managed to fulfill their various purposes. Gadgil and Vartak (1976) and Chakraborti and Bose (1995) have likewise conducted focused studies in India that provide information on the biological and religious values of such sites. The recent book by Ramakrishnan et al. (1998) has an excellent documentation of many sacred groves, particularly in India, and often relates these to biodiversity conservation.

Much more inventory and identification of sacred sites is needed so that such places of *in situ* genetic and spiritual conservation can be incorporated into national protected area planning. Even small groves, which have limited value in preserving biodiversity due to the “small-island syndrome” of species loss, can still serve as “arboreta” that can maintain precious seed stock and germplasm of some species, both plant and animal, through strict protection or proactive conservation management. Bio-inventories are needed not only in the aforementioned sacred groves and forests but in churchyards, monastery properties, and lands associated with any other religious structures. This is especially needed in strongly transformed landscapes, such as the Mediterranean region, Western and Central Europe, parts of China, and the African lowlands.

It is nevertheless extremely important to recognize that many sacred trees, groves, and forests may be “secret” sites whose spiritual meaning is diminished or threatened by having

them known and listed. They may indeed often be better protected in strong traditional cultures if they are not on a roster. Visitation by “outsiders” usually accompanies the making known of such revered trees, groves, or forests—as has happened so often with other kinds of sacred places such as mountains, water bodies, or the habitat of sacred animals. Such inventory and listing may have benefits, however, if a tree or forest becomes threatened with destruction by outside forces that may be operating in ignorance or in venality. It is imperative that the traditional custodians of such trees or sites decide whether or not the dangers outweigh the benefits, and that no inventory and location data are obtained and used without their full concurrence.

2. Secular society should support and reinforce the sacrality of sites where biodiversity and cultural diversity are fostered by the protection afforded by metaphysical forces. In the case of sacred groves and forests, surely such sites should be recognized as to their value and be given secular legal protection such as that afforded to national parks, national monuments, and other types of official protected areas. This was exactly the procedure adopted by Venezuela in the case of the sacred forest of María Lionza, which became a national monument in the country’s system of parks and preserves (Hamilton 1976). And in 1990, the parliament of Kenya voted to protect all of the remaining *kaya* forests that have survived only because of the beliefs of village elders who respect them as sacred forests (Negussie 1998). Again, however,

such secular protection must be only with the concurrence of the traditional custodians.

3. Contemporary societies at local, regional, or national levels should perpetuate, not discourage, local folk-songs, stories, legends, rituals, and festivals dealing with trees and forests, to reinforce with younger generations their bond to the biological world, once strongly recognized and “lived” by the older generations. Public support of such traditions, support of folk art in nature, and other incentives can play a role in decreasing the rate of erosion of these traditional values.

4. The section of this paper on restoration and dedication suggests some positive actions that can result in new forests that can heal the earth, providing incipient loci for both biodiversity and cultural diversity conservation. A holy mission to establish new groves, forests, or even individual trees can be engendered not only by priestly blessing and urging as at Badrinath, but by laypersons imbued with a zealotry for repairing denuded landscapes. Organizations such as Men of the Trees, books such as *The Man Who Planted Trees*, and greening programs have, largely by inspiring ardor, resulted in countless numbers of trees being planted. In this deforested world, the healing concepts of restoration, repair, and rehabilitation have an emotional appeal on which we have not yet capitalized. I suggested to the U.N. Environment Program’s executive director prior to the 1992 Earth Summit that an appropriate theme might be the “Three R’s” of the last sentence, and the motto “Healing the Earth.” Somehow it lost

out to “Sustainable Development.” I’m still hoping that the concept of restoration will capture the imagination and support of those mysterious “decision-makers.” In such a program, the metaphysical aspects of trees, groves, and forests should play a major part.

5. In the technical and financial aid programs from the so-called developed countries to the developing countries, projects should be designed that foster the aforementioned aspects of sustainable development that support or restore sacrality. At a minimum, they should be scrutinized to remove aspects that weaken cultural and religious ties to land. This has decidedly not been the case in the past. The high-tech packages, promoting rapid economic development, cash agriculture, monocultures, global economies, and so forth, have all tended to weaken the traditional cultural values that have promoted strong nature-human relations, including respect and reverence.

6. In the field of religious proselytization, missionaries, particularly from Christian churches, have in the past mostly tried to root out so-called pagan feelings of sacrality toward trees, groves, and other elements of nature. Even today, absolute dominion over the natural world is preached by several religious groups who are actively seeking conversions among the “heathen.” Fortunately, there is an encouraging movement among many organized religions of the world to come together in an ecumenical campaign for a gentler, healing approach to nature. Fifty religious institutions banded together and transmitted a

common proposal on respect for nature to the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (Hamilton 1993). Periodically there are ecumenical gatherings and joint statements from the world's nine principal religions and others, based on the St. Francis of Assisi attitude toward nature, and a Summit on Religions and Conservation was held in 1995. An Alliance of Religion and Conservation has grown out of this; its newsletter, the first issue of which appeared in spring 1997, contained an article on "Saving the Pilgrimage Forests of Krishna." The alliance has stimulated an exciting Sacred Land Project in the United Kingdom, the largest religious campaign on ecology ever undertaken there (Sacred Land 1997). In this project, ancient woodlands belonging to historical monuments, abbeys, and churches will be protected, managed, and, where necessary, replanted. There are encouraging signs that organized religions are taking steps to use their metaphysical influence to achieve forest conservation.

