

Protected Areas, Indigenous Peoples, and Reconciliation in the United  
States of America

CHANCE NICHOLAS FINEGAN

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILSOSOPHY

Graduate Program in  
ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES  
York University  
Toronto, Ontario

August 2019

© Chance Finegan, 2019

## **Abstract**

This dissertation examines the relationship between the Chinook Indian Nation and United States National Park Service (NPS) at two small national parks along the Columbia River – Lewis and Clark National Historical Park and Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. Despite a tendency to have poor relations with Indigenous nations, the NPS has at these two sites built a strong, positive working relationship with the Chinook Indian Nation. Through sharing circles and semi-structured interviews, this research traces the development of this relationship and identifies lessons-learned and best-practices that may be instructive for staff working at parks where the NPS/Indigenous relationship is more strained.

This research integrates settler-colonial studies with park management. It asks if the NPS/Chinook relationship is an example of “decolonized” or “reconciliatory” park management. I conclude that, while the NPS and Chinook 1) have much to be proud of in their work together and 2) are challenging some of the ways in which settler-colonialism continues to be enacted (e.g., making concerted efforts to present Indigenous as well as settler narratives for park visitors), the parks are not necessarily “decolonizing,” for current efforts are not directly concerned with ensuring future Chinooks will live as citizens of a prosperous, sovereign Indigenous Tribe re-connected with its ancestral territory and culture. I assert that 1) reconciliation and decolonization are ongoing relationships, not end states, and 2) the good NPS/Chinook relationships staff at these two sites have demonstrate how to renew park/Indigenous relationships at a micro-level.

This dissertation uses stories told to me by NPS staff and Chinook Elders to identify lessons-learned and best-practices emerging from these two parks. I draw on three stories (in particular, the partial reconstruction of the Village at Fort Vancouver, the carving of Okulam,

and the Qiq'áyaqilxam project) to highlight these lessons. It is primarily through sustained personal engagement that the NPS and Chinook have developed a strong, positive relationship. Yet, focusing on personal relationships will only take settlers and Indigenous peoples part of the way towards “reconciliation.”

## **Acknowledgments**

The past four years have reiterated for me that academia is a giving profession; I am indebted to many people. First, to Tony A. Johnson and Ravi de Costa, without whom this project would not have progressed to completion. It is only with their time, teachings, and support that this research exists. Thank you to the Chinook culture committee for welcoming me into the community, for giving me your time, and for patiently answering my questions. I am humbled by the example of leadership you set in these unsettled times and by what you have taught me. I know that Chinook futures are in good hands.

Thank you also to the staff at Lewis and Clark National Historical Park and Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, for your time and indulgence. Thank you to Scott Tucker, Bill Garvin, and Jim Sayce for your time and comments. In particular, thank you to Rachel Stokeld, Doug Wilson, and Theresa Langford for multiple rounds of clarifications and follow-up conversations.

Deborah McGregor and Paul Wilkinson have my gratitude and insights for your guidance throughout the project. You have shaped this work from its beginning.

Thank you to Cyndy Hayward and the Willapa Bay Artists-in-Residence program whose support with a month-long residency in Chinook territory came at a critical moment.

Thank you to Anna Zalik, Liette Gilbert, and Josephine Campanelli Zeeman whose administrative support has been invaluable.

Thank you to Philip Smartt for more than a decade of support and encouragement.

To my family, none of this would be possible without you.

## **Land Acknowledgement**

I conducted the field research for this dissertation on the traditional and unceded Aboriginal territory of the Chinook Indian Nation. Comprised of the heirs to five ancestral nations (Willapa, Lower Chinook, Wahkiakum, Kathlamet, and Clatsop), the Chinook Indian Nation has stewarded the Willapa Bay and Columbia River estuary for at least 10,000 years.

I wrote much of this dissertation in what is now known as Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Toronto is situated on the traditional territory of many Indigenous nations. The Anishinaabe, Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and Huron-Wendat have cared for southern Ontario for centuries. Today, Toronto is home to Indigenous peoples from across Turtle Island.

I recognize these Indigenous peoples as original caretakers of these lands and all the relatives within it. As these words of acknowledgment are written and read, the ties these nations have to their traditional homelands are renewed and reaffirmed.

## **Copyright Notices**

The stories and teachings underlying this dissertation told to me by members of the Chinook Indian Nation are the copyrighted intellectual property of the Chinook Indian Nation. Any new projects arising from these stories must be done with the full, free, prior, and informed consent of the Chinook Indian Nation. No permission is granted or implied for any reproduction or use of Chinook teachings, knowledge, or stories, without such consent.

The photographs copyrighted by Amiran White have been used with permission. Map One was created by the author using a base-layer map from OpenStreets under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 2.0 license. Map Two is a Chinook Indian Nation image, used with permission. All other images and figures are either the author's or in the public domain.

Portions of the literature review were previously published in Finegan, Chance 2019. "The Interpreter as Researcher: Ethical Heritage Interpretation in Indigenous Contexts." *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 1–13. This material is used with permission under the author's publishing agreement, section 4(viii).

## **Table of Contents**

Abstract .....	ii
Acknowledgments .....	iv
Land Acknowledgement .....	v
Copyright Notices .....	vi
Table of Contents .....	vii
List of Images .....	viii
List of Maps and Figure .....	ix
Key People in Dissertation .....	x
Chapter 1: Introduction .....	1
Chapter 2: Literature Review .....	16
Chapter 3: Methods .....	39
Chapter 4: Chinook Indian Nation Background .....	49
Chapter 5: Fort Vancouver National Historic Site and Lewis and Clark National Historical Park Background .....	69
Chapter 6: Superintendent Power and Workforce Issues .....	83
Chapter 7: Relationships, Dialogue, and Reconciliation .....	100
Chapter 8: Small Things Matter .....	112
Chapter 9: The Qiq'áyaqilxam Project .....	126
Chapter 10: Heritage Interpretation .....	151
Chapter 11: Discussion, Conclusion, Future Research, and Last Words .....	171
Appendix A: Research Agreement with the Chinook Indian Nation .....	189
Appendix B: Interview Guides .....	199
Reference List .....	213

**List of Images**

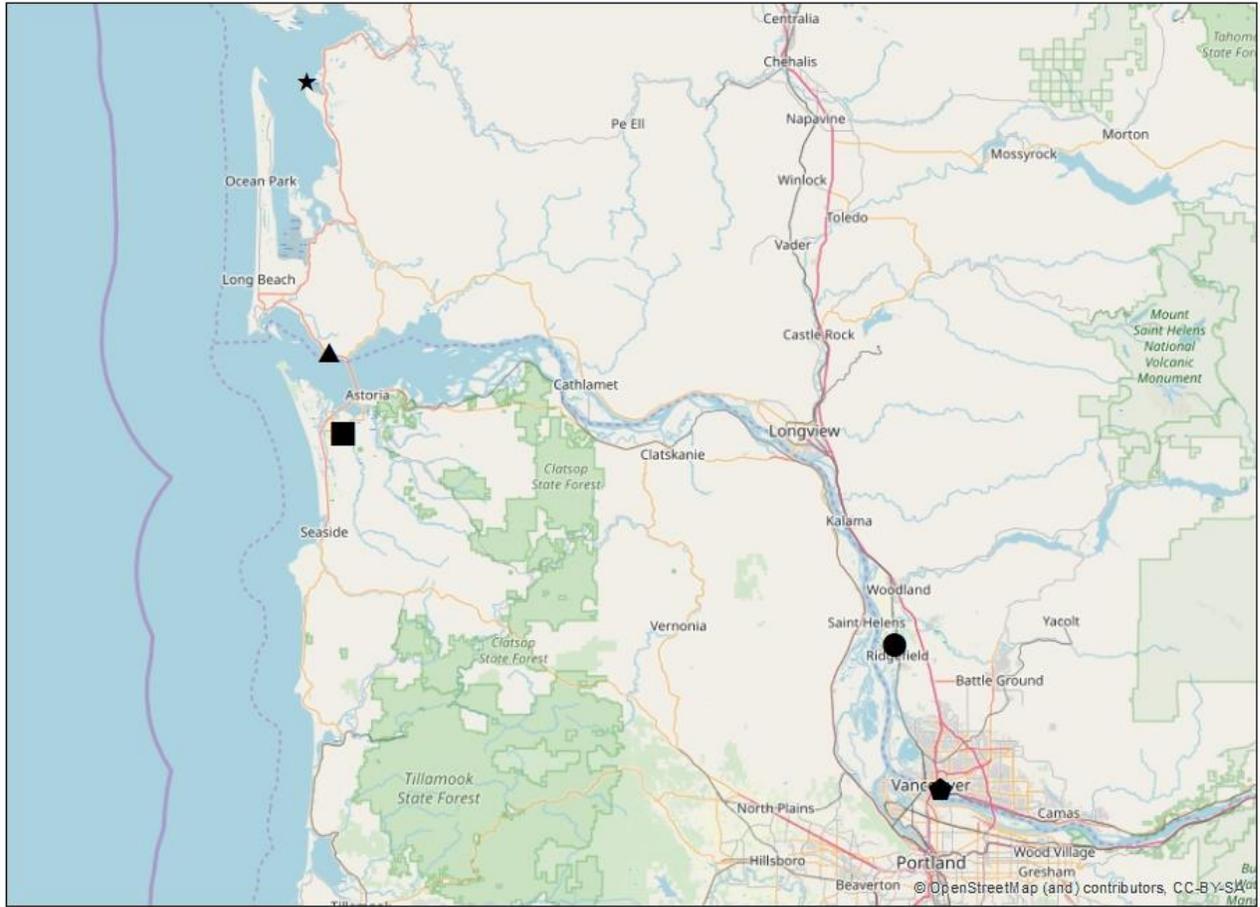
Image 1: Cathlapotle ..... 51  
Image 2: Historic Chinook Canoe Image..... 53  
Image 3: Chinook Canoe Family ..... 67  
Image 4: Chinook traditions remain alive..... 688  
Image 5: Reconstructed Village..... 722  
Image 6: Fort Clatsop..... 786  
Image 7: Original plan for Station Camp Park ..... 129  
Image 8: Final Park Plan..... 141  
Image 9: Detail of Chinook canoe replicas ..... 1433

## **List of Maps and Figure**

Map 1: Key Research Sites .....	xi
Map 2: Territory of the Chinook Indian Nation.....	50
Map 3: Lewis and Clark National and State Historic Parks .....	811
Map 4: Location of proposed Fort Vancouver Multicultural Center .....	1655
Figure 1: Factors Influencing Superintendent Behavior .....	1766

## **Key People in Dissertation**

- Chinook Indian Nation Culture Committee
  - Tony A. Johnson, committee chair and chair of Chinook Indian Nation
  - Don Abing
  - Gary Johnson (Tony's father)
  - Jane Pulliam
  - Scott Seiler
  - Gina Rife
  - Joan Wekell (Jane's mother)
  
- Fort Vancouver National Historic Site
  - Tracy Fortmann, Superintendent
  - Robert 'Bob' Cromwell, Chief of Interpretation
  - Doug Wilson, Archaeologist, Pacific West Region
  - Theresa Langford, Museum Curator
  
- Lewis and Clark National Historical Park
  - Jon Burpee, Superintendent
  - Chris Clatterbuck, Chief of Resources
  - Jill Harding, Chief of Visitor Services
  - Rachel Stokeld, Cultural Resources Specialist
  - Scott Tucker, former superintendent (2012-2016)



1 cm = 13 km

- ▲ Qiiq'ayaqilxam (Station Camp/Middle Village)
- Fort Clatsop
- Cathalpotle Plankhouse
- ★ Bay Center (Chinook Offices)
- ▣ Fort Vancouver

Map 1: Key Research Sites<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fort Clatsop and Qiiq'ayaqilxam are units of Lewis and Clark National Historical Park.

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

Created by the *National Park Service Organic Act of 1916*, the U.S. National Park Service (NPS) manages 419 distinct national park system units<sup>2</sup> across the United States of America (U.S. National Park Service 2018a). The *Organic Act* charges the agency with managing American protected areas in order “to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations” (U.S. National Park Service 2017b). Thus, the NPS is a resource-preservation agency, unlike, for example, the U.S. Forest Service, which is a conservation agency. As then-Deputy Director Stephen Martin told Congress in 2005, the NPS exercises “whatever means and measures” (U.S. National Park Service and Martin 2005) are necessary within its more than 85 million-acres (U.S. National Park Service 2018a) to ensure the parks’ continued preservation.

Congress has explicitly instructed the NPS to ensure the areas under its charge are kept “unimpaired” into the future. Yet, simultaneously, the National Park Service should also allow for recreation within the parks. Rothman (1989, 147) describes the NPS as “...offering not the wisdom of science, but a commodity – leisure – for which it strove to create demand as well as offer supply.” This dual mission – resource preservation and recreational use – creates tension within the NPS. Should, for example, mountain bikes be allowed within national parks? Snowmobiles? How should the agency balance the ever-increasing interest in visiting (relatively)

---

<sup>2</sup> Not all of these are designated as “national parks.” However, every NPS unit, be it a national historic site, national lakeshore, national park, or some other designation, is managed to the same standard. The designations indicate more about the relative size and purpose of the unit than anything else (e.g., a national historical park is bigger than a national historic site and a national lakeshore is rather obviously supposed to protect a lake). Yet, there are no hard-and-fast rules governing these designations – they are applied by Congressional fiat.

confined spaces such as Yosemite Valley or the Zion Narrows? Such questions animate contemporary park management.

One area where the NPS tends not to have internal disagreements is the consumptive use of park resources and/or permanent human residences within its estate. This “Yellowstone Model” of park management – the exclusion of humans from natural settings, so as to protect the “wilderness” – is the hallmark of the agency’s approach to its work, and a philosophy the NPS has exported around the world (Schelhas 2001; Muller 2003). But within the NPS’s mission (preservation and recreation) and its approach (the Yellowstone model) is a deep opposition to Indigenous nations and sovereignty. The agency has long-demonstrated both the will and capacity to forcibly remove Indigenous nations from their territory for park creation (Spence 1999; Catton 1997; Burnham 2000). While this has not happened at every NPS unit, the agency has found other ways to divorce Indigenous peoples from their territory and the non-human relations within it. It was not until 2015, for example, that the National Park Service began to consider, on a national level, how to provide for Indigenous access to medicines and sacred plants within parks (Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility and Stade 2015); this had been forbidden under the guise of resource preservation. Consider also the implications for recreation of conflicts over treaties within parks. At the Grand Canyon, for example, the Hualapai and NPS have disagreed on whether the Hualapai’s reservation includes the Colorado River (E. R. Hart 2018); if the Colorado is within the Hualapai estate, then they – rather than the NPS – would control river access and recreation.

Beyond these issues, the agency holds itself in high esteem, with the phrase “the National Park Service cares for special places saved by the American people so that all may experience our heritage” in frequent use as a “organizational statement” (U.S. National Park Service and

Galvin 2001). The agency promotes itself as “America’s gift to the world” and “America’s best idea” (U.S. National Park Service and Martin 2005). As Kurtz (2003, 307–8) writes, these ideas complement “...the selflessness and sacrifice of national parks...it [the agency’s self-image] instills a spirit of organizational altruism and integrity extending beyond self-serving motivations...committed to protection of park resources above all other allegiances....” The NPS’s self-image, first as a noble guardian of that which makes the United States distinct and second as the world’s foremost protected area agency, tends to discourage both critical reflections on American history and the Yellowstone model’s flaws.

This dissertation considers the NPS/Indigenous relationship, with specific attention to how local park staff at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site and at Lewis and Clark National Historical Park. At these parks, local staff are, first, trying to (re)present settler/Indigenous interactions for visitors<sup>3</sup>. Second, staff are considering<sup>4</sup> how to challenge the NPS’s tendency to treat Indigenous nations as unwelcome interlopers on the land and/or rival claimants to sovereignty over it. At both Fort Vancouver and Lewis and Clark, the agency has built a positive working relationship with the Chinook Indian Nation, whom I briefly introduce below (Chapter 4 provides a more fulsome overview). This dissertation examines the NPS/Chinook experience, notable for how local NPS staff treat (and have built strong relations with) an Indigenous community with unclear status. This research highlights best-practices and lessons-learned from the NPS/Chinook relationship; it is my goal to amplify the Chinook experience at these two

---

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 10 in particular.

<sup>4</sup> I intentionally use “considering” here and do not intend it to connote a deliberately slow pondering, but instead a necessary, thoughtful reflection. Unlike, for example, Canada’s Riding Mountain National Park, where the government summarily ejected the Keeseekoowenin Ojibway for park creation, these two historic sites are not necessarily examples of direct Indigenous dispossession (although they are certainly indirect beneficiaries). It is not that staff at the two cases are slow-walking efforts to challenge the human/nature divide the Yellowstone model imposes; rather, it is that the Yellowstone model and forced evictions are less relevant at these two small parks. Thus, efforts to ‘re-Indigenize’ the landscapes the parks protect require more nuance than elsewhere.

parks so that NPS staff employed in more challenging circumstances elsewhere might be better-equipped to work with affiliated Indigenous nations.

A vibrant, tenacious Indigenous Tribe at the mouth of the Columbia River in the U.S. states of Oregon and Washington, the Chinook Indian Nation has lived along the lower Columbia since the creation time. The Nation is the heir to five ancestral nations – the Cathlamet, Clatsop, Lower Chinook, Wahkiakum, and Willapa. Pre-contact Chinook culture flourished and was built on a web of ceremonies, protocols, and reciprocal relationships between Chinook people and the non-human world around them. While winter famines did occasionally occur, ancestral Chinooks lived generally prosperous lives, thanks to the lush, temperate climate of their homelands and extensive trading networks that encompassed much of North America west of the Rocky Mountains (Hajda and Sobel 2013).

Captain Robert Gray sailed into the mouth of the Columbia River in 1792 (Lang 2013), firmly establishing Chinook/European relations. For about the next fifty years – during British domination of the Lower Columbia – Chinookan ancestors and European fur traders built economic and familial ties. The children of local leaders intermarried while the two communities together built a polyglot, liberal society (Deur 2012). As I discuss in Chapter 4, Chinook/European interactions roughly followed the same trajectory as Indigenous/settler relations in the East; that is, they moved from a time marked by trading, kinship ties, and peaceful relations to a period marked by intense assimilationist pressures and ethnic cleansing.

The 1840s and 1850s brought immense grief and existential challenges to Chinook country. Smallpox and malaria epidemics crashed against Chinookan communities and sick Chinooks walked across the Coast Ranges seeking medical care and respectful internment at Fort Vancouver, a Hudson's Bay trading post near modern-day Portland, Oregon. Over 95% of

Chinookan ancestors perished in the epidemics (Deur 2012). Then, as the illnesses began to wane, in 1851, the Chinooks and Americans negotiated a treaty at Tansy Point. However, the U.S. Senate failed to ratify it (partially because it would have provided for a Chinook reservation in southwest Washington State). The Americans demanded the Chinooks leave their homes, ancestors, and territory. Just as today's Chinook leaders steadfastly refused to be cowed by the American government, so too did they in the 1850s. Neither government policy (ignoring the Tansy Point Treaty) nor individual actions (e.g., settlers burning Chinookan plankhouses and preventing Chinooks from accessing clean drinking water; the culture committee shared several stories about this with me) have dislodged the Chinooks. They remain on their territory to this day.

With the failure of the Tansy Point Treaty process and an American government disinclined to engage in further treaty talks, the contemporary Chinook Indian Nation's status with the settler government remains unclear. Despite this, the settler government in Washington, D.C. has treated the Chinook as it does all other Indigenous peoples, as current Chinook chair Tony A. Johnson has made clear to me. The Chinook have experienced the horrors of the Indian Boarding School system, held allotments on nearby reservations, been formally consulted on projects with the potential to disturb archaeological sites, and sometimes been permitted to exercise Indigenous fishing rights. Yet, according to the federal government, the Chinook do not exist.

The Chinook Indian Nation very much exists, as this dissertation will make clear. Contemporary Chinook leaders and Elders are working hard to ensure their youth grow up practicing Chinook traditions, speaking the Chinook language, and knowing what it means to be a Chinook on their unceded territory. The Chinook benefit from savvy leaders, both current and

past, who have leveraged every available opportunity to both look outward by sharing their story with the broader public while simultaneously rebuilding their culture, language, and communities from within. In a generation or two, Chinooks have gone from being abused by federal agents for speaking their language at school to working with settler bureaucrats to subvert settler myths by creating space for Chinooks not only to present their heritage to the public (as at Lewis and Clark National Historic Park) but for Chinooks to privately practice their traditions as they have since the creation time (as at the Cathlapotle Plankhouse; see Daehnke 2017).

While the academic literature is rife with examples of places where the park/Indigenous relationship is flawed, it tends not to discuss cases where the relationship is instead positive, respectful, and satisfactory to all sides. The focus on cases that are primarily historical and/or characterized by poor relations is useful insofar as it shows what *not* to do as a park manager interacting with Indigenous peoples, but it is less useful when considering what one *should* do. This dissertation attends to the literature's lack of good case-studies by considering the Chinook Indian Nation's relationship with Fort Vancouver National Historic Site and Lewis and Clark National Historical Park. At these two parks, the Chinook and NPS have partnered on multiple projects and maintain good relationships with one another. Through semi-structured interviews with key NPS staff and sharing circles with the Chinook culture committee, this research identifies key lessons-learned and best-practices for staff at other parks, with more challenging Indigenous relationships, to consider. Namely, it is through long-term personal engagement with their Chinook counterparts that NPS staff at Fort Vancouver and Lewis and Clark are finding success in working with the Chinook. Meanwhile, by strategically addressing setbacks (e.g., the story of Okulam in Chapter 6 and that of Qiq'áyaqilxam in Chapter 9), the Chinook provide a humbling example of a community that works through repeated disappointments and conflicts so

that their (Chinook) heritage, ancestors, and landscapes might be better protected and interpreted than it would be without their involvement at the parks.

## Theoretical Background

The NPS's heroic self-image ignores – intentionally or not – the broader context within which it operates. As an agency charged with managing land, protecting resources, and telling stories in a settler-colonial nation-state, it is inextricably bound up in settler-colonial processes. The NPS was born out of Americans' desire to identify monuments that would separate us from our European metropolises. National parks in the USA have in some places directly dispossessed Indigenous nations and in others, indirectly benefit from Indigenous eviction before park establishment. I expand on these thoughts in Chapter 2.

Here, I want to focus briefly on stories, for it is partially through them that settler-colonialism is enacted (Lowman and Barker 2015). As Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez (2013, 77) observe, for settlers to become the rightful heirs of “our” territory, we must replace Indigenous histories with our own. If Indigenous peoples “won’t fade away into history, then the whole ugly business of the founding of the settler-state can’t be surpassed, can’t be forgotten.” As Rothman (1989, 150) observed, “the NPS latched onto an important American cultural impulse: to glorify the beauty of the land that offered its people the bounty of an era of prosperity”. My home – the Great Smoky Mountains – cannot be thought of as having Cherokee heritage, for example. Instead, it is a place of Scots-Irish settlers, timber barons, and Unionists. By (re)constructing multiple large visitor facilities (the Cades Cove Loop Road, Mingus Mill, the Mountain Farm Museum, etc.) dedicated exclusively to Scots-Irish heritage, the NPS at Great Smoky Mountains National Park reveals its complicity in settler myth-making, which is “key to

defining our belonging...[and] normalize[s] settler people on the land...[to] further the end goals of settler-colonization” (Lowman and Barker 2015, 34). Erasing Indigenous heritage allows settlers to assert our legitimacy. Throughout this dissertation, I will refer to this process (of settler myth-making).

On the lower Columbia River, Congress gazetted Fort Vancouver National Historic Site in 1948 and intended for the park to preserve the site’s Hudson’s Bay Company and U.S. Army heritage (U.S. National Park Service 2003) . Approximately 70 miles to the northwest, Congress had previously established, in 1958, Fort Clatsop National Memorial (now Lewis and Clark National Historical Park) to preserve and interpret the Corps of Discovery’s winter quarters on the Pacific Coast (U.S. National Park Service 2012b). As I will demonstrate – and despite their explicit creation to celebrate triumphant settler exploration and colonization – Fort Vancouver National Historic Site and Lewis and Clark National Historical Park are taking concrete steps towards subverting settler myths by investing in new interpretive facilities that explicitly center Indigenous heritage. While I want to be careful to plainly state that changing the stories we (settlers) tell ourselves has a limited capacity to resolve settler-colonialism, I do believe it denotes a move towards a new kind of relationship with Indigenous peoples. Thus, these two parks are examples of places where local NPS staff are challenging settler-colonialism.

This dissertation is specifically concerned with “decolonization” and “reconciliation,” two concepts which I further develop in Chapter 2. Later, in Chapter 11, I reflect on the extent to which these two parks represent a model for de-colonial heritage site management. I conceive of reconciliation not as an end state, but as an on-going relationship, and I analyze the Chinook/NPS relationship at the level of individual actors. Individual staff members at these two parks comport themselves in a manner consistent with aims of reconciliation – that is, they are

building new relationships founded on respecting Indigenous sovereignty and contributing to Indigenous resurgence while challenging settler control over the land and its stories. I discuss settler-colonialism and parks' connections to it in detail in Chapter 2.

While Fort Vancouver and Lewis and Clark illuminate a path towards supporting Indigenous cultural, political, and economic revitalization through protected areas, I want to be clear that saying this does not mean the NPS is, as a whole, addressing these issues. The NPS cannot ever truly reconcile with Indigenous peoples in general without, for example, addressing its complicity in the outright theft of Sioux territory in the Badlands (see Burnham 2000). The Sioux have made clear their vision for the future – the return of their land. Until the NPS repatriates the land, the agency will be mired in existing settler projects of replacement and erasure. This dissertation does not purport to consider what the agency needs to do at a macro level to “decolonize.” My central, narrow task is instead to understand how specific interlocutors at these two case-study parks and within the Chinook Indian Nation have built good relations with one another and advanced Chinook interests.

As I assert, in the context of individual visitors or parks, the NPS is working towards building a reconciliatory relationship. It is an unquestioned good that at Fort Vancouver, the agency is making a conscious effort to engage with Indigenous nations and meaningfully involve them in the future of the park while considering how it teaches visitors about Indigenous heritage. To draw an analogy, the construction of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) does not mean the USA has a decolonial relationship with Indigenous nations. But, the NMAI is a tangible step forward. On a smaller scale (e.g., as far as the knowledge of Washington, D.C. tourists goes), the museum contributes to improved settler/Indigenous relations. Thus, when considering park/Indigenous relations, one must be cognizant of the scale

at which one is attempting to improve the relationship. Rethinking NPS/Indigenous relationships at the park level is not the same as the broad changes that need to occur; while I acknowledge my approach's limits – namely, that settler-colonialism is a macro-level structure and addressing it will require large-scale changes – this study is strictly concerned with understanding how the personal interactions between the Chinook and NPS staff members at these two parks contribute to Chinook resurgence<sup>5</sup>.

### Key questions/purpose/methods

This research responds to two key questions:

1. How have the National Park Service (NPS) and Chinook built a decent working relationship at Fort Vancouver and Lewis and Clark, despite a) the Chinooks' unclear status vis-a-vi the federal government, b) Congress's explicit direction that these parks preserve and interpret places of heroic settler exploration and conquest, and c) the parks' location on unceded Chinook territory?
2. How, if at all, are NPS staff challenging settler-colonial power structures and supporting Chinook sovereignty?

In doing so, it is my goal to respond to the scant attention paid to positive park/Indigenous relationships in the extant literature. This dissertation highlights an example of a park/Indigenous relationship that both the community (Chinook) and NPS believe is good. I believe that doing so will illuminate best-practices for park staff elsewhere to emulate. It is not my intent to consider new governance systems (e.g., to ask “how should the NPS respond to the challenges of exerting control over land and resource in unceded Chinookan territory?”) but instead to consider how the

---

<sup>5</sup> Defined as strengthening the Chinooks' traditional ties with their territory and building a sovereign, economically prosperous future.

decisions of local park staff have benefitted or harmed their relationship with the Chinook. I further wish to highlight the myriad ways in which the NPS interacts with the Chinook Indian Nation, so as to contribute to on-going efforts to demonstrate that the American government treats the Chinook as a de facto recognized tribe.

To accomplish this, I have conducted semi-structured interviews with key NPS staff at both parks as well as sharing circles with the Chinook Indian Nation's culture committee. I am cognizant of the ethical challenges presented by being a settler who works with an Indigenous community. I have negotiated a research agreement with the Chinook and taken care to respect Chinook expectations for conducting myself. I am particularly aware of the importance of reciprocity both in Indigenous/academic relationships generally, but also in the Chinook worldview specifically. I have provided the Chinook a gift towards an ongoing project as a symbol of our reciprocal partnership. I am also working with the Chinook and NPS to compile a dossier of all NPS/Chinook interactions for the Chinook, to help build their institutional memory. I elaborate on these and other research methods considerations in Chapter 3.

I recognize that my approach – focusing on the actions of park staff – could be interpreted as minimizing Chinook agency in their relationship with the NPS. This is not my intent. I center on the choices of park staff because it is the NPS, not its Indigenous partners, who bear responsibility for 'fixing' park/Indigenous relations. The Chinook do not need to and should not modify their behavior (broadly speaking) to fit NPS demands – it is the NPS that needs to change its approach<sup>6</sup>. Lewis and Clark and Fort Vancouver are two parks where NPS agents are attempting to make such changes, as this dissertation describes.

---

<sup>6</sup> For example, the Chinook should not give up their expectation that the NPS interpret the Corps of Discovery's 106-day stay at the mouth of the Columbia in the context of Indigenous occupation that stretches back tens of thousands of years. Instead, it is the NPS that needs to change its behavior to do so.

It has not been my goal to gather stories about the NPS/Chinook relationship, analyze them, and then use them to create some sort of “Finegan’s model” of park/Indigenous relationships. I am generally uncomfortable with the amount of power I have as a researcher, who, as Nadasdy (1999) writes, is able to control the research process from start to finish. I have instead attempted to listen deeply to the stories I was told, thoughtfully reflect on them, and then present them to the reader with as little manipulation as possible beyond grouping comments on the same broad theme together. I particularly seek to amplify Chinook voices in my work. Thus, this dissertation relies heavily on story-telling as a reporting method.

### Outline of Chapters

Chapter 2 offers an overview of settler-colonialism, park management, and the connections between the two in the United States of America. The chapter makes plain the need for re-thinking how the NPS interacts with Indigenous nations. It asserts that while the NPS is attempting to improve how it works with Indigenous peoples (through, for example, co-management agreements), the agency’s efforts thus far are closer to what Tuck and Yang (2012) decry as “moves towards innocence” than they are to modifying underlying settler-colonial power dynamics.

Chapter 3 discusses this project’s methods and its ethical implications. Chapters 4 and 5 provide additional background information about the Chinook Indian Nation (Chapter 4) and the two case-study parks (Chapter 5). Taken together with Chapter 3, these chapters explain the rationale for the selection of these parks and the Chinook as case-studies in improved park/Indigenous interactions.

Chapters 6 through 10 lay out the key findings of this research. Chapter 6 focuses on the power of park superintendents to influence the management of their individual sites, and

highlights the role of NPS workforce management practices in shaping agency relationships with Indigenous peoples. This chapter draws on the stories of the partial reconstruction of the Village at Fort Vancouver and Tony A. Johnson's carving of Okulam, a Chinook-style canoe, to further call attention to these issues. Chapter 7 focuses on the intensely-personal nature of the NPS/Chinook relationship; Chapter 8 builds on this by noting that tokens and gestures matter. I discuss, for example, how Lewis and Clark staff members volunteer their time to help the Chinook ready for the summer season a county park they (the Chinook) manage. I call specific attention to the need for the NPS to financially support its Chinook informants and partners. Chapter 9 describes the construction of a new unit of Lewis and Clark National Historical Park on the north shore of the Columbia River, at the Qiq'áyaqilxam (or Station Camp-Middle Village) site. This chapter further highlights the value of personal relationships and that 'small things matter.' Chapter 10 discusses how the two parks are interpreting Chinookan heritage and the extent to which better-presentation of Indigenous themes and perspectives at the two parks may challenge settler colonialism.

Chapter 11 reflects on this research and reiterates the limitations of thinking about these parks as having decolonized or reconciled with the Chinook. In summarizing this research, Chapter 11 offers two assertions. First, the NPS's increasing focus on Chinook heritage at these two parks represents a challenge to settler-colonialism, because one means through which settlers exert hegemony is by erasing Indigenous stories and claims to the land; these two parks are actively trying to undermine settler myths. Second, while one can learn from how the NPS has improved its relationship with Indigenous peoples at these two parks, I conclude the agency is not necessarily engaging in reconciliation in the broadest sense of the word, because better personal relationships do not in and of themselves restore Indigenous ties to the land nor

Indigenous sovereignty<sup>7</sup>. After considering avenues for future research, this chapter closes the dissertation by arguing that the two case studies demonstrate the importance of sustained, genuine personal engagement in Indigenous/settler reconciliation while questioning the ability of such engagement to fully address the problems settler-colonialism foists on Indigenous peoples.

### A Note about Language

“Indigenous” in this dissertation refers to all who people self-identify as Indigenous and are accepted by other Indigenous peoples as such, regardless of their legal status or recognition by settler governments. I intentionally capitalise “Indigenous” in all uses. As the editors of *Decolonization* write, “By spelling “indigenous” with a lower case “i” we un/knowingly reproduce dominant writing traditions that seek to minimise and subjugate Indigenous knowledges and people” (Decolonization Editors 2018).

While I recognise that not all non-Indigenous people in settler nations are voluntary settlers (e.g., descendants of enslaved people), I broadly use “settler” and “settler-colonist” to refer to the non-Indigenous population of settler states. I use the Chinook Wawa word Qiq’áyaqilxam to refer to what the NPS calls Middle Village. Qiq’áyaqilxam literally translates as “the middle path.” All references in this dissertation to “Vancouver” refer to Vancouver, Washington, USA and not Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada unless otherwise specified.

When I refer to “personal relations,” I refer to interactions between individual people as opposed to between institutions. I am not drawing a distinction between interactions conducted as a professional (e.g, an NPS employee writing a consultation letter to the Chinook) versus

---

<sup>7</sup> As Tony John discusses particularly at the end of Chapter 10, these are two goals the Chinook have for their future.

those done as a private citizen (e.g., running into a Chinook leader at the Little League field and having a conversation with them).

I intentionally use phrasing like “step towards reconciliation” rather than simply “reconciliation”. Reconciliation is a process and a relationship; it is not an end state that will be easily attained. Further, reconciliation and decolonization are contested terms. As Stó:lō teacher Lee Maracle has observed, reconciliation implies an original state of conciliation (Maracle 2017). This is hardly the case between Indigenous peoples and settlers in North America. I choose to respond to these challenges by highlighting that reconciliation requires many small steps and may never be attained.

I use phrases like “the park and its affiliated Indigenous communities” regularly. This is similar to the language used by the NPS and I am adopting it for clarity here. I am fully aware of the problems associated with language that implies Indigenous peoples belong to a settler state (e.g., “the USA’s Indigenous peoples” or “American Indians”). When I refer to communities as being “affiliated” with a park, I am only suggesting that they have a cultural, historic, and/or ongoing connection to that park. The intent is to demarcate Indigenous nations with links to a heritage site from those without links.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

### **Introduction**

This dissertation examines how the United States National Park Service (NPS) and the Chinook Indian Nation interact at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site and at Lewis and Clark National Historical Park. I begin here with an overview of park/Indigenous relationships and interactions. I outline why Indigenous peoples and protected areas are sometimes in conflict. I connect these issues to broader themes of settler-colonialism, situating this research at the intersection of park management and settler-colonial studies.

### **Dispossession**

Unlike colonists, settler-colonists come to a new place with the intention to remain. We – and I use the first-person deliberately – “carry” sovereignty “with us until we decide to root” in a particular place, as Lowman and Barker write (2015, 55). Settler-colonialism “binds them [settler-colonists] to the lands on which they intend to stay” and “specifically seeks the invisibility of Indigenous peoples” (Lowman and Barker 2015, 15). Put another way, as Tuck and Yang (2012, 1) write, settler-colonialism is an extirpation of “Indigenous land and life.”

State-controlled protected areas in the USA, as I demonstrate throughout this dissertation, contribute to this erasure in both their form (i.e., occupation of land) and function (i.e., promoting flawed settler myths, particularly around wilderness, that remove Indigenous peoples from the land). Parks are places explicitly set aside by the state where it exercises nearly absolute power over who may do what on the land. Within protected areas, states govern where one may walk, sleep, and even relieve oneself.

Additionally, the agency may permit (or not) people to reside within a park. The NPS has permitted Indigenous peoples to remain on their traditional territory at the Grand Canyon,

Yosemite, and Death Valley for varying lengths of time (Burnham 2000; Spence 1999; Keller and Turek 1998). Yet, the state maintains strict control over such enclaves, which are “...not unlike living on a military base or in a company town, such as existed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries” (Berkowitz 2011, 66).

Indigenous dispossession for conservation is far more common than these types of arrangements and is widely-documented (Brockington and Igoe 2006; Dowie 2011). At some places – such as Riding Mountain National Park (Canada) – parks were borne of a spasm of settler violence directed against Indigenous peoples<sup>8</sup>. In other places, as in Yosemite National Park, eviction has been more insidious<sup>9</sup>. The World Heritage Committee regularly designates World Heritage Sites without the free, prior, and informed consent of the Indigenous peoples on whose land those sites now exist (Disko and Tugendhat 2014). This calls to mind Lowman and Barker’s (2015, 30) description of settler-colonialism as a structure under which “Indigenous peoples’ relation to the land should not interfere with or pre-empt colonial claims to the land.”

Admittedly, removal for conservation’s sake has been poorly-researched; we do not know the precise number of people removed for protected area creation (Brockington and Igoe 2006). Estimates range from 10-20 million people worldwide (Agrawal and Redford 2009) to 14 million in Africa alone (Dowie 2006). One can, however, say with absolute certainty that “the use of force is typically critical” to eviction and that removal for conservation has caused “social disarticulation and political disempowerment” (Agrawal and Redford 2009, 5). There is a direct link between “structurally entrenched social disadvantage and the dispossession of land and loss

---

<sup>8</sup> The Government of Canada marched the Keeseekoowenin Ojibway out of the homes at gunpoint and burned their residences to the ground to create Riding Mountain National Park (Sandlos 2008).

<sup>9</sup> There has never been a direct, violent assault on Indigenous peoples at Yosemite for park creation, but the Ahwahneechee and other Southern Sierra Miwok were slowly squeezed out of the valley through NPS policies that made it impossible to remain there. See Spence (1996) for a good overview.

of autonomy” (Short 2003, 299). Through Indigenous dispossession, parks in settler states establish their legitimacy against other forms of land use, because, as Lowman and Barker (2015, 30) write, “by erasing competing prior histories and stories, settler societies possess and maintain the only legitimate claims to their territories.” Importantly, expulsion-for-parks is not confined to the distant past. In Colombia, for example, the early 2000s saw residents forcibly evicted in favor of Tayrona National Nature Park (Bocarejo and Ojeda 2016). Protected areas are not the sole cause of Indigenous peoples’ continued marginalization, but parks are certainly a continuing cause thereof.

Protected areas have also usurped Indigenous peoples’ resource-use rights. Consider the case of the Sturgeon Lake Ojibway (today part of the Lac La Croix First Nation) in Ontario, Canada. The Crown assured the Sturgeon Lake community its winter hunting camps in the Hunter’s Island region, would be left undisturbed after the signing of Treaty 3 in 1873. But in 1910, Ontario evicted the Sturgeon Lake Ojibway from Hunter’s Island, to make way for the new Quetico Provincial Park (Killan 1993; Manore 2007)

Elsewhere in Canada, at Wood Buffalo National Park, officials systematically excluded Indigenous hunters from the park despite agreements to the contrary (Sandlos 2007). This conflict continues (Britneff 2018). At Algonquin Provincial Park (Ontario), Golden Lake First Nation “has been denied any real influence in the use and management of the park” (Hodgins and Cannon 1998, 58). This is despite Algonquin’s location on unceded territory. Algonquin Provincial Park is now “a space inaccessible to its former inhabitants...a place they could not enter to pursue their traditional lifeways” (Manore 2007, 135).

Indigenous peoples are not totally powerless to resist eviction. In 1969, Chief Pierre Catholique (Łutsël K’e Dene First Nation/LKDFN) was “accidentally sent the minutes of a

meeting” about a possible national park on LKDFN traditional territory; after he began to ask questions, the Crown flew him to Ottawa and presented him with a document to sign for the park’s creation (Bennett, Lemelin, and Ellis 2010, 108). Chief Catholique refused and LKDFN remained on their land. Other examples of Indigenous resistance include the Timbisha Shoshone’s tenacious residence in Death Valley National Park (Burnham 2000) and the Havasupai’s continued dwelling in Grand Canyon (Keller and Turek 1998).

Indigenous attempts to resist park creation have also occurred through international forums and bodies. For example, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN)’s 1975 Kinshasa Resolution – passed because of Indigenous activism – forbids forced evictions for conservation (Colchester 2004). The Durban Accord and Action Plan, acclaimed at the 2003 World Parks Congress, requires that park agencies respect Indigenous rights and provide for full, free, and prior informed consent to the creation of parks (Brosius 2004). As in Kinshasa, Indigenous peoples were the driving force behind the Durban statement.

Indigenous peoples have also pressed the IUCN for a formal redress process for grievances against protected areas. The 2003 Durban Accord specifically compelled World Parks Congress members to create, by 2010, “participatory mechanisms for the restitutions of indigenous [*sic*] peoples’ traditional lands and territories that were incorporated in protected areas without their free and informed consent...” (Colchester 2014, 43). But this simply did not happen. Later, in 2011, the IUCN and Indigenous representatives jointly announced the Whakatane Mechanism to provide such a process. But it has only been used on a trial basis in three<sup>10</sup> places (Colchester 2014).

---

<sup>10</sup> Mount Elgon, Kenya, Ob Luang National Park, Thailand, and Kahuzi Biega National Park, Democratic Republic of Congo.

While dispossession for park creation has not endeared the protected area profession to Indigenous peoples, it is not the sole cause of park/Indigenous conflict. Protected areas embody a deeply held philosophical difference between European settler-colonists and many Indigenous peoples. A key principle underpinning Western-style protected area management is that nature and people exist separately. There are some spaces for nature and some spaces for civilization (Willems-Braun 1997; Cronon 1996; Nash 2014). This stands in stark contrast to Indigenous understandings of human/non-human relations, in which a distinction between the two is not necessarily carved out (McGregor 2004). Parks Canada (2014, 13) highlights this in a guide to “building effective partnerships”:

When the English version of sign text [for the Nuu-chah-nulth Trail in Pacific Rim] was being translated into Nuu-chah-nulth, the Elders stumbled over the word “wilderness” and arrived at the conclusion that there is no equivalent word or description for “wilderness” in their language, there is only “home”. This initially straightforward discussion led to a more comprehensive understanding of the philosophy that the Nuu-chah-nulth have for their traditionally used lands.

It is not my intention to dwell on the cultural constructions of wilderness; there is extensive literature on the subject (e.g., Nash 2014). Rather, I wish to call attention to profoundly different understandings of nature as one of the challenges protected area agencies must overcome if they are to reconcile with Indigenous nations. Parks and wilderness areas are a literal emptying of the land. They enforce the separation of people from nature. Or, to paraphrase Veracini (2015), Indigenous dispossession invents an empty, settler-colonial commons. This makes maintaining Indigenous cultures impossible, because of the tight connections between Indigenous peoples/cultures, and land. The creation of pristine parks apart from humanity, in other words, is entirely artificial and serves to further settler systems of erasure and replacement.

In the United States, the human-nature divide is codified into federal law through the Wilderness Act, which proclaims wilderness as a place where “man does not remain” (88th

Congress of the United States 1964). Aotearoa-New Zealand forbids structures, roads, trails, machines, livestock, and vehicles from entering designated wilderness areas (Cessford & Reedy, 2000). New South Wales, Australia, has legally-defined wilderness as a place that “together with its plant and animal communities, in a state that has not been substantially modified by humans and their works or is capable of being restored to such a state” (NSW *Wilderness Act of 1987*, quoted in Landers 2008, 33). This is, of course, all rather preposterous given the longstanding relationship Indigenous peoples have with Creation in these countries. A human/nature divide “denies the fundamental role of Indigenous land management in the creation of these ‘natural’ landscapes and excludes Indigenous people from areas of economic, cultural, and spiritual importance...” (Muller, 2003, 4).

Thus, dispossession and an artificial human/Creation divide stoke conflict between Indigenous peoples and protected areas. Addressing these two issues would be a useful way for agencies to begin to reconcile with Indigenous peoples. Additionally, consideration should be given to the origin of protected areas, particularly in the USA. The following section considers the connection between early park creation philosophies and settler-colonialism.

### Monumentalism and Worthless Lands

Consider Uluru-Kata Tjuta (Australia) and the Grand Canyon (USA). Both are recognizable symbols of the settler-colonial nation-states in which they now exist. Historian Alfred Runte has written extensively about what he refers to as “monumentalism” (Runte 1997). In Runte’s interpretation, Americans during the nineteenth century became increasingly insecure about their place in the world, particularly in relation to Europe. Americans felt they had no culture, no ornate buildings, and consequently little to set themselves apart from the grand palaces, quietly imposing ruins, and rich culture of the Continent. But as Americans began to

penetrate the interior west, they found unusual landscapes unseen in Europe, such as the Grand Canyon and Yellowstone.

Runte argues such places became national parks because these landscapes are what made America distinctive and assuaged Americans' insecurities. Monumentalism is useful as an explanation of why Americans gazetted the first national parks and it may explain Indigenous dispossession for them. Monumentalism demonstrates how the USA is a settler-colony. As Veracini (2015) writes, colonies must eventually separate themselves from motherland to become settler-colonies. A desire for permanence and to make a new society different from the metropole marks a settler-colony. The settler society simultaneously breaks with and seeks to re-create the culture of the metropole (Veracini 2015). Monumentalism is an example of this. Americans wanted something different from, yet comparable to, the perceived cultural treasures of Europe. The USA, by creating the first national parks, concurrently signaled its continued break from Europe while attempting to create cultural monuments that would favorably compare to those on the eastern side of the Atlantic.

Protected areas are settler-colonial in their function (e.g., dispossession) and their form (e.g., monumentalism). Yet monumentalism is not the only such form. Runte (1997) offers the worthless land philosophy to explain park creation in instances where monumentalism seems not to apply. In Runte's view, some protected areas exist because the land they occupy was ill-suited for any other use. Crater Lake National Park is an example of this, writes Runte (1997, 67): "...approval of the park by Congress, however, hinged on its worthlessness for all but the most marginal economic returns." To support this claim, Runte (in part) cites Representative Thomas Tongue – who sponsored Crater Lake's enabling legislation, and argued for the park as explicitly useless for anything but conservation protection.

Such desires to put land to its highest economic use flows from Lockean property philosophies (Carroll 2014; Mar 2010; Tuck and Yang 2012). Parks create value in otherwise “useless” territories. Moreover, the worthless lands explanation holds true outside the USA (Binnema and Niemi 2015; MacEachern 2011). Consider 1890s Queensland, where policy-makers justified parks in “carefully expressed terms of economic utility” for the emerging settler-colonial nation (Mar 2010, 83). Creating economic activity out of worthless lands represents the same Lockean philosophy that drove Indigenous dispossession on a large scale (Harris 2002).

Runte, a historian first writing in the 1990s, was likely not anticipating for his work to demonstrate the connection between protected areas and American settler-colonialism. Nonetheless, his ideas about park creation do so. Monumentalism and the worthless lands philosophy show how the USA asserted its distinction from the metropole and the role of Lockean property philosophy in underpinning park creation (just as it did for Indigenous dispossession more broadly). But parks’ intellectual roots are not the only aspect of their early history that may help explain Indigenous/park conflicts, as I discuss in the following section.

### Railroads

To this point, I have discussed how dispossession, monumentalism, and the worthless lands philosophy intersect with settler-colonialism. I want to now focus on the early history of American protected areas. Many of the themes of the NPS’s early years remain relevant. As an example, consider Promontory Summit, Utah, where the Union and Central Pacific Railroad crews hammered in the final spike to complete America’s first transcontinental railroad on May 10, 1869. The railroad’s significance can hardly be understated. If there had been a slowly rising

tide of settlers pouring west across the continent before, it was a veritable tsunami after the final rail spike was driven into place here.

While the transcontinental railroads had many advantages – massive land grants, virtual monopolies, etc. – construction nearly bankrupted the railroads (Ambrose 2000). Survival compelled the railroads to entice fare-paying passengers. But aside from the cities on either coast, the railroads had little to offer in the way of vacation destinations, as the interior of the continent was still largely undeveloped by Europeans. Meanwhile, park superintendents “hungered” for visitors and a constituency (Rothman 1989, 148), lest the parks be reduced in size and the land be put to other use (as happened at both Banff and Mount Olympus in their early years; Runte 1997; Lothian 1976). The companies and park leaders quickly saw the potential for a symbiotic relationship.

At Yellowstone, the Northern Pacific Railroad was one of the park’s strongest champions (Spence 1999). In 1898, Grand Canyon boosters rammed a land grant through Congress, conveying 20 acres to the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway on the canyon’s south rim for use as a hotel site (Burnham 2000). In 1899, supporters of a proposed Mount Rainier National Park labored to achieve the Northern Pacific Railroad’s political support. They eventually secured the park’s creation, along with land on the mountain, by including a land swap to the benefit of the railroad in the park’s enabling legislation (Runte 1997).

Annual visitation to Yosemite skyrocketed from 147 people from before the completion of the transcontinental line to over 1,100 after (Spence 1999). The railroads became the NPS’ staunchest supporters and its “political salvation” (Burnham 2000, 61). The park/railroad partnership sought to attract as many visitors (for each visitor was a potential political supporter)

– and, crucially, to generate as much tourism revenue as possible to prove the economic value of the parks.

Additionally, as the de facto promotional machine for the new NPS, the American railroad industry had an outsized effect on shaping understandings of how Native Americans ought to interact with the NPS and park visitors. At Glacier National Park, the Great Northern Railroad built fabulous chalets and hotels to attract wealthy visitors. Part of the Glacier experience was to “meet noble [Blackfeet in]...their native home,” according to park officials (Spence 1999, 71). Railroad officials organized tokenizing publicity tours for Blackfeet citizens across the country, branding them as “Glacier Park Indians” and “specimens of a Great Race soon to disappear” (Spence 1999, 83). The railroad plastered everything imaginable – train cars, hotels, tourist programs, service staff – with a so-called “Blackfoot makeover” to cement Glacier as a place to experience Blackfoot culture.

The Blackfoot experience is not a cherry-picked anecdote. At Mesa Verde, the NPS encouraged Navajo dancers to come perform for tourists (Burnham 2000). In Yosemite, visitors regarded local Sierra Miwok residents with “patronizing affection” (Spence 1999, 105). Tourists came to the valley as much to experience supposedly disappearing Sierra Miwok culture, in the form of basketry, dancing, ceremony, and singing. Spence (1999, 87) superbly describes railroad-driven (and financed) publicity for the Jazz Age parks as:

...presenting fantasy realms where individual[s]...could play out little frontier dramas and, like their European forebears, reinvigorate their lives through contact with the essential elements of the...wilderness. Native people inhabited the fringes of this frontier, standing at train stations or dancing in front of hotels, but they remained wholly absent from the tourists’ experience of the ‘real’ wilderness. Outside the hotels... [national parks] preserved a vestige of the ‘virgin’ continent, where vacationing adventurers could experience the North American wilderness at the dawn of ‘discovery.’

The historical relationship between the railroads and American national parks is critical to contemporary protected area/Indigenous relations. Railroads created the ‘fantasy realm’ where European settlers could experience earlier colonial times. Railroads employed Indigenous persons only so long as they portrayed a certain type of Indigeneity. Railroad publicity stereotyped Indigenous people as vanishing relics of a past age. To understand North American protected areas, how they relate to and with Indigenous peoples, and what park management in the spirit of reconciliation in the USA might entail, one must do more than simply consider parks as monuments to an insecure North American settler-colonial culture. The intellectual foundations of North American parks run deeper, as I have demonstrated here.

### Claiming of Land and Heritage

National parks in the USA exist on Indigenous landscapes thousands of years old. But parks primarily celebrate settler histories. The taking of land is the “specific, irreducible element” of settler-colonialism (Wolfe 2006, 388), yet settler-colonial processes are not only focused on land. Settler-colonists seek to replace Indigenous peoples, to infuse the land with settler myths, and to establish their new culture as the heir to the territory.

The USA’s *Antiquities Act* illustrates settler claiming of Indigenous heritage. The *Antiquities Act* is ostensibly for the government to protect archeological sites. But instead, “Congress had unilaterally decided that the Indian past belonged to all of us” (Burnham 2000, 50). Ute heritage at Mesa Verde is no longer Ute, but is instead American after President Theodore Roosevelt used the *Antiquities Act* to create Mesa Verde National Park. As Veracini (2015) observed, settlers seek to Indigenize themselves.

Settler claiming of heritage includes how park interpreters practice their craft. Unfortunately, in many parks, interpreters present outright falsehoods by disregarding

Indigenous nations as the first sovereigns of land now managed as protected areas. Keller and Turek (1998) cite a broad array of NPS sites, including Apostle Islands National Lakeshore (Wisconsin), Glacier National Park (Montana), Pipe Spring National Monument (Arizona), and Olympic National Park (Washington) as places where interpretation of Native Americans is seriously flawed, either through outright omission of Indigeneity or by misrepresenting Indigenous history. A brief – and hardly exhaustive – review of NPS media and literature, for example, reveals the presentation of Native Americans as “first visitors” at Lassen Volcanic National Park (National Park Service 2016), Cedar Breaks National Monument (National Park Service 2006), and Isle Royale National Park (National Park Service n.d.). By presenting Indigenous peoples as “first *visitors*,” the NPS blatantly ignores that Indigenous nations held sovereignty over North America for generations before contact. This is an erasure and a failure to interpret the full story of these parks.

Consider Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, where the park visitor center presents area history as including Ojibway heritage. Yet, the Ojibway are not portrayed after settlers arrive in the exhibits; the Ojibway literally disappear from the visitor center after the museum first introduces settlers. Even as museum objects, settlers replace Indigenous peoples. The visitor center at Sleeping Bear Dunes is a physical enactment of how settler-colonialism depends on and perpetuates the creation of an “exclusive monopoly on the narrative [of the land] as well as the physical landscape...”(Lowman and Barker 2015, 30). It is through such erasures that settler-colonists assert their right to be on ‘their’ land.

These are failures of heritage interpreters, who are researchers, stewards of stories, and people with the power to give credence to certain knowledge through their programs and media. In an Indigenous or settler-colonial context, these roles are of paramount importance and carry

additional weight, as interpreters must navigate the boundary between the colonized and the colonizer. Interpreters un/knowingly become complicit in ongoing colonial processes if they are working in an Indigenous context and do not critically question their work or fail to represent the multiple meanings inhabiting the resources they interpret. The decisions heritage interpreters make – such as removing the Ojibway from the story of Sleeping Bear Dunes once European appear – do not occur in a vacuum. As I have written elsewhere (Finegan 2019), interpretation training is deeply-flawed and does not meaningfully address these issues.

### Sacred Sites

Aside from interpretation, another place of park/Indigenous interaction and conflict is sacred site management. From Devil’s Tower (USA) to Uluru (Australia), protected areas encompass sacred sites. Well-documented controversies over how to accommodate Indigenous spiritual practices in parks run the gamut from disagreements about visitor access<sup>11</sup> to agency actions that impinge upon Indigenous religions<sup>12</sup>. How should a park superintendent respond if a community comes to her and identifies a sacred place in the path of a proposed hiking trail?

This is not a hypothetical question – consider recent events at Effigy Mounds National Monument, USA. Park staff, operating within “a corrupt chain of command” from 1999-2010, built over \$3 million worth of boardwalks throughout the Indigenous burial mounds the park ostensibly protects; the construction violated multiple federal statutes designed to protect cultural resources (Barland-Liles et al. 2014). The park superintendent who ordered this work exhibited “willful blindness” regarding her legal (to say nothing of ethical or moral) duty to follow “The *National Historic Preservation Act*, The *Archeological Resources Protection Act*, The *NPS*

---

<sup>11</sup> e.g., climbing on Devil’s Tower

<sup>12</sup> e.g., the dispute between the U.S. Forest Service and the Navajo, Hopi, Havasupai, and Hualapai over snowmaking in the San Francisco Peaks (Tsosie 2014)

*Organic Act*<sup>13</sup>, NPS Director's Orders, policies, and programmatic agreements" (Barland-Liles et al. 2014). In this same report (p. 10), the NPS noted:

The management team contributors also had an inexcusable lack of understanding of the fundamental importance of the archeological resource they were assigned to protect, along with its complexity, pervasiveness, landscape qualities, and history, which enabled them to discount concerns and justify gross physical and ethical violations of a site held sacred by many.

But over \$3 million worth of construction through sacred sites has not been the only problem at Effigy Mounds. Another Effigy Mounds superintendent stole over 2,000 Indigenous ancestral remains from the park and hid them in his moldering garage where an NPS special investigator found them in 2012, twenty-two years after the theft (Daley 2017).

Indigenous spiritualities encompass geographies, the human, and the non-human. They are concerned with "all our relations," to paraphrase LaDuke (2015). This includes, for example, the harvest of culturally-significant plants. In 2016, the NPS announced a policy change to allow members of federally-recognized tribes to harvest plants within national parks (Olson and NPS Office of Communications 2016). Harvesting will be negotiated park-by-park with affiliated tribes and will be limited to an agreed-upon list of plants.

The new plant harvesting rule is not without its critics. Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility (PEER), for example, slammed the change as a "radical departure from conservation principles" (Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility and State 2015). NPS employees must find a way to balance the demands of Indigenous peoples against an outcry from settlers. A superficial analysis of this might suggest that PEER is simply responding to a perceived environmental threat. But, I would argue, it is instead emblematic of how settlers respond when Indigenous peoples assert themselves. As Lowman and Barker (2015) write,

---

<sup>13</sup> The law which created the NPS; see U.S. National Park Service (2018a)

Indigenous resurgence reveals the illegitimacy and failure of settler colonialism and swiftly provokes settler anger.

Issues of Indigenous spirituality face the Chinook Indian Nation at Ridgefield National Wildlife Refuge (USA), where the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service partnered with the Chinook to build Cathlapotle, a cedar plankhouse on the site of a large ancestral village. Cathlapotle is both “a place of memory” (Daehnke 2017, 113) and a place where Chinook culture continues to be lived and practiced. Chinook traditions dictate that plankhouses be constructed in certain ways. For example, the doors should be small ovals and fires be burned within the plankhouse. While the Chinook fully participated in the building of the plankhouse, because it is on Fish and Wildlife Service property, the agency has firm control over Cathlapotle. This has resulted in disagreements, including over fires in Cathlapotle, the size and construction of doors, and the installation of garish safety signs within the plankhouse (Daehnke 2017). Sam Robinson, a Chinook leader, told Daehnke that “You know, there’s a true soul in this house...we’ve got fires here today and that helps the soul of the house” (Daehnke 2017, 128). Meanwhile, agency employee Anana Raymond remarked “In hindsight we [local agency staff] were naïve...it’s a commonsense thing when you think about it. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service is a big federal agency...the idea of having a big structure with a large open fire inside it and a lot of people, a lot of members of the general public standing around and kicking sticks into the fire, well, it’s something that doesn’t come easy...” (Daehnke 2017, 128–29). The Chinook experience at Ridgefield National Wildlife Refuge demonstrates how protected area managers have difficulty, even when their intentions are good, to provide space for Indigenous peoples to continue cultural and religious practices.

Rebecca Tsosie, law professor and appellate judge for the Fort McDowell Yavapai Nation's Supreme Court and San Carlos Apache Tribe's Court of Appeals, views these issues as fundamentally about disagreements between the public trust doctrine and the Indian trust doctrine, two concepts from American law (Tsosie 2003). She asserts that public land managers must choose between managing the land to benefit the public (i.e., for recreation, resource extraction, etc.) or to honor the government's fiduciary and treaty obligations to Indigenous peoples (the Indian trust doctrine). Park managers responsible for sacred sites or, as in the Cathlapotle case, who try to support Indigenous resurgence, are forced to confront this problem. Whose interests take priority? How should the agency support those interests? Protected area staff must confront complex questions such as these.

### Co-Management Interactions

Co-management, or the sharing of decision-making power among multiple actors, is increasingly common in protected area management as a means for agencies to respond to Indigenous peoples' demands for greater power over parks created on their traditional territory<sup>14</sup>. While this may seem relatively straightforward, it is complicated in practice. Co-management can be the sharing of resource access, but not ultimate management power (Milholland 2008), the result of a land claims process (Langdon, Prosper, and Gagnon 2010), a process of negotiation and implementation of management activities (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2013), a way to balance resource protection with local needs (Thomlinson and Crouch 2012), the assertion of a right to manage a resource (Smith 2013) or an effort to respond to a legislative or judicial imperative (Milholland 2008; M. A. King 2007; Spielmann and Unger 2000). Fikret Berkes, a leading co-management scholar, suggests co-management schemes are “public–

---

<sup>14</sup> Other models, such as co-governance, cooperative management, do exist, but here I will focus on co-management.

private–civil society partnerships, as a way of dealing with the shortcomings of single agency, top-down management” (Berkes 2009, 1692). Berkes highlights that co-management is a multi-actor process concerned with the failures of the agency, not the grievances of Indigenous peoples.

Co-management leaves something to be desired. Consider that in 1942, the U.S. Army seized 94,000 acres of Oglala Sioux territory to use as a bombing range (Burnham 2000). The Army promised to return the land after World War II. When the time came to do so, Congress decided the Oglala Sioux could only have their land “back” if they allowed the NPS to manage it as part of Badlands National Park. The Oglala Sioux might own the ground once again, but they do not exert sovereignty over it. Understandably, having one’s land taken, bombed, and never truly returned has not endeared the NPS to the Oglala Sioux (Lovell 2014); friction persists in their relationship. Is a co-management “partnership” really the best way to address this problem? The NPS has a prima facie obligation to return the stolen land, not to co-manage it.

Sandlos (2014, 146) has scathingly critiqued co-management as something that “asks us to accept as a radical innovation the mere inclusion of Aboriginal communities [in the decision-making process] who maintained absolute sovereign control over northern wildlife populations only a generation or two ago.” Co-management is not a vehicle for Indigenous peoples to reclaim authority over their traditional territories, nor does it inherently identify truth, acknowledge harm, or provide restorative justice. Rather, co-management co-opts Indigenous peoples into existing, settler-dominated government structures and processes. Without lasting change to settler-colonial power structures, co-management structures are neither reconciliatory nor decolonial.

## Indigenous Knowledge Use by Parks

Meanwhile, the use of Indigenous knowledge to augment park management efforts is increasingly of interest to scholars and practitioners (Nadasdy 2003). The use of Indigenous knowledge in environmental management, particularly in Canada, has emerged from the modern land claims process; approaching Indigenous communities to learn from them and then apply this knowledge in management efforts has the potential to improve government/Indigenous relations and conservation outcomes (Parks Canada 2015). In Torngat Mountains National Park, for example, Parks Canada, Nunavik, and Nunatsiavut Inuit Elders leverage Inuit knowledge to improve caribou management in the park (K. S. Wilson et al. 2014). At Fundy National Park, Parks Canada and Fort Folly First Nation are partnering on salmon restoration (Parks Canada 2019). On Pacific Coast, clam gardens are being restored thanks to a Parks Canada/Coast Salish collaboration emphasizing Coast Salish knowledge about the gardens (Parks Canada 2018).

But such efforts are not without their complications. First, Indigenous knowledge is not just a matter of knowing how many seals ought to be on the beach in a given month. Rather, Indigenous knowledge is a relationship with and a process of learning about Creation (McGregor 2004). It is place-based and context-specific, grounded in a process of ongoing learning about and living with particular resources. To borrow a phrase from McGregor (2004), it is not something one has, it is something one does. Another way to understand Indigenous knowledge is as a set of practices, experiences, and relationships all informed by “what the people give to, and do for, the land, and how the land cares for and provides for the people” (Lowman and Barker 2015, 56). Engagement with Indigenous knowledge requires that one understand such characteristics.

Attempts to approach Indigenous knowledge are laudable, but should be viewed critically. Park professionals must ask: what is more appropriate, for settler-colonial governments to treat Indigenous knowledge as resource to be extracted and used in park management decisions? Or for Indigenous peoples to have the capacity and opportunity to manage land (if they desire) that was exclusively theirs until but a few generations ago<sup>15</sup>? Unless attention is given to underlying settler-colonial power dynamics and differences between Western and Indigenous epistemologies, the use of Indigenous knowledge by park managers may serve only to retrench park agencies' authority (Nadasdy 2003). To reiterate an earlier point, settler-colonialism functions partially as an attempt by settlers to Indigenize themselves (Veracini 2015). Such criticisms echo Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez (2013, 82), who describe one of the goals of white settler society as “absorbing” Indigenous knowledge so that

...actual participation by Othered bodies is not necessary. Like Natty Bumppo, the whitestream can integrate what it needs—once the white settler learns to dance like the other, learns to eat like the other, learns to dress like the other, and to consume and even to make objects like the other, the other is no longer needed, discarded, replaced.

Co-management and Indigenous knowledge use in parks mirror Natty Bumppo's experience of internalizing (from his Indigenous foils) the knowledge he needs to survive. Settler-colonial protected area agencies are not engaged in reconciliation when they seek Indigenous knowledge or work with Indigenous co-managers in an advisory role.

### Indigenous Cultural Landscapes and Indigenous Protected Areas

The park/Indigenous relationship is not always characterized by neglect or conflict. One example of this is the increasing attention given to Indigenous cultural landscapes by protected areas. Indigenous cultural landscapes (ICLs) help to reorient park staff away from

---

<sup>15</sup> Recall, for a moment, that North American parks in particular are relatively young. Even in the heavily colonized East, Great Smoky Mountains National Park was Cherokee land until the early nineteenth century.

conceptualizing Indigeneity as confined to discrete places – sacred sites, towns, etc. ICLs are holistic – both cultural and natural – places “...where a relationship exists between an area, resource, and/or Indigenous peoples whose cultural practices, beliefs, or identity connects them to that place” (Ball et al. 2015, 3). Davidson-Hunt (2003, 23) refers to ICLs as “A strong metaphor for the two-way relationship between people and a place.” Documenting an ICL can help non-Indigenous managers view the territory holistically. Additionally, using an ICL-based approach recognizes that “Indigenous peoples possess an intimate knowledge of places and resources and that they should have the predominant voice in representing their own interests” (Ball et al. 2015, 3)

When park employees and heritage interpreters begin to think in terms of holistic ICLs, they “allow for centralizing American Indians in the interpretation of their ancestral lands and identifying portions of landscapes that demonstrate to visitors the natural or cultural resources supportive of Native lifeways and settlement patterns” (U.S. National Park Service n.d.). Moreover, ICLs can inform resource management decisions within parks and large landscapes. For example, a recent ICL documentation project in the Columbia River estuary maps the ICLs threatened by climate-change-induced sea level rise (Thorsgard 2017). This project has clear applications in coastal protected areas where ICLs are present<sup>16</sup>. Simultaneously, they help build Indigenous research and management capacity. ICLs can “only become visible...under the guidance of people who are intimately aware” of them (Davidson-Hunt 2003, 23). Indigenous communities engaged in ICL-related projects to “...equip themselves to represent their interests...grounded in Indigenous sovereignty” (Ball et al. 2015, 11). It is encouraging to see that ICL projects are being driven largely by Indigenous communities.

---

<sup>16</sup> Which, I would argue, is essentially all coastal parks in settler-colonial nation-states.

One prominent example in the USA is the work the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde, the Makah Tribe, and the Yurok Tribe have done with the U.S. Bureau of Ocean Energy Management and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Association (Ball et al. 2015). The nations mapped ICLs to enable better management of marine protected areas and offshore resource extraction in the tribes' traditional territories. The parties collaborated to create an online portal for other Indigenous and government organizations seeking information on ICL-based research and management projects. By widely sharing the best-practices they developed and working explicitly to empower Indigenous communities, the partners may be able to avoid criticisms of similar work (see, e.g., Nadasdy 1999).

Meanwhile, Indigenous protected areas (IPAs) reimagine protected areas as institutions governed by and responsive to Indigenous peoples themselves. Carroll (2014) believes IPAs are “reterritorialization in the form of conservation enclosure” because they are a tangible means for Indigenous peoples to exert sovereignty. Yet, as Smyth (2008) points out, IPAs do not necessarily require Indigenous tenure. Under a 1997 Indigenous-written definition for Australian IPAs, it is enough that Indigenous peoples be “custodians” and that the area be “managed for cultural biodiversity, conservation, and traditional use” (Environment Australia, quoted in Smyth 2008, 97). In Canada, the Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation has declared Indigenous protected areas, but over places where they lack the sovereignty of a self-governing nation<sup>17</sup> (Murray and King 2012). While the definition of an IPA is contested and varying, they represent both 1) a move away from exclusive agency control over parks and 2) a general improvement over co-management.

---

<sup>17</sup> One should be careful to note, though, that the Tla-o-qui-aht have responsibilities and authority under their own law.

Canada's 2018 federal budget includes C\$1.3 billion for conservation efforts and "puts Indigenous people in charge of protecting land" (Galloway, 2018, para. 1) with dedicated funding for IPAs. This builds on a 2017 announcement that the Labrador Inuit will direct the management of 380,000 square kilometers of the Labrador Sea (Galloway, 2017). In Australia, IPAs started in 1997 (Ross et al., 2009) and are a source of "pride in what has been achieved in a short time and with a small government investment" (Szabo and Smyth 2003, 7). Australian IPAs are fully voluntary, and the level of non-Indigenous support is up to individual IPA managers (Bauman & Smyth, 2007). Szabo and Smyth (2003, 7) note the significant advantages Indigenous peoples see in Australian IPAs, including "getting Traditional Owners back on country...transferring knowledge between generations and strengthening languages...re-establishing traditional burning practices...providing training and employment...[and] promoting renewed interest about caring for the country." IPAs in both Canada and Australia are succeeding at supporting Indigenous resurgence.

Yet, IPAs are not without their problems. They only came about, for example, because the IUCN – an international association dominated by non-Indigenous actors – changed its definition of a protected area to allow for non-governmental land tenure over a park. Indigenous nations, as non-state-actors, could not officially manage a "park" until the IUCN decided to officially recognize them as such. In the USA, tribal parks (the closest equivalent to an IPA) tend to suffer from a lack of management capacity (funding, staff, and material [Carroll 2014; Burnham 2000]). Issues with Australian IPAs include a requirement that they must focus on conservation to receive government funding and that, when allocated, funding is still not always directly controlled by local IPA managers (Muller 2003). Additionally, there are relatively few marine IPAs (Smyth 2008).

IPAs and ICLs represent important steps forward for the protected area community. If, as Stevens (2014) writes, co-management and Indigenous knowledge use represent a “new paradigm” of park management, I would argue that IPAs and ICLs are a newer paradigm. Such structures, while still flawed, affirm and advance Indigenous sovereignty. They support Indigenous resurgence by centering Indigenous peoples as the experts about and rightful managers of their landscapes and traditional territories. Hemming and Rigney (2010) assert that “control” is the central issue in heritage management; disagreements over who can/should give voice to the past and define it drive conflict. Park/Indigenous conflicts are not confined to one type of resource, because of the tight connection between the natural and the cultural in Indigenous worldviews. ICLs and IPAs, through holistic, Indigenous-centered management, offer a promising way to decolonize protected area management.

As I have shown, Indigenous peoples and protected areas interact across a wide variety of issues. These complex, difficult interactions are made more challenging in the USA by that country’s settler-colonial foundations. The NPS, with its roots in monumentalism and long-standing ties to the tourism sector, must find a way to respond to Indigenous aspirations, demands and resolve conflicts with Indigenous peoples. This dissertation will explore NPS/Indigenous relations at two small historic parks, where local staff and the Chinook Indian Nation are working together to improve protection and interpretation of Chinook heritage.

### **Chapter 3: Methods**

Decolonization is not an end state, but is instead a never-ending process that “spans well beyond any single transitional justice mechanism or process” (Nagy 2012, 64). This research is not an attempt to measure if the National Park Service has decolonized or reconciled at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site or Lewis and Clark National Historical Park, because I believe there will never be a specific point at which settlers have reconciled with Indigenous peoples, thus reducing the necessity of attention to these matters. Reconciliation and decolonization are a process-based relationship, not an end state. This project leverages two cases of generally positive park/Indigenous relationships and to respond to two questions:

1. How have the National Park Service (NPS) and Chinook built a decent working relationship at these two parks, despite a) the Chinooks’ unclear status vis-a-vi the federal government, b) Congress’s explicit direction that these parks preserve and interpret places of heroic settler exploration and conquest, and c) the parks’ location on unceded Chinook territory?
2. How, if at all, are NPS staff challenging settler-colonial power structures and supporting Chinook sovereignty?

As I describe in this chapter, I draw on semi-structured interviews with NPS staff and sharing circles with the Chinook Indian Nation’s culture committee to answer these questions.

Positionality matters, particularly in Indigenous-focused research (Kovach 2010). I am a descendent of primarily Scots-Irish settlers in southern Appalachia. I have recently relocated to the territory now known as Canada. I recognize that I am complicit in settler-colonialism, the very system that my research seeks to unsettle, but I do not engage in this work out of a sense of guilt. Rather, I began this project after recognizing the gaps in my education in a park

management undergraduate program. We did not, for example, discuss how treaties influence park management, even though they certainly do (Disko and Tugendhat 2014). I believe that for Indigenous peoples and protected areas to build healthy, positive working relationships, park professionals need to understand how their work intersects with settler-colonialism. Park staff also need examples of good relations with Indigenous peoples to use as scaffolds for their work; this project is a first step towards providing that.

I work towards an ethical research practice in several ways. First, I have centered Indigenous sovereignty and rights. This is most apparent in my discussions of how the National Park Service works with the Chinook. I want to make sure that my work does not simply ask “is this management practice better than how it was before?” but instead asks “does this advance Chinook sovereignty, according to their desires?”. Second, I avoid extractive research practices. I have not parachuted into the community, taken stories, and left. I am committed instead to returning this research to the community in a variety of ways, including presentations, archival copies of the research findings and data, and other means.

As a researcher, I hold tremendous power. As Nadasdy (1999) has said, researchers dictate the questions, how responses are interpreted, and how the research is shared and used. To address (even if partially) this power imbalance, I seek to be a mouthpiece for research participants to speak and be heard. I recognize that I am offering my own interpretations of the teachings and stories shared with me. I also exercised my own arbitrary judgment in sorting this knowledge into “principles” to organize the dissertation’s results chapters. This seems to me incongruent with my goal of avoiding the problems Nadasdy identifies; I cannot readily reconcile Nadasdy’s comments with the prerogatives of the academy. It is my hope that by sharing stories, similar to the methods employed by Kovach (2010) and Lambert (2014), I can

allow participants to speak for themselves. I do not claim to tell ‘the’ Chinook/NPS story, but rather to amplify the stories told to me.

Nadasdy (1999) also points out that research, especially when protected area managers try to document Indigenous knowledge, can concentrate power in managers’ hands. I am hopeful that I have avoided this problem by documenting the relationship the Chinook Indian Nation *in particular* has with the National Park Service. Because the American government refuses to recognize the Chinooks’ inherent sovereignty, the NPS’s treatment of the Chinook is of great significance to them. As the NPS increases in both quality and quantity its interaction with the Chinook, the greater the evidence the Chinook have for being treated as a de facto recognized tribe by a federal agency. Such de facto recognition is helpful to the Chinook as they seek to clarify their status through federal court action (see Chapter 4). Thus, I am hopeful that this project will ultimately increase Chinook rather than American power and sovereignty.

I am mindful of how I am earning a living by gathering teachings and stories from Chinook Elders and leaders. I want to honor the Chinook principle of reciprocity. I do not know how to give as much as I have received. What is the value of a project that starts a career and a lifetime of employment and earnings? How do I repay the kindness and generosity the Chinook community has shown me? I do not have easy answers to these questions. I acknowledge that the teachings and stories in this dissertation belong to those who shared them with me. I have made myself available to assist the community should my skills be useful to them in future. But all of this feels somewhat unsatisfactory. There remains a fundamental imbalance between how I benefit from this project and what returns to the Chinook.

To partially address this, I have offered an honorarium to the Chinook. Tribal chair Tony A. Johnson and I had several lengthy conversations about honorariums – a thorny issue that

created some discomfort on all sides. I have been concerned with ensuring that my relationship with the Chinook is reciprocal. Tony indicated to me repeatedly that he did not want to take advantage of me (as a student) and that no honorarium was expected. I insisted in offering something to the community as a token of my gratitude and to acknowledge the importance of reciprocal relationships in Chinookan traditions. We settled on a \$1,000 honorarium to be paid to the community in support of their purchase of the land on which the Tansey Point Treaty was negotiated (see Chapter 4).

Reading somewhat between the lines both with this and my experience negotiating a research agreement with Tony, I have the impression that Chinook expectations for how researchers conduct themselves are much less driven by formal protocols than Indigenous research in Canada. This is not to say that I believe, for example, that the Chinook have a different view of the need for ownership of their data than a First Nation within Canada, but rather that reliance on formalized mechanisms like OCAP®<sup>18</sup> seems less common in Chinook territory than north of the border.

In 2017 and 2018, I negotiated a research agreement with Tony A. Johnson (in his capacity as elected chair of the Chinook Indian Nation). This agreement identifies the purpose, methods, and expected outcomes of the project. I made several commitments to the Chinook to ensure their control over the project and associated data, including to ensure participants had multiple opportunities to review and approve their contributions to the research and to return copies of the final dissertation and underlying data to the Chinook. The agreement is included as Appendix A.

---

<sup>18</sup> OCAP® refers to the principles of ownership, control, access, and possession for Indigenous-focused research (First Nations Information Governance Centre 2014).

This research encompasses multiple cultures (both settler and Chinook). I want to be careful not to claim to be following a strictly Indigenous methodology. I am cognizant of the need to approach Indigenous research in a respectful way, but I am simultaneously wary of using someone else's methods and of trying to apply a system of learning and knowledge that is not my own. I am reluctant to adopt an "add Indigenous and stir" methodological approach. To do so would, I believe, ignore the nature of Indigenous knowledge, which simultaneously informs and flows from Indigenous research methods. Indigenous knowledge is, as McGregor (2004) teaches, relational and something that you *do* as opposed to something you have. I am skeptical that I could practice Indigenous research methods simply by reading a few textbooks and trying to mimic the practices they describe. This seems to be incongruent with the nature of Indigenous knowledge as a lived, relational practice. While my methods vary across different cultural contexts, my research is generally qualitative and narrative in its approach with methods tailored to the specific context in which I am working. I have done my best to draw on Indigenous methods to inform my work with the Chinook while being aware of my own ignorance, shortcomings, and positionality.

Similar to the methods highlighted by Kovach (2010), Lambert (2014), Lavallée (2009), and M. Hart (1996), I used sharing circles as my primary methodological approach for the portion of this work occurring in Indigenous communities and specifically avoided formal, structured interviews in an Indigenous context, for the reasons articulated by Smith (2009). This allows for what Kovach (2010, 51) refers to "knowledge gathering" rather than "interviewing"; it opens space for "reflection, story, and dialogue." As Laara Fitznor, a Cree academic, told Kovach (2010), sharing circles particularly differ from focus groups in that the cultural practices

and protocol of the community are often centered by the circle<sup>19</sup> and each member of the circle has the opportunity to speak.

When working with National Park Service staff, I used semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews allow for participants and researchers to work together on a more equal basis than fully structured interviews or surveys, in which the researcher sets the agenda. Most importantly, it highlights that such an approach allows research participants to share their experiences on terms more relevant to and comfortable for them (Stephens 2007). I brought a broad structure and set of objectives to each interview to help ensure wide latitude for participants as they shared their responses; see appendix B for my interview guides. This achieves research depth by both learning more about the topic than I might otherwise (e.g., with a survey) and by gaining an understanding of the nuances of a seemingly uncomplicated situation (Wengraf 2001). Semi-structured interviews are particularly useful for determining a person's beliefs about a particular topic, facilitating a discussion of the past, and/or how a situation directly affects them (Raworth et al. 2012; Wengraf 2001).

### Interview information

I conducted interviews of approximately two hours each with Tracy Fortmann (superintendent), Theresa Langford (museum curator), Robert Cromwell (chief of interpretation), and Doug Wilson (Archaeologist, National Park Service Pacific West Region) at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site during the period May 2 to May 9, 2018. At Lewis and Clark National Historical Park, I interviewed Jon Burpee (superintendent), Rachel Stokeld (cultural resources specialist), Christopher Clatterbuck (chief of resources), and Jill Harding (chief of

---

<sup>19</sup> i.e., by inviting Elders to open or close the circle, offering food or tobacco, etc. Such protocols and practices differ by community.

interpretation). These interviews began May 8 and continued until May 16, 2018. I conducted brief follow-up meetings at both parks on February 6 and 7, 2019. I also interviewed Scott Tucker (former superintendent at Lewis and Clark) at his office on June 26, 2018. All interviews occurred at park offices. I conducted a sharing circle with Chinook Elders, members of the culture committee, and tribal council members at tribal offices on September 4, 2018 and February 5, 2019. I met with Tony A. Johnson, Chinook chair, for deep-background interviews on multiple occasions in May and September 2018 and February 2019. In September 2018, I interviewed William Garvin and Jim Sayce, two key members of the team involved in the Qiq'áyaqilxam project at Lewis and Clark.

### Case-study selection

I canvassed the United States and Canada for case-studies suitable for inclusion in this project. My initial screening criteria for cases were:

1. Is the case characterized by positive, rich, strong relationships? I intentionally sought examples of good park/Indigenous relations because I wanted to identify best-practices and lessons-learned that could be applied elsewhere. I am mindful of Smith's (2009, 167) comment that "for many Indigenous communities, research itself is taken to mean 'problem'; the word research is believed to mean, quite literally, the continued construction of Indigenous peoples as the problem." It is my intent to avoid conflating Indigeneity with being a problem by focusing on positive interactions.
2. Do both the park and the affiliated Indigenous Tribe believe this case meets criterion number one?
3. Do the park and Indigenous Tribe have an ongoing relationship, rather than one or two instances of one-off work together?

4. Is this case generalizable? For example, I strongly considered including Torngat Mountains National Park of Canada in the study. However, unlike parks in southern Canada and the USA, Torngat Mountains has its genesis not in preservation-minded government fiat, but instead in a modern land claims settlement (the Labrador Inuit Land Claim of 2005). In addition to creating a co-management board, that settlement imposes certain requirements on the park (such as a procurement policy that emphasizes Inuit-owned businesses). Lessons from the Torngats are thus hard to apply in the USA or southern Canada, where park management regimes are radically different.

5. Are both the park and the Indigenous Tribe interested in participating in this research?

This screening process eliminated almost all protected areas in Canada and the United States. It was a challenge to identify a place that met all five criteria. I solicited the advice of an Indigenous leader and National Park Service employee, who suggested to me that I consider Fort Vancouver National Historic Site's work with the Chinook Indian Nation. During my first exploratory phone call with Tony A. Johnson (the Chinook Indian Nation's chairperson), he suggested I include Lewis and Clark National Historical Park in the study.

### Analytical Methods

Fort Vancouver NHS and Lewis and Clark NHP represent places where the NPS tends to work well with an Indigenous Tribe; my selection of these places is grounded in the general observation that despite disagreements, both the NPS and Chinook believe they have a relatively positive relationship. Underlying NPS attitudes and individual staff choices have, over a long period of time and held/done by multiple NPS agents, enabled this relationship. I used stories of NPS/Chinook interactions to test and demonstrate those conditions. My analysis consisted

primarily of carefully reviewing the interviews and sharing circles. I did this with an eye towards looking for stories that met at least one of the following criteria for inclusion in the results:

1. The story demonstrates a lesson-learned or best-practice
2. The story shows how an obstacle was overcome
3. The story represents a challenge remaining
4. The story contributes to building a narrative tracing Chinook/NPS relations over time.

I did not have pre-determined codes for the interview and sharing circle data. Instead, through an ongoing, iterative process of closely reading the transcripts, I sought to identify common themes that multiple participants discussed with me and then to highlight those in my analysis.

### Research Outcomes

Through sharing circles, semi-structured interviews, and an emphasis on highlighting Chinook voices and stories, I identified how the NPS and Chinook have built a positive working relationship with one another. This project's two central questions – “how has this happened?” and “how, if at all, are local staff unsettling the NPS/Indigenous power imbalance?” – allowed me to identify best-practices and lessons-learned that can contribute to a reconciliatory relationship. I have organized the stories participants shared with me by the principle those narratives demonstrate; these formed the core of the results chapters:

- NPS workforce practices, including weak oversight of superintendents and reliance on frequent staff transfers, affect the NPS/Indigenous relationship (Chapter 6).
- Personal relationships between staff and Indigenous peoples are key (Chapter 7).
- ‘Small things matter’ in the NPS/Indigenous relationship (Chapter 8).