Another good example was a project developed by Thai and Tibetan monks and Thai researchers called "Buddhist Perception of Nature," initiated in 1985 (Nash 1986). This project continues as a quiet force, assembling teachings about humankind's interdependence with nature and producing educational materials that promote environmental ethics and changed attitudes about forest destruction.

7. A hopeful sign comes from the Wood Committee of ICOMOS, and it could well be adopted by governments, foundations, or other organiza-

tions. It is based on the need to supply authentic restoration for World Heritage Sites containing wood. To be authentic for repair and replacement, the wood should be of the same species and with the same characteristics as the original wood (often large, old-growth trees or trees of specific shape or grain). The Historic Forest Reserves project attempts to locate feasible existing forests or groves that could supply such material for each of the World Heritage structures and give them whatever protection is needed, or to establish new forests or enrichment-planting forests that could supply material for historic wooden structures. This intriguing program in many cases can build on existing temple forests or temple-support forests previously described in this paper, for some of these temples indeed are World Heritage Sites or potential sites. But the project looks to a future where historically correct wood may not be conveniently available and proposes to start action now. Such a program could well be expanded beyond World Heritage Sites so that all historically valuable wooden structures have a nearby protected source of supply from which authentic restoration can be carried out. This is as needed in France or Japan as it is in Nepal or Tanzania.

8. Finally, a promising program has been developed in the U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on "Sacred Sites and Environmental Conservation." It was started with a pilot project in Ghana and is being extended to other sites. This gives long overdue recognition internationally to the *de facto* protec-

tion that has existed through metaphysical constraints or processes.

Conclusion

Needed in all countries of the world is the sense of place that brings us back into a community with trees, wildlife, streams, mountains—with nature. We may call some places “sacred forests,” “ancient cathedral groves,” “friendly retreats,” or “wild sanctuaries,” or even have a favorite tree that we hug. We need these. Sochaczewski (1998) calls them “life reserves,” and it is an apt name, for they can greatly enhance human life,

and conserve biodiversity. Foresters and other natural scientists should not feel embarrassed or reluctant to talk about metaphysical matters, because biodiversity and cultural conservation may be greatly enhanced by the metaphysical. It will not be the natural scientists that achieve that blessed state of “forest conservation,” but the poets, priests, artists and philosophers who influence human behavior (Hamilton 1993). Foresters and biologists, however, must be engaged in the dialogue to bring sound natural science into the discourse arena.

[Ed. note: This paper was originally presented at the International Symposium on Natural Sacred Sites—Cultural Diversity and Biological Diversity Conservation, 22-25 September 1998, UNESCO, Paris, and was revised in 2000.]

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About the GWS . . .

The George Wright Society was founded in 1980 to serve as a professional association for people who work in protected areas and on public lands. Unlike other organizations, the GWS is not limited to a single discipline or one type of protected area. Our integrative approach cuts across academic fields, agency jurisdictions, and political boundaries.

The GWS organizes and co-sponsors a major U.S. conference on research and management of protected areas, held every two years. We offer the FORUM, a quarterly publication, as a venue for discussion of timely issues related to protected areas, including think-pieces that have a hard time finding a home in subject-oriented, peer-reviewed journals. The GWS also helps sponsor outside symposia and takes part in international initiatives, such as IUCN's World Commission on Protected Areas.

Who was George Wright?

George Melendez Wright (1904-1936) was one of the first protected area professionals to argue for a holistic approach to solving research and management problems. In 1929 he founded (and funded out of his own pocket) the Wildlife Division of the U.S. National Park Service—the precursor to today's science and resource management programs in the agency. Although just a young man, he quickly became associated with the conservation luminaries of the day and, along with them, influenced planning for public parks and recreation areas nationwide. Even then, Wright realized that protected areas cannot be managed as if they are untouched by events outside their boundaries.

Please Join Us!

Following the spirit of George Wright, members of the GWS come from all kinds of professional backgrounds. Our ranks include terrestrial and marine scientists, historians, archaeologists, sociologists, geographers, natural and cultural resource managers, planners, data analysts, and more. Some work in agencies, some for private groups, some in academia. And some are simply supporters of better research and management in protected areas.

Won't you help us as we work toward this goal? Membership for individuals and institutions is US\$35 per calendar year, and includes subscription to the Forum, discounts on GWS publications, reduced registration fees for the GWS biennial conference, and participation in annual board member elections. New members who join between 1 October and 31 December are enrolled for the balance of the year and all of the next. A sign-up form is on the next page.

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The Society welcomes articles that bear importantly on our objectives: promoting the application of knowledge, understanding, and wisdom to policy-making, planning, management, and interpretation of the resources of protected areas around the world. THE GEORGE WRIGHT FORUM is distributed internationally; submissions should minimize provincialism, avoid academic or agency jargon and acronyms, and aim to broaden international aspects and applications. We actively seek manuscripts which represent a variety of protected area perspectives.

Length and Language of Submission. Manuscripts should run no more than 3,000 words unless prior arrangements with the editor have been made. Articles are published in English; we welcome translations into English of articles that were originally prepared in another language. In such cases we also publish a lengthy abstract of the article in the original language.

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