Each of these chapters includes a coda identifying lessons-learned and best-practices. Listening to and learning from stories has allowed me to identify three that particularly explain the changes in the NPS/Chinook relationship. I include these narratives in the results section:

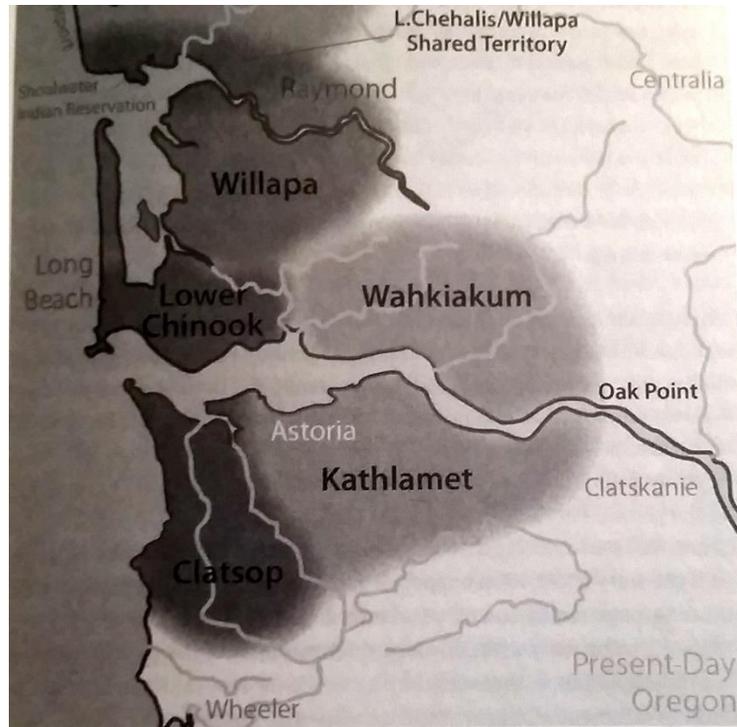
- The reconstruction of the laborers' Village at Fort Vancouver.
- The carving of Okulam at Lewis and Clark.
  - These two demonstrate the relevancy of NPS workforce issues.
- The Station Camp/Qiq'áyaqilxam park construction project emphasizes personal relationships and how "small things matter."

A primary function of parks, but particularly historic sites such as these two parks, is to interpret the heritage they preserve. Therefore, I have devoted space (Chapter 10) to considering heritage interpretation at these two parks. That chapter also ends with a coda of lessons-learned and best-practices.

## **Chapter 4: Chinook Indian Nation Background**

Ever since the giantess Quoots-hooi rolled Thunderbird's eggs down Saddle Mountain, the lower Columbia River has been Chinookan territory. The Chinook origin story has no date; there are no Chinook explorers' journals that say "this is when we claimed this land in the name of the king." The Chinook came into this land in the old time, when the land and Chinook were first created. The lower Columbia River has always been Chinook territory and it always will be. The Chinook do not tell a settlement story – rather, it is a creation story.

Before European contact, settlement, and genocide, the Chinookan peoples of the lower Columbia built for themselves a vibrant, wealthy society based on the riches of their territory. In Lower Chinookan lands, the Columbia River stretches four miles wide, the Willapa Bay protects ones of the continent's most-productive shellfish beds, and evergreen forests cloak the hills. Although Chinook histories tell of difficult winters, pre-contact Chinookan communities prospered in these lands and waters.



Map 2: Territory of the Chinook Indian Nation, present-day heir to the Willapa, Lower Chinook, Wahkiakum, Kathlamet, and Clatsop Nations. Chinook Indian Nation image.

Chinookan families lived together in large, multilingual cedar plankhouses along the Lower Columbia (Deur 2012). The plankhouses varied in size, but were generally home to several families. The Chinooks' cedar homes could be enormous, measuring up to six hundred feet long (Daehnke 2017; Deur 2012). Importantly, plankhouses were the heart of the community – places where Chinookan culture was (and is) actively practiced. “Plankhouses were the center of our traditional universe...the homes, hospitals, universities, place of worship and refuge for our ancestors from the cold, dark, and wet winters,” note the Chinook (Chinook Indian Nation 2015). In the Chinookan tradition, plankhouses “are living beings that require care and appreciation to live well, just as do any other living beings” (Daehnke 2017, 128); Chinook artisans honor plankhouses by richly-decorating their plankhouses with paintings and carvings.



Image 1: Cathlapotle, a contemporary Chinook plankhouse. Author photo.

From their plankhouse-based cities, the Chinook built a wealthy, trading-based culture from the Pacific Ocean to the Columbia River Gorge, a distance of about 130 river miles. While each community may have had a nominal leader – some of whom were subservient to other, higher-ranking leaders<sup>20</sup>, this was a society primarily marked by trade and extended family ties. Chinook communities did not unite into a single, over-arching political entity until settler-colonial forces dictated they do so, due to both the demand for a limited number of leaders to negotiate treaties with and the devastating effects of European diseases.

Pre-contact Chinookan communities were socially stratified; there were nobles, slaves, and everyone in between (Hajda 2013). Chinooks lived in permanent communities as well as winter and summer seasonal villages. While the Chinook were neither pastoralists nor agricultural, referring to them as “hunter-gatherers” seems to me both pejorative and misleadingly simplistic. Chinooks had large, permanent settlements. Chinooks did not suffer

---

<sup>20</sup> Tony described pre-contact Chinookan villages to me as a collection of satellite villages – there were some leaders who held sway over less-powerful, or smaller, communities.

through a nasty, brutish, and short existence. Instead, they cultivated wild gardens of edible plants, hunted elk, fished for salmon, and leveraged their strategic position along the Columbia River to build a rewarding trade network. Chinookan peoples had trade routes extending *at least* 500 kilometers away; archeologists have found obsidian from Nevada and jade from British Columbia at lower Chinook village sites (Hajda and Sobel 2013). Other scholars describe Chinook trading as reaching deep into the Great Plains (Daehnke 2017). This commerce went on for hundreds of years. Indeed, the Chinooks developed such an adeptness at trading that when Euro-Americans appeared (coming the wrong way along the river – downstream rather than up) in the early 1800s, the settler-colonists mistook Chinook trading acumen for belligerent obstinateness (Lang 2013). The interlopers resented dealing with Indigenous peoples who drove hard bargains.

Chinook artisans painted plankhouses, weaved cedar baskets and hats, and carved wooden and stone figures (Johnson and McIsaac 2013). Complex oral histories and storytelling enthralled Chinookan audiences with their cinematic scope (Hymes and Seaburg 2013). Chinook craftsmen could fashion a single cedar log into an ocean-going canoe sturdy enough to transport whole plankhouses through the Pacific Ocean or the swirling tides of the Willapa Bay.

Neel refers (1995, 1) to canoes as “the single most important aspect of Northwest coast culture.” Chinookan canoes vary in size, but typically have a “flat bottom, vertical stern, and beautifully flared sides” (Daehnke 2017, 146). Pre-contact, there were thousands of canoes at any one time in Chinook territory (Johnson 2013). While there are far fewer Chinook canoes today, they remain central to Chinook culture. The Chinooks’ relationship with canoes is much more profound than that of a woodcarver to their wares. “Sacred vessels” (Sarvis 2003, 75) that “carry the knowledge of generations”(Daehnke 2017, 145), Chinookan canoes have been built

for generations by master craftsmen who are guided by both spirit powers and the teachings of their Elders from which canoes are made. As Tony A. Johnson told Daehnke (2017, 207), “A cedar tree smiles on the idea of becoming a canoe.” Canoes are living family members for Chinooks. To carve and care for one requires not only technical skills but knowledge of songs, protocols, and ceremonies (Daehnke 2017). To fully understand the story of Okulam, which I will present in Chapter 6, the reader must be cognizant of the profound spirituality present in canoes for Chinook people. Image 2 shows Chinooks landing at Shipley Beach near present-day Bay Center, Washington (the home of Chinook Tribal offices).

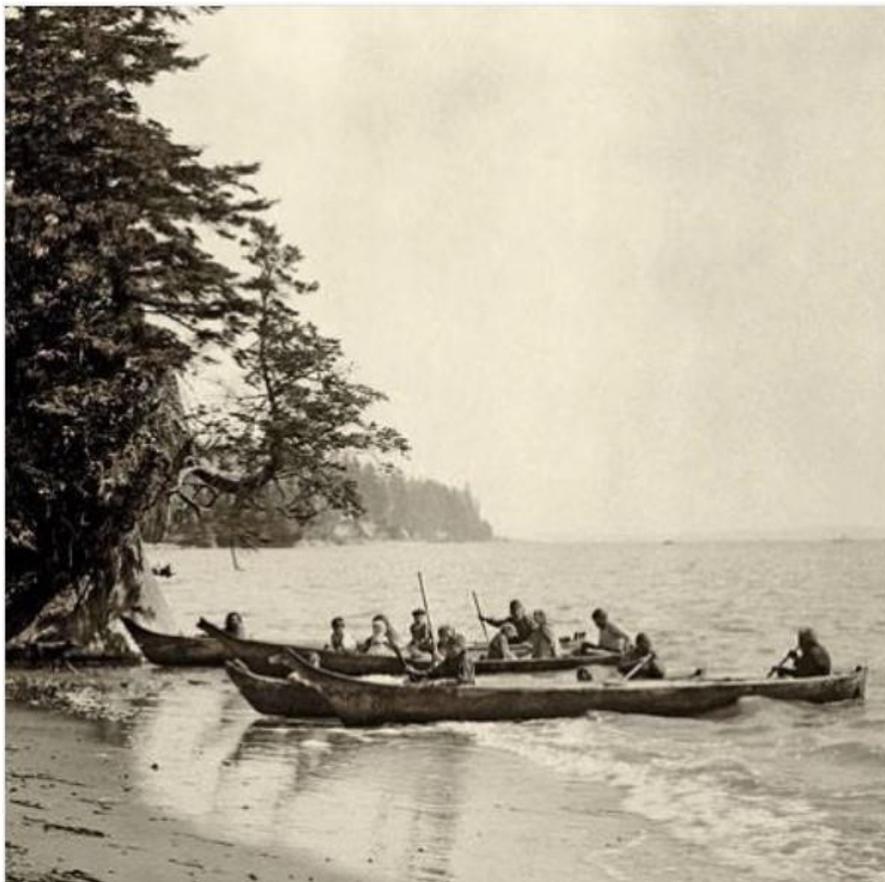


Image 2: Historic Chinook Canoe Image (Curtis 1913)

Throughout my time with the Chinook, they have emphasized to me that their culture and history stretches back to the beginning of time. Distilling tens of thousands of years pre-contact down into a few, orientating paragraphs feels inappropriately reductive. I also find myself wondering if, as someone who is not an ethnographer, I am merely spilling ink to repeat what Chinook Elders and scholars have written elsewhere (e.g., Boyd, Ames, and Johnson 2013) merely to “prove” to the reader or the NPS that the Chinook were “developed enough” pre-contact to “deserve” being treated a certain way in the present. Let me, therefore, say this: the Chinook were thriving sovereigns over a vast territory with material and cultural wealth long before European contact. But their sophisticated, wealthy culture and political economy explain more about what settlers took (directly or indirectly) from the Chinook than it does the reasons why NPS/Chinook relationships are important. The NPS must attend to Indigenous relations not because of the traits of any one community – although such traits would inform the relationships – but rather as a matter of course for an agency charged with preserving and interpreting North America’s natural and cultural heritage and most especially when it operates in unceded Indigenous territory.

Chinookan peoples have been interacting with settlers since the mid-eighteenth century, when Chinookan histories indicate a Japanese shipwreck washed up onshore (Lang 2013). European contact came a few decades later, when American captain Robert Gray sailed 10 miles up the Columbia River in May 1792 for trading. Aside from Lewis and Clark’s winter stay, early Chinook/Euro-American interactions were generally limited to fur trading with the occasional ship that wandered up the Columbia River. This “episodic and single-minded” (Lang 2013, 251) relationship firmly morphed into a permanent interaction when, in 1811, John Jacob Astor’s

Pacific Fur Company built Fort Astoria on a high point overlooking the Columbia River, about five miles away from Lewis and Clark's abandoned winter quarters at Fort Clatsop.

As they arrived on the Pacific Coast in November 1805, Lewis and Clark were bedraggled, near starvation, and cantankerous (Lewis and Clark 2009). The further away from St. Louis they travelled, the less generous their spirits were when interacting with Indigenous peoples (Lang 1996). The Lower Chinookan peoples with whom they dealt over the winter the expedition spent at Fort Clatsop borne the brunt of this cantankerousness. Lewis and Clark quickly grew frustrated with Lower Chinooks for what the explorers believed was greed in dealing with the Americans. But the Corps of Discovery ignored the fact that "...they [Chinooks] were a very practical trading people who had more than a decade of experience with European-Americans and hundreds of years of making exchanges with other keen parties on the river and the coast" (Lang 2013, 257). A winter's worth of simmering tension over the Clatsop's seeming intransigence at the trading table boiled over when the expedition stole a canoe from the Clatsop on March 18, 1805. Despite the Chinook Indian Nation's belief that this is not the Clark family's debt, the Clarks provided restitution and apologized for the theft until June 2012, when they gifted a new canoe (named *Klmin*) to the Chinook Indian Nation (Wekell 2015).

"Eager to interact with new people...[but] on their own terms" (Lang 2013, 262), the Lower Chinookan peoples found themselves in a quickly-changing world during from 1810-1840. Over a span of thirty years, they enjoyed tremendous prosperity due to the fur trade but then tragically endured smallpox and malaria epidemics. In 1811, Fort Astoria was established by American fur traders. The fort would change hands several times between American and British fur companies before becoming firmly American after the 1846 Oregon Treaty. During its life Fort Astoria (or Fort George, during times of British control), served at various times as

everything from a minor military outpost to a regional company headquarters. The Chinook and fur companies engaged in a prosperous commercial relationship at Fort Astoria and later Fort Vancouver. Local Chinook leader Concomly saw two of his daughters marry fur trade barons (one at each fort), reinforcing the developing kinship ties between settlers and Indigenous peoples in the region. Despite the Hudson's Bay Company consolidation at Fort Vancouver and the relative decline of Fort Astoria, the Lower Chinookan peoples enjoyed the benefits of living at the nexus of ocean and land-based trade routes.

But this was not to last. In July 1830, Captain John Dominis anchored the *Owyhee* at Sauvie Island in the Columbia River (Deur 2012). The Americans carried malaria; it spread like wildfire through the previously-unexposed Indigenous communities along the river. By October 11 of that same year, John McLoughin (chief factor at Fort Vancouver) estimated that at least 75% of all Lower Chinookan peoples had perished due to the fever (Boyd 2013). Tragically, the virus reappeared each summer and fall, killing people who had avoided infection the year before. By the mid-1830s, "abandoned villages were everywhere...Indian cemeteries were filled to overflowing" (Boyd 2013, 244–45) and Indigenous peoples were flocking to Fort Vancouver, hoping that at least the newcomers would properly bury them. "Local polities and family were gone, much accumulated cultural tradition – both in practice and in memory – was lost; [and] the few survivors suffered a palpable depression and fatalism," observes Boyd (2013, 246).

By John McLoughin's estimates, the Lower Chinooks had lost 97% of their population in the 1830s (Boyd 2013). The epidemic lasted barely one decade and its consequences were far-reaching. "Nothing in Chinookan life escaped...not in [the] local economy, not in social relations, not in spiritual life. Their world had been shattered in...a cultural earthquake," writes (Lang 2013, 268). Simultaneously, waves of smallpox crashed against Chinookan plankhouses.

While the malaria had wrung itself out by the late 1830s, the final smallpox epidemic was not until 1853 – and even then, it claimed the lives of upwards of 50% of surviving Lower Chinooks (Boyd 2013).

The Lower Chinooks confronted a vastly different world in 1850, when the U.S. Congress passed the Oregon Donation Land Act (ODLA), than they had in the 1750s when newcomers began to wash up on their shores. The ODLA opened the floodgates for government-sanctioned theft of Chinookan territory by American homesteaders. Tony (Johnson 2013, 7) describes this as a time when:

We became more like observers of our own history, as we lost control over much than was important to us. We were removed from our village sites, the graves of our people, and our fishing and hunting sites, many of which had been occupied by our people from the beginning of human existence in the Pacific Northwest...there was an infrastructure that enabled newcomers to bypass us. We simply came to be in the way.

In a belated attempt to resolve Aboriginal title in Oregon Territory, Congress dispatched Anson Dart in 1851 as Oregon Superintendent of Indian [*sic*] Affairs. He convened a treaty council with Chinookan people at Tansey Point (just downstream of Astoria) August 5-9 of that year. Tony has told me this is the only time when every individual from all five Tribes in the Chinook Nation were gathered together in one place. The communities negotiated a reserved land base, the right to hunt, fish, and gather on their traditional territory, ten years' of annuity payments, and access to the Indian Office's services. Dart submitted the treaty to Congress, where it languished. Oregon's delegates convinced their allies in the Senate not to ratify the Tansey Point treaty. "It was our understanding that there were legal documents, and the Chinook peoples acted accordingly...the U.S. Senate refused them, apparently because they were too generous to us," Tony notes (Johnson 2013, 8). Congress did not ratify the Dart Treaty because it did not require

the Chinook to relocate east of the Cascade Mountains, which the Chinookan peoples refused to do.

Settler bureaucrats returned to Chinook territory in 1855, after the 1853 creation of Washington Territory. This time, Issac Stevens met with southwestern Washington Indigenous peoples only to again be greeted with a flat rejection of relocating for the interloping Americans. Stevens found more success in negotiating the Treaty of Olympia with the Quinault and Quileute<sup>21</sup>, creating the Quinault reservation on the Olympic Peninsula (about 70 miles straight-line distance north of Chinook territory). President Grant in 1873 expanded the size and purpose of the Quinault Reservation “to include sufficient land to accommodate the Chinook and other non-Quinault ‘fish-eating’ Indians” (Chinook Indian Nation v. Zinke et al., 2017, 12); this adhered the Lower Chinooks in the Treaty of Olympia in practice if not fully-legally. But – just as they had always done – the Lower Chinooks resisted leaving their traditional territory. “This fact [moving to Quinault lands], combined with our unwillingness to leave the villages and graves of our ancestors, made our ancestors...unwilling to sign the treaty,” Tony writes (Johnson 2013, 8–9).

I want to pause here for a moment with the historical narrative and reflect on Tony’s comment about his ancestors’ disinclination to move away from their ancestors. Throughout my research trips to Chinook territory, Tony has kindly driven me around the region and shown me places significant on the Chinookan landscape. Several of these places have been cemeteries; Tony has told me about the protocols associated with visiting cemeteries. Jane Pulliam, a Chinook culture committee member, has told me stories over dinner about cemeteries and their role in Chinook culture. My conversations with Jane and Tony about cemeteries and the

---

<sup>21</sup> Neither the Quinault nor the Quileute were asked by Congress to leave their Aboriginal territory.

ancestors are among the most memorable I have had during this project. The culture committee made clear to me that a key consideration in the general council meeting about Qiq'áyaqilxam (see Chapter 9) was a desire to ensure Chinook ancestors would not be disturbed. At the February 2019 culture committee meeting, Tony and Gary told me that they have been chased off their family's cemetery at gunpoint. "It is an important point [that] this happens in contemporary times," Tony told me. All of this reiterates for me the ongoing, critical importance of access to cemeteries and protection of Chinookan ancestors; this has been denied to Chinooks and motivated their decision-making for centuries.

Lower Chinookan peoples launched multiple legal actions starting in the late nineteenth century to clarify their standing with the government in Washington, D.C. These efforts, Tony has told me, achieved varying levels of success but never clearly resolved the Chinooks' status. The Chinook were not party to a ratified treaty with Washington, D.C. Yet, Chinookan peoples received services from the Office of Indian Affairs and were recognized by Acts of Congress in 1912 and in 1925. In 1931, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Halbert vs. United States* that Chinook members who had not been given allotments previously had the rights to themon the Quinault reservation due to Grant's 1873 action (*Chinook Indian Nation v. Zinke et al.*, 2017). Until the allotment proceedings ended with the *Indian Reorganization Act of 1935*, several hundred Chinooks gained land on the Quinault reservation. The Chinooks came to control close to half of Quinault land through the allotment process (Fisher and Jetté 2013).

But even after this, the Lower Chinookan people were still without a treaty and still desired to remain on their traditional territory along the lower Columbia River. They retreated farther away from settler communities, to "remote locations that newcomers did not immediately consider to be valuable...[so that] the Chinooks could remain secluded" (Johnson 2013, 7). The

contemporary Chinook community first came together as a constitutionally-organized government in the 1920s. Then, again in the early 1950s, the Chinooks ratified a new constitution , which identifies members of the Chinook Indian Nation as the descendants of the five westernmost Chinook nations: the Cathlamet, Clatsop, Lower Chinook, Wahkiakum, and Willapa peoples. Under the 1951 constitution, membership in the nation is based on tracing one's lineage to one of three documents: the McChesney Census of 1906, the Annuity Payment Roll of 1914, or the Roblin Census of 1919. In 1958, the Chinook filed docket number 234 with the Indian Claims Commission (ICC). Nearly twenty years later, the ICC awarded the Chinook \$48,692 as compensation for their losses, but insisted that (contrary to Chinook wishes) it be paid out individually rather than to the tribe (as a collective lump-sum). The Chinook refused to accept the settlement as proposed.

The year 1978 brought news to Chinook territory. First, the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the Anson Dart treaty, negotiated at Tansey Point, was functionally dead. Second, the government in Washington, D.C. announced the creation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Branch of Acknowledgement and Research (BIA-BAR), which would oversee a new, criteria-based federal acknowledgement process (FAP). Within a year, the Chinook submitted a letter of intent to petition under the new FAP. Roughly a decade later, in 1987, the Chinook finalized their FAP petition . It would take yet another decade for the BIA-BAR to deny the Chinooks recognition of their inherent sovereignty. The Chinook appealed. Four years later, in January 2001, the Chinook Indian Nation at last received federal recognition as an Indigenous nation.

But that recognition was only preliminary and subject to a 90-day comment period. On the 89<sup>th</sup> day, the Quinault filed an objection (likely due to concerns that the Chinook would be

able, by virtue of Grant's 1873 decision, exercise political control on the Quinault reservation). The George W. Bush administration invited Gary Johnson (then chair of the Chinook Indian Nation) to the White House for a Lewis and Clark commemorative luncheon. On July 5, 2002, two days after the luncheon Gary – while still in Washington, D.C. – received a phone call from a previously unknown staffer at the BIA. Neal McCaleb, President Bush's Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs, had revoked the Chinooks' recognition.

That the American government refuses to acknowledge the Chinook Indian Nation causes both consternation and a quiet fury in the community. Gary's experience was deeply insulting by any measure. President Bush invited another head of state to the White House but either lacked the courage to tell Gary directly or was more interested in the symbolism of a luncheon with Lewis and Clark-affiliated Indigenous nations than in dealing with them as heads of state with whom he should discuss their diplomatic relations. It would be unimaginable, for example, for the President to dine with a non-Indigenous nation's head of state and, two days later, have a middling bureaucrat call that leader to tell them the Chinook Indian Nation no longer existed in the eyes of the American government. But this is apparently an acceptable way to treat Indigenous nations. Tony reflected on the American's governments flip-flopping stance on Chinook sovereignty at the September 2019 culture committee meeting:

Tony A. Johnson: Somebody actually wrote me today on another issue. It was Liz Woody from Warm Springs, and I should give you her quote, because it was pretty good. She says she was talking about treaties as “an agreement we hold with an infant and unreliable US government and that does not define us in any way.” I just appreciated that line...and again, if it's not expressly denied, in a treaty, it exists, period....

I would argue resolute tenacity and strength define the Chinook. They have survived inconceivable devastation due to disease, attempted genocide, and denial of their inherent sovereignty as Chinooks. Since the nineteenth century (Boas 1894), settlers have been expecting

the Chinooks' imminent assimilation – and since the nineteenth century, the Chinook have defied settler desires.

Tony, Gary, and the rest of the culture committee have emphasized for me that they are recognized. Congress acknowledged the Chinook contemporaneously in 1912 and 1925, the U.S. Supreme Court did so in the *Halbert* case (1931), and the Bureau of Indian Affairs did so in 2001 before reversing course. The Chinook are not unrecognized; their status is unclear. Their inherent sovereignty is one the U.S. government finds convenient to ignore. But, as Tony told me, the Chinook have been treated as Indigenous peoples by the government throughout the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries:

Tony A. Johnson: Because we have so many examples of where we are recognized...a lot of what we've actually experienced in our lives is more recognition than federally recognized tribes around us. I worked for Grand Ronde tribe in Oregon. And the majority of those folks have never and will never own Indian trust land. But the majority of our membership has or will. Most of those folks there have never fished or hunted as an Indian, at least in the same way, in a historical context, but almost all of our folks, I think, had that right to hunt and fish as Indians...even our experiences with Indian boarding schools – they were literally coming into our communities and taking our children to go to Indian boarding schools, or giving us these allotment, whatever it is, these are things that...you have to be a federally recognized Indian to have participated in any of that, the good and the bad.

This dissertation considers how the National Park Service interacts with the Chinook Indian Nation at Lewis and Clark National Historical Park and Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. I argue the NPS/Chinook relationship constitutes de facto recognition, at least by the NPS. As this research describes, NPS staff at these two parks treat the Chinook with the same level of engagement as they do the recognized tribes with whom the agency is legally-bound to interact. Scott Tucker, a former Lewis and Clark superintendent, described the agency's work as having "no legal tie within that [work with the Chinook]. That's more of a gentleman's agreement and handshake that, 'Hey, we're still going to work with you.'" As I argue in Chapter 8, it seems hard

to believe that the NPS staff at these two parks do not know that treating the Chinook as they would a federally-recognized tribe can be construed as the agency extending de facto recognition. I assert the NPS staff are very likely aware of this but work with the Chinook anyway on principle. This is a challenge to their own settler-colonial government (and employer). Tony (2013, 6) observes that “we are simultaneously looked to for the knowledge of our ancestors and told that we are not a tribe by the very federal government...” that asks for this knowledge. Scott describes NPS motivations for working with the Chinook in terms of a duty to the park: “You're trying to do right for the story that you're telling. Take federal recognition out of it. The story of Lewis and Clark is intricately tied to the Chinook and the tribes of the mouth of the Columbia and...just chuck the federal recognition aside and say, ‘how we can tell the story the right way?’”. This sentiment – a focus on the Chinook as an integral part of the ‘story’ of these parks – is similar to what other NPS staff told me, as I discuss throughout the dissertation.

Overall, however, the Chinook Indian Nation’s status in the eyes of the American government remains unclear to this day, much to everyone’s frustration. “I’ll just say one thing which is they don’t – it’s not when they give it to us, it’s when they acknowledge it,” Tony told me. “Meaning that we have that [status inherently]...it’s ours. It’s been ours and always has been and still is...” Local Congressman Brian Baird introduced bills in 2008 and 2009 to address the problem, but the bills died in Congress and Rep. Baird declined to run for re-election in 2010. “Many consider formal recognition to be the only way to guarantee our existence as a cohesive community into the future,” Tony writes (2013, 19), “It is essential for economic development, the establishment of a land base, the preservation of our culture, the reinstatement of fishing and hunting rights, the ability to repatriate our ancestors’ bones and sacred items from museum

collections, and the ability to better care for our community's health and well-being." To clarify its status, the Chinook Indian Nation has returned to the federal courts; it filed suit regarding the matter on August 24, 2017. Judge Ronald Leighton heard the case on May 9, 2018 and on June 21, 2018 ruled that, while the Chinook could not be fully-recognized by way of a judicial action, they were eligible to re-petition the BIA to clarify their status, given the significant changes the BIA has made to the process since 2001. These proceedings are ongoing as of February 2019.

Let me be clear, however, in saying that settler-colonialism has affected the Chinook in ways beyond disease and the Chinooks' unclear status. The Chinook culture committee emphasized to me repeatedly that their story should not be boiled down to epidemics and a neglected treaty; they told me two stories that particularly highlight the challenges the Chinook have endured – and overcome:

Tony A. Johnson: ...People look at our communities and see all this perpetuated abuse and whatever and [what] they don't get is that is not our thing. We never had that in our world. That's a product of people being abused in schools and then coming home and self-medicating to get rid of the memory and then perpetuating it in the communities....

Jane Pulliam: Mechele [Johnson] tells kind of, a sort of, amusing story about her grandma that ran away from the boarding school. And it's kind of funny, but it's also sickening that someone – so Mechele Johnson's grandma ran away from, with a good friend, from the boarding school and they were gone, what, 24 hours, and went back, got caught. The first thing the headmistress asked was, "Did you have sex?" and they were 11-12 year old girls. They looked at each other and then they said, "Well, we only had what was in our lunch." I mean it's really a funny story but at the same time the people running the boarding schools thought you know, these little savage children....

Tony A. Johnson: That same grandma, my wife's grandma, they literally took her and all of her schoolmates, put them on a school bus, drove them to the University of Washington. As they got off the bus, they just went you there, you there, you there, you there, separated them 1-2-1-2-1-2-1-2. All the number ones had to have their tonsils removed. All the number twos had tubes put in their ears. They were literally like animals. They were –

Joan Wekell: – test tube animals.

Tony A. Johnson: They were just experiments...but literally [they were] the University of Washington medical school's test subjects without any consent whatsoever. Nobody signed for nothing<sup>22</sup>.

The Chinook Indian Nation of today has endured unimaginable losses, yet they tenaciously remain in their traditional territory, working to revitalize their language and teach their youth Chinook culture and traditional practices. Each June, for example, the Chinook gather at the mouth of the Columbia for the First Salmon Ceremony, a religious practice that both maintains Chinook culture and improves local salmon runs, in keeping with Chinook spiritual teachings. Chinook Wawa – an Indigenous pidgin language that further developed during the fur trade era out of the commerce among Chinookan, Hawai’ian, French, British, and Russian peoples – is still spoken in the community by people who have fluently learned it from first-language speakers, although none of those original speakers remain. Basketry, hat-making, and other traditional crafts continue as well. Chinook culture may be smaller in its scope than before contact, and surely much has been lost, but it is not altogether stamped out. The residential schools that Chinook ancestors suffered through – to the point that many “never spoke of their time” there (Johnson 2013, 16) – failed in their genocidal mission.

In the mid-2000s, the Chinook partnered with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to build the Cathlapotle Plankhouse at Ridgefield National Wildlife Refuge (Daehnke 2017); the community once again has a plankhouse in which to practice their culture and honor their ancestors. While one plankhouse is, in the grand scheme of what the United States has stolen from the Chinook, a down payment at best, it is also something to celebrate. Cathlapotle is home to the Chinooks’ annual winter storytelling festival, a private event for the Chinook to share and

---

<sup>22</sup> Similar experiments occurred in Canada (Mosby 2013).

maintain their oral histories, songs, and dances with one another. It is place where Chinook “identity can be lived and enacted” (Daehnke 2017, 120).

The Chinook continue to be master canoe carvers and boatmen. The Chinook are proud to have “built, named, and launched six Chinook-style canoes from 11 to 36 feet long” since 2000 (Johnson 2013, 14). Each June, the Chinook paddle canoes for the First Salmon Ceremony, sometimes from Cathlapotle. The Chinook and Shoalwater Bay nations paddle across the mouth of the Willapa River, in the Bay Center-Georgetown Canoe Paddle, later in the summer as well.

The annual highlight of any Chinook people’s calendar is the Pacific Northwest Intertribal Canoe Journey, generally held in July or August of each year. Indigenous nations from the Tlingit and Haida in the north to the Tongva-Acjachemen in the south travel by canoe to a large potlatch held in a rotating location around the Pacific Northwest. Participants in Tribal Journeys follow strict protocols for their individual conduct, including abstaining from drugs and alcohol. Collectively, those in a canoe are a canoe family, and when they land in another Indigenous community’s territory, there are additional protocols and ceremonies for the canoe family to take part in. At the potlatch, each canoe family sings, dances, and offers speeches on the potlatch floor as a “gift to the host community...[that] reflects a larger tribal worldview...[these activities reassert] an aspect of reciprocity that provided the rules for relationships between Northwest Indigenous communities for centuries...” (Daehnke 2017, 170).

These traditions embody much more than the Chinook simply maintaining their canoeing skills. They are a powerful physical assertion that Chinooks continue to exist and practice their culture despite settlers’ best efforts. Tony credits Tribal Journeys with helping his community recover from the settler-induced drug and alcohol abuse while Sam Robinson<sup>23</sup> ascribes feeling a

---

<sup>23</sup> Chinook Indian Nation vice-chair as of February 2019 and most recent past-chair.

renewed, deeper connection to his ancestors to the Tribal Journeys (Daehnke 2017). Daehnke writes of Tribal Journeys as a powerful, community-driven act of decolonization that “recognizes and celebrates pathways and connections that predate colonial invasion. It performs Indigeneity through language and protocols and action...and all of this is done by communities that are living in the present...it is the heritage of sovereign tribal nations that were here before the colonists arrived and whose people know that they will here after the colonists are gone. This is something controlled by the tribes and is for the tribes” (Daehnke 2017, 174).



Image 3: Chinook Canoe Family on Canoe Journey 2018, © amiranwhite.

Tony has compared the Chinook to camas, an edible tuber native to their territory. “Not so long ago, it flourished. Now it is relegated to a ditch, to some out of the way place. Away from the light its predecessors once enjoyed. Away from its former prominence. Eking out an existence in some undesirable location” (Daehnke 2017, xi). I am not so arrogant as to think that

this research will fully-address the effects of settler-colonialism in Chinook territory or lives. But I do hope that similar to Daehnke (2017), Boyd, Ames, and Johnson (2013), and the 2018 documentary film *Promised Land* (about the Chinook and Duwamish fights for clarity of status), any increased attention this work may bring to the Chinook will help them as they seek to clarify their status, renew their culture, and regain more of what has been taken from them.



*Why is this? What have we done to deserve this fate? We have been the friends of the newcomers since the beginning. We have shown them how and where to access resources and live in this beautiful territory. We have stepped aside as more came. We have married them, loved them, and fought for them in every war and conflict since the nineteenth century. We still work alongside them, celebrate their successes, and mourn their losses.*

*Have we not lived up to their expectations? Have we abandoned too many of our villages? Do not enough of us speak our own languages? Do we not look exactly as they expect? Well, who we are today is wholly a product of their policies and desires. It is not of our making. We say unequivocally that they haven't lived up to our expectations.*

*-Tony A. Johnson, Chinook Indian Nation Chair, 2017  
(Daehnke 2017, xii)*



Image 4: Chinook traditions remain alive. Winter Gathering 2018, Cathlapotle. © amiranwhite.

## **Chapter 5: Fort Vancouver National Historic Site and Lewis and Clark National Historical Park Background**

This dissertation focuses on Chinook Indian Nation/U.S. National Park Service (NPS) relationships at two national parks along the Columbia River: Lewis and Clark National Historical Park<sup>24</sup> and Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. The Chinook and NPS maintain good relationships centered on these two parks (see Chapter 3). This chapter briefly outlines the history of both parks.

Fort Vancouver National Historic Site commemorates a range of interactions between and among Europeans, Americans, and Indigenous peoples beginning with Fort Vancouver's establishment as a Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) fur trading post in 1825. Under the leadership of Chief Factor John McLoughlin, the HBC's regional<sup>25</sup> headquarters at Fort Vancouver and its Indigenous partners generally prospered until American settlers – with opposite ways of relating to Indigenous peoples – claimed the region in the 1850s. In 1860, with the HBC's final departure for Fort Victoria, British Columbia, the United States government clenched control over the site and completed the site's evolution from a place of commerce into a prison for Indigenous peoples.

While Fort Vancouver has other stories to tell – the prison era ended with the opening of Alcatraz in 1889 – including as a major World War One lumber mill, World War Two shipyard, a Civilian Conservation Corps camp in the New Deal era, its role as the oldest continuously-operating airstrip in the Pacific Northwest (Jones & Jones Architects and Landscape Architects Ltd 2005), and intergovernmental tension about use and management of the site (Merritt 1993) – I will focus here on the park's historic interactions with Indigenous peoples, as these are key

---

<sup>24</sup> Originally known as Fort Clatsop National Memorial.

<sup>25</sup> The 'region' was everything west of the Rocky Mountains.

drivers of contemporary NPS/Indigenous interactions. As I will demonstrate, Indigenous ties to Fort Vancouver are many and complex. While this could likely be said about anywhere in North America, “many and complex” is a particularly apt phrase to use, because of the sheer quantity of Indigenous nations who have been present at the site throughout and the varying tenor of Indigenous relations to this place. It is not just that this place is the traditional territory of Indigenous peoples; it was the “foremost center of linguistic and ethnic diversity” in the Pacific Northwest during the HBC era (Deur 2012, 47), home to people from dozens of Indigenous nations speaking a multitude of Indigenous languages – until Americans seized the site as a hub for ethnic cleansing in the region.

Situated on a riparian prairie along the north bank of the Columbia River just upstream from the mouth of the Willamette, HBC’s wooden stockade dominates Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. The site’s flat land was conducive to agriculture (to allow the site to become self-sustaining), nearby bluffs provided defensive positions, and the deep waters of the Columbia allowed for easy marine access (Deur 2012). Critically, the site provided access to inland furs (as opposed to Fort Astoria, which was isolated on the coast) and multiple Indigenous nations for trading (again, contrary to Astoria’s location firmly in Chinook and Clatsop lands).

Through the late 1820s and early 1830s, the HBC’s presence created wealth among nearby Chinook and Cowlitz peoples, who served as interlocuters for European/Indigenous trading. Fort Vancouver grew into “the largest [European settlement] from San Francisco Bay to Sitka” (Deur 2012, 50). Chief Factor McLoughlin “carefully engineered relations [with Indigenous peoples]...[because] there was no advantage to inciting interethnic violence” (Deur 2012, 132). Similar to the peace and friendship era of the eighteenth century along the Saint Lawrence River, kinship ties and intermarriages developed between the newcomers and

Indigenous peoples in the early years of the HBC's Columbia Department. For example, three of Coboway's<sup>26</sup> daughters married fur traders (Boxberger 2018) while one of Concomly's<sup>27</sup> daughters married the leader of Fort Astoria (Daehnke 2017). European laborers married Indigenous women at Fort Vancouver (Deur 2012). An emerging mixed-race (Indigenous and European) community began to take shape in the Village, located just outside the stockade. Home to 30-50 households speaking dozens of languages, it would survive the waves of epidemics that crashed against Chinookan peoples as the 1830s wore on (Deur 2012).

Tragically, many (upwards of 90%) of Lower Chinooks perished from smallpox and malaria (see Chapter 4). To counter this loss in both labor and trading partners, McLoughlin turned simultaneously inward (for trading) and outward, to the Hawai'ian Islands (for labor). Native Hawai'ians began to form a significant (up to a third) of the HBC's labor pool and residents in the Village (Deur 2012). Indeed, a Native Hawai'ian family – Kanaka William and his wife – would be the last residents of the Village when the U.S. Army forcibly evicted them in 1860. From roughly 1830-1860, at which point the HBC abandoned Fort Vancouver, Native Hawai'ians would make their homes here along the Columbia River in service to the company.

After the epidemics, McLoughlin continued to find commercial success, but increasing numbers of American settler-colonists threatened HBC (and British) interests at Fort Vancouver. In 1845, Company leadership sent British spies to monitor McLoughlin's treatment of the exhausted American colonists turning up at his doorstep after travelling overland on the Oregon Trail (Deur 2012); they concluded he was being too hospitable to the interlopers by offering the Americans food and shelter. Meanwhile, the HBC continued to provide “powerful economic, social, and cultural incentives for American Indian peoples to congregate” (Deur 2012, 125) at

---

<sup>26</sup> A Lower Chinookan leader.

<sup>27</sup> Another Lower Chinookan leader.

Fort Vancouver through the economic opportunities it offered. As Sir George Simpson observed in 1842 (Simpson 1847, 107–8):

Our *batteau* carried as curious a master of races and languages as perhaps had ever been congregated within the same compass in any part of the world. Our crew of ten men contained Iroquios, who spoke their own tongue; a Cree half-breed, of French origin, who appeared to have borrowed his dialect from both his parents; a North Briton, who understood only the Gaelic of his native hills; Canadians, who, of course, knew French; and Sandwich Islanders, who jabbered a medley of Chinook, English, and their own vernacular jargon. Add to all this that the passengers were natives of England, Scotland, Russia, Canada, and the Hudson's Bay Company territories; and you have the prettiest congregation of nations, the nicest confusion of tongues that has ever taken place since the days of the Tower of Babel.



Image 5: Reconstructed Village cabin with stockade in background. Finegan photo.

But Fort Vancouver's halcyon days were ending. Profits declined at the post in the 1840s, and the Oregon Treaty of 1849 – a treaty regarding unceded territory from which Indigenous nations were conspicuously absent – assured American control over the region. Under the treaty,

the HBC could remain at Fort Vancouver, but only until 1859. The U.S. Army, meanwhile, established the Vancouver Barracks adjacent to the fort on June 13, 1849.

Aggressive, xenophobic American social mores were radically different from commerce-oriented British ones. American settler-colonists were deeply suspicious of Indigenous peoples, the HBC, and other whites who married Indigenous spouses. The U.S. Army harassed Indigenous communities and enforced the nascent reservation system, while racist American settler-colonists made it impossible, through discrimination and overt acts of violence, for Indigenous peoples and mixed households to live in the new settlements in the region (Deur 2012). Thus, with the Americans ascendant in the region, a largely peaceful, cosmopolitan place of commerce descended into racial conflict. The multiethnic community in the Village began to decline and the HBC was slowly drawing down its trading presence. The Northwest's peace and friendship era was dying.

The United States used the Vancouver Barracks as the military headquarters for its Pacific Northwest Indian Wars from 1850-1890. Being adjacent to a large military base has commercial benefits, as did trading with Indigenous combatants. Under McLoughlin's leadership, Fort Vancouver supplied both Americans and the Cayuse (Deur 2012). But in doing so, he generally strengthened the Americans. McLoughlin's perceived indulgence of the United States angered company bosses while the American military campaigns disrupted the fur trade along the Columbia. These events ultimately led to his forced retirement in 1849 and the total closure of HBC operations in 1860, at which point the U.S. Army razed the fort and the Village (Deur 2012).

The Vancouver Barracks played a key role during the Pacific Northwest Indian Wars, from roughly 1840-1870. During this time, the United States' campaign of ethnic cleansing

reached from the Coast Ranges to the (present-day) Montana interior. During the conflicts, the U.S. Army used Vancouver Barracks as a jail to hold Indigenous peoples from across the region. What was a thriving community for European/Indigenous commerce and kinship became again filled with Indigenous peoples, but this time as prisoners of war or even simply as people “found outside of approved reservation areas” (Deur 2012, 165). The Barracks “...served as a holding place for such a large and diverse tribal population that it has been termed a Fort Vancouver ‘reservation’.” (Deur 2012, 165). The Pinnacle of the Vancouver Barracks’ prison years came in 1879, during the Sheepeater [*sic*] War. The American army forcibly marched the entire the Tukudeka community for two months overland from the Sawtooth Mountains of Idaho to Vancouver for incarceration. While this was the last major conflict of the Pacific Northwest Indian Wars, Indigenous individuals continued to be jailed at Vancouver until the opening of Alcatraz in 1889.

“Unique in scale, scope, and capacity to bring people together from across the corners of the Oregon Territory,” (Deur 2012, 123), Fort Vancouver and later Vancouver Barracks encapsulate the history of European/Indigenous interactions across North America in a small, roughly 150-acre site on the Columbia River. As happened elsewhere, peace, friendship, and kinship eventually gave way to violent American settler-colonialism until Indigenous people were firmly subjugated and relegated to out-of-the-way reservations. Fort Vancouver has been and remains a gathering place for Indigenous peoples. It is a place where communities gather to remember the past (as in the case for local Native Hawai’ians who regularly place leis at the partially-reconstructed Village) and to maintain Indigenous cultural practices (e.g., the use of the park as a staging ground during the Pacific Northwest Intertribal Canoe journeys).

First legislated in 1948, Fort Vancouver National Monument<sup>28</sup> preserves and protects this heritage, as well as that of the U.S. Army's Spruce Production Division, which employed 19,000 people and produced 143 million board-feet of lumber for aircraft during World War One and Pearson Field, the oldest continuously-operating airstrip in the Northwest and one of the two oldest anywhere in the USA (Jones & Jones Architects and Landscape Architects Ltd 2005; U.S. National Park Service 2008). Congress re-designated the park as Fort Vancouver National Historic Site in 1961 and expanded its boundaries (Merritt 1993). Debate about its proper size and scope marks the park's administrative history, as the NPS, local stakeholders, and U.S. Army have tended to hold differing views about management objectives for the facility, particularly over the question of Pearson Airfield's continued operation (Merritt 1993). The U.S. Army closed the Vancouver Barracks in 2011 and the NPS assumed ownership of the East and South Barracks in 2012 (U.S. National Park Service 2012a).

Today, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site consists of about 200 acres (U.S. National Park Service 2016). Generally, this land is surrounded by the Fort Vancouver National Historic Reserve. The 366-acre Reserve, created in 1996, allows the NPS, the State of Washington (which operates major highways adjacent to the park), the City of Vancouver, and the U.S. Army to coordinate management of the property (Clark County Washington 2019).

Fort Vancouver National Historic Sites preserves a reconstruction of the HBC stockade, a partially-rebuilt Village (see Chapter 6), the Vancouver Barracks (portions of which are leased out to tenants; the barracks present significant budgetary and facility management challenges<sup>29</sup>), the Pearson Air Museum, the Land Bridge (an Indigenous-focused interpretive trail across a

---

<sup>28</sup> The original name of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site

<sup>29</sup> e.g., due to decaying utility lines running through places where Indigenous peoples are interred.

highway), and a small stretch of Columbia River waterfront. The NPS also manages John McLoughlin's and Dr. Forbes Barclay's<sup>30</sup> retirement homes (about 48 kilometers south in Oregon City, Oregon). In 2018, the park welcomed just shy of 1.1 million visitors (U.S. National Park Service 2019a). As Superintendent Tracy Fortmann has repeatedly told me, this is a “complex urban national park” that provides recreation opportunities in the heart of the largest metro area between San Francisco and Seattle. Park managers must operate a wooden, nineteenth century stockade (and the buildings within it), an air museum, and two nineteenth century homes (located an hour's drive away) while contending with the challenges of inheriting a decommissioned, but not necessarily cleaned-up, military base and an active airport within the park. Meanwhile, the park also cares for the largest, most complex archeological site within the Pacific Northwest and the NPS's largest archeological collection in the region. Over 30 contemporary Indigenous communities are affiliated with Fort Vancouver National Historic Site; this includes peoples from the Iroquois in the east to Native Hawai'ians in the west.



By comparison, Lewis and Clark National Historical Park (LCNHP) is a relatively straightforward place. The park commemorates the Corps of Discovery<sup>31</sup>'s arrival at the Pacific Ocean on November 15, 1805 and the expedition's winter-long stay at Fort Clatsop, about two miles south of the Columbia River and three miles inland from the Pacific Ocean. The Corps of Discovery, championed by President Thomas Jefferson, traced the Missouri River upstream from St. Louis (leaving on May 14, 1804), crossed overland through the Rocky Mountains, and

---

<sup>30</sup> Barclay was a physician at Fort Vancouver from 1840 to 1850 (U.S. National Park Service 2015).

<sup>31</sup> This Corps was a specially established unit of the U.S. Army, appointed by President Thomas Jefferson and led by Captain Meriwether Lewis and Lieutenant William Clark. Their charge was to explore and map the Louisiana Purchase while finding a route from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean.

descended the Columbia River. President Jefferson directed the overtly-militaristic expedition of 59 people<sup>32</sup>, led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, to find a water route to the Pacific Ocean, claim the interior of the continent for the United States, and conduct diplomacy with Indigenous nations along the way. After about 28.5 months, they returned to St. Louis. A formative experience for the young United States, the Corps of Discovery mapped the Louisiana Purchase, identified new-to-European-science plants and animals, and conducted diplomacy with dozens of Indigenous nations.

The Corps of Discovery first landed near the mouth of the Columbia on November 10, 1805 at the so-called Dismal Nitch, where they spent six days trapped by a storm on a narrow Columbia River beach (U.S. National Park Service 2017a). Once the weather cleared, the Corps moved downriver, finding a seasonal Chinookan village, Qiq'áyaqilxam, and took up residence there, calling the place Station Camp. The exposed northern shore of the Columbia, as Chinookan peoples have long-known, is a storm-battered, miserable place to find oneself in winter. On November 24, 1805, Lewis and Clark held a vote to remain at Station Camp or relocate elsewhere. The electors, which included York (an enslaved Black man) and Sacagawea (a Lemhi Shoshone woman) chose to move the winter encampment to a more sheltered location. Thus, on December 7, 1805, the Corps of Discovery moved to a small plateau on a river off a bay of the Columbia River near present-day Astoria, Oregon.

The Corps completed Fort Clatsop, named for the Indigenous community on whose territory the expedition camped, on December 25, 1805. They would remain there until March 23, 1806. During this time, the expedition boiled ocean water to produce salt at the coast (near present-day Seaside, Oregon), poached Chinook and Clatsop elk, traded with the Chinook and

---

<sup>32</sup> Of these, only 33 continued to the Pacific – the other turned back from Fort Mandan (in present-day North Dakota), where the Corps spent the winter of 1804/1805 (U.S. National Park Service 2018b).

Clatsop, and waited for the winter rains to end. Notably, Lewis and Clark complained about the trading acumen of the Chinook and Clatsop (who were seasoned traders and had been interacting with Europeans since the 1790s; see Chapter 4). Towards the end of their stay, after being unable to trade for a Chinookan canoe, the expedition stole one for use on their return journey upriver (see Chapter 4). When departing, the Corps ‘gave’ Fort Clatsop to Coboway, a Lower Chinook leader. Coboway used the facility on an occasional basis, but it fell into disrepair.



Image 6: Fort Clatsop. Author photo.

Fort Clatsop was a minor curiosity for Astorians during the fur trade era. In 1850, Thomas Scott seized the land from the Clatsop under the Oregon Donation Land Claim Act (no treaty was ever signed to cede the land to the United States for disbursement to settlers), although he quickly traded it to Carlos Shane, who built a home (Hussey 1957). In 1852, Richard Moore and Shane reached an agreement for Moore to build a sawmill on the estate. At its peak,

about 40 people lived near the mill and it dispatched weekly shipments of lumber to California. But the mill quickly failed (by 1856) and was nearly erased from the land by the 1870s (Hussey 1957). During the latter-half of the nineteenth century, the site was home to a wharf for passengers to change from boats to coaches en route to resorts at Seaside, Oregon (Hussey 1957). This ended by 1905, with competition from railroad links to Seaside.

Since 1901, the Fort Clatsop site has been protected by one agency or another. From 1901 until 1958, the Oregon Historical Society (OHS) owned the site. Local volunteers provided minimal maintenance once the park grew from its original bronze historical marker into a full-blown historic site with parking and sanitary facilities (Applegate et al. 2005). The Corps' 1955 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary provided the impetus for the Astoria Junior Chamber of Commerce, OHS, and Clatsop County Historical Society to build a replica of Fort Clatsop; local craftsmen donated the labor while the Crown Zellerbacher Corporation gave the lumber for it (Hussey 1957).

Congressional efforts to include Fort Clatsop in the National Park System began in 1906, but they did not succeed until 1956, when Congress authorized a feasibility study (Applegate et al. 2005). The study recommended NPS management of Fort Clatsop (which had been reconstructed at this point), and President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed Fort Clatsop National Memorial's (FCNM) enabling legislation in 1958 (Applegate et al. 2005). However, the NPS was only authorized to purchase 125 acres to preserve the immediate fort site and a linear trail to connect it to the Pacific Ocean (Applegate et al. 2005). Aside from adding the Salt Works unit in Seaside (1978 legislation; 1979 acquisition), the park was largely unchanged until the early 2000s. Throughout the twentieth century, FCNM preserved and interpreted a heroic story of settler-colonial explorers who opened the Louisiana Purchase for American settlement and conquest.

In 2002, Congress authorized the NPS to consider expanding FCNM to include other key Lewis and Clark sites along the Columbia River, including Station Camp and Dismal Nitch. The NPS, Washington State Park and Recreation Commission, Washington State Historic Society, Washington Department of Transportation, Washington Department of General Administration, and Oregon State Park and Recreation Department concluded the Lower Columbia River Lewis and Clark Sites Boundary Study in September 2003 (Applegate et al. 2005). The agencies recommended that Congress re-designate FCNM as Lewis and Clark National Historic Park concurrent with state action to create Lewis and Clark State Historic Parks across the region. Thus, in November 2004, President George W. Bush signed legislation to expand Fort Clatsop National Memorial across the Columbia River into Washington State and rename the park. Today, Lewis and Clark National Historical Park consists of Fort Clatsop, the Station Camp site, Dismal Nitch, a small inholding within Cape Disappointment State Park (Washington), the Fort-to-Sea Trail, Neutal Landing (essentially a boat ramp on the Lewis and Clark River just upstream from the fort site), and the Salt Works. Associated state units include Cape Disappointment and Fort Columbia in Washington and Ecola, Fort Stevens, and Sunset Beach in Oregon. Tying these diverse sites together under one coordinated management umbrella allows the agencies to coordinate visitor events and highlight the connections among the sites while harmonizing their overall management.



Map 3: Lewis and Clark National and State Historic Parks (Applegate et al. 2005).

To be clear, Lewis and Clark National Historical Park is a complex, multi-unit site where NPS managers greet close to 300,000 visitors a year (U.S. National Park Service 2019b). While the ‘story’ that Lewis and Clark NHP ostensibly preserves is much more straightforward than at Fort Vancouver, local NPS staff have begun to broaden their vision for the park, as will be

discussed Chapter 9. The 2005-2006 Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, which emphasized Indigenous connections to the Corps of Discovery both in the immediate Astoria region and along the entirety of the Corps' route, helped to push the park towards a more explicit consideration of Indigenous heritage on the Lower Columbia. Today, the NPS specifically cites “cultural interactions between the expedition and native [*sic*] communities” and “Middle Village [see Chapter 9] and [its] archeological collection” as two of the park’s “fundamental resources and values” (U.S. National Park Service 2012b).

Lewis and Clark NHP and Fort Vancouver NHS preserve places of settler/Indigenous contact. Consequently, the parks (now) work closely with multiple Indigenous nations on issues ranging from heritage interpretation to the care of ancestral human remains. The NPS/Indigenous relationship at these parks, while not perfect, is known for its success. This dissertation considers how positive working relations have developed at these places despite their instructions from Congress to glorify settler-colonial expansion in Lower Chinookan territory.

## **Chapter 6: Superintendent Power and Workforce Issues**

Since roughly 2000, Fort Vancouver and its affiliated Indigenous nations have partnered on multiple issues, including the reburial of unidentified ancestors, the creation of an intertribal consortium to advise the park on management activities, a visitor center redesign, and the reconstruction of the Village (where Hudson's Bay Company laborers lived). For a small park, this is a notable amount of work. When I asked Bob Cromwell, Chief of Interpretation, about the "spark that lit the fire" at Fort Vancouver, he immediately ascribed these improvements to Superintendent Tracy Fortmann. She has led Fort Vancouver since 2000, giving her time to deeply-invest in relationships with Indigenous nations. This work "...takes years of trust," Scott Tucker (former Lewis and Clark Superintendent) told me; the stability in leadership at Fort Vancouver is a key driver of success there. This chapter will focus on the power of the superintendent to influence park/Indigenous relationships. I directly link both successes and challenges at Fort Vancouver and Lewis and Clark to the superintendent's office. I draw on the stories of Okulam, a canoe Tony A. Johnson carved for the NPS, and the Village reconstruction at Fort Vancouver to demonstrate this.

To begin, consider how Tracy's long tenure at Fort Vancouver stands in stark contrast to the situation at Lewis and Clark, which is on its fifth superintendent since Tracy arrived in Vancouver. "We go through superintendents pretty quickly here...each one of them has their own way of doing things and kind of their goals," Rachel Stokeld (Cultural Resources Specialist) observed. When I asked Chris Clatterbuck (Chief of Resources) if this could affect NPS/Chinook relationships, he echoed Rachel's comments, saying "I could definitely see that [superintendent turnover] as a factor. We've got a lot of turnover at [the] superintendent level."

But the influence of the superintendent over park/Indigenous relationships is not simply a matter of turnover. The power NPS superintendents wield over their parks is both a blessing and a curse. A superintendent like Tracy can positively influence park/Indigenous relationships. But another superintendent can either benignly neglect or outright damage those same relationships. As an example, I was stunned to hear from Tracy that she “was the first superintendent” the park’s affiliated nations ever met. Congress gazetted Fort Vancouver in 1948 (U.S. National Park Service 2003). To think that a site, which has always – from the very beginning – focused on European-Indigenous trade and contact, went roughly fifty years before a leader met with their Indigenous counterparts is telling. To be very clear – it is not that previous superintendents lacked the authority to engage with Indigenous peoples; it is that they apparently chose not to and/or were not expected by their supervisors to do so.

Contrary to her predecessors, Tracy has decided to nurture rather than neglect the park’s relationship with Indigenous peoples. She characterized it as “one of the most important actions I have taken as superintendent...it was daunting to say the least...representing the U.S.A. in government-to-government consultations with 35 federally-recognized tribes and Native Hawaiian groups, [but] I knew it was the right thing to do. I have never regretted it.” Fort Vancouver is a good example of how superintendents set the management agenda for their parks. Prior to Tracy’s arrival, the park was heavily focused on Hudson’s Bay Company history within the stockade; comparatively less effort was made to either explore or interpret other sites and narratives outside the story of the privileged, white world inside the fort (D. Wilson 2015).

But as new staff began to arrive at the park, beginning with Tracy, this began to change. Before arriving at Fort Vancouver, Tracy read the park’s administrative history, cultural landscape report, and a very early draft of a new park general management plan. But when

visiting the park, before being named superintendent, Tracy noticed that the only reference to the Village was in one wayside. Moreover, an impenetrable, eight-foot-tall blackberry thicket prevented visitors from accessing the site. “I remember distinctly standing at the wayside and looking towards where the Village should be and wondering why no one had given the Village a sense of place. It was at that moment that I determined if I were to be selected [as superintendent], I would do what I could to bring the Village to life,” Tracy recalled.

Additionally, Theresa Langford (Museum Curator), Bob Cromwell and Doug Wilson (Archaeologist, Pacific West Region) all expressed keen interest in ‘the Village.’ “It just seemed unfair to so obviously have put time and energy and funding into this part of the site, the fort, while ignoring the spot where the majority of the population live,” Theresa told me, “it was a quiet message visitors got whether we said it or not – that inequality of investment.”

The Village, about 50 acres in size, sits just to the west of the main stockade. Home to between 600-1,000 people (including enslaved persons; the number varied over time, but compare this to the couple dozen who lived within the stockade), the Village provided the physical labor that powered the HBC post at Fort Vancouver. “It really is the heart of the community,” Doug told me; anywhere from 30-50 homes were in the Village at any one time (Deur 2012). It is “a place where people lived, raised families, feasted worshipped, celebrated births, and mourned deaths,” Tracy has written (Fortmann 2016, 226). People from over two dozen different Indigenous nations as well as European settlers lived generally peacefully together in the Village (Deur 2012).

While the precise date of the Village’s original construction is unknown, it stood from roughly the establishment of the fort until the early 1850s (Deur 2012). The arrival of the United States in Oregon territory, and decline of the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) “...could not have

been more jarring” for the Indigenous peoples and Europeans who lived in the Village (Deur 2012, 125). While the HBC was tolerant of Indigenous peoples generally and mixed-race households, Americans took a dim view of both. The Village, while not exclusively Indigenous, was largely characterized by its Indigeneity and Métissage. The departure of the HBC and ascendancy of a hostile American military presence quite literally in the Village’s backyard created “powerful incentives to leave this area, and to do so quickly” (Deur 2012, 126). What had been a prosperous, diverse settlement from the 1820s-1850s emptied out until March 20, 1860 when the U.S. Army burned the home of Kanaka William and his wife, the last Village residents, to the ground (Deur 2012). It would be over 150 years before Tracy arrived at Fort Vancouver and set about addressing the tragedy.

In 2000, after Tracy’s appointment to the Fort Vancouver superintendency, Doug and Bob joined the park. “I wanted to build a cultural resources staff – that was something I felt strongly about,” Tracy recalled. Bob<sup>33</sup> and Doug, along with Theresa<sup>34</sup>, were already familiar with the Village. Theresa had gone so far as to write a master’s thesis explicitly focusing on the diversity of the Village and calling on the NPS to do more to preserve and interpret it (Langford 2000). Theresa, Bob, and Doug shared a vision to excavate, partially restore, and interpret the Village; with Tracy, they had a champion for their project:

Tracy Fortman: It captivated me. I mean, the notion of a place that was so culturally diverse in the nineteenth century, so many different tribes...and my gosh, Native Hawaiians from the Sandwich Islands at the time, living together in this village. We don't even have that today. Where do you find that? And then they adapt the existing trade language – Chinook Wawa – so they can communicate with each other, and it has tribal words, Hawaiian words, English words, French words. This glorious infusion of all these languages together – how amazing is it?! ...I really want to bring that more to life. I think that's something our children right now need to see.

---

<sup>33</sup> Bob had focused on the Village for his doctoral dissertation, at Doug’s urging.

<sup>34</sup> Who was currently working as museum technician but would later be promoted and hired full-time.

Theresa, Doug, and Bob credit Tracy with providing the leadership and vision to move the project to its eventual completion, despite reluctance from other park staff.

When the park opened the Village, it held a dedication ceremony to which all affiliated Indigenous nations were invited. The ceremony, Bob said, has been “one of the most memorable events” of his career. “There is power in landscapes,” Theresa observed. “I just don’t think anything can quite replace being able to go to the Village...even if it’s a small remnant.” Through songs, prayers, and dances led by Indigenous Elders from multiple nations in their own languages, the event recognized “close to a decade of work” while honoring “a sacred place,” Bob said. Today, the Village consists of two reconstructed HBC employee homes, trails, and fence-lines to evoke the historic landscape. In addition to interpretive opportunities, the Village is a space of remembrance for Indigenous peoples whose Ancestors lived, worked, and are buried in the area. “There were tears of joy” at the Village dedication, Tracy recalled (Fortmann 2016, 227), “[the Village]...once again had a sense of place where descendants could return...” Indigenous peoples continue to visit the Village to this day, leaving flowers and leis on occasion to remember those who lived, worked, and died on this site before their eviction at gunpoint. But, as Tracy tells me, more work remains: “We have made great strides in giving a sense of place to the Village, but I would like to see more done. Having two Village houses now in place is an important first step, but I think we can and should do more.”

The Village demonstrates that superintendents very much choose where to expend time and effort. Prior to Tracy, the NPS generally pursued a fort-focused vision for Fort Vancouver. Again, Tracy was the *very first* superintendent to ever meet with the park’s affiliated Indigenous nations; it was not until Tracy’s superintendency that the NPS expanded its vision of Fort Vancouver to include stories and places not marked by upper-class, white privilege. The Village

reconstruction shows how superintendents exert power over their parks and deliberately choose – if they wish – to engage with Indigenous peoples. Yes, the Village is meaningful as an investment into preserving and interpreting Indigenous heritage at the park while providing space for Indigenous ceremonies to occur. But Tracy’s decision – well within her authority – to unsettle the park’s privileged, settler focus is a learning opportunity for other NPS staff. Steps towards reconciliation, such as the Village project, are achievable if individual superintendents decide to invest in such work.

Each National Park Service unit has its own superintendent, or manager, who oversees the day-to-day operations of the site. Superintendents are responsible “for the preservation, interpretation, maintenance, administration, and development of the park unit, and the safety and well-being of park staff, volunteers, and visitors” (U.S. National Park Service and U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2019). Superintendents in small parks will delegate power to and manage division chiefs (e.g., chief of interpretation, chief of resource management, chief of maintenance, etc.) while in larger parks, superintendents may liaise with a deputy superintendent, who then works with the chiefs.

Superintendents exercise their managerial discretion through the ‘superintendent’s compendium.’ Published annually and authorized under Title 36, section 1.5, of the Code of Federal Regulations (U.S. National Park Service 2019c), the compendium is a document in which superintendents identify “designations, closures, permit requirements, and other restrictions” (U.S. National Park Service 2018c) for their site that differ from the national guidelines set forth in the Code. While there are due process and regulatory considerations, superintendents have wide latitude in deciding what goes into the compendium.

In addition to the work that occurs within the park, a key role of the superintendent is to cultivate external relationships. Berkowitz (2011, 70) describes this as “the ability to befriend and ingratiate themselves with various park ‘partners,’ who are typically powerful individuals and entities...this may include the leaders of neighboring gateway communities...the corporate management of concession operations...[and] the various nonprofit, nongovernmental organizations, such as the National Park Foundation...” External relationships also include those with Indigenous nations. To be very clear, it is expected that superintendents will “manage and maintain positive working relationship with...community representatives, and variety of officials concerning the management and preservation of the cultural, historical, and natural resources of the park” (U.S. National Park Service and U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2019). It is entirely within the superintendent’s purview to work with affiliated Indigenous communities to improve park management outcomes. “Successful NPS managers...strive to maintain extremely close and cordial relations with [external partners],” notes (Berkowitz 2011, 71).

Park superintendents report to NPS regional deputy directors (DRDs). At Lewis and Clark NHP, Superintendent Jon Burpee and I discussed the power of park superintendents at some length. “I’m not sure the people who supervise me necessarily know what’s going on,” he told me. “The decentralized nature of the national system probably helps and hurts...” Jon’s comment immediately caught my attention and called to mind this passage from Berkowitz (2011, 71):

...the NPS functions more as a loose confederation of independent parks, regions, and managers than as a unified federal agency under the meaningful direction of an agency head...today, while there is most certainly an agency hierarchy, it does not always translate into – or coincide with – a coherent chain of command. Parks, regions, programs, and their respective managers function with alarming levels of autonomy and little if any real oversight. Decisions made by managers and other are often guided by passions, loyalties, and raw political expedience. The acceptance and even cultivation of this approach as an integral part of NPS culture has opened the door to serious abuse.

Jon qualified his statement with “there's been acting after acting...I don't know if I had a full-time DRD, deputy regional director, if that'd be different...” but he noted that the deputy regional directors, have “23 parks or something like that that they're supposed to be supervising. That's why we get a boilerplate performance plan.”

It is easy to find examples of major NPS scandals to support Jon's observations about the poor oversight of NPS superintendents. Consider the case of Billy Malone, the Indian Trader at Hubble Trading Post National Historic Site on the Navajo Reservation. As Berkowitz (2011) reports, the Hubble superintendent instigated in 2004, with no basis in material facts, an internal NPS investigation into Malone simply because she (the superintendent) and the park's cooperating association wanted Malone removed from his job. After seizing his life savings and investing over \$1 million and nearly three years into investigating Malone, the NPS succeeded in removing Malone, but declined to charge him with any crimes. Meanwhile, the Interior Department's Inspector General opened an inquiry into NPS agents' handling of the case. Those agents were later found to have lied on sworn affidavits and mishandled evidence in the case. But rather than discipline the rogue employees, the NPS gave at least one of those involved a plum position at the Grand Canyon.

The NPS needs both stronger oversight of superintendents and deputy directors who highlight the centrality of Indigenous relations to the agency's mission. “I'll mention [to my supervisor], ‘Oh yeah we're working with tribes on this,’ [but] there's no depth to that conversation. There's no – generally is – no follow-up. [But] for someone who's working at that, trying to do that, I think it's applauded,” Jon told me. I asked Jon later whether working with Indigenous peoples is largely at the discretion or interest of the individual superintendent; he

described it as a situation where there is “no real strong directive you know, from on high about how you should work with native [*sic*] groups [but] I think there is a lot of that [anyway].”

The improvements at Fort Vancouver – directly due to Tracy’s efforts – and Jon’s comment point to how park/Indigenous relationships are dependent on individual park superintendents. Imbued with power and weak oversight, those employees can choose to either nurture or neglect the park/Indigenous relationship. Berkowitz (2011, 68–69) writes:

To a degree far greater than is found in most other agencies, the integrity and success – and sometimes even the very existence – of critical programs...is dependent almost entirely on the integrity, skill, and ego of the manager in charge at the time<sup>35</sup>, and it is unlikely that same program will endure in the same form beyond their tenure...some extremely progressive, innovative, and effective programs have been developed, funded, and established under one motivated manager only to be destroyed by a successor. Even the best and most critical program(s)...can be eviscerated or abolished when a change of the guard occurs...the prevalence of this purposefully inconsistent method of operation contributes to often poor relations with park neighbors and other NPS constituents who in many instances, over time, learn to distrust the agency and any promises or commitments made by its various managers and other personnel.

What Berkowitz (2011) describes is *exactly* what happened at Lewis and Clark when, in 1999, the NPS leveraged Lewis and Clark Bicentennial money to commission Tony A. Johnson (current Chinook Chair) to carve a Chinook-style canoe, named Okulam. In the original agreement with Tony, the park would pay him to carve Okulam *and* make Okulam available to the Chinook for their use (during, for example, the annual Pacific Northwest Intertribal Canoe Journey; see Chapter 4). When not in use, Okulam was to reside at the park as an artifact to interpret Chinook canoe heritage to visitors.

Tony carved Okulam over roughly two years with the later portion of that work happening at of Fort Clatsop in full view of the public, providing interpretation for visitors. All

---

<sup>35</sup> Consider this capriciousness against the idea of a central directive to ‘work with Indigenous peoples.’ Because of NPS politics and ever-changing priorities, which Berkowitz is writing about, such a Director’s Order may not be a lasting panacea.

was well with Okulam. But when Cat Hoffman became acting superintendent, she unilaterally changed the park's agreement with the Chinook regarding Okulam, Tony told me. Hoffman forbid the community from using or accessing Okulam. This is deeply problematic on several different levels. First, if nothing else, it is a poor way to care for Okulam. Chinook canoes *must* be in the water periodically to prevent damage to them. Second, this ignores the deep cultural significance of canoes hold for the Chinook. Someone entrusted with caring for a tangible piece of Chinook culture – one that is a living being, no less – and forbids the Chinook from it should be firmly censured for failing both their duty to Okulam and for perpetuating settler-colonialism in a very direct, tangible way. Indeed, Okulam demonstrates quite handily how settler-colonialism continues into the present. Settlers continue to exert inappropriate influence over Indigenous lives and cultural practices.

Unilaterally disregarding the agreement for Okulam's use was an insult to Tony and an affront to the community; it undeniably harmed the NPS/Chinook relationship:

Tony A. Johnson: I mentioned the canoe one, but that is important. That [the agreement for Chinook use] should have been better put in writing and it's a lesson we learned. Because at that time, I didn't know how the turnover rate worked with the Park Service for superintendent, so I had what I thought was an iron-clad agreement that I was carving a canoe that would be fully usable by the community anytime we needed or wanted to as it was intended when we built it. And then the next superintendent came along and said 'I don't know what you're talking about.' That was a rough one and that really did frustrate this group for a while. But another superintendent came along and they were completely understanding.

Not only did the NPS renege on its agreement for community use of Okulam, but the agency failed to conserve it as well. Because Okulam was not regularly out in the water, a large crack appeared along one side of the canoe. Okulam very nearly cleaved in half as the crack worsened.

Tony: It sat there quite a long time in its damaged state; likely half its life, it's been damaged. I don't really know what caused it, but my frustration and concern was shared by the NPS. I was pleasantly surprised when the NPS found the money for me to repair it.

I really took my time and care in fixing it and I have confidence in my work. I don't know why it has broken again.

As Tony alludes to here, as of February 2019, Okulam needs another repair. "They managed to shatter the end of it again," Tony ruefully told me. The NPS is consulting with Tony on the matter. There are larger plans afoot to leverage proposed changes to the park's visitor center to carve out space inside the building to properly store and display Okulam. Jon wants Okulam to be "the very first thing people see in a much better protected environment...essentially a welcoming in that first exhibit before they even hit the restrooms, before they hit the front desk, explaining that just like Lewis and Clark came into the land, the Chinookan peoples' [land], so are you today. Just to start up the visit from that perspective, I think would be a pretty good step forward."

Scott, the superintendent at the time of Okulam's (first and so far only) repair, had to navigate competing visions for the restoration. He cited Okulam when he discussed with me how superintendent turnover affects NPS/Indigenous relationships:

One of the problems with the Park Service is that we move around. We're not there for the long haul...But from the tribal side, they're there. Whether they're the tribal chair or they're cultural committee or they're just a tribal member, they are engaged for their lifetime. And they bring a lifetime of memory and experience. They remember 20 years ago when the park did something wrong. They're going to remember in 15 years – when Tony's kids are older, Tony's kids are going to remember that Okulam sat rotting in front of the visitor center, inappropriately properly cared for. So that memory is not going to change. Superintendents are going to come and go and have to figure out where the foundation of a conversation is, because it's based on something happened 15-20 years ago.

As Scott says, community memories last much longer than any one superintendent's tenure. As I discuss in Chapter 6, the Chinook are urgently seeking a MOU with the NPS to codify their relationship. Part of this is because an MOU may help to address the problems that Scott described above.

Gary Johnson: I just think a strong MOU is going to change our participation level. And I think that every superintendent is coming in there 20-30 years, we've established a quick, good relationship with them, but an MOU could require them to work closely with us.

Tony A. Johnson: Well, the institutional memory, that would bring. Because, again, I'm not sure that we think the Okulam business was necessarily them...setting out to do something the matter to us, or something to us, it was just a transition didn't include what we're talking about here, which is a real debrief on the work that's happened with the tribe.

And I think you probably heard this from us before, Chance, but we believe we outlast this park. I mean, the park is fleeting...I know that the United States doesn't feel that way. But truly, I mean this...they will say that park is here forever. But what would make us believe that, right? ...it needs to be said loud and clear: The National Park Service in our minds is not, does not, have anywhere near the lifespan that our community does.

And so just the whole thing we're talking about is the example of it. These superintendents come and go, come and go, come and go, come and go. And it's been the same players here, same family line saying whatever [and] involved with them. There's genealogies...that they'll never be able to approximate.

Okulam has been one of two stories Tony and the culture committee has repeatedly shared with me. While Lewis and Clark staff deserve recognition for investing money into the project – and thus into the continuation of canoe carving, a key Chinookan cultural practice – as well as for eventually restoring Chinook access to Okulam, key (and easily avoidable) missteps surrounding Okulam have marred the NPS/Chinook relationship. “I think it’s a good metaphor for the whole thing [NPS/CIN relations],” Tony observed, “because it’s the positive [and] the negative. It also ties us to prehistory there, which is something that we want to do.”

Superintendents exercise great power over their individual parks. This is apparent in the differences between Fort Vancouver and Lewis and Clark. Tracy has forgone opportunities to transfer elsewhere and chosen to remain at Fort Vancouver. She has provided stable leadership with a consistent commitment to Indigenous relations since the early 2000s. This has led to remarkable successes and follow-through on long-term planning. At Lewis and Clark, meanwhile, churn in the superintendent’s office contributes to tension in the NPS/Chinook

relationship, as each new superintendent brings their own priorities to the park. Meanwhile NPS deputy regional directors seemingly fail to provide sufficient oversight regarding, much less highlight, the centrality of Indigenous relations to park management. A key lesson of this research is to underscore the importance of the superintendent in shaping park/Indigenous relations

Some of these forces – such as turnover – also exist outside the superintendent’s office. Fort Vancouver has experienced an unusual level of staff stability. While it is unusual enough for a superintendent to stay in one place for nearly two decades, it is perhaps even more so for staff like Bob, Doug, and Theresa, all of whom have been at Fort Vancouver since the early 2000s. The NPS uses a promotion-by-transfer system to manage its employees. Staying in the same park makes it rather difficult to advance in one’s career.

Yet, committing to a long tenure in one park has its benefits. Again, a key lesson of this research is the value of long-term relationships. Turnover hinders this. Simultaneously, moving to different parks every few years can reduce an employee’s ability to pursue large-scale or slow-moving projects. “I think when you get professionals who are able to stay in the same location for as long as we have, I think you gain traction. We're able to set long term goals,” Bob indicated. “I think having that core group together – it doesn't happen that often, especially in federal service...I think it's been crucial that we’ve had that longevity in [cultural] resources.” Put another way, Theresa said, “I think that it’s been very powerful because those areas where our vision really aligns, we've had time to work on it and see something come to fruition....”

Before concluding this chapter, therefore, I want to say a few additional words about NPS agency culture. Wilson (1991) writes about the role of agency culture, social norms, and peer-expectations in shaping bureaucrats’ behaviors. Consider the NPS promotion-by-transfer system.

NPS culture dictates that employees being groomed for high-level leadership positions will transfer repeatedly throughout their career. The best and brightest do not become superintendent or division chief at a marquee park by remaining at a small, regional park like Fort Vancouver for twenty years. This needs to change; the NPS should encourage its employees to invest in long-term relationships by recognizing the value of long tenures at one site.

Additionally, consider that the NPS has its origins, roughly, in the U.S. Cavalry divisions that first patrolled the national parks. It has, from the very beginning, been a quasi-military agency with police powers. But beyond this, because NPS staff tend to work in secluded places, far from regional or national offices (or in many cases, a paved road), National Park Service “...responsibilities run the gamut from daily mundane custodial chores to emergencies involving substantial risks for life and property” (Kurtz 2003, 308) These are “can-do people, capable of managing any situation in their park,” (Kurtz 2003, 308) in other words. Kurtz (2003, 308) describes how isolation and the demands of being a do-anything employee have shaped the agency:

These can-do traits manifest themselves today in NPS insider references to "green blood" or being "green." Green employees see themselves, and are perceived by others in the NPS, as individuals who strongly identify with the Park Service mission and values. They are independent and adaptable, committed to protection of park resources above all other allegiances. The proprietary attitudes created through these traditions become quite evident when park superintendents speak and act in terms of "my park." Park superintendents have traditionally tended to define issues and make decisions in terms of the implications for their own parks.

Think about this alongside Berkowitz's (2011, 66 and 81) observations that “The demand for loyalty [to the agency] insinuates itself into virtually every aspect of NPS employee’s professional and personal lives...” and that “...many of the agency’s more honest and outspoken employees labeled troublemakers and ostracized for not being ‘team players’”. I believe this makes clear the difficulty NPS staff may have in engaging with decolonization or reconciliation

when those process are conceptualized as rebuilding Indigenous nationhood, economies, and sovereignty. As a brief example, the south unit of Badlands National Park comprises land seized from the Lakota Sioux by the American military for use as a bombing range in the twentieth century; despite promises to fully return to the property after its military use, the government instead returned it only under the condition that the Sioux lease the land to the NPS (Burnham 2000). The Sioux have been angered by this ever since. For reconciliation to truly occur here, that land must be returned unencumbered to the Sioux. But I believe it is a tall order indeed to believe, given the agency's culture, that NPS staff would publicly support such a move. Decolonization requires loyalty (of a sort) to Indigenous futures; the National Park Service – a settler institution – requires loyalty to itself and can only take, not give.

Jon and I had a conversation about working with Indigenous peoples that also touched on the role of agency culture, social norms, and peer expectations. During a conversation about Olympic National Park's work with the Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe to inscribe a Klallam greeting onto park entrance signs, Jon commented that "it seems like there should be more [of] an expectation of it [working with Indigenous peoples]. It shouldn't be a surprise. It shouldn't be all 'look what they're doing, isn't this neat!' It should be 'well they're doing their job.' ...we're celebrating things that should be part of the job." Again, NPS programs are subject to the whims of individual people involved. The only durable solution is for deputy regional directors to begin to expect, rather than celebrate, working with Indigenous peoples as a routine part of superintendents' work. Drawing on Wilson (1991), deputy regional directors should exert peer-pressure laterally on one another to do this. NPS culture needs to change to expect this work, creating a new social norm in which the centrality of park/Indigenous relations to the NPS mission becomes entrenched in the agency.

This chapter has highlighted how NPS agency culture shapes park/Indigenous relationships. Superintendents have unparalleled authority over their individual parks and can wield it to either the benefit or detriment of Indigenous nations and relationships, as the stories of Okulam and the Village demonstrate. This is exacerbated by weak oversight from NPS deputy directors and the NPS's reliance on frequent transfers to manage its employees. While the Village shows what is possible when superintendents decide to engage rather than shrink away from Indigenous engagement, Okulam suggests "what happens if we neglect the relationship between the two [parks and Indigenous peoples] because...they literally neglected the canoe. The reason they neglected it is because they were neglecting the relationship between the tribe and the Park Service and the canoe is a physical example of paying the price for that," in Tony's words. To improve park/Indigenous affairs, the agency needs to commit to long-term relationships with Indigenous peoples by promoting the value of long-term assignments at one park. Changing the social norms at the deputy regional director level to favor demanding more Indigenous engagement from superintendents would also be useful. In the interim, these barriers could be addressed through written MOUs between individual parks and Indigenous nations to eliminate misunderstandings that may arise during staff turnover.



**Lessons-learned:**

1. The NPS affords its superintendents great power. This is both a blessing and a curse, as some superintendents may ignore Indigenous relationships while others may focus on them. Changing course under a new superintendent is possible.
2. NPS superintendent oversight is weak, as is the expectation that superintendents work with Indigenous peoples.

3. Indigenous nations need to be proactive and skeptical when dealing with the NPS, because turnover can lead to broken verbal agreements.

**Best-practices:**

1. Written MOUs, which do not exist between the NPS and Chinook at Lewis and Clark<sup>36</sup>, are critical; they institutionalize the relationships that NPS units cannot bail out of, despite out hostile senior management might be (or the they have the potential to do so).
2. The NPS needs to recognize the value of long-term engagement with one park by moving away from an overreliance on promotions-by-transfer.

---

<sup>36</sup> At Fort Vancouver, the Chinook are a part of the Intertribal Management Consortium, which collectively has an MOU with the NPS.

## **Chapter 7: Relationships, Dialogue, and Reconciliation**

NPS staff at Lewis and Clark and Fort Vancouver are engaging in long-term relationships rooted in respect and dialogue; this partially accounts for the agency's success in navigating Indigenous relations at these two parks. Both parks' superintendents comport themselves with openness and a willingness to listen and give of themselves. Reconciliation, while it has its limits as a frame, requires, in part<sup>37</sup>, listening to Indigenous peoples – not for approval of pre-existing plans, but to develop an understanding of Indigenous needs and aspirations and then a shared plan for addressing those. NPS staff, as this chapter will show, are embodying the sort of listening reconciliation requires. After spotlighting NPS perspectives, this chapter closes with a suggestion from the Chinook culture committee on how to improve communication between park staff and Indigenous communities.

A common theme throughout my conversations with NPS staff has been the need for consistent, respectful dialogue between parks and their Indigenous partners. “Just be open with [your] plans, your desires,” Rachel Stokeld advised. Doug Wilson echoed this by suggesting that “the best policy is to be straightforward, do not have any hidden agendas....” These sorts of attitudes stand in contrast to how the NPS has treated Indigenous peoples in the past. For example, in 1913 the NPS coveted Ute territory for addition to Mesa Verde National Park. But the agency did not bother to negotiate with the Ute about purchasing the land; instead, it dealt with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The BIA manages all reservation land in the USA as a fiduciary. But in this case, it was not until *after* the agencies agreed to the transaction that the government consulted (I use the term loosely) the Ute about it (Burnham 2000).

---

<sup>37</sup> i.e, it also requires truth-telling, acknowledging harm, and providing for justice (Finegan 2018)

Aside from dialogue, ensuring park staff understand the local context in which they work also contributes to good park/Indigenous relationships. Rachel discussed with me how this has been a challenge for her "...I think there's times when I felt that maybe I didn't necessarily have enough background knowledge on the situation...like treaty negotiations and outcome of those kind of situations in this area, specifically..." Park staff need to be given the time and resources to develop a robust knowledge of local history and Indigenous cultures.

Additionally, political tension may exist between or within local Indigenous nations; staff require time to learn about these local contexts. Scott Tucker and I talked about this at some length:

I think one of the biggest things...is being aware of what's going on in that community...[that will] help that relationship dramatically, because then you're not going in from scratch. I think that's the biggest thing...getting to know your community, understanding their dynamics, and really having a clear direction from the tribal chair, especially when you're working government-to-government, of how they want to interact with the park. It's not what's best for me [the NPS]. It's how do you, as a tribal chair, want your community to interact with us?

Asking leaders directly to identify how the NPS should work with them may not be the largest of gestures. Yet, allowing Indigenous peoples themselves to set the terms of engagement does return power within the relationship back towards the community. The NPS should not be dictating to Indigenous partners how they will interact, but instead holding itself accountable to Indigenous desires.

This can be difficult, however, as the story of Okulam – the canoe Tony A. Johnson carved for the NPS at Lewis and Clark – shows (see Chapter 6). When Okulam needed repairs, everyone – the Chinook chair, Elders within the community, or Tony (who actually carved Okulam but was not in leadership at the time) – had different ideas about how to address the problem, as Scott Tucker told me:

Scott: A simple conversation over something simple like Okulam turns into a political storm within the tribe. Because I went to Tony for, “Hey, how do we want to do this?” When in theory, by paper, I'm going – I need – to go to the tribal chair because the project was done between the Chinook and the park, not the park and Tony... And so that that's part of that difficulty of Okulam project is that Tony, the Chinook cultural committee chair and the person who carved Okulam – was he the say for the tribe, or is Ray, the tribal chair, the say for the tribe of how Okulam is repaired? ... But if I would have went down the road with Ray and the way that Ray wanted to repair it, it would have been a slap in the face to Tony A. Johnson, the carver of the canoe.

Eventually, Scott resolved the situation by first allowing time to pass. He waited until internal Chinook politics changed enough to allow him to work with Tony on the repair. Okulam is “a really good reminder that personal relationships matter more than government-to-government [ones],” Tony told me. “The only way for the Park Service to navigate these issues is through long-term, personal relationships.”

Meanwhile, at Fort Vancouver, Tracy Fortmann describes the NPS's burden as more than issuing a pro forma invitation:

Tracy Fortmann: I have heard, and not from other superintendents, but I do know that it's been said... ‘we don't ever hear from anybody,’ ‘they [the tribes] never contact me,’ et certa. That gets back to that whole double-silence [of neither party talking] because there was failures or inabilities or negative relationships. And [just because] people are not interacting doesn't mean we don't have responsibility [to engage with them]. And that might take a long time, you could say, so that's the issue.

And honestly, Chance, I don't know what's happening in other people's parks. But if you're just assuming ‘Well I haven't heard from any tribes, or, you know, I invited them to one thing and they never show. So, well, they're not interested.’ [Then] you're probably not making an effort.

I get back to back to the real basics... If you just try and go through the motions, you can do that, but you're probably not going to have a very successful relationship.

Corntassel and Holder (2008) distinguish between affirmative and transformative approaches to reconciliation. In the first, one simply ‘rights the wrongs’ (i.e., issues an invitation to review text on a new exhibit). In the second, one attempts to change the entire relationship (i.e., cedes control over exhibit design to the community it will be about). Tracy's comments illustrate this

difference. Transformative change – required for settler/Indigenous reconciliation – requires long-term, challenging engagement.

Fort Vancouver staff are not shrinking away from weighty, difficult work with Indigenous peoples. Tracy is working with the park’s affiliated Indigenous communities to formulate a management plan for the historic (fur-trade era) cemetery within the park, where many Indigenous ancestors are buried. The Chinook culture committee has emphasized, repeatedly, to me that during the smallpox epidemics, Indigenous peoples made arduous journeys – while ill – to Fort Vancouver because their communities had been hollowed out by the disease; Fort Vancouver was the only place where people had confidence they could receive a peaceful burial. Because of this, Tony remarked, “There’s genuine hurt and grief and all kinds of emotions tied to the history of a place like Fort Vancouver.” Fort Vancouver is a sacred place of profound sadness and remembrance.

Tracy characterized Indigenous relations as requiring patience, saying “It takes time. I think the other issue is, is maybe people think it's going to be fast, quick, and not uncomfortable – well then, you're probably not really ready to do that business yet.” Jim Sayce<sup>38</sup> also discussed with me how federal agencies, particularly on a local park level, are not as consensus-based as Indigenous communities. Decision-making moves more slowly when working with Indigenous communities, relative to typical settler timelines. “These things take time and the federal government is not used to waiting,” Jim says. “You need to expand your idea of time and decision-making.”

Tracy’s patient attitude towards her work is a good example of how to best-approach working with Indigenous communities on sacred site management. Tracy describes her work on

---

<sup>38</sup> Jim worked closely with the Chinook and NPS on the Qííq’ayaqílxam project (see Chapter 9).

the historic cemetery at Fort Vancouver as “not easy to figure out...some feel we should do some kind of monument, others, feel there should be no monument at all...It will go in the timeline it needs to go in. So I'm not – it doesn't bother me that we can't, and we haven't, dealt with that sooner. Because I know that when we do resolve it will, it will be the time that it needed to be resolved.” Notice Tracy's awareness and sensitivity to the slow, deliberative nature of the conversation. By ensuring her Indigenous partners have the time and space they desire as they work through these decisions, Tracy is demonstrating the sort of intercultural competence that others should emulate.

Park/Indigenous relationships – including at these two case-study sites – are not always harmonious. It can discourage staff when relationships that require large investments of time, effort, and thought yield conflict. “There have been times when something sharp or pointed was said to me. And I had to remember that it wasn't me personally, it was to me as a representative of the government and of things that had gone before...part of the process is letting people say things that they may have been keeping inside,” Theresa Langford told me. Park staff need to be prepared for difficult conversations, as Tracy alluded to above when she indicated settler discomfort is a part of working with Indigenous peoples. How should one address this? For Tracy, it circles back to dialogue:

And so there are times where we don't always agree. There are times when many of the tribes don't agree. There's a full gamut of opinion...[it is] important to be honest and thoughtful about how you share different opinions and being open to them...I'm uncomfortable going in with “this is where I'm going to go and everybody needs to line up with me.” Because frequently, it's not going to work that way.

Tracy challenges the established settler-colonial power structure with her openness to uncertainty and refraining from dictating what will happen in her park (even though she could do so). Park superintendents must be willing to give of themselves and their power to rebalance

settler/Indigenous relations in protected areas. As Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, and T'lakwadzi (2009, 496) write, one must be careful not to allow “state objectives” to supersede other concerns when working to address Indigenous grievances. Be flexible, in other words, and listen not for affirmation of a pre-existing idea, but rather for learning. Now, to be clear, I am not saying Tracy’s comments above fully encompass decolonization. They do not – decolonization cannot be accomplished through flexibility alone. Rather, my claim is that Tracy is signaling a reconciliatory approach and a broad attitude worth emulating. While continuing the dialogue and being open to changes in a project is valuable, so too is remembering the broader context in which North American protected areas operate. As I have demonstrated, parks are interwoven with processes of settler-colonialism on this continent. It is, for example, an undeniable fact that Fort Vancouver and Lewis and Clark both occupy unceded territory and have long-focused on promoting heroic settler myths. Chris Clatterbuck and Tracy directly challenged their colleagues to understand how settler-colonialism continues to affect Indigenous lives:

Chris: I think it’s useful to learn about that history and understand it because that still informs how the Chinook...[are] going to come into the relationship. [You should] realize that for them to trust you [with] a site like Middle Village [Qiq’áyaqilxam]...that is very special, because they’re overcoming a lot of prior bad acts...they’re not meeting you halfway because they’re overcoming so much more.

Tracy Fortmann: Another strength really is understanding and embracing - I think this is hard for a lot of people – you have to embrace the past even if the past has nothing to do with you...I [have observed] people who just don't understand the issue and the importance of the past for tribes...[one should not respond by saying] ‘that’s the U.S. Army’ or ‘you're talking about Indian Wars,’ and ‘really, that was the Forest Service, I don't have anything to do with Gifford Pinchot.’ All of that is really not an understanding of what the dialogue is about. Actually understanding colonialism as it is and telling that story of colonialism [is important].

Settlers who fully internalize how the past shapes the future are well-positioned to advance settler/Indigenous reconciliation. I am reminded of Nagy (2012, 360) who writes, “Drawing a line on the past denies continuities of violence and, in turn, colludes with understandings of

reconciliation that seek to maintain the status quo. Colonization, apartheid, residential schools—these are not things of the past but instead continue to affect materially and socially lived relationships.” I believe one way that NPS employees at these two parks challenge settler-colonialism is by acknowledging its continued existence. Consider Tracy and Chris’s comments against Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez’s (2013, 77) observation that “within settler colonialism, settlers and the settler state [which would include agents of the NPS] must continuously disavow the existence and presence of Indigenous peoples and Indigenous accounts and histories of land.” Tracy and Chris, by plainly stating that Indigenous lives are negatively shaped by the past, avoid the problematic disavowal that Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez describe.

As I continue to cogitate on these comments, I imagine a settler confronted with centuries of structural genocide. I am reminded of how Lowman and Barker (2015, 15) write about settler-colonialism as “seeking the invisibility of Indigenous peoples.” Theresa described for me how she attends meetings and listens to Indigenous leaders talk about “centuries of feelings.” Doing so is a challenge to the invisibility Lowman and Barker describes, but most especially when Theresa has something uncomfortable directed at her. “I remember one or two examples where something was addressed to me in public that at the time, hurt my feelings,” Theresa told me, “[but what they said] was not at all actually meant for me as an individual person. So I don’t know that many employees are prepared for that.”

Theresa is describing a barrier to Indigenous resurgence – that settlers become anxious when Indigenous nations assert themselves (Lowman and Barker 2015). Meetings about the care of ancestral human remains (for example) are perhaps a different form of assertion than a road blockade or hunger strike (common tactics in Canada for Indigenous resistance). Yet, I would

argue that, for Theresa and other park employees, being a uniformed representative of a settler government in a meeting and hearing challenging statements from Indigenous leaders is indeed a confrontation – most especially for employees who are unaccustomed to working with Indigenous communities or who have never thought about the “centuries of feelings” Theresa alludes to. The more NPS staff understand both their complicity in settler-colonialism and what they represent when they don the uniform of a settler government, the better. Put another way, reconciliation demands settlers learn to “be driven to seek discomfort” (Lowman and Barker 2015, 106).

Clark, de Costa, and Maddison (2017) identify two ways that settlers take up reconciliation – delegation (to others of the responsibility to engage with reconciliation) and embodiment (personal investment in Indigenous/settler relationships). To borrow this schema, NPS staff at the two parks work towards reconciliation by taking clear, specific actions to support their partnerships with Indigenous peoples. Scott, for example, when asked what guidance he would give other park superintendents about working with Indigenous communities, responded “It's this corny: it's communication. It's relationships....And so yeah, I guess that my advice is, it's open communication, it's not having agendas. It's calling the tribal chair and saying, ‘Hey, let's have lunch, and there's nothing on the table other than getting to know each other.’” I understand, of course, that addressing park/Indigenous relations and persistent attempts at genocide requires much more than a luncheon or two. Yet, investing in personal relationships is a necessary first step. It may also help park staff understand negative feelings directed at them may not be personal, but rather because of what they represent.

As Scott indicates, not all contact with Indigenous communities need be, nor should be, in the context of a formal consultation process. To be clear: park/Indigenous relations need to be

built in a sustained manner that goes beyond mandated minimum engagement. This brings me to a concrete best-practice – incoming park superintendents must have meetings with Indigenous leaders. These conferences should be facilitated by outgoing superintendents, who should also attend. The outgoing NPS managers should introduce Indigenous leaders to the new manager and ensure the new person understands the specifics of the park’s relationship with the community.

The Chinook culture committee talked about this at length with me:

Gina Rife: I feel any new superintendent that comes should make it part of their work ethic to go out and meet the tribal people in their area.

Gary Johnson: You know, part of a MOU [memorandum of understanding] could be the departing superintendent and the arriving superintendent meeting with the Tribe to review to talk about relations...but I don't know what their protocol is. Maybe they [NPS management] sends one [superintendent] off before the next one arrives, you know, a week later or something but that [the meeting] could be beneficial to the tribe and beneficial to the Park Service...

Tony A. Johnson: And our great benefit right now is Jon had relationship with us prior to [becoming superintendent]...John and I...were in the 1990s, maybe 1999...in school in Mission, British Columbia because of both of our interest in Chinook Wawa language and so I have a relationship with them that's whatever that is 20 years old or better. But point is, sometimes you get lucky too. Jon's definitely motivated to work with us...

Joan Wekell: I think it would be nice when an old Park Service guy gets moved, that maybe he sits down and talks to culture committee that ‘I will be leaving on such and such a date.’ Maybe he knows the person so and ‘we will set up an appointment with the new fellow for you to talk to.’ I think it would make things go much more smoothly if we just had an introduction. They can see that we're friendly. And we can see that they're friendly. But I think I think it'd be important to just start a little bit of a relationship...

Gary Johnson: I'm thinking that...a historical timeline of the things that we've done over a period of time might be really beneficial for us to have and for them to have. Because if you've got a little chart there, of these 20 events that have occurred between Chinook and the National Park Service, the new person looking at it might start to think, “How can I continue this relationship? How can I be a part of it?” At least they’ve got the knowledge that there’s a tribe [that] they’ve worked with on a lot of projects.

A key part of supporting Indigenous resurgence<sup>39</sup> is developing protocols that “reflect the mutual interests of the parties” (Rice and Snyder 2008, 46). If the Chinook believe such introductory meetings (codified in an MOU) and a timeline of NPS/Chinook interactions would be beneficial for their relations with the NPS and if the NPS desires a healthy partnership with the Chinook, it is hard to see why the culture committee’s recommendations should not be adopted by the agency at Fort Vancouver and Lewis and Clark. This is not about ‘meeting with a stakeholder’ – rather, just as ambassadors present their credentials to host nations, so too should incoming park leaders to Indigenous nations. Indigenous resurgence will not be advanced through such acts alone, but better-facilitating new relationships is a component of a reconciliatory approach to park management.

This chapter has highlighted the need for park-Indigenous relationships built on persistent communication. NPS staff have discussed the need to engage in continuous dialogue, to push past uncomfortable conversations, and to be understanding of how settler-colonialism continues to affect Indigenous peoples. The Chinook culture committee proposed two solutions to maintaining robust park/community dialogue. First, departing superintendents should facilitate meetings with their replacements to gather with local Indigenous leaders to become acquainted with one another. Second, new superintendents should understand the full depth of park/Indigenous partnerships and be challenged to think about how they (park managers) can build on past work.

All of this calls to mind for me the general framework for park/Indigenous reconciliation as a process of truth-telling, acknowledging harm, and providing for restorative, community-centered justice (Finegan 2018). While no one discussed their work in such terms, I interpret

---

<sup>39</sup> See Tony’s comments at the end of Chapter 10 for his definition of resurgence.

Theresa's example of how pointed comments can come from "centuries of feelings" as a call for NPS staff to listen to hard truths.. One might also interpret Gary's suggestion of a timeline or chart of relationships as an expedient way to tell truths to new superintendents. For new superintendents to build on past successes – and provide for some measure of justice – they will have to, in Tracy's words, "embrace the past even if the past has nothing to do with you." Through actions described in this chapter, a path towards sustained, positive Indigenous/NPS relations becomes more evident.



#### Lessons-learned:

- Park professionals invest personally in relationships with Indigenous nations.
- These relationships require constant nurturing through informal and formal meetings.
- Park professionals must cultivate an understanding of how settler-colonialism continues to inform Indigenous lives and futures.
- Engagement with Indigenous nations is not necessarily always easy. This is in part due to the influences of ongoing settler-colonialism but is also because parks are a tangible representation of how settler states have usurped Indigenous land, on which Indigenous cultures are generally built.
- Indigenous decision-making may occur on a different scale or timeline than settler government deliberations.

#### Best-practices:

- Have a written MOU that outlines basic expectations for the park/Indigenous relationship.

- To facilitate new relationships during superintendent turnover, the outgoing and incoming superintendents should meet with Indigenous leaders.
- The park should maintain a dossier and graphic timeline of interactions and partnerships with each affiliated Indigenous community, both for archival/institutional memory purposes and to highlight for new staff members the richness and depth of the relationship.
- The park should provide training to ensure staff know the basic historical, political, and social contexts in which they are working.

## **Chapter 8: Small Things Matter**

Throughout this research, I have been struck by how NPS/Chinook interactions at Lewis and Clark have encompassed more than partnerships on large, intensive projects (such as at Qiq'áyaqilxam). This points to a lesson I think of as “small things matter.” I do not use ‘small’ as a diminutive here – these are not unimportant – but they also are not grand gestures. This is not, for example, implementing a co-management agreement. This chapter will focus on these quotidian experiences. I want to begin with the largest of the ‘small things.’ During the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, the Chinook leveraged NPS funding to hold a four-day event at the mouth of the Columbia celebrating Chinook heritage, as Tony A. Johnson described to me:

Tony A. Johnson: The tribe was dissatisfied by how that was going. So we actually received National Park Service money and hosted our own standalone [event] and you know, this is a good on them thing too, because this is us being hard-nosed or hard-assed and not wanting to be involved with some of what we didn't like...and so they still funded us and I would say the most significant event that happened at the mouth of the Columbia River was 100% community driven and generated and we called it the Chinook Indian Nation Commemoration...held in the town of Chinook where we spit-cooked fish and fed all the guests and held storytelling, singing and dancing...a lot of history [was] shared with the general public. [At] the same time, there was a Corps of Discovery II official Signature Event held at the fairgrounds in Astoria. And I think I would argue that for folks...what was really meaningful was this event that we put on. It's something we are really proud of because it really was an incredible amount of work, and really broad, I mean, there are a lot of Chinook folks that worked to make sure that that happened and happened well.

The Chinook Nation Commemoration Event represents a significant moment in NPS/Chinook relationships. Recall from Chapter 7 that a key lesson of this research is the willingness to engage in dialogue, even if it is challenging. By listening to the Chinook's concerns about the Corps II event and then funding a Chinook commemoration, the NPS demonstrated its commitment to engaged, genuine dialogue rooted in accountability to the Chinook. But beyond this, the money involved also represents an investment in Chinook culture. The NPS funded Chinook culture activities (singing, dancing, traditional cooking, etc.) and, importantly, got out

of the way and allowed the Chinook to practice and present their culture as they saw fit. This is precisely what is needed (in part) for settler/Indigenous reconciliation to take hold.

The importance of money cannot be overstated. The Chinook tend to rely on a small handful of people to do most of the heavy-lifting for events like this or to (for example) train NPS staff on how to appropriately interpret Chinook heritage. Partially because the settler government refuses to acknowledge Chinook sovereignty, the community has no paid staff. Chinook labor is volunteer work. But, as Scott Tucker says, “The government, the park, you can't ask a tribe to do everything pro bono. They have jobs, they have lives, they have bills, all these things...it's easier when there's money on the table when you can actually properly reimburse a tribal group for their expenses for their involvement for their time. When funds are short, it makes it a little bit more difficult.”

Ensuring that Indigenous peoples are paid for their time and effort is a key way to improve the park/Indigenous relationship. “Any token goes a long way in our world,” Tony remarked to me. “This is a traditional sensibility, but the act of actually caring about it, or this idea of the token, is a big deal.” Park staff must not resist this or be hesitant to engage in conversations about appropriate compensation for Indigenous time and knowledge. Scott advised other park leaders that “...one of the conversations up front is, “OK...if we're going to have this relationship, what financial obligations are there to participate?” A few months later, Tony reiterated to me the importance of such conversations “It would be really nice if there were full-blown contracts and regular wages per hour...but still, there has to be consideration for people's time and knowledge.”

Financial investments in the relationship helps to restore balance to it. Asking an Elder to come to the park to lead a program on, say, Chinook Wawa is a form of extraction. The park uses

the Elder's knowledge to offer a program, attract visitors, and fulfill its mission. Tony identifies one solution to this problem, saying "there does need to be, I think, Park Service anywhere in Indian country should have a line-item in their budget that is specific for their local people. And that could be I mean, it can be a token." A budget line-item for honorariums or gifts for Indigenous partners helps to respect the value of the community's knowledge and time.

Funding for Indigenous partnerships is clearly important. So too are actions that individually may not be all that large, but in totality represent deep, meaningful engagement with one's Indigenous partners. An example of this is how at Lewis and Clark, Jon Burpee brings a work crew of NPS employees to Bay Center each spring to assist the Chinook in preparing their campground to open for the summer season. One day of volunteering with the Chinook is not in and of itself going to move the needle on Indigenous relations. But, "relationships are built on small things," as Jon told me. "...I think it'd be tough to really say, 'Oh, these are the best things you should do \_\_\_' ...but it's investing in that relationship side of it...It just comes down to, again, investing time."

That the NPS shows up to help ready the Chinook campground each spring is deeply-meaningful to the community. Tony cites it to me on nearly every occasion that we speak as an example of how the NPS has built a good relationship with the Chinook. Part of this is, I believe, that it offers unstructured time for the NPS to learn about Chinookan culture and perspectives away from the trappings of formal meetings or consultations. Gary Johnson described the clean-up day as a time when "there's probably some education for those folks – just in seeing the office, listening to Tony [and] talking to other tribal members. So it...[gives] them a whole different perspective to see what we're all about." As Jon put it to me, going out and interacting with the community outside of the consultation process contributes to deeper relationships.

The wisdom of Jon's careful stewardship of the NPS/Chinook relationship became apparent during the U.S. Federal Government shutdown (12/22/2018-01/25/2019). With a lapse in Congressional appropriations, the NPS was forced to close. NPS employees missed two paychecks during the shutdown and concern grew among the Chinook about their neighbors' ability to financially provide for their families. The Chinook decided to hold a traditional spit-roasted salmon feast for the Lewis and Clark employees during the shutdown. "Our intent was to acknowledge their suffering and help them however we could," Tony told me. While it did not immediately happen – due to government ethics rules surrounding accepting gifts – the Chinooks' gesture has not gone unnoticed. Jon had tears in his eyes as he described for me the "deeply meaningful" "sense of care" that the Chinook were expressing for him and his employees. The symbolism behind the offer of one meal – freely given to the federal government by people who continue to be targeted by that very government for assimilation and subjugation – is hard to overstate.

A sustained level of small gestures – tokens, really – like these has contributed to the strong NPS/Chinook relationship. "Tokens matter," Tony has repeatedly told me. "When we give gifts at potlatches or naming or whatever, so much of that is a token ....it's meant to just show gratitude. And I guess if the parks did that across the board....it's something meaningful that they can do." Tokens (small gifts of gratitude) can come in different forms, either money or by showing up for community events.

Another good example of how 'small things matter' is interpretive materials at Fort Vancouver. Bob Cromwell told me a story about a time when he, a racialized Filipino-American with a PhD in anthropology, realized how he was inadvertently perpetrating anti-Indigenous racism at the park:

It's simple stuff...like [with] our waysides and our brochures...somebody pointed out, "you list Scottish, English, French Canadian, Métis, Native Americans, including the Chinook, Iroquois, Hawaiian," he says "that list went from the whitest to the brownest." I was just like holy cow. Never thought of that...it never crossed my mind that it was written from European to the least European. It was like, "oh, my gosh!" It's a simple thing. But yeah, there were different ways for us to have done that...I'm a Filipino-American, right, and I get it a lot...and even from that perspective, I wasn't thinking about that...it was mind blowing to me...it's simple things like that which are not very difficult to change, right, which could go an awful long way.

Changing the order of ethnicities on a park brochure does not require much effort. After multiple rounds of interviews and sharing circles, I am convinced that a good deal of progress in park/Indigenous relationships can be made by paying attention to the seemingly inconsequential or minor, although this is not to say that reconciliation will be achieved easily or through small gestures. If Bob were to re-order his list, it would do very little to address the underlying tension Fort Vancouver's celebration of colonial history creates. But the sum of multiple small gestures, in concert with bigger projects like the Village reconstruction and Land Bridge construction that respond to on-going settler-colonialism by partially re-Indigenizing the landscape, can partially constitute a reconciliatory approach to park management.

As another example of how 'small things matter,' the Chinook Indian Nation rotates the location of its council meetings around its traditional territory throughout the year; the NPS graciously allows the Chinook to hold meetings at Lewis and Clark headquarters periodically (usually in October). "There's never been any question from the part of the Park Service as to our access to their facilities," Tony told me. "They open that door really wide and we think of that as just a good reciprocal part of relationships." Gina Rife added, "it's always made us to [feel] welcome." Reciprocity, as Daehnke (2017) writes, is a fundamental Chinook value. In Chinook culture, relationships (among both human and non-human actors) are maintained by the

actions and protocols one follows when interacting with another. Inviting the Chinook to use NPS space carries much more weight than the simple use of a meeting room might suggest.

I believe that beyond considerations of reciprocity, the symbolism of this is deeply-important. The NPS occupies unceded Chinookan territory. When the Chinook occupy – even if only briefly and for a relatively bureaucratic purpose (council meetings) – NPS space, this is a reclaiming of their territory. Similarly, when then-Secretary of the Interior Gail Norton made her first trip to the region in March 2001, the government invited the Chinook to welcome her to their territory. This respected Chinook protocols for visiting another community’s land. “I think that was a pretty big deal [that] they wanted us to be part of that ceremony,” Gary remarked. “It was just a pretty significant moment...the right thing for the National Park Service to do so.” While the federal government is willfully denying Chinook sovereignty where it really matters – in the recognition process – that the Chinook have been invited to welcome federal officials to their land is another form of reclamation.

The culture committee has emphatically highlighted the importance of the NPS routinely consulting with the Chinook as a part of section 106 processes<sup>40</sup>. “So this is a section 106 consultation request for a project they’re doing at Ft. Clatsop,” Tony told me once as he held up a letter. “My reason for showing it to you is – you realize our unclear status. And yet all always and forever as these agencies – whether it’s the U.S. Navy, the Coast Guard, whoever it is, they all – Department of Energy, National Park Service – they reach out to us with official section 106 consultation requests...very often in our experience we were the primary consulting tribe...and this is part[ially] speaking to I think a positive relationship as the National Park Service has never in the context of Fort Clatsop have diminished our role. We’ve always been

---

<sup>40</sup> Section 106 of the *National Historic Preservation Act* requires that when undertaking projects with the potential to disturb archeological resources, federal agencies consult with Indigenous peoples.

acknowledged as the go-to tribal community as we should be.” Sending a section 106 consultation letter is a routine job function of NPS resource managers. Writing the letter and sending it is not, in the grand scheme of things, *that* big of a deal. But it takes on added import when a park genuinely consults with a Tribe over time, as the staff at Lewis and Clark have done. For the Chinook, whose inherent nationhood is ignored by the federal government, this takes on another dimension. Because the NPS engages with the Chinook in formal section 106 processes, they are extending de facto recognition to the Tribe. The NPS treats the Chinook just as they treat federally-recognized Indigenous nations in the region. This causes tension in those relationships with other communities, who “sense the vacuum at the mouth of the Columbia River” without a federally-recognized Tribe there, Tony explained. “There are folks who covet” the Chinook claim over the lower Columbia. Every time the NPS consults with the Chinook, the agency strengthens that claim while exacerbating tensions with the federally-recognized nations. Yet, the NPS persists in working with the Chinook in processes typically reserved for federally-recognized tribes.

I cannot overstate the importance of this to the Chinook. The Chinooks’ status as a sovereign Tribe is blatantly ignored by the American government for reasons that are in no way grounded in any sort of reality. Whenever a government agency treats the Chinook as they do federally-recognized tribes, this buttresses the Chinooks’ lawsuit seeking to clarify their status. Tony commented that, “Like this section 106 consultation request. Literally, this request – every time Department of Energy, any of them, sends us a request like that, it gets scanned and sent to our lawyers. Because, how dare they say, we're not recognized at the same point that they're busy with all their agencies recognizing and giving us – I mean, I don't want to say, giving us – I

mean, we have significant power in those relationships. We have the ability to and have shut down large projects. We are treated the same as everybody else.”

I have never directly asked NPS employees about how they perceive their work in the context of the Chinook’s lawsuit. Several of them have told me they seek to engage with all interested parties in order to make the most-informed management decisions possible. Others have said that to best-protect and interpret park resources, they must engage with affiliated Indigenous communities regardless of the communities’ recognition or status. These staff members, whom I am deliberately not naming, have never said anything to me about their engagement being motivated by a desire to provide evidence in the lawsuit. I have no reason to believe that they are attempting to undermine their employer’s case against the Chinook.

But I think it strains the bounds of credulity to imagine that they are unaware of the effects of their actions. I assert it would be similarly hard to postulate that the NPS staff believes a Tribe with unclear status, that they work closely with to preserve and interpret Indigenous heritage at Lewis and Clark NHP and consult with at similar levels to federally-recognized nations at Fort Vancouver, does in fact deserves its unclear status. “We’ve got challenges here because we have federally-recognized tribes and we have non-federally-recognized tribes,” Jon remarked. “...at times I felt very sad about the politics. But having said that, it’s so much more complex than I ever thought it was...it also at times makes me very cautious....” Perhaps even more so than through major projects like Qiq’áyaqilxam, I believe that given how the NPS treats the Chinook similar to fully-recognized nations suggests that NPS staff at these two parks are challenging settler-colonialism and supporting Indigenous resurgence.

Consultation processes are distinct from a project like Qiq’áyaqilxam and, while much smaller in scope, are of equal import given the Chinook’s unclear status (in the eyes of the state;

it of course clear to the Chinook). Consider Qiq'áyaqilxam. Whom else was the NPS going to work with on the project? The Cowlitz? The Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde? Hardly. It is *only* the Chinook Indian Nation with whom the NPS could have credibly partnered on this work, given the Chinooks' undisputed ties to the village site. But for consultation letters, the NPS is in no way obliged to engage with the Chinook – the agency is only required to consult with federally-recognized Indigenous nations. In other words, NPS staff are deliberately choosing to work with the Chinook community when they could easily not do so. This choice is a direct challenge to the settler government's rejection of Chinook sovereignty. Section 106 consultation letters are a good example of how 'small things matter.' Being consulted about waterline replacement or relatively minor driveway re-grading (two recent projects) is not, in the grand scheme of things, a particularly notable step towards NPS/Chinook reconciliation. But the context in which this occurs and the sustained level of consultation across many years turns a minor bureaucratic exercise into a deeply-significant form of engagement.

When I met with the culture committee in September 2018, Tony circled back to the discussion of Gail Norton asking the Chinook to welcome her to their territory, saying:

it's our sensibility to do that...this is them showing the proper respect and deference to us in our territory. And that's something big picture that I think every park – I mean, nowadays, you go to university and universities are really good at saying that we're on the ceded land of the Kalapuya...the president of the University of Oregon stands up and he will, I think in every instance say, that he is on Kalapuya land, Willamette Valley Treaty, Grand Ronde Tribe [territory]...I don't think you see that religiously in the parks. And that would be a really obvious thing that across the board, National Park Service should do.

Land acknowledgements, as Tony described here, present challenges. Similar to apologies (Corntassel and Holder 2008), they can become performative, rote acts that give the impression of improved settler/Indigenous relationships without any meaningful change actually occurring.

Land acknowledgements can very well be one of Tuck and Yang's (2012) moves towards innocence.

If, for example, the chief ranger at a park were to write a land acknowledgement and distribute it to staff to use before public events, this would not represent reconciliation. Such an occurrence would fail to require any meaningful engagement on the part of staff other than the chief ranger. Reconciliation requires relationships in the first place, genuine contemplation of the harms of settler-colonialism in the second, and a commitment to addressing those in the third. One employee writing a park-wide land acknowledgement does not advance Indigenous resurgence beyond minor improvements at the margins. A better practice would be for each staff member to spend time learning about the Indigenous nations of the region and to individually write land acknowledgements. Preferably, staff would travel to affiliated Indigenous communities to interact directly with Indigenous peoples and the land, and to use these experiences to inform writing the land acknowledgement. What does this territory mean to this community? In what ways has the land cared for the community and vice-versa? How would the community like to be acknowledged? Leveraging the creation of a land acknowledgement as an opportunity to build relationships with Indigenous peoples and the land, rather than to do some cursory online reading about local history, would be a true step towards reconciliation.

Even if one offers a land acknowledgment with such care, it may yet present challenges. Consider Lewis and Clark NHP. Should the park acknowledge only the Chinook? The Chinook and the Clatsop-Nehalem? What about federally-recognized tribes? The weighty politics of choosing whom to specifically name in a land acknowledgement can be intimidating at best and damage park/Indigenous relationships at worst. NPS staff need to be aware of this when crafting a land acknowledgment and ensure that at minimum, a land acknowledgement does not

reproduce imposed colonial divisions onto Indigenous nations. I believe it would be deeply inappropriate, for example, if a Lewis and Clark acknowledgement named the Grand Ronde (a federally-recognized community), but not the Chinook (whose status is unclear). Navigating the Chinook/Clatsop-Nehalem waters is more difficult, and a good example of a time when “hold oneself accountable to communities” means deciding how to maneuver among competing demands.

Another caution about land acknowledgements concerns language like “we thank the \_\_\_ for allowing us to gather on this territory today.” I have been to many events in Toronto where the land acknowledgment centers on gratitude for a supposed invitation or consent from Indigenous nations for settler presence on the land. I do not want to minimize Indigenous agency in negotiating modern-day land claims, but this sort of language strikes me as preposterously ignorant and passive-aggressive, even if it may come with good intentions. The Indigenous nations of North America did not “invite” settlers here. We showed up and asserted control over the land. Thanking Indigenous peoples for our presence on this land is a hollow gesture that betrays a fundamental misunderstanding of settler/Indigenous relationships and the purpose of a land acknowledgment. Land acknowledgements are not meant as vehicles for the victors to express gratitude for the genocide we perpetrate – instead, they are intended to call attention to the historic and continuing presence of Indigenous Tribe and, in doing so, challenge that genocide.

Yet, I believe land acknowledgements, however flawed or fraught with pitfalls, offer the NPS an opportunity to engage visitors in an unexpected and thought-provoking interpretive moment. “People would find it interesting,” as Joan Wekell said at the culture committee meeting. NPS staff at both Fort Vancouver and Lewis and Clark have described their typical

visitor as someone who is looking for a specific experience – to learn about the colonial history of the site. Confronting such visitors with Indigeneity would provide an opening to interpret the full range of stories present at these complex parks, as I believe it would generally at any NPS unit<sup>41</sup>.

Land acknowledgements need not only be verbal before park events or programs. They could also be printed on park maps and brochures. In the NPS, each unit has an official park map-brochure (sometimes called the “unigrid”). While they vary by site, they adhere to a common set of standards and graphic design. The NPS could revise these guidelines to include a requirement that the unigrid include a land acknowledgement. While printed words on brochures literally printed by the millions may not necessarily prompt the sort of deep, personal engagement King might like to see, not all visitors will attend a program (in fact, most do not). To maximize their reach, land acknowledgements should be on park brochures.

Land acknowledgements should name specific Indigenous nations and treaties. They should directly state that settlers have harmed Indigenous peoples, that the park has benefitted from these harms (by virtue of its existence; and, depending on the context may be continuing these harms), and finally that despite settlers’ best efforts, Indigenous nations remain in North American and maintain cultural ties to their traditional territories. When writing a land acknowledgment, the NPS should use it as an opportunity for park staff to learn directly from communities and each park staff member who will deliver an acknowledgment should write their own. Finally, the NPS should be aware of how land acknowledgments are performative and couple these acknowledgments with concrete actions to support Indigenous resurgence. A simple

---

<sup>41</sup> I recognize, of course, that there are some sites focused very narrowly on one historic event or theme, like Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park. At such parks, a land acknowledgment may be more performance than meaningful opening into interpreting Indigenous heritage.

statement on a park brochure or at the start of a program is just that – a sentence or two. But taken in concert with other actions, it can denote a park/Indigenous relationship founded on respect for Indigenous sovereignty.

This chapter has focused on how ‘small things matter’ in park/Indigenous relationships. Resolving the inherent violence in being a settler land-management agency on unceded Indigenous territory is an on-going process at both Fort Vancouver and Lewis and Clark. Staff at these two parks have built respectful, decent working relationships with the Chinook Indian Nation (and other affiliated nations) through *both* lengthy, highly-visible, capital-intensive projects like Qiq’áyaqilxam and by sustained quotidian interactions and investments in the relationship. Replicating Qiq’áyaqilxam alone would not be enough to facilitate park/Indigenous relationships elsewhere. Instead, NPS staff need emphasize frequent interactions with Indigenous peoples across a range of issues, big and small.



**Lessons Learned:**

- Park/Indigenous relationships require more than grand projects. Tokens, gestures, and small-scale interactions both matter and are required to build a relationship.
- These ‘small things’ must occur repeatedly and in a sustained manner. The relationship requires constant nurturing.
- Financial investments in the community are not optional.
- Land acknowledgments require care and thought; they should reflect specific communities, treaties, and the violence of settler-colonialism.

- Parks can support Indigenous resurgence and challenge settler-colonialism by simply doing what is morally right, even if it is not what the settler government official endorses (e.g., treating the Chinook as a de facto recognized tribe by consulting with them).

**Best-Practices:**

- Land acknowledgements should reflect personal engagement by the author in settler-colonialism and be used as an opportunity for the author and audience to engage with Indigeneity. Acknowledgements should not be an exercise in rote recitation.
- Park staff need to look for and act on opportunities to personally engage in the life of Indigenous communities (e.g., how the NPS assists the Chinook with spring clean-up at their campground).
- Parks must make financial contributions to the community for its expertise and time, even if that contribution is more symbolic than anything else (assuming it is not so minor as to be insulting).

## **Chapter 9: The Qiq'áyaqilxam Project**

*Scott Tucker: If you get to talk with David, I mean, Ray, Jim and David were intimately tied to each other with a very intense project that involved a lot of trust and a lot of interaction.*

*Chris Clatterbuck: Middle Village was very much a period with intense communication and collaboration*

*Tony A. Johnson: The whole thing needs to be re-looked at – it was a bad moment.*



On the north bank of the Columbia River, about eight miles as-the-crow-flies from the Pacific Ocean, Qiq'áyaqilxam sits nestled between river bluffs, a state highway, and the water. Here, Lewis and Clark National Historical Park interprets almost exclusively Chinookan heritage. This place, in a national park named for iconic Euro-Americans and dedicated to a colonial story, flips that narrative to instead focus on Indigenous nationhood. It is a refreshing change to see the NPS forcefully, credibly interpret an Indigenous counternarrative to the triumphant Euro-American explorer story.

This chapter will explore Qiq'áyaqilxam, where the Chinook and NPS have worked more closely together than anywhere else. Drawing on interviews with NPS staff and sharing circles with the Chinook culture committee, I trace the development of the site. Qiq'áyaqilxam's significance is not simply as a project of immense, personal NPS/Chinook engagement. Qiq'áyaqilxam commands our attention because it also lays bare the complexities agencies may encounter when trying to decolonize a park. While it is hard to know with certainty if the NPS did the right thing at Qiq'áyaqilxam, the project demonstrates that government/Indigenous partnerships can be messy and difficult to navigate.

## Key People Involved in Qiq'áyaqilxam

The Qiq'áyaqilxam project involved several people who are not generally present throughout the rest of the dissertation; I begin by introducing them here. First, William 'Bill' Garvin is a private landowner. His family has owned approximately 350 acres of waterfront property since 1853, when his great-great grandfather settled it. The Garvin tract has been home to a fish cannery, a railroad, a Catholic church, and private residences over time. Of the Garvin family's 350 acres, 15 became the Qiq'áyaqilxam unit of Lewis and Clark National Historical Park.

Jim Sayce, now the executive director of the Pacific County Economic Development Council, worked for the Washington State Historical Society (WSHS) during the Qiq'áyaqilxam project. WSHS is a quasi-government agency (officially a "non-profit 501(c)3 membership organization...[and] a trustee agency of the State of Washington with enumerated powers;" Washington State Historical Society 2019). WSHS funded most of Qiq'áyaqilxam's \$5 million price-tag (Observer Staff 2009). At WSHS, Jim was the liaison officer for WSHS/Lewis and Clark NHP relations and WSHS's Qiq'áyaqilxam project manager.

Don Striker was superintendent of the park from 1999 to 2002. David Szymanski was superintendent of Lewis and Clark NHP from 2007 to 2012. Don initially approached the Chinook Indian Nation about a park on the Garvin property, but he transferred to New River Gorge National River and the associated Gauley River National Recreation Area before Qiq'áyaqilxam construction ended. David took over the portfolio and saw the project through to completion.

Charles Funk is a Chinook Elder. He was a member of the culture committee who “drew the short straw” and became the site monitor for the Qiq’áyaqilxam project, during which time he stayed at the site continuously.

### Origins of the Qiq’áyaqilxam Project

In the early 2000s, the federal government, local politicians, and history enthusiasts began considering the upcoming bicentennial of the Corps of Discovery (Lewis and Clark’s expedition). The Garvin property is significant in the Lewis and Clark story because it is the place where, on November 24, 1805, Lewis and Clark held a vote (including York, an enslaved man, and Sacajawea) to determine the location of the expedition’s winter camp. The original WSHS vision for this land – called ‘Station Camp’ by the Corps – was to create a new park and “...a sort of West Coast shrine to democracy, a relaxed cousin to the grand marble shrines of the East...” (Observer Staff 2009). Congress greenlighted the expansion of the-then Ft. Clatsop National Memorial to include Station Camp in 2004.

Chinook oral history teaches that the land between the river and bluff at Station Camp was the site of a major Chinook village, known as Qiq’áyaqilxam. “Among the busiest intersections of cultural exchange on the West Coast” during the early contact era (Graf 2012), Qiq’áyaqilxam is known for being the summer residence of Concomly (a Chinook leader) and having an unusual density of “copper wealth and other prestige items” (D. Wilson, Ames, and Smith 2017, 129). Chinooks lived at Qiq’áyaqilxam until well after European contact, as Tony told me:

Tony A. Johnson I'll say this for record: we have this history about the place where the village started [and] its extent. We also have an oral history which said that they eventually burnt us out of that village...that was just our oral history. And when the archaeology was really exposed there, one of those houses – there was an entire house-front in the ground, burnt. So that house had been burnt. The front of the plankhouse had

fallen over directly onto the ground. There was a lot of vindication in that project for us in terms of our knowledge.

But despite this history, the original plan for the new park unit was for it to focus nearly exclusively on the Lewis and Clark aspect of it. “Station Camp is a bookend on the western end of the Lewis and Clark Trail,” the NPS contractor for the project told local press in 2004, “We want people to experience what members of the expedition did” (Butterfield 2004a). To accomplish this, the government proposed pulling Highway 101 back from the river’s edge up against the base of the river bluff, creating space for a waterfront park (‘Station Camp’) and trail between the highway and river.



Image 7: Original plan for Station Camp Park (U.S. National Park Service n.d.)

Local civic leaders saw Station Camp as an opportunity to expand Lewis and Clark tourism in the region, particularly with the upcoming Bicentennial. “We are reclaiming a lost chapter of Pacific County history,” Dave Nicandri, Washington State Historic Society director, announced (quoted in Butterfield 2004a). Then-Congressman Brian Baird (D-WA, 03) praised the expansion of Fort Clatsop National Memorial<sup>42</sup> to include Station Camp in a July 24, 2003

<sup>42</sup> Lewis and Clark National Historical Park was designated as Fort Clatsop National Memorial prior to 2004.

statement (quoted in Butterfield 2003), noting that the new park would “...help promote our local economy through tourism and honor our historical heritage. Including these sites in the Fort Clatsop Memorial will put them on the bicentennial map and help our local communities prepare for the upcoming celebration.” Chinook heritage is glaringly absent from this vision. Yet, when the NPS and its partners started planning the new park, then-superintendent Don Striker went to meet with the Chinook:

Gary Johnson: One of the things I'm thinking is in 2000, we met with Superintendent Don Striker, who was the Fort Clatsop superintendent. The topic was about – I think it was a first meeting when we were talking about the Station Camp site, the original conversation. They were going to [give] perhaps five acres to the tribe, build us a plankhouse, and develop that park. That was a Washington State Historical Society and national parks conversation.

Tony A. Johnson: The project from back in 2000 or so that Dad was talking about originally was a commitment from a coalition of folks including National Park Service, which was going to do international search for all material Chinook-related...I guess I would say, I took that moment as their effort to kind of – I don't want to say smooth over because I'm not saying there was something the matter – but to kind of open the door to a new relationship. And do it with I would, I would say, the idea was to do it with a really substantial gift to the tribe, which was this effort of chasing all this material, and then in turn the tribe would you know, be providing our knowledge, our history.

Tony and Gary describe a relationship rooted in reciprocity. This is a critical point. Indigenous peoples have long-decried the extractive nature of their relationships with settler institutions (for example, see Nadasdy 2003). Moreover, the Chinook regard reciprocity as a fundamental prerequisite to good relationships. The NPS's offer for a plankhouse, land, and help with repatriating Chinook artifacts scattered across the world was deeply meaningful, even if the proposed park was going to center Lewis and Clark instead of Chinookan heritage. This is the sort of gesture that should be replicated in other parks. The NPS needs to ensure balance in its relationships with Indigenous peoples.

Even though the original plans for Station Camp focused heavily on the Lewis and Clark story, the Chinook signed off on the original plans. Yet, park that the NPS, WSHS, and Chinook Indian Nation celebrated opening on August 18, 2012 is not the original heritage site planned for the Garvin property. It – to the displeasure of some local residents – explicitly de-emphasizes Lewis and Clark heritage and does not provide riverfront access. There is an “inescapable veneer of politics” surrounding the site, Jim Sayce explained to me. “Lewis and Clark folks had a lot invested in the first park design. Local residents see the park through a conflict-driven, political lens.” A Longview, Washington, *The Daily News* article from the opening of Qiq’áyaqilxam highlights this (Allen 2012):

Naselle historian Rex Ziak, who helped uncover the site's significance and lead the initial push to start the project, disagrees. “It could have been something magnificent,” Ziak said, but “I personally can't tell people to go there.”

Why did plans for Station Camp change? What does Qiq’áyaqilxam teach about park/Indigenous relations? I take up these questions in the remainder of this chapter while tracing the development of a Chinook-focused park instead of a Lewis and Clark one.

As design work progressed on Station Camp in the early 2000s, Tony and the Chinook Indian Nation were heavily involved with the consultants who were designing outdoor exhibits for the park. Tony travelled regularly to Portland – a lengthy, 300-mile-roundtrip drive – for “dozens” of meetings about the new exhibits. Meanwhile, the NPS and its partners were conducting archaeological surveys of the area in preparation for the roadwork to begin. “It was known as a village site,” Rachel Stokeld told me, “but the archeology had not been done.” The *Chinook Observer* (no relation to the Chinook Indian Nation; Butterfield 2004b) reported on June 8, 2004 that:

Brian Harrison of Columbia Diachronic Services in Astoria is heading up the dig along with several National Park Services [*sic*] archaeologists from the Fort Vancouver

National Historic Site who have been busy digging holes, sifting dirt for artifacts and bagging what they find. Also working on the site is Deborah Wood of the Fort Clatsop National Memorial and several volunteers...no Indian [*sic*] artifacts or shell middens, bones or evidence of burials have been found so far....

When I first read this, I was rather surprised. How can one of the largest, wealthiest Chinook communities have left not a trace of its existence? There were three dozen plankhouses at Qiq'áyaqilxam (Daily Astorian Staff 2005); this was a vibrant, thriving seasonal village before the epidemics and colonization. Surely there would be *something* left in the archaeological record. As it turns out, I am not the first person who had these thoughts. Tony explains:

Tony A. Johnson: A part of the goofy way that it all fell out is, is a change of administration in our community<sup>43</sup>. So we kind of have to own that, even though this group [the culture committee] has been consistent throughout. So when we were still [in] our tribal offices down in the town of Chinook...[an agreement was drawn up between us,] the Park Service, federal highways, State of Washington. But at that moment, there was a lot of work happening. I was attending meetings in Portland on a really regular basis with a design firm. And we felt really good about what was happening.

Then, despite our saying that there were that the archaeology was still there, they were insistent early on that that had all washed away and they did an initial set of shovel set probes. It's actually really extensive. I don't remember the number – dozens or 100. I mean, just a really incredible amount. All the test holes that they dug came up basically zero archaeology and so they had us starting to question our own teaching about what was there because they went through and dug all these holes.

Well point is, as soon as they – despite all that we insisted that they stay above ground, that they didn't do. And this is not National Park Service but obviously related. When they went through and started that project<sup>44</sup>, they first of all went outside the boundaries of what they promised us which was nothing subsurface. And as soon as they did that, they ended up disturbing the archaeology and human remains there on site. Seems important to tell you that Tony Luscier here was an Elder, teacher of ours, and he said those bunk houses at the end of the way, which are not there now but which were there, were the edge of the village. So we believe wholly in our own teaching that that village extended from there down.

But they, meaning the government folks, insisted that that wasn't there, that it had been washed away. They really believed that that that the archaeology, the village itself, was I guess in the riverbed at that point. That was contrary to our teaching. And again, their

---

<sup>43</sup> In 2006, Ray Gardner was elected Chinook chair.

<sup>44</sup> “They” here refers to road contractors and “the project” is the earthwork for the new, Lewis and Clark-focused park.

shovel test probes said something else. So when they started in on it, it immediately went to heck. My point is all that design work that I've been handed, doing with them, went to heck too because this community voted to suspend all, any, the development of the park.

I don't know if you know any part of this story, if you've heard it...the road was going to go right over what's naturally there is a berm and that berm is the actual village site and it extends a good distance. I mean dang near a mile or whatever, half mile, whatever it is. That raised part, the engineers came along and said "oh, perfect road." Well, you know what really was? That was the high ground the village [was built on] and so they had promised us that they were just going to fill on top of that and the road bed would sit on fill. Instead, they brought a big scraping machine in to scrape that. They went right over and that that affected human remains. But then, they also – despite their assurances of not going subsurface – ran a what was going to be an auger, like a deal to run utilities along the edge of the road and that's where they went really disturbed a significant amount of human remains.

I want to pause here with Tony's story. I will return to it in a moment. But for now, I want to reflect on what he has already said. My interpretation of his story is that:

1. The Chinook have oral histories about their seasonal community at Qiq'áyaqilxam.
2. The government, as a part of the required pre-earthwork regulatory process, conducted an archaeological survey of the Garvin property to prepare for the Highway 101 relocation project.
3. The government did not find notable artifacts, thus was unable to "verify" Chinook oral history (even if verification is not expressly what they set out to do).
4. This caused the Chinook to "start to question our own teaching," to borrow Tony's phrase.
5. When dirt started moving for the new highway, Ancestors were uncovered, vindicating Chinook oral histories.

Nearly a year after first hearing this story, I remain surprised by it. Recall that the NPS/Chinook relationship is supposed to be a *model* one. I am not entirely convinced that what transpired here characterizes a healthy park/Indigenous partnership. I asked Jill Harding, who was on Lewis and

Clark staff at this time and involved in the project if she thought that the inadvertent discovery lent credence to Chinook oral histories in the eyes of government officials:

Jill Harding: The team that was originally working on the design, I don't think the people in that room were like, "oh, yeah, we now believe Tony." I was on that team; I believed Tony. And I could say for the people around the table who joined that planning piece, everyone was very receptive to it. But to the outside world, and with the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial – our big signature event on the coast was 2005. So it [the Corps II reenactment] is marching, coming literally down the river. I think, to the rest of the world, or the rest of the public, it kind of [made them say], "Oh, you mean, there's a bigger story here, then, just Lewis and Clark?" So I think that kind of opened up [the story]....

Obviously, I was not in the room where these conversations happened. I take Jill at her word that she and her colleagues believed Chinook oral histories the entire time. When I returned to the region in February 2019, I spoke with Doug Wilson about this incident; he was on the archeological team that worked on the Qiq'áyaqilxam dig. Doug indicated to me that the original archeological work was done by a Clatsop County Community College (CCCC) professor under the auspices of the NPS. The CCCC professor's test holes were small – about 40 centimeters in diameter and 50 centimeters deep, Doug told me. Those initial tests revealed that a contact-period archaeological site was present but were too small to ascertain the scale or significance of the site. There was not enough archeological evidence to suggest that there was a village site at the property. These results of these shovel tests made their way into project planning documents, while questions remained at the NPS regional office about the site. Jim Thomsen, NPS regional archeologist at the time, asked Doug and Fort Vancouver staff (including Bob Cromwell) to work with the CCCC professor on larger-scale testing. They did so; while the increased excavations located additional artifacts, the scale of the find was still not overwhelmingly indicative of a village. It was not until the Pacific Utility District dug trenches for underground utility lines – which they were not supposed to be doing, per the agreement the Chinook signed

with the NPS – that the remnants of Qiq’áyaqilxam became apparent, by Western scientific standards<sup>45</sup>.

To be very clear, no NPS or WSHS staff member has ever said to me that they did not believe Chinook oral histories, and the Chinook appear to bear no ill will towards the NPS over this incident. But I want to be equally clear in saying that the Chinook culture committee repeatedly described the incident using words like “vindication of” and “proving” oral histories. One typically is not ‘vindicated’ if one feels wholeheartedly believed in the first place. I would also point out that, for example, in Wilson, Ames, and Smith (2017, 135), a claim by the authors references an endnote, which says it (their assertion) “runs counter to Chinook oral traditions.” Rather than bury Chinook oral traditions in an endnote, they should have been weighted equally with (i.e., presented alongside) the Western science presented by the authors, one of whom was a key figure in the Qiq’áyaqilxam project. I point-blank asked the culture committee if they felt that my interpretation of this incident (items 1-5 above) was accurate. Tony described it as “exactly” what happened, saying:

We had multiple meetings with the archaeologist and the folks involved with Department of Transportation. They flat insisted that the village had washed away [and that] the actual village was in the river on the other side of the rip-rap there, and that it had washed away. No matter how many times we said it, they didn't believe it.

NPS staffers appear sincere in their belief that they were not disregarding Chinookan oral histories. Tony and the culture committee are emphatic this is what happened, to the point that they began to doubt their own oral histories about where their own direct Ancestors were buried. I argue that, at minimum, Qiq’áyaqilxam demonstrates that navigating the park/Indigenous

---

<sup>45</sup> There is some disagreement about this narrative. Several people told me what I have reported here. Another individual wrote to me to say that the additional excavations *did* find enough evidence to conclude there was a seasonal Chinook village at the site. I believe the version in the main body of the text here reflects what a majority of those who told me about the findings had to say.

relationship is a complex task. At worst – if, for example, this is a case of social desirability bias<sup>46</sup> – Qiq'áyaqilxam shows how well-meaning, engaged non-Indigenous park staff can still act as settler-colonial agents in spite of their best efforts or intentions. In an ideal world, the Chinook would not have been given cause to doubt their own teachings.

### Qiq'áyaqilxam Park Construction

Qiq'áyaqilxam's complexity only increased after the large, inadvertent discovery of at least 12 Ancestors by the Pacific Utility District. All work on the project ceased to allow for archeological digs. WSHS immediately erected large tents over the exposed remains, Charles Funk told me. As a site monitor, Charles lived at Qiq'áyaqilxam around the clock for 13 days in the fall of 2005, after the inadvertent discovery. In January 2006, the Chinook Indian Nation (CIN) called a general council meeting. The general council is the highest decision-making body within the Chinook; all enrolled CIN citizens may vote at general council meetings. The CIN effectively called a plebiscite on the work at Qiq'áyaqilxam:

Gary Johnson: Yeah, we had a general council meeting, all members of the tribe invited, and it was a strongly opinionated forceful, pretty hard meeting which ended up with the council adopting basically a letter and a resolution to stop all work and activity, at the site that it was over, nobody wanted, any possibility of more disturbance.

Tony A. Johnson: This general council meeting was called expressly to address this issue of the park plans and grave disturbance at Middle Village. And we brought, I think it was three, options to the general council, and the general council scrapped it and voted for a fourth option, which basically said, No project, no future work, end of story. The general council wanted nothing to do with this thing going forward after the disturbance. They just wanted the thing – things put back together, and they just wanted it to be left.

The Chinook Indian Nation, in other words, voted overwhelmingly (92% to 8%; Butterfield 2006) to oppose the plan for the park (i.e., the highway realignment, the new park between the

---

<sup>46</sup> Research participants may be hesitant to disclose an unpopular or shameful act; this can bias one's work (Chung and Monroe, 2003; King and Bruner, 2000).

road and the water, etc.). “We support the park being developed, as long as the road doesn't go through the site of the village or the graves,” Gary told a local reporter at the time. “We like the road right where it is. We're not opposed to being part of the national park system. We need to work out a compromise. We've made it known that we would like to stay at the table for discussion to see what options might be available for how to work out the situation. We're available to sit down with the agencies involved.”

During our September 2018 conversation, Gary contextualized this decision for me. It was not simply that the Chinook were opposing the road without consequence to themselves, as Gary Johnson told me:

Gary Johnson: ...we had an exceptionally good agreement with I think there were six state and federal agencies that were going to really, really benefit Chinook. If the park was built, we were going to be granted some amazing things...there would be an international search for basically all things Chinook and try to bring all that information back and the tribe would then have possession... (Tony, interjecting: There was talks of a land transfer). Yeah, there was a large grant involved...but it would also physically been materials we would have gained and of course, the plankhouse talk was certainly involved. So the tribe in general conceded a whole lot of positive things that we would have benefited from. But people rightfully did not want any more grave disturbance or site disturbance.

The Chinook deeply-believed that the preservation of Qiq'áyaqilxam and the associated Ancestral remains was paramount; consequently, they relinquished a global artifact repatriation effort, a plankhouse, real estate, and funding for all of this. For any Indigenous community, but particularly one without a land base and whose sovereignty the federal government dismisses, this is no small thing. Gary has made clear to me repeatedly, though, that the Chinook do not harbor resentment towards the NPS or WSHS for the inadvertent findings:

David Nicandri signed an agreement with us that there would be no digging whatsoever. And he's a good man and he did that with good intentions. What happened is [the] on-site contractors were going to do it their way. I think that's where the problem occurred...it's a great source of frustration but I am going to say the people we signed the agreement with, I think, were honoring the agreement. It's just the contractors came

in...unfortunately, I don't know if they'd ever even seen the agreement, but they did start to dig.

Despite 92% of the Chinook Indian Nation voting against the creation of Qiq'áyaqilxam and for the site to be restored to its pre-disturbance condition, a park undeniably exists there. How did this come to be? Let us to return to my September 2018 meeting with the culture committee:

Jane Pulliam: I remember that [general council] meeting. I was just involved as a tribal member. Then how did we go from that to my very first council meeting as a council person after the meeting [where] we went out to the brand new park?

Tony A. Johnson: ...because we had a change of administration. And so we had a new chairman [Ray Gardner] elected, and that new chairman, I'll say, abided by that ruling for a bit, but then ultimately worked folks behind the scenes. I'll just say this for now, [he] excluded the culture committee and the work that we were doing...so we really got 86'ed from the thing

Gary Johnson: Yeah, well, the general membership did not vote to change policies. The council did not vote and the cultural committee was not informed. So was it just [an] administrative decision, I guess, to proceed...

Tony A. Johnson: This is a part of our ugly internal politics. But the bottom line is it resulted in some things, some other folks drove the project, didn't include the culture committee. I think it had a lot more outside influence. And so we ended up with some of what's there being really stuff that, you know, we wouldn't have been happy with the time and are not happy with. Now, the good part of that...[is] that [it] has nothing to do with the Park Service. The Park Service was working hand-in-hand with our chairman at the time and had no way of knowing that there was an internal conversation that was contrary to that...council, the general council, the general body of this tribe, voted to not have that park there, period. We ended up with the chairman who changed course, decided that he wanted to work on that project, and basically worked on it, but worked on it very independently. And so it kind of happened without – the park as it exists right now is without the input of the general membership or the culture committee.

Gina Rife: Because I remember them starting to work and I thought what's going on here? I had no clue.

Tony: Yeah, it was a big issue in the community.

After the general council voted to halt the project in January 2006, the Chinook Indian Nation held an election in June of that year. Ray Gardner was elected chair. Ray then worked closely with the NPS and WSHS to advance the Qiq'áyaqilxam project. Together with Dave Szymanski

(NPS superintendent), Jim Sayce (WSHS), and Bill Garvin (representing his family, who actually owned the real estate), Ray formed the final wall in what Jim termed a “Prussian four-square” shepherding the project. Jill Gardner, Ray’s widow, described it as a case of personalities “gelling.” For nearly six years, Jim told me, they worked together on re-designing plans for the park. “I thought the project was going to die, right then, when they found human remains,” Bill said to me.

It was not until 2011 that construction on the re-imagined park began. Sam Robinson, another Chinook leader (he would later be chair between Ray and Tony), told me that the lengthy delay made the Washington State governor’s office nervous. Funding for the project was coming primarily from WSHS and because the federal government ignores Chinook sovereignty, then-Governor Christine Gregoire could have easily demanded Dave Nicandri instruct Jim to move forward with a Lewis and Clark-centered park, without Chinook involvement. Sam indicated to me the only reason Gov. Gregoire did not do so was because an aide counseled her against such a move.

During this time, Ray, Jim, Bill, and Dave Szymanski met regularly while Dave Nicandri “guarded the money,” as Jim put it to me. “Ray made a point to be there and keep the relationship going,” Sam explained. Meanwhile, “Dave Szymanski bent over backwards” to accommodate Ray’s vision for the new park, in Jill’s words. Bill and Jim offered high praise for Dave as well, calling him “visionary, innovative” (Bill) and some who “could have punted” on a difficult task but chose not to do so (Jim). All of this reiterates the centrality of personal relationships to good working relationships between the NPS and Indigenous peoples. “Standing and talking together is important,” Charles told me. “The NPS people were willing to work with the tribe there, and treated us like a recognized tribe. There were not as prejudiced as they are

elsewhere and really wanted to do this right.” The partners’ deep commitment to personally investing in relationships with one another is a key lesson of Qiq’áyaqilxam, and indeed this dissertation.

Yet, while those directly involved with the project offer praise for it, recall the political context against which this occurred – the Chinook general council had definitively gone on record as opposing the project. I asked the culture committee for their reaction to how the NPS handled the situation:

Tony A. Johnson: I don't think they had a choice because it was the rightfully-elected chairman of the tribe. I mean, in other words, I don't know how you work around that. So I think they did probably know that there were community folks that they had worked with significantly in the past that were kind of being pushed aside a little bit from the conversation. But I'm not sure from their perspective how they could do anything different. There's an elected government of the community and they you know, they worked with [it].

Jane Pulliam: Yeah, they had no way of knowing that the government was not working.

Gary Johnson: I don't think there were any bad feelings what whatsoever with the Park Service and for that matter with the State Historical Society and those outside folks who moved forward. I think we maintain good relations with those folks...there was nothing there but good, in my opinion, good feelings, good relations with the national park. There was just a lot of press and a lot of thing with things happening when the graves were disturbed. But there's also the agreements – it was a pretty big deal for the Chinook to have signed agreements with all the state and federal agencies. It's pretty hard for the government not recognize us when all of these agencies continue to work with us. I was surprised at the culture committee's apparent equanimity with the NPS's decision to move forward with the Qiq'áyaqilxam project despite the general council decision to abandon it. When I opened this line of questioning, I fully expected at least someone in the committee to say “no – the NPS should have respected our general council and stopped.” But no one did. I would be hesitant to speculate about why this is, although my impression is that the committee faults the elected Chinook government rather than the NPS for failing to adhere to the general council

resolution. Yet, I think it would not be difficult to imagine a situation where the NPS continuing with a project in such circumstances would cause lasting anger in the community.

Ultimately completed in 2012, the park consists of a short trail leading to a lookout platform over the site, with views of Saddle Mountain<sup>47</sup> in the distance, and a loop trail that roughly takes visitors ‘through history’ by beginning with wayside exhibits about the Chinook, introducing Lewis and Clark history roughly 75% of the way around, discussing the settler era, and ending again back at the main entrance. The design team intentionally made the path circular, to reiterate for visitors that the Chinook occupied this territory long before Lewis and Clark and continue to do so despite a colonial government that denies their existence.

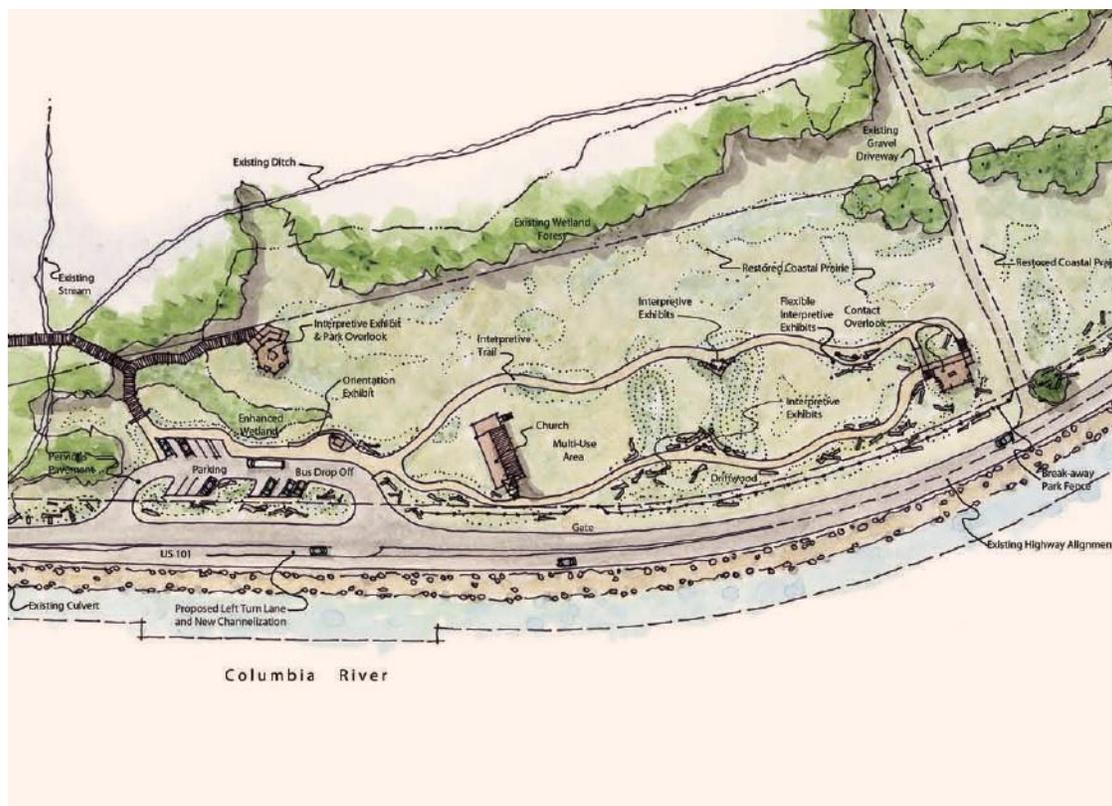


Image 8: Final Park Plan (U.S. National Park Service 2010).

<sup>47</sup> Saddle Mountain is the origin place of the Chinookan people.

In addition to the paths and wayside exhibits, the park includes three large replica Chinookan canoes and the skeleton of a plankhouse. The Chinook seasonally used Qiq'áyaqilxam; winter storms off the Pacific relentlessly batter the site and make it uninhabitable year-round. Thus, the Chinook would seasonally de-plank their residences at Qiq'áyaqilxam. The NPS built the frame for a plankhouse as a part of the park, with the idea that they would similarly plank and un-plank it throughout the year, to “afford an opportunity to train Chinook and other Lower Columbia River tribal children in the ways of constructing and maintaining these kinds of houses” (D. Wilson 2010). That has yet to happen.

The culture committee's generous spirit towards the NPS for its decision to proceed with the project despite the general council decision does not necessarily extend to the opinions of the Qiq'áyaqilxam park itself. The committee expressed concerns about a number of items<sup>48</sup>. First, when the road crew graded for the new highway, they piled all the disturbed soil into large berms at the upstream end of the site. Those berms remain to this day – the site was never restored to its original topography. “It needs to change and go back to how it was,” Tony commented in February 2019. Second, the committee repeatedly displayed frustration bordering on disdain for the concrete canoes (recall the cultural significance of canoes; see Chapter 4):

Tony A. Johnson: Yeah, so the canoes down there, for instance...you know this, I assume, but our canoes are incredibly fair, seagoing vessels. The technology associated with them is fantastic. So, when they built those concrete canoes, a lot of us were really upset about it, because they just don't do justice to our ancestors' skill set. I mean, they're kind of like the Flintstones' canoes down there.

(laughter)

Gary Johnson: That's exactly what they look like!

Tony: ...I've told our Park Service folks, we're going to have a fundraiser down there where you pay 10 bucks to swing the mallet, the sledgehammer, to get rid of the

---

<sup>48</sup> This should not be read as a fully exhaustive list of issues.

canoes...I mean, literally, I said stuff like this to them. And they understand what we're saying.



Image 9: Detail of Chinook canoe replicas. Author photo.

The committee reiterated both problems – the berms and the canoes – to me when I visited again in February 2019. “It has to go back [to the way it was],” Don Abing told me. “There’s three concrete canoes – they have to go...we’ve heard nothing but negative [feelings] from our families about the look and appearance of those canoes.” To their credit, local NPS staff are not defensive about the canoes. Neither in conversations with me nor with the Chinook have NPS bristled about the thought of the Chinook literally bashing their work to pieces:

Tony A. Johnson: The Park Service is being very responsive to our needs and attempts to change it over and modify it to better represent our interests. And I've not heard anything but positive, including, by the way, when we say really hard things about it.....

Gary Johnson: Yeah, I think it's important to note that we throughout the process, I think 100% of the time have a really good relationship with the Park Service and that continues....

The third problem the committee identifies with Qiq’áyaqilxam is how the interpretation at the site discusses Chinook heritage. “The interpretation is wrong,” Don Abing flatly remarked at the February meeting. “It was a bad moment for us,” Tony commented. “The way that language is

used, the way stories are used, the images – everything [is wrong]...I went to dozens of meetings working on it, trying to get it right and it was pulled out from under us,” end. The plankhouse – especially given that it is still just a skeleton instead of being seasonally planked – remains a concern as well. One way to resolve this, as Tony has suggested repeatedly, is by having a permanent line-item in the budget to pay for the time and skills of Chinook folks who would seasonally plank the house. Tony’s personal goal regarding interpretation both at Qiq’áyaqilxam and at the park more generally is “...fully-equal interpretation from tribal perspectives. I’d say there also needs to be some clear statements...if folks are going to leave [after visiting] Lewis and Clark National Park, they should feel as we do, which is that [Lewis Clark] is a blip in our history.” The Chinook had “10,000 years of history before Lewis and Clark show up. And that’s what? A winter. It shouldn’t be the most dominant conversation that’s happening anywhere” at the park, Tony said to me.

The NPS, for its part, seems fairly pleased with Qiq’áyaqilxam. Jill observed that a less-committed park superintendent could have simply said “nope, we’re just going to build it, we’re gonna pave over [it], we’re gonna just – we don’t care about that stuff, just move it and put it in museum but instead, the whole thing was stopped [and] put on hold and honestly for a while, and never knew if it was going to get going again....” Jill directly ascribed the current version of the park to the inadvertent discovery, saying “ I don’t know how much of that would have actually occurred” without the contractors violating the no-dig agreement. “It probably would have been more just Station Camp and a little bit about Middle Village.” Jill’s feelings are widely-shared among the non-Chinook project partners. “The park we have is because of the mistakes [we made],” Jim told me. “We all gained this story here of the Chinook because of what happened [with the inadvertent finding].”

Chris Clatterbuck expanded on this idea, reminding me first that Lewis and Clark stole a canoe from the Indigenous peoples of the area while they (the Corps of Discovery) were camped at Qiq'áyaqilxam<sup>49</sup>. "Maybe it's a little bit of a tortured analogy," he said, but making Qiq'áyaqilxam all about Lewis and Clark rather than Chinook heritage would have been once again thieving from the Indigenous peoples of the region, "who have been there for thousands of years." Chris "sees it as a good outcome" that the site centers Indigenous heritage. "Now people will learn [about Indigenous peoples]...I think it's a special thing that an entire part of this national park is devoted to this tribe, this story," he told me. "There are certainly other parks where that's not the case."

Qiq'áyaqilxam is hardly an unqualified success. It was born out of an arrangement between the NPS and Chinook Indian Nation that directly contradicted the highest decision-making body in the community, among other problems. Until the Chinook firmly believe it fully, accurately represents them and their heritage, the site falls short of its promise. Certainly relative to a place like Great Smoky Mountains National Park (the most-visited park in USA), where not a single major visitor facility specifically interprets Cherokee heritage, Qiq'áyaqilxam is a success and worthy of praise. But this does not mean it cannot be improved or that its problematic genesis should be overlooked.

The Chinook Indian Nation and NPS are in the midst of conversations about improvements to the site. Jon believes that while it may be difficult to locate funding in the short-term to replace the canoes, it would certainly be possible to better-maintain them. The Chinook are encouraged by Jon's attitude. "...and at this point, the folks that are there are more than willing to work with us to modify what's there to better represent what this committee and

---

<sup>49</sup> In 2011, the descendants of William Clark gave the Chinook Indian Nation a Chinookan-style canoe as reparations for this theft. See Observer Staff (2011).

what the community really would want,” Tony told me. As of February 2019, the NPS and Chinook Indian Nation are discussing if Qiq’áyaqilxam should be signed as a sacred burial site. “What that does is [ensure] every single person that walks through that gate onto that land approaches it with a totally different sensibility,” Tony believes.

Jon characterized such changes as completely plausible when we spoke. Other proposed changes include working with one another to jointly plank (and un-plank) the plankhouse each season, although Tony is (rightfully) adamant that the park be willing to pay for this. Yet, Tony is quick not to lay blame exclusively with the NPS for the problematic elements of Qiq’áyaqilxam. “It’s the fault of the folks that made the decisions to get it to the state it currently it is in and that’s what we need to fix.” Gary, meanwhile, adamantly told me on multiple occasions that the NPS’s active pursuit of Chinook Indian Nation participation in goings-on at both Lewis and Clark and Fort Vancouver is positive and to be encouraged.

Qiq’áyaqilxam shows the need for the NPS to exercise flexibility when working with Indigenous communities. Just because there is an elected chair, that does not necessarily mean the chair represents the consensus of the community (or that a consensus even exists). The NPS’s willingness to make changes at Qiq’áyaqilxam to ensure it better-reflects Chinook desires is admirable. Does this mean that parks should expect to change whenever there is a change in Indigenous leadership? Perhaps. But consider for a moment how resource management undoubtedly evolves as wildlife science or archeology reveals where changes should be made. I believe facilities management and interpretation are no different – if, for example, the new ‘evidence’ (e.g., that the concrete canoes are inappropriate) emerges (e.g., the culture committee repeatedly states an unequivocal position about the canoes), then I argue the management of

those canoes needs to change. Communities are dynamic, not static, and NPS practices should reflect that.

Moreover, Qiq'áyaqilxam is an imperfect example – not one to be blindly emulated. This is not a case of a needlessly or overly fickle<sup>50</sup> community approving something and then a few years later deciding it does not like that which it approved. Recall that the community, by a vote of 92%, directly stated its desire for development not to occur on the Qiq'áyaqilxam site. What happened instead is nearly the *opposite* of what the community wanted. To borrow a political science phrase, a good way to think about making changes at Qiq'áyaqilxam is as a reversion back to the original mean, rather than changes towards a *new* mean.

Qiq'áyaqilxam holds many lessons. It demonstrates the need for park staff to deeply understand the local context in which they work and to have personal relationships with Indigenous leaders. NPS staff may face changes in Indigenous leadership during a project. Intimately knowing the community will help to overcome any barriers those changes may pose. Nearly everyone I spoke to directly ascribed 'success' at Qiq'áyaqilxam to the close relationship Ray, Jim, Dave, and Bill developed with one another. Setting aside concerns about the park itself, I believe it is abundantly clear that the project came to fruition in no small part due to these friendships. The park is flawed, yes, but the close personal relations between NPS, Indigenous, and partner staff is a model for other NPS sites to follow.

Additionally, Qiq'áyaqilxam shows the importance of ensuring that communities have input in the process from start-to-finish. Certainly given how cut-out the culture committee feels from the process, community involvement at Qiq'áyaqilxam could have been improved, but I believe that the NPS and WSHS effectively calling time-out and working with Ray is generally a

---

<sup>50</sup> Of course, Indigenous societies are like any other – that is, complicated, dynamic, and full of contradictions.

step in the right direction towards Indigenous engagement. Compare what transpired to how the culture committee may have felt if, after the inadvertent discovery, the NPS really had simply proceeded with the project in the face of Chinook opposition – which, given the federal government’s willful disregard for Chinook sovereignty, the agency could have done – rather than take time to re-negotiate a new park plan with Ray. NPS/Chinook relations regarding Qiq’áyaqilxam would have been even worse. Qiq’áyaqilxam makes clear that communities need to be full partners and not presented with completed projects for a rubber-stamp of approval.

Qiq’áyaqilxam deserves our attention because it makes obvious the complexity in park/Indigenous relationships. Just because an agency is working with an elected chair, it does not necessarily mean that the agency is following the will of the community. Agencies need to work with whom they are legally required in addition to understanding the dynamics of the community and if the political leaders of the community have full credibility to speak for and represent it.

Finally, Qiq’áyaqilxam highlights the difficulties inherent in interpretation of Indigenous heritage, settler/Indigenous interactions, and Indigenous places. To the casual visitor, entering an NPS site with an Indigenous logo on the sign<sup>51</sup> may suggest substantial Indigenous input into the park and approval of it. While this is partially true at Qiq’áyaqilxam – Ray (the elected Chinook chair) was part of the “Prussian four-square” – the reality is much more nuanced. I have visited Qiq’áyaqilxam several times with a critical eye, although all visits were before the February culture committee meeting in which people expressed concern about interpretation at the park. I will freely admit that, during each of my visits, even after learning about the park’s problematic origins, I was impressed by how the NPS interprets Chinook heritage. The interpretation of

---

<sup>51</sup> As is the case at Qíiq’ayaqilxam.

Indigenous heritage there is significantly more progressive than how the NPS interprets Cherokee heritage at Great Smoky Mountains or the two parks where I have worked for the NPS. Qiq'áyaqilxam interpretation centers Chinook perspectives, was written with Chinook input, and does not shirk from the unceded nature of the territory or from the federal government's denial of the Chinooks' status. Other parks can and should implement similar practices within their interpretive divisions. But, at the culture committee has made very clear to me, the interpretation remains deeply-flawed in their eyes. Qiq'áyaqilxam underscores the complexity of ethically, appropriately interpreting Indigenous heritage and themes.

But does Qiq'áyaqilxam represent a step towards reconciliation? Decolonization even? The answer is not clear-cut. I believe that anything that draws the NPS and Indigenous peoples together on a shared, meaningful project through which decent, working relationships are built has the potential to contribute to reconciliation. A project that was done with genuinely good intentions on the part of the NPS and in partnership with the Chinook (however flawed that partnership was) also holds potential to move the needle on park/Indigenous relationships. Highlighting Indigenous voices/narratives – which the interpretation at Qiq'áyaqilxam attempts to do – is an undeniable good that also advances decolonization. In a very general sense, I argue that yes, the Qiq'áyaqilxam project represents a move towards reconciliation.

But there have been missteps; Qiq'áyaqilxam is not an unblemished model for others to follow on all aspects. Disregarding Chinook knowledge and oral histories about the very existence of Qiq'áyaqilxam was a grave error. Ignoring the general council vote and proceeding with the project when Chinook leadership changed raises many red flags in my eyes. As a rule of thumb, agencies need to be accountable to the wishes of the community, not to any one leader. I do not know, nor do I want to speculate, what would have happened if the NPS or Chinook

leadership had abandoned the project after the general council vote. But I find myself wondering if the Chinook/NPS relationship is in fact better-off because of the project than not.

Qiq'áyaqilxam development was a time of lengthy, sustained engagement – the very sort of interaction required for positive working relationships to develop. Perhaps the effects (a closer NPS/CIN relationship, increased visitor knowledge of the Chinook, etc.) of the Qiq'áyaqilxam project are good while the proximate cause of those effects is warty and problematic.

I do believe Qiq'áyaqilxam presents opportunities for the NPS to deepen its relationship with the Chinook Indian Nation. If Jon delivers on the proposed changes to the park, I anticipate that will significantly advance the NP/Chinook relationship. Qiq'áyaqilxam also offers a platform to educate visitors about the Chinook in ways that would have been close to impossible with the original plan for a Lewis and Clark-centered park. The NPS urgently needs more facilities squarely focused on interpreting Indigenous heritage; one cannot understand the full story of the USA without such places.

On balance, I argue, Qiq'áyaqilxam has brought the NPS and Chinook Indian Nation closer together. It is imperfect and there are significant problems. It was a flawed process and the park still does not reflect how the community believes its heritage should be interpreted nor how they wish to see the site protected. Qiq'áyaqilxam's strength is in the relationships it catalyzed and in the ongoing opportunities for the Chinook Indian Nation and NPS to work together to improve it. That, I assert, is the fundamental point of this research – that personal relationships matter.

## **Chapter 10: Heritage Interpretation**

In this chapter, I consider the role of heritage interpreters in NPS/Indigenous reconciliation. I highlight the need for Indigenous control over Indigenous heritage, the role of interpretation in destabilizing settler myths, and the importance of telling visitors challenging stories. Such actions may help the NPS confront settler-colonialism. I also discuss here the difficulties of interpreting Indigenous heritage and note how park staff themselves identify this as a key challenge the two parks face. I connect these issues to literature focused on settler/Indigenous reconciliation broadly, in addition to museum studies research. This chapter addresses the proposed multicultural center at Fort Vancouver and the Chinook Indian Nation's desire for a written memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the NPS. The chapter closes with a reflection from Tony A. Johnson on how better education about Indigenous heritage and settler-colonialism can advance decolonization, if at all.

I will begin by briefly highlighting the centrality of Indigenous-centered interpretation to North American protected areas. One cannot credibly claim to preserve and interpret North American heritage while excluding Indigenous peoples, histories, and stories. Or, as Jon Burpee put it to me while describing his time at Fort Vancouver, ignoring Indigenous heritage in park programming creates a situation where "...the story wasn't very complete because it wasn't completely told. A lot of people have missed an opportunity to fully engage in why the place was special and worthy of preservation." Certainly, there are some narrow exceptions<sup>52</sup>, but as a general rule of thumb, it does not matter if you work in the Nebraska sandhills, the woodlands of the Gaspé, or the deserts of west Texas – there are Indigenous histories to be told. Heritage sites

---

<sup>52</sup> e.g., Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park, which protects the Wright Brothers' testing field and bicycle company building.

need to allow visitors to encounter stories “beneath or at odds with canonical ethnographies, national histories, [and] reifications of local heritage...” notes Thomas (2010, 7). The conundrum facing the NPS is not a debate of the merits of interpreting Indigenous heritage. Rather, the overarching problem is one of ethically engaging in this work.

When Jon began his career at Fort Vancouver, he “...avoided telling the breadth of the stories because I'm not sure I was equipped to tell the stories. I always worried about telling them wrong. I still do that here with the tribes. [I] worry about my understanding of it...” Jon’s hesitancy is warranted – Indigenous peoples should control their own heritage, stories, and teachings. As Jon says, “I still think the greatest way would have been more involvement from the tribe itself...it’s most powerful when it’s Indigenous voices telling Indigenous stories.” Jon’s claim here is well-supported by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples<sup>53</sup> as well as the academic literature. Bench (2014, vii) notes that “only someone from within the culture can truly know it, and even then, maybe only aspects of it.” One manifestation of settler-colonialism, argues Battiste and Henderson (2000), is excluding Indigenous peoples from conversations about themselves, their heritage, and their knowledge. Curators and interpreters co-create meaning with visitors (Atalay 2006). Museums are “public performances of history”, suggests Isaac (2008, 257), and people “use particular knowledges system to validate these performances.” Thus, if those who present Indigenous heritage to (mostly settler) park visitors are themselves not Indigenous and/or do not draw on Indigenous sources to inform their programs, even well-intentioned interpretation can devolve into an echo chamber of settlers speaking to other settlers while (re)producing outdated, racist settler narratives about Indigenous

---

<sup>53</sup> Article 31 notes that “Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures...” (United Nations 2007).

peoples. As I have written elsewhere (Finegan 2019), interpreters need to understand these issues.

One – if not the best – way to decolonize a museum or heritage site is to ensure Indigenous peoples have “control over their own stories,” notes Atalay (2006, 598) and Lonetree (2012). Settlers and Indigenous peoples have “profound cultural differences that extend to the constructions of history itself” observes Thomas (2001, 11). Bridging these differences is hard to do when settlers are the primary interpreters of Indigenous heritage. I am encouraged that all three NPS superintendents I interviewed for this research indicated a specific desire to ensure Indigenous control over their own heritage. Jon’s opinions are above. For her part, Tracy Fortmann directly stated “I’m uncomfortable with our telling their story. I don’t want to do that...I don’t believe we *can* do that.” At Sleeping Bear Dunes, Scott Tucker told me he works with affiliated nations to identify what they want the NPS share. When a visitor asks an out-of-bounds question, Scott’s frontline staff tells the visitor that “I encourage you to talk to the tribe directly, because we are not the tribe and we’re not there – we cannot speak for the tribe. We can tell you what tribal members have told us and given us permission to repeat.”

There is some room for improvement in this approach, however. Scott believes the NPS’ role is (in part) to “tell all stories.” When speaking with visitors about the Chinook Indian Nation and the related Clatsop-Nehalem, Scott’s position is that “okay, well, we’ve asked the Chinook we’ve asked the Clatsop, now it’s up for you [the visitor] to take those ideas. And you need to go to the research and determine for yourself because we’re not going to be the deciding official.” I certainly understand Scott’s position that the NPS is not going to wade into inter-tribal politics by (for example) only working with the Chinook or only with the Clatsop-Nehalem. To do so would be inappropriate. Yet, some caution is warranted here. For a visitor who lacks an

understanding of how the United States has disrupted Indigenous governments in the region, learning about the split between the Chinook and Clatsop-Nehalem and their ongoing disagreements may lead to the visitor thinking “they cannot manage to govern themselves” in lieu of a nuanced understanding of the complex issues at hand. “...we must place the colonial contexts of those disputes front and center,” as Daehnke (2017, 173) writes. “It is incorrect to see these present-day disputes as simply cases of intertribal politics instead of seeing them as a continuing manifestation of colonialism.” Care must be taken to scaffold visitors’ understanding; Scott’s suggested action could be improved with a more explicit focus on ensuring visitors understand not just the position(s) of the Chinook and Clatsop-Nehalem, but also the broader settler-colonial context in which this is occurring.

Indigenous peoples themselves will not be delivering all Indigenous-focused interpretation. Thus, another best-practice is ensuring park staff learn from Indigenous knowledge-holders about what ought to be shared with visitors and how. When at Lewis and Clark, Scott engaged a scholar of Tohono O’odham descent for an all-employee tribal sovereignty training. He described it as “...really focusing on how to tell tribal stories, whose stories is it to tell, and which stories are yours to tell, and which are the tribes to tell them, [and] how to answer some of outrageous questions in a politically savvy way.” This is not necessarily a bad idea, but one should be cautious about bringing in someone from a non-affiliated community to train employees – pan-Indigenous approaches are inappropriate.

Jill Harding has also drawn on external trainers to support her staff, but she cites some limitations with this approach, especially with respect to capacity. NPS finances are limited, she told me, so it is difficult to pay someone for their time as a trainer (much less any travel expenses). But the capacity challenges are on the Indigenous side, too. Jill also referenced the

limited number of people in both the Chinook and Clatsop-Nehalem communities as a barrier.

“Unfortunately, there's only so many people like Tony...that can come in and talk about the culture and give a good perspective to non-Indians about what it's like and about that culture.” I spoke with Tony about this. He indicated capacity is an issue, and alluded to two possible solutions:

I think there have been times [when the NPS has encouraged us to participate] but I think there's been other times when it's not been really even a thought for folks there...[but] Jon's really encouraging it. And that's the way we want it to be...but your question...the answer to that is, yes, absolutely [time/people capacity limits Chinook involvement at the park]. But it also is a barrier to everything we want to do...I mean, one of the things we talk about all the time is just being sick over asking people to always volunteer...that's a really hard thing to do. And we're really proud of what we accomplish at the level of that. There's almost never...any compensation for the stuff that we do.

In other words – and as I discuss in Chapter 8 – the NPS needs to be paying its Indigenous partners for their time and efforts. This is a recurring theme of this research; I cannot emphasize it enough. Second, the NPS needs to continue to nurture its relationship with Indigenous peoples through sustained efforts to invite Indigenous participation, including with respect to employee training.

The Chinook have expressed concern about ensuring the NPS does not present visitors with negative stereotypes of Indigenous peoples. For example, a John Clymer painting of Chinooks used to be replicated on an exhibit in the Lewis and Clark National Historical Park visitor center. “...they don't even look like human beings – the way that those people are portrayed in that image,” Tony commented to me. “Images like that keep finding their way back into the popular culture. Really, that image should be being used to teach what's not real, as opposed to just be in there as an example, because the average American thinks that Indians are just scraping rocks and sticks together.” The exhibit no longer displays the Clymer painting, although a copy of the print hangs in an out-of-the-way corner of the park bookstore as a sales

item. Parks, like Lewis and Clark, that explicitly preserve places of settler/Indigenous contact have a responsibility to ensure they do not perpetuate stereotypes of Indigenous peoples. Recall that one of the lessons-learned from this research is that small gestures matter. Removing the painting altogether from the park – including from its bookstore – would be one such small gesture.

I believe both issues – capacity and imagery – fundamentally circle back to settler-colonialism. I know how this may sound tiresome – but indulge me. Consider the painting for a moment. Just as heritage sites can present settler myths to visitors (Thomas 2001), visual art is a form of storytelling. Lowman and Barker (2015, 33) cite narratives as one of three “structures of invasion” through which settler-colonialism functions. Stories are one way that “violent colonialism is transformed into heroic struggle and inevitable establishment of an exceptionally just, successful society” (Lowman and Barker 2015, 33). Settler-colonists’ tendencies to tell ourselves triumphant, whitewashed stories explain why the Clymer painted as he did in the first place and perhaps why his work remains for sale at a monument to Euro-American exploration.

Thinking about the Chinooks’ capacity to engage with the NPS, I want to reiterate an earlier point: *ninety percent* of Chinookan ancestors perished over the course of *one* decade due to settler-introduced diseases. The federal government then outlawed Indigenous cultural practices and gatherings across the region, and English overtook Chinook Wawa as the dominant language along the river. The loss of land, language, and culture confront the Chinook Indian Nation to this day. The Chinooks’ herculean efforts to gain federal recognition and obtain some sort of settlement for the seizure of their territory is manifestly a symptom of settler-colonialism, as is the relatively low number of knowledge-holding experts in the community available to speak with NPS staff.

Admittedly, tracing these issues back to settler-colonialism may do little to help park staff overcome these challenges in the short-term. Yet, one must understand and foreground how past settler/Indigenous relations influence the present. While it true that these barriers cannot be exclusively blamed on the NPS, if the NPS is committed to preserving and interpreting Indigenous heritage in the places the agency cares for, then the NPS needs to engage with and learn directly from Indigenous nations. The NPS cannot create more free time in Elders' schedules but the agency can and should reduce Elders' opportunity costs associated with training staff and financially invest in Indigenous communities. Providing financial support for the Elders and knowledge-holders who train staff is fundamental for success.

Moving on from these issues, consider that one of interpretation's central aims is to surprise the visitor (Tilden 2009). Provocation is a theme of my conversations with NPS staff at both parks: Jon "looks forward to" and "can't wait" to provoke visitors by inscribing Chinook Wawa on park entrance signs and exhibits. Theresa discussed surprising visitors at Fort Vancouver as well but expressed caution about doing so. Theresa wants to see visitors be "more surprised than ever" when visiting the park in the future. Yet, she notes "it's hard to be provocative and not make people angry. We don't want to turn people off because then we missed that learning point or the learning opportunity." Theresa's concern is hardly unwarranted. "It can be an uncomfortable, emotional thing to learn to listen to people really deeply, especially when they are critiquing us...[and our actions are] wrong in that they *hurt* people...one of the things that we carry with us – as privileged, settler people – is insulation from the harms that we have caused," write Lowman and Barker (2015, 117).

Staff at Lewis and Clark regularly grapple with settler backlash against Indigenous counternarratives. Jill told me the park film, *A Clatsop Winter Story*, generates written

complaints to the superintendent because visitors perceive it as “rewriting history” by showing that Lewis and Clark stole a canoe from the Chinook. Visitors “don't like it because Lewis and Clark are on this really high pedestal... a lot of people don't like that their heroes maybe weren't [always heroic],” she explained. Meanwhile, Rachel Stokeld expressed concern about “pushback from visitors” who “wonder why we're even bothering to tell that [Indigenous] story. It wasn't the Lewis and Clark story.” To be clear, no one from either park expressed an attitude of being afraid or shy about sharing Indigenous-centered stories because of visitor pushback. Yet, given their comments, I think it is fair to say this dynamic is present in the minds of NPS staff, even if it is not guiding their decisions. I suspect that if this is something that staff at these two relatively progressive parks spend time thinking about, it would be a concern at places where employees are more hesitant about engaging with Indigenous nations and heritage. Thus, I want to consider visitor pushback to Indigenous-focused interpretation a bit more closely.

Marie Battiste (2008, 504) observes that “colonizers reinforce their culture by making the colonized conform to their expectations.” One way to interpret visitors complaining about the Lewis and Clark film showing the expedition stealing a Chinook canoe is as an attempt at forcing conformity. Visitors implicitly want the film's Indigenous informants to agree with the dominant view of the explorers as heroic nation-builders. Any attempt by the NPS to shy away from interpreting Indigenous counternarratives or heritage, especially if one is concerned about visitors' reactions, would be deeply flawed. Such a move first fails to advance the NPS's aspiration to manage America's natural and cultural heritage. To reiterate, pre-contact Indigenous nationhood, violent settler-colonialism, and Indigenous survival are undoubtedly part of heritage on this continent and therefore must be presented to visitors. “Museums work when they present problems rather than solutions...when they allow their audiences to discover things,

to be drawn into their unexpected, perhaps disturbing stories,” Thomas (2010, 10) notes. Indeed, settler/Indigenous reconciliation requires that settlers make “new attempts...to create intercultural venues dialogue and cooperation” (Battiste and Henderson 2000, 17). Thus, reconciliation calls heritage sites – especially those like these two cases, who owe their existence to settler/Indigenous interactions – to interpret their full stories. Any absence of Indigenous counternarratives inveighing against dominate, heroic settler myths perpetuates settler denial (Carpio 2006). Museums and heritage sites have a responsibility to address visitors’ stereotypes and misconceptions (Bench 2014) rather than allowing those to go unchallenged.

It is not uncommon for settlers to react with anger or resentment when confronted with our ongoing complicity in a structural genocide against Indigenous peoples. Difficult conversations about popular myths, include those settlers tell ourselves, can lead to cognitive dissonance, risk, and discomfort for the visitor (van Balgooy 2014). Moreover museums are “contact zones” and places of “colonial encounters” (Clifford 1997, 192). I presume the average settler is not terribly interested in exposing oneself to cognitive dissonance or a settler-colonial encounter when on vacation. Consider Lowman and Barker's (2015, 88) observation that settlers benefit from the “...ability to claim a soothing ignorance about the negative impacts of settler-colonialism and the moral turpitude rightfully due to its collaborators. This ignorance is enacted in a number of ways. First and most obvious is the simple privilege of not having to encounter and internalize negative or critical histories....” Tracy’s call to improve people’s understanding of Indigenous pain is, I believe, an aspiration to challenge this form of settler privilege. Her goal is wholeheartedly shared by the Chinook culture committee:

Don Abing: I'd like to go back and think [about] what the Jewish community did for teaching the Holocaust. It just isn't on paper and word of mouth. You go into their museum...it shows all of it...all the stark nakedness of that horrific time. I would like to see something like that. You know, the pandemics that were introduced to the Chinook

Nation, the people of the Chinook Nation. When we speak about it [the smallpox], it's in passing. But to have a pictorial diorama or whatever showing people literally having their fingers to the bone crawling to a place that they know that they're going to be properly buried and not hacked away by some coyotes...

(long pause)

Don: See somebody who has courage to tell that truth, put that up there.

Tony A. Johnson: Well this is such an issue because people say they want to do that, but people [actually] don't. Like we're working right now at Columbia River Maritime Museum on the idea of a big new Indigenous exhibit that would be one of the first exhibits as you leave the Great Hall. Actually, it would be the first exhibit. That has a ton of potential. But all the director there says is, 'I just don't want everybody to have to feel guilty.' That's a really hard one to take. Not sure we can tell this story without some of that...if they really want to de-colonize this conversation, well, that means being willing to deal with the hard stuff.

Don: It has to be. You can't hide the truth. It's in the sadness of all the eyes of the Indigenous people that are in this land.

I am reminded of the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI). One of the "hopes" for the museum is that it will "tell the painful truths of our history to a nation that has willfully ignored the treatment of its aboriginal inhabitants and the lasting legacies of genocidal policies enforced throughout the Americas" (Lonetree 2006, 59). Unfortunately, the NMAI has erred by highlighting Indigenous survival in the face of adversity to the exclusion of almost all else (Atalay 2006). As Atalay (602) notes:

However, we do not honor our ancestors and their struggles and sacrifices if we ignore or fail to tell the stories of extreme brutalization, struggle, and suffering that they endured and overcame...the choice is not one between binaries of active agent or passive victim. Native history can be skillfully presented in ways that demonstrate the horrors of colonization across this hemisphere yet portray the agency of courageous children, strong women, brave Elders, and spirited leaders who struggled to resist the decimation of their worlds.

This should also be an aspiration for the NPS. As the culture committee plainly noted, decolonization and reconciliation requires grappling with truths and stories that visitors may find uncomfortable. The agency's progress towards this is uneven. Contrast the two cases in this

dissertation with Great Smoky Mountains National Park, which (despite being the most-visited national park in the USA) offered a paltry total of *two* programs explicitly about Cherokee heritage across the summers of 2016, 2017, and 2018 (Great Smoky Mountains Association 2016, 2017, 2018).

Back out at Fort Vancouver, Tracy describes hearing visitors talk about Indigenous peoples in the past as “very uncomfortable and painful” for her. “I’d like for us to be able to recognize and respectfully share the hardships and loss that a lot of people still don’t know about...the fact that tribes are here.” Tracy’s sentiment is a very far cry from the days when the NPS explicitly marketed parks as places to see Indigenous nations before they either assimilated or settlers exterminated them (Spence 1999). What Tracy is saying may not be an immediate, perfect panacea to NPS/Indigenous relations, but it is a more than a small move in the right direction given the history of the NPS. It also responds to the challenge that Atalay poses for heritage sites.

Another aspect of interpreting the complex settler/Indigenous contact stories at Fort Vancouver and Lewis and Clark is coming to term with the contradictions inherent in preserving places “where Euro-American civilization took root and flourished...” and doing so without “...dishonoring the people that were colonized,” as Bob put it. Congress expressly intended for the parks to protect and interpret settler stories. But telling the story of the fur trade, for example, does not inherently “dishonor” Indigenous peoples. Consider Thomas's (2001, 10–11) observations on a 1993 exhibit about Aotearoa-New Zealand history:

Altering the customary assessments of these moments—such that Cook et. al. are disparaged rather than celebrated—does not so much empower Maori [*sic*], as deprive anybody and everybody of the opportunity to engage with the complexities of eighteenth-century exploration...More importantly, it fails to identify or articulate an autonomous indigenous [*sic*] history in which nature, prehistory, and Cook would not, self-evidently, have defined the chapters. By gesturing toward the incorporation of a Maori [*sic*]

perspective within a national history, the exhibition forestalled the possibility that incompatible histories might be presented in tension.

The key, in other words, is not to ask oneself “do I tell this story of colonization or that story of survival?” but rather to ask “am I balancing settler and Indigenous narratives in a way that presents the full range of settler and Indigenous experiences, provokes visitors, and ensures Indigenous nations have control over how their heritage is presented?”

Throughout our conversations, Tracy highlighted Fort Vancouver’s multicultural heritage. She sees this as a strength and an opening to provide for more Indigenous-focused interpretation, including at a proposed, Indigenous-controlled multicultural education center in the park (which I take up in greater detail soon). As Tracy said, “There’s power in diversity...this place is very, very diverse. It has these thousands of years of history pre-contact, all the way through WWII, and there are so many stories there. But we certainly need to continue to grow to tell more, but also allow for opportunities or activities that can speak to [those stories]...” While expanding the park to attend to traditionally under-represented stories, histories, and communities is a worthy goal, uncritically pursuing multiculturalism can undermine other moves towards reconciliation by obscuring settler-colonialism as a distinct, ongoing problem (Denis 2011). Tracy will need to be careful not to accidentally conflate, for example anti-Black racism with the experiences Indigenous peoples face. Reconciliation is not a project of ‘including’ Indigenous nations, but must instead be grounded in supporting their resurgence and dismantling settler-colonial power structures. One will not decolonize anything through a focus on diversity writ large, especially in a park situated on unceded territory.

My conversation with Tracy also reminded me of Tuck and Yang's (2012) caution that settlers must be careful to resist the temptation to engage in reconciliatory gestures that feel good but ultimately do little to advance Indigenous resurgence. These “moves towards

innocence...represent settler fantasies of easier paths to reconciliation” (4). Tuck and Yang argue reconciliation and decolonization require that Indigenous nationhood, relations to the land, and land tenure be restored. I am unconvinced that, by this standard, presenting Indigenous counternarratives contributes in a meaningful way to Indigenous resurgence. Advancing reconciliation and rebuilding Indigenous nationhood is a much more complex task than this; it is not achievable through one action alone.

Reconciliation refers to a way of relating to one another, not an end state. Just as the 2012 opening at Qiq’áyaqilxam (see Chapter 9) did not suddenly mean the NPS should stop attending to its relationship with or being accountable to the Chinook, neither did the reinternment of ancestral remains at Fort Vancouver. These are both deeply significant, tangible achievements, yes. I do not wish to belittle them. But one would be mistaken to believe that the NPS will ever “be reconciled” with Indigenous peoples. Instead, it can only hope to enter into a relationship founded on respect, dialogue, and a commitment to challenging latent settler/Indigenous power dynamics. This can manifest itself in facilities like Qiq’áyaqilxam, commissioning Tony to carve Okulam, in new, Indigenous-driven and -focused programming as Bob and Theresa have suggested,<sup>54</sup> and in the Fort Vancouver Village reconstruction project. Such actions *in their totality*, and through sustained engagement, scaffold improved settler/Indigenous relations and meaningfully contribute to reconciliation.

When I asked the Chinook culture committee about their ideas for decolonizing interpretation at the two parks, the committee was quick to highlight the importance of a written

---

<sup>54</sup> Bob said that “directly with some of our tribal partners to provide them the opportunity to do interpretive programming here at the park...[about what Fort Vancouver] meant to their ancestors [and] what it means to them” is a first step towards reconciliation. Similarly, Theresa described a sense that “our interpretation of history at a very basic level needs to evolve. I think we’ve made some strides in the right direction, but [we] have a ways to go and we need their help.”

MOU with the NPS outlining the Chinook/NPS relationship. Tony mentioned a part of this could be requiring the NPS to ensure more balanced presentation of *both* Chinook and settler perspectives. “At the very least, right, [there are] two different experiences from two different points of view... I imagine them being pretty receptive of that. I don't think they're opposed to our opinion in anything that I've seen to date. And it's just a matter of, you know, resources on our end or their end to make that happen.” Gary Johnson suggested updating the parks’ orientation films to include more Indigenous perspectives. “The film should have a contemporary component to it,” Tony added.

The committee also honed-in on the importance of canoes in Chinookan culture and the need for the NPS to better-interpret Lewis and Clark’s theft of a canoe during their time at the mouth of the Columbia. Improved visitor education would explicitly center Chinook perspectives on the theft:

Tony A. Johnson: They make their lame excuses – Lewis and Clark – for as to why they stole the canoe...that strongly deserves a tribal perspective in that conversation. I mean...how do you steal<sup>55</sup> somebody’s elk? How are those elk anybody's but ours? ...Our territory, our critters.

Don Abing: We're responsible for them, responsible for all that is alive and living as keepers of this area. Those people, they’re interlopers.

Scott Seiler: The canoe is a family member...it's like stealing your baby.

Don: They just coveted something that they didn't have.

Gary Johnson: Perhaps part of the answer is a display and the story of the canoe that was returned to us from the Clark family.

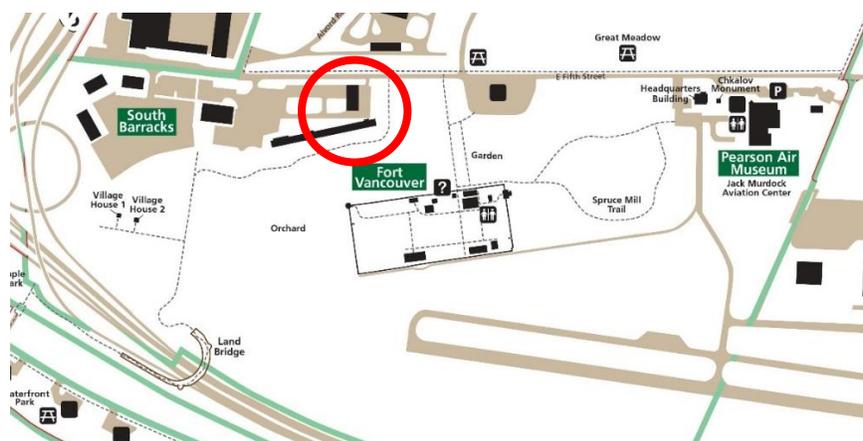
Meanwhile, over at Fort Vancouver, the committee believes it is imperative for the NPS to better-contextualize the site. Tony and Gary both indicated interest in seeing a timeline along the

---

<sup>55</sup> I believe Tony is referring here to the Corps of Discovery going to hunt elk during the winter they spent in Chinook territory.

walkway into the stockade. “I think there should be something that forces the visitor direct to kind of deal with the native history before they get to the other,” Tony asserted. “Put a big ole plankhouse right there on that path and make the only path to the fort to be through a plankhouse.”

While not discussing a plankhouse, Fort Vancouver staff are working with their Indigenous partners to develop plans for a multicultural center within the park. It is “essential that they [affiliated Indigenous peoples] have a platform to present whatever they would like to the public...it could be practices, traditions, stories, their perspective on what happened historically, any of that,” Theresa told me. The idea, Tracy says is to put the center “right in the heart of this park [so that] you cannot miss it...putting it front and center for everybody to see. I don't see me running it. I don't see the Park Service running it. I actually see a consortium or some sort of group to handle that. To me, that's a big deal.” The multicultural center would occupy a former Civilian Conservation Corps motor pool facility (circled on the map below in red); it would be situated directly between a new, still-in-planning parking lot (located between the new center and the South Barracks) and a new walkway to the reconstructed fort.



Map 4: Location of proposed Fort Vancouver Multicultural Center (U.S. National Park Service

n.d.)

“It means any visitor that comes to the fort will walk by it,” Theresa explained, “and hopefully be pulled in because it'll be the main thoroughfare for pedestrians after they park.” Creating space in the park for Indigenous-driven and Indigenous-accountable presentations is a very worthy goal. Other parks should emulate this. Of course, the devil is very much in the details – how such the multicultural center’s management consortium operates, to whom it is ultimately accountable, etc. But the fact that Tracy is calling for someone other than the NPS to manage this space is noteworthy. Indigenous spaces should be managed by Indigenous people themselves, not by settler bureaucrats.

Yet the proposed multicultural center is not without controversy – as currently envisioned, it will be in a repurposed building within the park and will be for all communities with a connection to the site (i.e., not strictly Indigenous peoples only). In May 2018, representatives of the park’s affiliated tribes gathered at Fort Vancouver to discuss (among other things) the multicultural center. Tony attended the meeting to represent the Chinook. Towards the end of it, he spoke about the proposed multicultural center. Tony shared with the group that his ancestors survived the 19<sup>th</sup> century by scavenging food from scrap heaps at local fish canneries. Tony expressed concern that using an old building within the park to interpret Indigenous heritage, but not necessarily exclusively Indigenous heritage, is again a scavenging for scraps. Tony’s sentiment was not universal in the room. For example, a delegate from another Tribe was generally positive about the center and indicated his hope that this would set a precedent for other parks to follow by highlighting the connection Indigenous peoples have to their traditional territories. Yet, Tony’s comments were another reminder for me of Tuck and

Yang's (2012) comments that even the best-intentioned settlers can engage in 'moves towards innocence' and neglect to challenge underlying, ever-present settler-colonial power dynamics.

NPS staff like Theresa seem to understand the problems that a multicultural center might pose. "It will be key to make sure that it is coupled with and more integrated into park programming and planning," she told me "I think the two have to go hand-in-hand or there is a danger of just making it a token place, and I definitely see how it could be. At the same time, I personally think it's better to have it than to not have it." I do not know the solution to such dilemmas. I have no reason to believe that Tony is anything but sincere in his comments and feelings. Tracy operates within constraints far from her control; it will be much easier for her to secure funding for renovating Building 410 into a multicultural center than it would be to build a new facility from scratch. What Tony desires may be close to impossible for Tracy to achieve. Additionally, if I were to speculate, I would presume that Tracy – who has called her work with Indigenous peoples to honorably re-inter unidentified Indigenous ancestors *the* highlight of her career – does not see herself as nor wants to be an agent of the settler-colonial state who re-inscribes settler power and forces the Chinook to settle for scraps. I believe she genuinely wants to provide space for Indigenous stories presented by Indigenous voices and, in doing so, contribute to Indigenous resurgence.

Thus, the debate around the multicultural center, with some Indigenous partners in favor and others somewhat opposed, lays bare the difficulty of settler/Indigenous reconciliation. It is not my intention here to criticize, but instead to use the multicultural center to highlight the difficulty of walking a decolonial path. If Tracy wishes to reconcile the NPS with Indigenous nations at Fort Vancouver, should she be advocating within the agency that the NPS return the land to its traditional owners or an intertribal consortium, as Tuck and Wang might have her do?

Should she instead be pursuing a policy of holding herself accountable to local Indigenous desires and future? If the latter, how should she balance positive comments against the negative? I do not know.

I believe, though, that there is wisdom in Tracy's patient approach, articulated above ("it will go in the timeline it needs to go"). I know some might say that this is itself kicking the can down the road and is a move towards innocence. I reject such an interpretation – I believe Tracy is instead articulating an approach to working with her Indigenous partners that is rooted in listening, consensus-building, and working on Indigenous – rather than NPS – timelines. Such an approach can indeed help facilitate reconciliation (notice, though, that it is dependent on low NPS staff turnover – see chapter 6).

Put another way, I believe convening meetings of Indigenous leaders and Elders with the credibility to speak on behalf of their nations is a good first step. Any eventual success in creating a multicultural center, decolonizing the park, and contributing to Indigenous resurgence will of course depend on what NPS staff do with the input of their Indigenous partners and how much power the NPS is willing to return to Indigenous nations.

I had a separate conversation with Tony about the proposed multicultural center in February 2019. I asked if there was concern that creating a specific place for affiliated Indigenous nations to present their own programming was literally putting Indigeneity into a box at the park. Tony acknowledged "some concern" about it and a feeling that it is "an afterthought" in the planning of the park, but that this is "the best of a not ideal situation. The players are all people we know and trust." Finally, Tony again emphasized for me that education alone is not a solution for the genocide the Chinook have endured. I close this chapter with his insightful comments:

I think the Park Service, the government, and Americans in general just have such a narrow view of what they're doing...the time depth that we think about [and are] being affected by is so much different than a staff member. So even some of these folks are long-term staff at the national park, but the thing is 10, 20, 30 years is not the way that we feel or approach it...I mean, you know, we're still right now – today – our nation is suffering from the fact that despite what their records say and despite what they will admit to, our own experience in history says that they killed every man and boy that they could find at Clatsop. And our proof of that is that it's only women – almost expressly only women – that come from our Clatsop line.

I think everybody else in the world, if you're just observing it from the outside, or it's your job, you think about this stuff as old history. But for us old history is 10,000 years ago. New history is our relatives getting bombarded at Point Adams. But the point being is, there's no way that an interpretive center...[can] do [what] I think any the average American or National Park Service or anybody else imagines doing, which is this really profound fix to a problem.

...we're just turning the corner to start to try and fix it...[there's been] 200 years of basically damage happening. And so if we build something like this, I would say that that's the start of a new timeline going forward. And a couple hundred years from now is when we could have an expectation of really having been healed....

My expectations are not really high. But I do feel good about it in the sense of just seeing...a step in a positive direction, as opposed to just, you know, mitigation of a problem. Because that [mitigation] is so much of our experiences at Fort Vancouver...[for example] when something has happened with human remains, and having to deal with that. Well, that's not really turning the corner towards fixing anything. It's just mitigating a bad situation. So I think I'm positive about the idea of having a much stronger native presence there. But I'm also realistic that it doesn't, you know, it's not the answer....

But that's my opinion about most of what we do. I am looking forward to time for our grandkids, great-grandkids, great-great grandkids, that they can...return to something that is much more like what our ancestors were experiencing, hopefully a strength – larger population, access to resources and ability to thrive in our own environments. It was a couple hundred years ago, we were rich from our resource. I expect or hope for the time coming that we can say that again.

There's a lot of work to do to fix that situation. But I just really feel strongly that that's what we need to do...Aboriginal people should have a right to not only live and exist in their territory, but thrive and utilize resources. I hope the work we're doing is laying the groundwork for that.



**Lessons Learned:**

1. Interpreting Indigenous heritage is a difficult, sensitive task. Care must be taken to not reproduce inaccurate or racist settler narratives. Interpreters need stronger training, in both form and content, to help prepare staff feel equipped to share Indigenous counternarratives.
2. If the goal is to present Indigenous voices, then the interpretation should be underpinned by either Indigenous knowledge-holders or settler researchers who have conducted themselves with respect and accountability to the communities they describe.
3. Reconciliation is complex. One achievement, such as Qiq'áyaqilxam, does not mean that a North American park no longer has a responsibility to affiliated Indigenous nations. It is important to be accountable to Indigenous communities and understand that reconciliation may mean different things to different nations. When working with many nations on one project (like the Fort Vancouver multicultural center), this can pose challenges.
4. Visitors need to appreciate the full range of Indigenous experiences. Interpretation needs to include both stories of survival and struggle.
5. Better visitor education alone cannot hope to address settler-colonialism.

**Best Practices:**

1. Indigenous peoples must control how their heritage are presented to park visitors. Ideally (and presuming community interest), parks on traditionally Indigenous territory should create Indigenous-controlled space for Indigenous nations to directly share their perspectives and stories.
2. Visitors may require scaffolding to ensure they have context to fully appreciate nuanced issues like the Chinook/Clatsop-Nehalem split.
3. Language about inclusivity and diversity must not be employed to position Indigenous peoples as one oppressed minority among several. Rather, park staff need to focus on how they can employ their power to contribute to Indigenous nationhood.

## **Chapter 11: Discussion, Conclusion, Future Research, and Last Words**

Are better relationships between settler governments and Indigenous peoples possible?

This dissertation offers two small national parks as examples of places where such improvement is not only possible but has in fact occurred. The Chinook Indian Nation and the National Park Service at Lewis and Clark National Historical Park and Fort Vancouver National Historic Site have built strong, positive working relationships, demonstrating how new, reconciliatory relationships can be formed despite ongoing settler-colonialism. Credit is due to both the NPS and Chinook for their relationship. As I reflect on the lessons-learned and best-practices this research identifies, I cannot help but notice that many of these highlight the role of individual employees – rather than the agency generally – in improving the park/Indigenous relationship:

- Superintendents have great power over their park (Chapter 6)
- Oversight of superintendents is weak (Chapter 6)
- Reconciliation requires constant effort and personal investment (Chapter 7)
- Superintendents need to facilitate meetings with incoming replacements and Indigenous leaders to reduce impacts of staff turnover (Chapter 7)
- Tokens, gestures, and small things matter (Chapter 8)

Each of these can be taken up by *individual* people, as they have been at both Lewis and Clark and Fort Vancouver. Tracy and Jon’s examples of (respectively) being the first superintendent to meet with affiliated tribes at Fort Vancouver and bringing park staff on their own time to volunteer with the Chinook spring clean-up day demonstrate how the decision to engage with Indigenous peoples is an individual one. The Qiq’áyaqilxam project only succeeded, participants

told me, because of the close personal relationships between NPS, WSHS, and Chinook leaders. Personal decisions and responsibility thus characterize my findings at every turn.

Fort Vancouver and Lewis and Clark are not decolonized parks. Nor are they places where the agency has ‘reconciled’ itself with the Chinook. Instead, these are two places marked by reconciliatory actions and by walking a decolonial path together. I use this characterization deliberately, for decolonization and reconciliation are not end states that will one day be achieved. Instead, they are new ways of relating to one another that require constant attention and engagement.

To understand decolonization-as-a-path, think about what would happen if the agency were to once again revoke Chinook access to Okulam (see Chapter 6). Could one then still claim the NPS is embarked on a reconciliatory path with the Chinook? Hardly. Reconciliation and decolonization require sustained, long-term personal investment. Just like settler-colonialism itself, they are a set of actions across time; reconciliation and decolonization are structures settlers must *decide* to enact, as NPS staff at these two parks are doing. But, as with settler-colonialism, they are subject to challenges and setbacks.

I am reminded of Lowman and Barker's (2015, 109) observation that settler-colonialism is a set of choices made “en masse” (and is perpetuated by the continuation of such choices).

They describe settler-colonialism as a set of conditions in which:

Indigenous sovereignty, which cannot be assimilated into and under settler-colonial sovereignty, cannot survive. Indigenous relationships to the land cannot be allowed to pre-empt and undermine colonial claims to the land. And Indigenous histories and creation stories cannot be allowed to compete with heroic origin stories of brave pioneers and frontier individualism. (Lowman and Barker 2015, 30)

NPS staff at these two parks are directly challenging each of these conceptions of settler-colonialism. To be clear, I am not claiming the parks are fully successful at undermining settler-

colonialism. Yet, I do believe the parks are taking up each of the issues Lowman and Barker raise without resorting to what Tuck and Yang (2012) dismiss as “moves towards innocence.”

Regarding Indigenous sovereignty, Tracy Fortmann’s convening of the Fort Vancouver Intertribal Consortium, first to direct the re-internment of unidentified ancestral remains and now to guide the park’s creation of a multicultural center, is an example of the NPS ceding some of its power over the sites. But the support of Indigenous sovereignty at these two parks can and should go farther. Indigenous sovereignty needs to (at least) be exercised alongside settler (NPS) sovereignty as an equal, rather than in specific realms delegated to a management advisory panel. I think often about Tony A. Johnson’s comment during our last interview that he looks forward to a time when the Chinook are once again secure and prosperous in their ancestral territory. This is, I think, one way to articulate a desire for a resurgence in Indigenous sovereignty, and it is hard to see how the NPS at Lewis and Clark and Fort Vancouver are contributing to this. In other words, while the NPS deserves praise for how it approaches Indigenous relations at these two parks, more work is yet to be done.

Thinking now about Indigenous/land relations and Indigenous histories, I assert that NPS staff at the two parks are responding to these two facets of settler-colonialism as well. For example, at both sites, the agency is working to preserve Indigenous access to traditional foods and medicines. This is a move away from an understanding of national parks as places of strict resource preservation rather than resource use. Fort Vancouver’s visitor center now focuses heavily on presenting visitors with contemporary Indigenous artworks from affiliated communities. Through this, the facility both reminds visitors that Indigenous nations remain and helps to illuminate the site’s Indigenous histories. At Lewis and Clark, the Qiq’áyaqilxam site

centers Chinookan heritage, as discussed in Chapter 9. The two parks are plainly responding to settler-colonialism's severing of Indigenous/land ties and erasure of Indigenous heritage.

Yet, let me again reiterate that while the NPS is challenging settler-colonialism at the two parks, its work is far from over. I am hardly convinced that limited traditional gardening truly represents a restoration of Indigenous ties to the land, for example. Similarly, I am mindful of Tony's caution (see Chapter 10) that education alone (i.e., better presentation of Indigenous counter-narratives) will not address the challenges the Chinook face. These things are all steps in the right direction, yes, and bigger steps than what occur at other parks, but one must remember that reconciliation and decolonization are new types of relationships that depend on changing deeply-entrenched power dynamics. Does, for example, growing a small patch of wapato and allowing the Chinook to harvest it, change underlying power structures? No – but it does *begin* to respond to one way that settler-colonialism enacts itself (severing Indigenous ties to the land). These things are but the first baby steps along a longer, more difficult path.

As I continue my reflection, I find myself thinking about the role of NPS deputy regional directors (DRDs), the direct supervisors of park superintendents. DRDs, as Jon Burpee suggested, are not necessarily requiring superintendents to work with Indigenous peoples in a substantive, decolonial manner. It is instead up to individuals at the park level to *choose* to address Indigenous relations. This represents a delegation of the “responsibility to engage” in reconciliation down from DRDs to park superintendents, to borrow a phrase from de Costa and Clark (2016).

Certainly, some of this delegation is due to the very nature of a bureaucracy – DRDs manage managers rather than exert direct authority over parks themselves. There will, I assert, always be some measure of delegating of power from DRD to superintendent. But I am

convinced that this research clearly reveals a path towards improved park/Indigenous relationships that specifically calls individual park employees to engage in sustained, personal relationships with Indigenous peoples. Lewis and Clark and Fort Vancouver have strong relationships with the Chinook because park superintendents have made it a priority to do so. If there are two modes of engagement in settler/Indigenous reconciliation, as de Costa and Clark (2016) suggest (i.e., delegation and embodiment), then this research highlights the importance of the second.

The delegation of responsibility from DRDs to superintendents is a double-edged sword. I have already discussed how this may lead to weak social norms and/or peer expectations that superintendents engage in this work (see Chapter 6). But concomitant with this is the opportunity for the NPS to move beyond seeing Indigenous nations as “abstract Others” to instead working with them as “specific interlocutors”(de Costa and Clark 2016, 206), given that authority is being devolved down to lower, more personal levels at individual parks. The NPS can improve its relationships with Indigenous nations, as these two parks show, but it needs to do so in a sustainable way. It is crucial that superintendents have the power, time, and resources to build and sustain park/Indigenous relations. It is not that DRDs should be delegating authority as the urban dwellers in de Costa and Clark's (2016) research do – that is, only in the abstract and somewhat mindlessly, without clear expectations for or a personal stake in what those delegates do. Rather, DRDs need to devolve authority *with the explicit expectation* that it be used in concrete ways to improve NPS/Indigenous relationships. Figure 1 shows a conceptual model of this idea – that peer expectations and social norms should be influencing both DRDs and superintendents as (simultaneously) the DRDs ensure superintendents have the time, power, resources, and stability to personally engage with these issues.

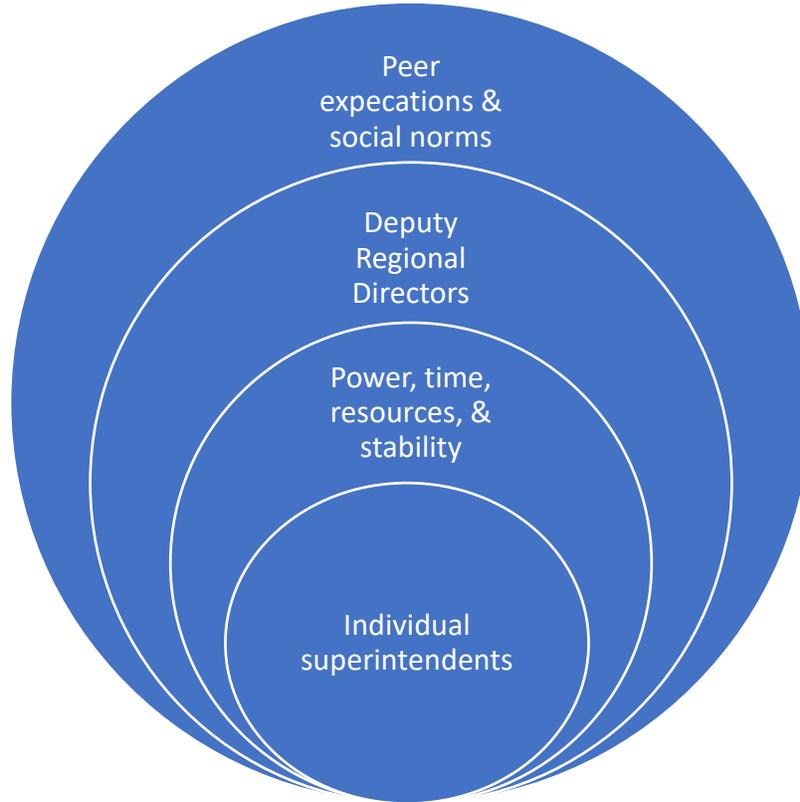


Figure 1: Factors Influencing Superintendent Behavior

This model of park/Indigenous relationships emphasizes the personal nature of reconciliation, but has implications for the NPS as a whole. First, the agency needs to reduce staff churn, as I have taken pains to argue elsewhere (see Chapter 6). Deep engagement between park staff and Indigenous leaders cannot occur so long as there is a revolving door at park headquarters. Second, it is incumbent on DRDs to expect this work from park superintendents. Third, park staff at all levels (both above and below the superintendent) need to embody reconciliation, rather than presume someone else will take it up. NPS agency culture, in other words, needs to change.

I am uncertain how successful the agency will be in responding to the challenges that Indigenous reconciliation poses. The NPS is notoriously gun-shy, tending to seek to avoid bad publicity. As an example, in the late 1980s, NPS managers at Glen Canyon National Recreation Area specifically undertook “a concerted effort to conceal” the dumping of toxic waste into Lake Powell in order to avoid “any adverse publicity” (Berkowitz 2011, 73). Berkowitz writes that “one simply does not challenge the NPS culture or its leadership...the image of the agency is paramount...[one should] do nothing to compromise the image or damage the reputation of the agency, which certainly precludes airing a problem in public” (Berkowitz 2011, 62). Berkowitz is not a disgruntled former employee with an axe to grind; his observations have been echoed elsewhere (e.g., Danno 2012; Repanshek 2015; Stanton 2016).

The NPS is an agency whose culture is marked by “a history of insularity exemplified by an unwillingness to work with neighbors beyond park boundaries...[the NPS is] an organization mired in an inflexible culture,” (Kurtz 2003, 33). I am uncertain if the NPS is prepared to deeply re-think its approach to working with Indigenous peoples at a broad level, much less to do so in a way that will threaten visitors’ understandings of American history<sup>56</sup> and its own claims of sovereignty over both its parks (as the agency will have to do to fully embody reconciliation). I also note that particularly at Fort Vancouver, success in the NPS/Chinook relationship is due in large part to factors absent in other parks (i.e., low rates of staff turnover). Yet, the examples of Lewis and Clark National Historical Park and Fort Vancouver National Historic Site show that individual employees can build new types of relationships that, while not fully-responsive to decolonization’s demands, move the needle towards Indigenous resurgence.

---

<sup>56</sup> e.g., by telling visitors about Lewis and Clark’s theft of a Lower Chinookan canoe (see Chapter 10).

I want to be careful here not to give NPS staff all the credit for success in their relationship with the Chinook. The Chinook themselves have demonstrated remarkable levels of patience and tenacity in dealing with the NPS. Think once again about Okulam; it would be hard to blame Tony and the Chinook for being at least skeptical of, if not outright resistant to, future NPS partnerships after the agency broke its word about community access to the canoe and abused it to the point of needing major repairs (and not once, but twice at that).

Recall also the Qiq'áyaqilxam project. The NPS proceeded with it despite the highest decision-making body of the Chinook explicitly stating a desire to see the site return to its pre-disturbance conditions. Yet, when I asked the culture committee – who had directly told me they felt cut-out of the re-visioning process for Qiq'áyaqilxam – if they blamed the NPS for deciding to continue with the project, they declined to do so and instead cited internal Chinook politics as the problem.

Clearly, the NPS has made errors in its approach to working with the Chinook. These two parks are not flawless case-studies. The Chinook Indian Nation has indulged the NPS by continuing to work with the agency despite its mistreatment of the Chinook. The Chinooks' reluctance to blame the agency for the Qiq'áyaqilxam debacle, for example, may be prudent forbearance born out of a desire not to antagonize the NPS or it may be a genuine feeling. I do not know. But either way, I believe the Chinooks' dedication to ensuring their territory, their ancestors, and their heritage is well-protected should humble the NPS. The NPS has the privilege of working with the Chinook, not the other way around.

Thus, this dissertation highlights how park superintendents and Indigenous nations can address setbacks and disappointments in their relationships. It would be easy for the Chinook to want to simply walk away from the NPS after Okulam's repeated mistreatment (for example). It

would also have been easy for the NPS to simply build the Station Camp park as originally intended. But rather than do so, both parties remain steadfast in their partnership; this determination should be praised and emulated. Better relationships, in other words, are possible so long as the actors are committed to doing the hard, long-term work of building and maintaining relationships.

### Conclusion

Protected areas and settler-colonialism have long been intertwined in North America, but at Lewis and Clark National Historical Park and Fort Vancouver National Historic Site in the USA, this connection is weakening. At these two parks, the Chinook Indian Nation is finding success in its relationship with the National Park Service thanks to local staff members who are willing to work with the Nation, despite its unclear status vis-a-vis the American government. NPS staff at these two parks are challenging settler-colonialism by engaging with the Chinook and building sustained, personal relationships rooted in a genuine desire to work with the Chinook and broaden the parks' missions beyond preserving and interpreting triumphant settler narratives to include Chinook heritage and counter-narratives.

The purpose of this research was to better-understand how the NPS and Chinook have built decent working relationships and how, if at all, local staff are challenging NPS/Indigenous power imbalances. To do so, I conducted sharing circles with the Chinook Culture Committee and semi-structured interviews with NPS staff at the two parks. This dissertation has highlighted lessons-learned and best-practices emerging from the two case studies. These include:

- NPS workforce management practices, including weak oversight of superintendents and frequent staff transfers, shape the NPS/Indigenous relationship.
- Personal relationships between park staff and the Chinook have led to successes at these two parks.

- Tokens, gestures, and ‘small things’ matter.

This research has additionally highlighted three stories previously undescribed in the academic literature:

- The partial reconstruction of the laborers’ Village at Fort Vancouver as an attempt to explicitly interpret Indigenous (including Métis) heritage at the site. This story reveals the power of individual superintendents to shape “their” parks.
- Tony A. Johnson’s carving of Okulam at Lewis and Clark, its subsequent damage, and the NPS’ unreliability in honoring its original (verbal) agreement with Tony to allow for Chinook use of Okulam. This story called attention to the need for written agreements between the NPS and Indigenous peoples while reiterating the power of the superintendent.
- The creation of the Station Camp/Qiq’áyaqilxam park emphasized the role of personal relationships (among key Chinook, Washington State Historic Society, and NPS actors) while raising questions about the difficulty of ‘holding oneself accountable to the community.’

It is not merely that these stories have not been recorded in the extant scholarship, but that they emphasize that park/Indigenous reconciliation is multifaceted, even at the ‘low’ level of individual park/community relationships. It is not enough, for example, for a superintendent to want to move towards re-Indigenizing the park; they must also ensure this work is protected in writing. Similarly, while building personal relationships is key, superintendents also need to be savvy enough to navigate any disagreements within the community about its work with the National Park Service. This dissertation has not documented the NPS/Chinook relationship for documentation’s sake. Rather, these stories both 1) encapsulate the challenges the individual

NPS managers may face when working with Indigenous nations and 2) point towards possible solutions.

Indigenous resurgence is a reassertion of Indigenous nations' sovereignty, rooted in their relationships to particular territories. As I have discussed, by this measure, Chinook resurgence at Lewis and Clark and Fort Vancouver is nascent. Much work remains to be done before the Chinook can economically benefit from and exert meaningful authority over their unceded, ancestral territory. To be clear, I am not suggesting that the NPS ought to turn over the two parks to the Chinook or another affiliated Indigenous Tribe; neither Tony A. Johnson nor the culture committee have described assuming management of the parks as their vision for the future. But they have been emphatic with me that a renewed Chinook Indian Nation requires more than what the National Park Service is currently doing. As Tony A. Johnson told me, "Aboriginal people should have a right to not only live and exist in their territory, but thrive and utilize resources. And that's what I hope the work we're doing is – laying the groundwork for that."

Thus, this research responds to critiques of reconciliation and decolonization as flawed ways to reimagine settler/Indigenous relationships by specifically conceptualizing these as processes, rather than end states (rather like settler-colonialism itself). In doing so, I believe I have both offered warranted praise for the staff at these two parks while offering two cautions. First, the NPS is in the beginning stages of rethinking its relationship with the Chinook. Second, one must critically consider the extent to which a strong NPS/Chinook partnership will support Chinook resurgence. There will not be a point at which one could proclaim the NPS reconciled with Indigenous nations and the work of renewing park/Indigenous relationships complete. But there are times – including the current situations at Fort Vancouver and Lewis and Clark – when

the agency and a community can look with pride on what they have achieved together and feel hopeful about the future.

This dissertation has placed settler-colonial studies and park management in direct conversation with one another. The primary contribution of this research has not been to develop a model for “how the NPS can decolonize” at a macro (e.g., system-wide) level. Rather, I have highlighted how individual park staff contribute to building new relationships with Indigenous nations rooted in deep personal engagement. While some of these lessons – such as the need to reduce superintendent turnover – may be applicable nationally or enacted by those above the level of park superintendent, they are fundamentally concerned with personal interactions.

Settler-colonialism is a large-scale structure. This dissertation does not assert that improving small-scale relationships will necessarily lead to the broader changes needed to undermine settler/Indigenous power imbalances. I am not so naïve as to believe that improved interpretation of Indigenous counternarratives (Chapter 10) or attention to ‘small things’ (Chapter 8) will result in Indigenous resurgence. So long as the Chinook are unable to culturally and economically thrive on their own territory as citizens of a sovereign Tribe (that is treated as such by other nation-states), it is hard to see how reconciliation will have taken root in Chinook country.

Recall from Chapter 2 that North American national parks have their roots in monumentalism – the notion that while North Americans may not be able to claim cultural monuments like the temples of Athens or the palaces of London as our own, places like the Grand Canyon and Banff mark how North America is distinctive from Europe and noteworthy. This dissertation has focused on parks’ entanglements with settler-colonialism; monumentalism reveals this connection, for it is a process of separating North America from the European

metropolises. Lewis and Clark National Historic Park and Fort Vancouver National Historic Site are undoubtedly places where settler-colonialism is celebrated, both quite literally (as these are places of exploration and settlement, respectively), but also because they focus on uniquely American stories and landscapes. These two parks help to mark the lower Columbia River as “not-British.”

Throughout my time with the NPS and Chinook, I have found myself reflecting on the role of stories. The stories of the Hudson’s Bay Company and the Corps of Discovery are not the stories of the lower Columbia River – they are relative blips in a Chinookan heritage that stretches back tens of thousands of years. These – the HBC and Corps – should not be the primary stories that are told at the two parks. Yet, not only are they the focus of interpretation at the sites, they are the parks’ *raison d’être*. I have argued herein that by first moving away from telling only settler stories at Lewis and Clark and Fort Vancouver and then investing time and resources into building structures explicitly to interpret Indigenous heritage, NPS staff are challenging settler-colonialism. I am well-aware that just because there are now two Village dwellings at Fort Vancouver and a park at Qiq’áyaqilxam, this does not mean Fort Vancouver or Lewis and Clark are decolonized or that Chinook heritage is given the (relative) space it deserves. Moreover, as Tony asserted (see Chapter 10), improved visitor education is not a profound fix to a deeply-rooted problem. Rather, these actions mark the beginning of a new relationship

At the heart of this dissertation – from the methods I chose and the consideration I gave to research ethics to its findings – is an emphasis on considering how settlers can ethically engage with Indigenous peoples. This research has emphasized the importance of investing time into these relationships. The NPS/Chinook relationship has benefitted from Tracy Fortmann’s

long tenure as superintendent at Fort Vancouver and Jon Burpee's preexisting relationship with Tony A. Johnson prior to his (Jon's) appointment as Lewis and Clark superintendent. I have stressed the importance of ensuring deputy regional directors both expect superintendents to engage with Indigenous peoples and provide them with the time and resources to do so. I have drawn public administration into this analysis, by considering the role of peer expectations and social norms in shaping public employees' behavior (see Chapter 6).

The two case-studies I have presented here are somewhat unique relative to many protected areas. They are small parks and are generally focused on historic, or heritage, resources. Yet, this does not mean that the lessons-learned and best-practices I have identified are not generalizable elsewhere. As I noted in the Introduction, the literature on park/Indigenous relationships tends to focus on cases that are historical (e.g., Burnham 2000; Spence 1999; Keller and Turek 1998) and/or rooted in particular management structures hard to replicate elsewhere (e.g., Thomlinson and Crouch 2012). These two cases stand in stark contrast to this – they are dynamic, contemporary relationships that have decidedly not evolved from a unique set of circumstances such as modern land claim or treaty process.

The lessons-learned and best-practices speak to the literature in other ways. For example, as Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, and T'lakwadzi (2009) note, reconciliation and decolonization must be accountable to individual communities' visions and aspirations. This was echoed by Tuck and Yang (2012). A clear thread running through this dissertation has been the value of both written (e.g., MOUs) and personal (e.g., 'small things matter') relationships. These two items particularly respond to the challenges park managers will face in being accountable to the communities with which they work.

### Future Research

The NPS/Chinook relationship remains a rich area for future scholarly inquiry. The Chinook are keenly interested in archival research that will lead to a dossier documenting all their work with the NPS. The Chinook are not interested in a comprehensive, granular report of (for example) each missive between their office and the NPS regarding Qiq'áyaqilxam. Instead, they want to identify the major projects the two have partnered on and each case of formal section 106 (government-to-government) consultation. Compiling this information would 1) be a useful tool for building their own institutional memory, 2) be distributed to new superintendents at the two parks, to emphasize for the incoming managers the importance, richness, and depth of the NPS/Chinook relationship, and, 3) possibly be used as evidence in the Chinooks' ongoing legal battles to suggest that the American government treats them as a de facto recognized Tribe. I was a writer-in-residence at the Willapa Bay Artists' Residency in Chinook territory during May 2019. Beginning such a dossier was an important outcome of my residency.

Additionally, future research could approach this relationship primarily through a public administration lens, particularly by drawing on the work of Wilson (1991). If 1) peer expectations and social norms drive public employees' behavior and 2) in the NPS, these have tended not to focus on the importance of park/Indigenous relations, then how has agency culture shaped NPS responses to the Chinook at these two parks? What is it about these two places specifically that has encouraged staff to work with the Chinook? While the present study has set out to understand *how* positive NPS/Chinook relationships have developed, understanding *why* park staff have engaged in this work in the first place and how, if at all, NPS agency culture has mediated their ability to work with the Chinook, would be useful. As I have discussed at some length (see Chapter 2), the NPS is inescapably bound up in settler-colonial practices of land alienation and myth-making. Yet, staff at these two parks are working to resist this urge.

Thinking about the NPS/Chinook relationship as a study in bureaucrats who challenge agency culture promises to be a rich area of research with implications for individuals working elsewhere.

I caution, however, that future research which takes this up should be careful not to reduce or overlook Chinook agency in shaping this relationship. Considering NPS agency culture would be useful, but one must not minimize the Chinook Indian Nation's contributions while doing so. The NPS employees at these two sites do not deserve all the credit or attention for the successes they have found in working with the Chinook.

Alongside this caution, I would add another: that the Chinooks' actions not be taken as motivated by their unclear status. One could interpret these two cases as examples of an Indigenous community engaging with the NPS primarily to accumulate evidence of their treatment as a de-facto recognized Tribe by the agency. I believe such an interpretation would be flawed. No one has ever indicated to me that this is a primary motivation of the Chinook. Instead, they seek to honor their Ancestors and work towards an economically and culturally vibrant Chinook Indian Nation. Working with the NPS is a key way for them do so.

Finally, as I continue to think about Tony's comment that he looks forward to a time when the Chinook prosper in their own territory (see end of Chapter 10), I find myself wondering how the NPS could contribute specifically to Chinook livelihoods and ties to their ancestral lands. I am also increasingly thinking of reconciliation as having different forms, one of which is improved relationships (which this dissertation has taken up). Another form, I believe, is ensuring Indigenous peoples fully economically benefit from their ancestral territories, as Tony hopes for. Future research should explore how these two parks can support Chinook economies and reinvigorate ties between the Chinook and their territory. Would, for example,

World Heritage Site designation at Lewis and Clark present economic opportunities for the Chinook? How can these two parks help the Chinook in ensuring their youth have a relationship with their land? What is the Chinook Indian Nation's vision for their future – beyond their immediate goal of clarifying their status with the American government – and how can the NPS support that vision? Addressing these sorts of questions may help to move NPS/Chinook reconciliation beyond simply “working well together” into a space where the NPS is actively supporting Chinook economic resurgence.

### Last Words

The protected area/Indigenous relationship is nearly inescapable in the United States. As a settler institution charged with preserving and interpreting the heritage of a place occupied by Indigenous nations, it has a prima facie duty to engage with Indigeneity. But beyond this, the agency exerts settler power over land and perpetuates settler myths, inexorably binding the agency to the settler-colonial government which it serves. When considering the origins of the American national park system – born out of a desire to assert the United States' cultural distinctiveness from the European metropole and done in partnership with the railroads – the connection between settler power and national parks becomes ever-clearer, as I discussed above.

Indigenous sovereignty, heritage, and nationhood thus present challenges for the National Park Service. Indigeneity threatens to unsettle the founding principles of the NPS – that certain places are so special as to be kept separate from humans, and that American heritage is worth celebrating. But in some cases – such as at Lewis and Clark National Historical Park and Fort Vancouver National Historic Site – assertive Indigenous leaders have successfully pushed local NPS staff to attend not just to Indigenous relations but also to begin to re-think how they are telling the stories of North America and which heritage(s) the agency is preserving.

In this dissertation, I have offered my perspective on the relationship the National Park Service has with the Chinook Indian Nation at two small historic sites. I have done my best to honor the stories the Chinook culture committee and NPS staff told me about their work together and to be a faithful guardian of these narratives. Positionality matters, and undoubtedly another person with different eyes would view these places more critically. Yet, I trust I am on firm ground when I say that despite bumps along the way, the Chinook and NPS at these two sites have built a relationship worth modeling.

Recall that the NPS is under no requirement to work with an Indigenous community whose status is unclear. But the staff at these parks have chosen to do so. Meanwhile, the Chinook have swallowed setbacks in their relationship with the NPS so the partners might continue to move forward together. At its most basic level, the NPS/Chinook relationship teaches that these partnerships depend on people investing in genuinely working together over a long period of time. For the NPS to make sustained, national improvements in its work with Indigenous nations, individual superintendents must take up this work (and have the time and resources to do so). This is the clear message of this research.

To belabor the point, in no way do I believe that “people coming together” will resolve the problems settler-colonialism pose for Indigenous peoples and their lives, livelihoods, cultures, and sovereignty. But broadly considering these issues on the macro-level is not the task I set myself four years ago. Instead, my goal has been to find places where parks and Indigenous peoples work well together and to document lessons-learned from these experiences. Such best-practices can be applied elsewhere, in situations where the relationship is more contentious. These best-practices are not a panacea – but they are a way for parks to reset, to begin anew.

## **Appendix A: Research Agreement with the Chinook Indian Nation**

### **Protected Areas, Indigenous Peoples, and Reconciliation in Canada and the United States**

#### **Research Agreement with the Chinook Nation**

I, Chance Finegan, agree to conduct the named research project with the following understandings:

1. Definitions:

1.1. "I", "me", etc. in this document refer to Chance Finegan.

1.2. The community/park pairs this agreement refers to are:

- Chinook Nation/Ft. Vancouver National Monument/Ft. Clatsop National Memorial, USA

1.3. For example, for the Chinook, "the park" as used in this document refers to Ft. Vancouver NM.

2. Purpose:

2.1. The purpose of this research project, as discussed with and understood by Chinook Nation leadership is to understand how these nations interact with protected areas.

2.2. The overarching goal is to better understand these relationships so I may help people working elsewhere in difficult circumstances improve these relationships.

2.3. The immediate goal is to write a doctoral dissertation. What I learn from this study may be used in future for publications, talks, or other materials.

3. The scope of this research project (that is, what issue, events or activities are to be involved, and the degree of participation by community residents), as discussed with and understood in this community, is:

3.1. The project will focus on:

- The relationship between the park and the nation at the local level, meaning:
  - ◇ How protocols for engagement between the park and the nation have developed and changed over time;
  - ◇ The major events in the history of park/Indigenous relations at this park;
  - ◇ The major issues that have been 'solved' and that are still outstanding at/with this park;
  - ◇ The factors that led to those successes in solving problems and the barriers that stand in the way of the outstanding problems' resolution;
- The training and education park staff need to better work with Indigenous peoples both as managers and in visitor education/heritage interpretation;
- The ability of parks to be places for settler/Indigenous reconciliation, meaning:
  - ◇ Helping me understand the strengths and barriers that help/prevent park management agencies transforming into less paternalistic, colonial institutions;
  - ◇ Discussing what the nation's relationship with the park would look like in a perfect world; and,
  - ◇ Sharing stories that are examples of times when an opportunity to move towards reconciliation was seized or missed.

3.2. Communities residents in general are not necessarily expected to be a part of the research, which instead will rely on leaders and Elders, unless the Nations and leaders indicate otherwise (e.g. retired employees, etc.).

3.3. I will require guidance from the community on:

- Protocols for honorariums and gifts for participants and for conducting sharing circles and interviews;
- The format and number of final copies of the research to be returned to the community;
- How the results of the research should be shared with the community (e.g., public meeting, article in newspaper/letter, etc.);
- If the community wishes to be kept informed after the conclusion of the project of how the data is used in the future (e.g., when public presentations are given);
- How the community wishes to be consulted if the project's data is to be used for other projects in the future (e.g., if the dissertation is turned into a published book);
- If the community wishes to have access to the raw transcripts and recordings of sharing circles and interviews either during the research or after.
- Whom to talk to.

4. The methods to be used are:

4.1. Short background interviews (no more than an hour) will be conducted with local leaders (i.e., the nation's official who most often deals with the park). The goal of these discussions is to help me both:

- Understand what to expect out of and ask about in the sharing circles; and,
- Identify whom to invite to the sharing circles.

4.2. Sharing circles with 3-5 key members of the community, particularly leaders and Elders, who would like to discuss the park/Indigenous relationship with me. I expect these will take around 2 hours each.

4.3. Local protocols will be followed throughout the project.

- This means, for example, that honorariums will be offered to participants in an amount customary within the community, and that I will offer gifts of tobacco (or other items, as appropriate), to the Elders and leaders who assist me.
- I will require assistance from the community to help me understand these protocols.

4.4. To help ensure Indigenous ownership and control over how the stories and teachings shared with me are used, I will explicitly ask each participant if they wish to fully waive confidentiality and anonymity, eliminate the possibility of being deductively disclosed, or retain full confidentiality. I will also ask participants to identify specific pieces of data of concern to them they want treated with sensitivity. Additional steps to ensure ownership and control are given in section 5 below.

5. Community participation, as agreed, is to include:

- 5.1. The development of this project is based on sincere communication between community members and myself. All efforts will be made to incorporate and address local concerns and recommendations at each step of the project.
- 5.2. Sharing circle members will have the opportunity to review the raw transcripts/notes of the sharing circle.
- 5.3. I will make myself available by phone, email, and Skype to answer questions about the transcripts/notes and dissertation drafts.
- 5.4. All participants whose stories and teachings are used in the dissertation will have the opportunity to review it at the same time it is sent my supervisory committee at the university. I will also send a “plain English” summary report. I want to ensure that participants:
  - Understand how I am representing the knowledge and teachings they share with me;
  - Agree with how I do so; and,
  - Approve the final version of their contributions to this research (i.e., direct quotations, summaries of what is said in interviews/sharing circles, etc.)
- 5.5. After receiving comments back from participants and the committee, I will make the requested revisions and submit a second draft of the summary report for approval (rather than a second full dissertation draft; I will make corresponding changes to the dissertation but will not ask participants to re-read the dissertation, although they are welcome to do so if they wish).

This is particularly important to me as it will be very difficult to provide anonymity or confidentiality to participants when this research is shared with the broader public, because this project hinges in no small part in speaking with people who are recognized authorities in the park/Indigenous relationship at the case-study sites. Additionally, because the pool of participants will be small, anonymous responses may be easily traced back to the participant.

5.6. At the end of the project, I will:

- Participate in community meetings to discuss the project's results with community members, as requested;
- Return copies of the dissertation and project data to the community in a format and number of the community's choosing;
- Stay in contact with the community about future projects involving this work (see section 3.3 above) as requested; and,
- In the spirit of reciprocity, remain available to the community should my input or perspective on a particular issue be desired by the community in the future.

6. Information collected is to be shared, distributed, and stored in these agreed ways:

6.1. Interviews and sharing circles will be audio recorded with participants' permission. If permission is not given for recording, I will take handwritten notes.

6.2. The recordings will be transcribed into MS Word files.

6.3. Recordings and transcriptions will be stored on a secure Dropbox server. Data is encrypted both en route to and when at rest on the Dropbox server.

- 6.4. If the community requests it, I can provide access to the Dropbox folder or return the transcripts and recordings to the community on a USB flash drive.
  - 6.5. I will be available by email, phone, and Skype to answer questions and assist community members should community members wish to access and use the data for different purposes.
  - 6.6. If a particular individual does not wish others to be able to access their data (i.e., a transcript of an interview with me), I will remove it from the dataset that is returned to the community.
7. Data archives and return:
    - 7.1. Copies of the research data will be returned to the Chinook Nation and US National Park Service if they request it and in the manner of their choosing.
    - 7.2. Individual participants will be able to indicate they do not want to have their data returned to the community if they so choose.
    - 7.3. When I return the data, I will alert these partners to any restrictions participants place on their data on their confidentiality forms, but I cannot control how they use or publish the data. If the returned data is to be used for another project, permission from the original participants should be obtained.
    - 7.4. I will destroy my copies of the data on or before 31 May 2024.
  8. Informed consent of individual participants is to be obtained with a written informed consent document.
    - 8.1. An individual consent form will be read by me to the respondent who will sign it (if they give their consent).

- 8.2. At the conclusion of the sharing circles and interviews, a confidentiality form will be read by me to the respondent who will then complete it. I will tell participants in advance that they will be able to decide if they wish to maintain confidentiality at the end of the sharing circle/interview. This decision will be at the end so that they may make their decision knowing what they have shared with me, rather than having to decide in advance without knowing what will be shared/said.
- 8.3. A copy of both forms will be left with the respondent with my contact information, which can be used at any time, should the respondent wish to contact me for additional information.
9. Participants and stories will be protected from harm caused by the lack of anonymity by the steps outlined in section 5.
10. Project progress will be communicated to the community with quarterly reports. The reports will be provided electronically via email to my community contact/supervisor.
- 10.1. Quarter 1 (January – March) due April 30<sup>th</sup>
- 10.2. Quarter 2 (April – June) due July 31<sup>st</sup>
- 10.3. Quarter 3 (July – September) due October 31<sup>st</sup>
- 10.4. Quarter 4 (October – December) due January 31<sup>st</sup>.

### **Funding, benefits and commitments**

#### **Funding**

I have received funding and other forms of support for this research project in the form of an Ontario Trillium Scholarship. Additional funding may be sought (e.g., from the York University Faculty of Graduate Studies' Dissertation Completion Fund).

**Benefits**

I wish to use this research project for my benefit in the following ways:

1. To complete a doctoral dissertation
2. To publish academic journal articles
3. To offer academic and public presentations at conferences, community meetings, and other venues
4. To possibly publish a book in the future

The benefits likely to be gained by the community through this research project are primarily educational. The community's understanding of how the park perceives the community will be enhanced through this project. This project will provide space for a reflection on the community's relationship with the park and an opportunity to provide input on recommendations for how Indigenous/protected area relationships can improve.

This project will benefit Indigenous peoples on a broader scale. It is my sincere intention to use this work to inform my teaching of university students seeking careers in parks. I hope this work leads to broad-scale outputs such as publications and professional trainings that will help current agency staff improve how they approach working with Indigenous peoples.

**Commitments**

The community's commitment to me is to:

1. Recommend capable and reliable community members to collaborate in this project;
2. Provide guidance on the items identified in section 3.3 above; and,
3. Help in leading the project toward meaningful results.

To summarize, my main commitments to the community include, but are not limited to, the following:

1. Inform the community about the project in a clear, specific, and timely manner;
2. Respect local community protocols;
3. Safeguard the teachings shared with me by ensuring participants understand and agree with how they and their knowledge will be represented and used;
4. Report findings back to the community in a manner of its choosing;
5. Returning copies of this work and data to individuals and the community as described above; and,
6. Honor the principle of reciprocity by making myself available to the community should my input or perspective on a particular issue be desired by the community in the future.

I will interrupt the research project in the following circumstances:

1. If community leaders decide to withdraw their participation;
2. If I come to believe that the project will no-longer benefit the community; or,
3. If I am unable to uphold the commitments I make in this agreement.

**Signed by:**

/s/ Chance Finegan on 30 November 2017

/s/ Tony A. Johnson, Chinook Indian Nation Chair on 22 November 2017

## **Appendix B: Interview Guides**

### **SHARING CIRCLE PROTOCOL**

#### **1. Chance's intro (will read aloud)**

- a. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this sharing circle. Just to remind everyone, I'm looking at opinions about how parks and Indigenous peoples relate to one another.
- b. Before we begin, I would like to walk you through the consent form that is in front of you. (I will review the informed consent form and answer any questions about it before collecting them and ensuring that participants have their own copies to take home).
- c. I will now discuss confidentiality (note – this text may be slightly modified to reflect local protocols and practices after I receive input from the community's Elders about how to conduct the sharing circle).
  - i. Everyone's views are welcomed and important
  - ii. The information which we will collect today will be attributed to this sharing circle.
  - iii. Because of the nature of small communities or groups, it is possible that people could link participants in this room to quotes in the report. This is why we need to talk about confidentiality.

- iv. We are assuming that when we learn about one another's views, they remain confidential. In a small community (group) like this, people are identifiable to some degree by their views and opinions.
- v. Having said this, and having made these requests, you know that we cannot guarantee that the request will be honoured by everyone in the room.
- vi. So we are asking you to make only those comments that you would be comfortable making in a public setting; and to hold back making comments that you would not say publicly.
- vii. At the end of the sharing circle, I will ask you to complete a confidentiality form. You will be able to choose the degree to which you want these comments you make today to remain confidential, but remember that I cannot control what other participants tell people about our time together today.
- viii. If you want to stop being in the sharing circle, you can leave or stay and simply stop talking, but it will not be possible for you to pull out your data from the flow of the conversation because of the interconnected nature of the group discussion where one person's comments can stimulate the sharing of comments made by others in the group.
- ix. Anything heard in the room should stay in the room.

- x. All voices are to be heard, so I will step in if too many people are speaking at once or to make sure that everyone has a chance to speak.
- xi. You can expect this discussion group to last about 2 hours.
- xii. As you will recall, this sharing circle will be recorded to increase accuracy and to reduce the chance of misinterpreting what anyone says.
- xiii. All tapes and transcripts will be kept on a secure Dropbox server. Data is encrypted both en-route and while stored on the server.
- xiv. Only I will have access to transcripts.
- xv. I'll also ask that when using abbreviations or acronyms, you say the full name at least once to aid transcription.
- xvi. We will use a "flip chart" to write down key points during the sharing circle and take notes

## **2. Local issues**

- a. Let's start with introductions. Could we please all introduce and share a bit about ourselves with the group? How is everyone connected to the work the community does with the park?
- b. I hope to better understand the relationship that parks have with Indigenous peoples. How would you broadly characterize this relationship, at a large, national level?
- c. What is it like here, locally?

- d. If I were to make a timeline (start drawing one on an easel/whiteboard), what would be some the key events that I should put on it to help understand this relationship here? As we place events on the timeline, what are some of the stories I should know about these events?
- e. If I draw thick lines to indicate when relations were good and thin lines for poor ones, could you help me draw them ?
- f. How has the park's protocols for engaging with Indigenous peoples come about?
  - i. Are they formal/informal?
  - ii. How is 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' behavior defined? By whom?
  - iii. How have the protocols changed/evolved over time? Please mark key events on the timeline, such as when those protocols started, significantly change, or ended.

### **3. Successes & failures**

- g. Thinking now about the events we have talked about that are negative, why do you think they happened? How can similar things be avoided in the future?
- h. Could you give me a story that you think best represents the progress this park has made in working with Indigenous peoples?
  - i. Why did you choose this story?
  - ii. Do you think the success you experienced with this issue was due to very specific/local circumstances, or were the primary factors broader? Please elaborate.

iii. What is the 'take-home' message you would like to have others understand about this event?

i. If one were to re-imagine these cases as 'perfect parks' and models for other parks to follow, what might that look like? What would it take to get there?

#### **4. Major issues**

j. One of the major 'solved' issues that has been coming up in our conversations is \_\_\_\_\_. What advice would you give to protected area staff working elsewhere who are still struggling to solve this issue?

k. Thinking about the success stories, what do you think are the factors that led to them? If a park elsewhere is struggling with a similar issue (sacred site management, for example), what advice might you give to its staff?

#### **5. Park staff**

l. This research is partially grounded in the idea that the 'problem' in park/Indigenous relations lies with the parks, not with Indigenous peoples. Do you agree with that?

m. Do you think that additional training and education for park staff could help them navigate this relationship? What sort of training might be needed to accomplish this and to see improved relations?

n. Could you talk about how staff turnover at the park affects relations with your community?

- o. Is there education that should be provided to Indigenous communities about parks? Are there opportunities you would like to benefit from that you did not have? What would have to happen to make this possible?
- p. How can we ensure, in particular, that park educators/interpreters are prepared to talk to visitors about Indigenous heritage and perspectives?

**6. Thinking broadly...**

- q. What do you think reconciliation looks like in a broad sense, between parks and Indigenous peoples across the country? What does it look like in your community/park?
- r. What are some of the perceived barriers to this? What are the strengths you've observed that have the potential to aid in this improvement?
- s. Finally, what is the take-home message from our conversations for people – either in other Indigenous communities or park staff – who are seeking to improve park/Indigenous relations? What do you want them to know?

**7. Is there anything else** you would like to add before we end our conversation?

(pass out confidentiality forms and read them aloud)

## AGENCY STAFF INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Interviews will be conducted at a location convenient for interviewees. Before beginning the interview, I will review the informed consent document with the participant. At the end of the interview, we will go over the confidentiality form together. The participant will retain copies of both of these documents.

### 1. Professional context

- a. Could you briefly outline your career before you came to hold your current position? (invite participant to draw a timeline)
- b. What is your current role at the park (job title, division, length of time in position, etc.)?
- c. How would you describe the type of work you do?
- d. Have you held other positions at the park?

### 2. Educational context

I want to ask you about your education and training. Education and professional training provide students with the opportunities to discuss and study topics to prepare them for their careers. One of the goals of this project is to ID what sort of training/education is needed to better prepare people to work in/on the park/Indigenous relationship.

How much have you benefitted from education and training with respect to parks' relationship with Indigenous peoples in your work?

- a. How did you first learn about this relationship?

- b. Could you tell me of any education/training opportunities you have benefitted from in particular and in what ways? Where did these occur? Could you just indicate those trainings on your timeline?
- c. How much information and help do you feel you have in terms of learning about and taking advantage of the education/training opportunities that already exist that might help you navigate the park/Indigenous relationship?
- d. Are there opportunities you would like to benefit from that you do not have? What would have to happen to make this possible? What sort of topics should be covered?
- e. Can you tell me a story of a time when you were in a situation where either a) you applied some knowledge you had learned about Indigenous peoples or b) realized that you hadn't learned as much as you needed to?

### 3. Park context

Thinking now about the relationship that protected areas have with Indigenous peoples...

- a. How would you characterize these relationships broadly, across the entire park system?
- b. What brought Indigenous peoples and the agency together here (why did the relationship start, in other words)? Could you mark that on the timeline?
- c. Broadly, how would you characterize the park's relationship with Indigenous peoples?

- d. Could you give me an overview of the history of park/Indigenous relationships here?
- i. How has it waxed/waned (grown better/worse over time)? What are some causes for those changes?
  - ii. What are some major milestone in the relationship? Could you mark those on the timeline? Please be sure to include any conflicts and/or the start/end date of any formal 'boards' or 'committees' (ie, a co-management board or an advisory committee)
- e. What are some of the key issues that have been 'solved' in this relationship here?
- i. Could you make on the timeline when those issues came about and when they were resolved?
  - ii. Can you tell me a story about the solving of one of these issues? How did to come to a resolution? What were some of the factors/circumstances that helped nudge it along to a positive conclusion?
- f. What are some of the issues that are still in need of resolution? Why do you think solutions have proved elusive? In a perfect world, what do resolutions look like that would solve these problems to everyone's satisfaction? What's the process for achieving those resolutions? Do you think that will happen within the next few decades, or might it take longer? Please mark on the timeline roughly when you think they might reasonably be solved.

- g. Could you talk about how staff turnover both here at the park and how your own career moves have affected working with Indigenous peoples?

#### 4. Participant's work experiences

Now, let's talk about how you work with Indigenous peoples in particular

- a. Where does your work fit into this picture (reference the timeline)?
- b. Please describe the nature of how you work with Indigenous peoples.
- c. Why have you undertaken this work? Were you instructed to do so by a supervisor, for example?
- d. What have been some highlights/successes for you in this work?
- e. What have been some challenges?
- f. Can you tell me a story of a particularly memorable interaction you had with Indigenous peoples? Why is it memorable?
- g. Have park/Indigenous relations been a field unit/regional or national priority in your experience? Please elaborate. Could you speculate on why/not?
- h. Have you been provided with guidance or direction in your efforts to manage/navigate the park/Indigenous relationship? If so, please elaborate.
- i. In your opinion, are park/Indigenous relations influenced more by regional/national policy (i.e., from people/actions outside the park) or by park staff and local policies/management?
- j. What groups other than the agency itself influence the park's relationship with Indigenous peoples? What is the magnitude of those influences?

## 5. Success stories

- a. Let's talk a little bit more about those success stories on the timeline...
  - i. Could you tell me what led to those good outcomes?
  - ii. If a park elsewhere is struggling with a similar issue (sacred site management, for example), what advice might you give to its staff?
  - iii. Do you think these good outcomes could be replicated elsewhere? Why/not? Please elaborate.
- b. How has the park's protocols for engaging with Indigenous peoples come about?
  - i. Are they formal/informal?
  - ii. How is 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' behavior defined? By whom?
  - iii. How have the protocols changed/evolved over time? Please mark key events on the timeline, such as when those protocols started, significantly change, or ended.
- c. Could you give me a story that you think best represents the progress this park has made in working with Indigenous peoples?
  - i. Why did you choose this story?
  - ii. Do you think the success you experienced with this issue was due to very specific/local circumstances, or were the primary factors broader? Please elaborate.
  - iii. What is the 'take-home' message you would like to have others understand about this event?

6. (for interpretation/education employees) Thinking now only about interpretation of Indigenous heritage, perspectives, and themes...
- a. What is the park's approach to interpreting Indigenous themes?
  - b. How did this come about? Why is this how the park has chosen to do it?
  - c. Do you think this approach is replicable elsewhere? Why/not? Please elaborate.
  - d. What sort of training do you offer to park interpretive staff about Indigenous peoples in particular? Why do you/do you not offer this training? Elaborate on it if offered.
  - e. How does your staff approach working with sensitive topics (sacred sites, for example)? How do they communicate to the public about them?
  - f. How can we improve the interpretation of Indigenous themes, especially given the seasonal nature of most interpretation jobs?
  - g. I want to revisit education...thinking only about interpretation of Indigenous themes...
    - i. Could you tell me what education/training opportunities you have benefitted from in particular and in what ways? Where did these occur? Could you just indicate those trainings on your timeline? (be sure university/post-secondary ed is on there)
    - ii. Are there opportunities you would like to benefit from that you did not have? What would have to happen to make this possible?
    - iii. How much information and help do you feel you have in terms of learning about and taking advantage of the education/training

opportunities that already exist that might help you as you navigate the park/Indigenous relationship?

7. Thinking very broadly now, what are the key lessons from your career you'd like to share with others in more challenging circumstances about working with Indigenous peoples?
  - a. What are the broad barriers you've noticed that need to be addressed for the relationship to be improved (generally, not just at this park)? In other words, in what ways does it appear 'the system' has not been paying attention to this relationship?
  - b. What are the strengths you've observed that have the potential to aid in this improvement? In what ways has 'the system' worked?
  - c. In many nations settled by colonists, such as Canada, 'reconciliation' between Indigenous peoples and the broader, settler-colonist society is increasingly on the political agenda. One way to think of reconciliation is as "Healing and repairing a relationship...requiring education, awareness, and increased understanding of the legacy and the impacts still being felt for everyone involved in that relationship" (according to Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission/TRC). Canadian Senator Murray Sinclair (the first Indigenous judge appointed in Manitoba and the chair of Canada's TRC) has said: "Reconciliation turns on this concept: I want to be your friend and I want you to be mine and if we are friends then I'll have your back when you need it and you'll have mine."

Another way to think of it is as telling truths, acknowledging harm, and providing for justice.

- i. What do you think reconciliation looks like in a broad sense, between the agency and Indigenous peoples across the country? What does it look like in your park?
  - ii. In thinking about your career, is there a particular story that comes to your mind of an experience you might have had that demonstrates ‘reconciliation’? perhaps something that happened to you that might have made you pause and think about reconciliation – either an example of reconciliation or a time when reconciliation was ‘missed out on’?
    1. What helped this experience take place?
    2. If a missed opportunity for reconciliation, what do you think got in the way of facilitating reconciliation in this situation?
  - d. How has the park recognized Indigenous peoples’ aspirations and tried to affirmative respond to them? What could be done to ‘do better’?
  - e. Could you describe the ‘best-case’ or perfect scenario you envision unfolding over the next 10-20 years in park/Indigenous relations at your park?
  - f. Finally, what is the take-home message from our conversations for other park employees who are seeking to improve their relations with Indigenous peoples? What do you want them to know?
8. Is there anything else you would like to add before we end our conversation?

## Reference List

- 88th Congress of the United States. 1964. *The Wilderness Act*.  
<http://wilderness.nps.gov/document/wildernessAct.pdf>.
- Agrawal, Arun, and Kent Redford. 2009. "Place, Conservation, and Displacement." *Conservation and Society* 7 (1): 56-58.
- Allen, Marqise. 2012. "After Years of Delays, Historic Station Camp Site Nearly Ready for Visitors." *The Daily News*, August 4. [https://tdn.com/news/local/after-years-of-delays-historic-station-camp-site-nearly-ready/article\\_2392f042-deb4-%0A11e1-9f52-0019bb2963f4.html](https://tdn.com/news/local/after-years-of-delays-historic-station-camp-site-nearly-ready/article_2392f042-deb4-%0A11e1-9f52-0019bb2963f4.html).
- Ambrose, Stephen T. 2000. *Nothing Like It in the World: The Men Who Built the Transcontinental Railroad 1863-1869*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Applegate, Robert, Jonathan Bayless, Barbara Beroza, Blair Davenport, and Deborah Wood. 2005. "Lewis and Clark National Historical Park Museum Management Plan." San Francisco. <http://www.npshistory.com/publications/lewi/mmp.pdf>.
- Atalay, Sonya. 2006. "No Sense of the Struggle: Creating a Context for Survivance at the NMAI." *American Indian Quarterly* 30 (3/4): 597–618.
- Ball, David, Rosie Clayburn, Roberta Cordero, Briece Edwards, Valerie Grussing, Janine Ledford, Robert Mcconnell, et al. 2015. "A Guidance Document for Characterizing Tribal Cultural Landscapes." <http://sanctuaries.noaa.gov/tribal-landscapes/>.
- Barland-Liles, David, Bob Palmer, Jim Nepstad, Caven Clark, and U.S. National Park Service. 2014. "Serious Mismanagement Report: Effigy Mounds National Monument 1999-2010." Harpers Ferry, Iowa, USA. <https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/foia/upload/EFMO-SMR-April-2014.pdf>.
- Battiste, Marie Ann. 2008. "Research Ethics for Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: Institutional and Researcher Responsibilities." In *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, edited by Norman Denzin, Yvonna Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Battiste, Marie Ann, and James Youngblood Henderson. 2000. *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge*

- and Heritage: A Global Challenge*. Saskatoon: Purich.
- Bauman, Toni, and Dermot Smyth. 2007. *Indigenous Partnerships in Protected Area Management in Australia: Three Case Studies*. Acton, Australian Capital Territory, Australia: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Canberra.
- Bench, Raney. 2014. *Interpreting Native American History and Culture at Museums and Historic Sites*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Bennett, Nathan, Raynald Harvey Lemelin, and Stephen Ellis. 2010. "Aboriginal and Local Perspectives on the Community Benefits of Conservation: A Case Study of a Proposed Canadian National Park and the Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation." *Geography Research Forum* 30 (1): 105–134.
- Berkes, Fikret. 2009. "Evolution of Co-Management: Role of Knowledge Generation, Bridging Organizations and Social Learning." *Journal of Environmental Management* 90 (5): 1692–1702.
- Berkowitz, Paul. 2011. *The Case of the Indian Trader: Billy Malone and the National Park Service Investigation at Hubbell Trading Post*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Binnema, Ted Theodore, and Melanie Niemi. 2015. "'Let the Line Be Drawn Now': Wilderness, Conservation, and the Exclusion of Aboriginal People from Banff National Park in Canada." *Environmental History* 11 (4): 724–750.
- Boas, Franz. 1894. "Chinook Texts, BAE Bulletin 20." Washington, DC.  
<https://repository.si.edu/handle/10088/34573>
- Bocarejo, Diana, and Diana Ojeda. 2016. "Violence and Conservation: Beyond Unintended Consequences and Unfortunate Coincidences." *Geoforum* 69: 176–183.
- Borrini-Feyerabend, Grazia, Michael Pimbert, M. Taghi Farvar, Yves Renard, and Ashish Kothari. 2013. *Sharing Power: A Global Guide to Collaborative Management of Natural Resources*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Boxberger, Daniel. 2018. "Identities on the Fringe." In *Before and After the State: Politics, Poetics, and People(s) in the Pacific Northwest*, edited by Allan McDougall, Lisa Philips, and Daniel Boxberger. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Boyd, Robert. 2013. "Lower Chinokan Disease and Demography." In *Chinookan Peoples of the*

- Lower Columbia*, edited by Robert Boyd, Kenneth Ames, and Tony A. Johnson, 229-249. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Boyd, Robert, Kenneth Ames, and Tony A. Johnson, eds. 2013. *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Britneff, B. 2018. "First Nations Trapper Suing Parks Canada for Tearing Down Hunting Cabin." 2018. <https://ipolitics.ca/2018/02/05/first-nations-trapper-suing-parks-canada-tearing-hunting-cabin/>.
- Brockington, Daniel, and James Igoe. 2006. "Eviction for Conservation : A Global Overview." *Conservation and Society* 4 (3): 424–470.
- Brosius, J. Peter. 2004. "Indigenous Peoples and Protected Areas at the World Parks Congress." *Conservation Biology* 18 (3): 609–612.
- Burnham, Philip. 2000. *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Butterfield, Nancy. 2003. "Lewis and Clark National Park Plans Get First Public Airing." *Chinook Observer*, August 12. [https://www.chinookobserver.com/news/lewis-and-clark-national-park-plans-get-first-public-airing/%0Aarticle\\_24011587-3a52-5e2f-ba87-4bf2c632fe19.html](https://www.chinookobserver.com/news/lewis-and-clark-national-park-plans-get-first-public-airing/%0Aarticle_24011587-3a52-5e2f-ba87-4bf2c632fe19.html).
- . 2004a. "Public Reviews Plans for New National Park Site." *Chinook Observer*, March 16. [https://www.chinookobserver.com/news/public-reviews-plans-for-new-national-park-site/article\\_9dfb1122-2836-5352-8973-edbc7fb6899f.html](https://www.chinookobserver.com/news/public-reviews-plans-for-new-national-park-site/article_9dfb1122-2836-5352-8973-edbc7fb6899f.html)
- . 2004b. "Archaeologists Find Little But Tar Balls at Site of Old Cannery, Chinook Village." *Chinook Observer*, June 8. [https://www.chinookobserver.com/news/archaeologists-find-little-but-tar-balls-at-site-of-old/article\\_51a8c7b8-79ab-5680-bab2-0606ea2e9dcb.html](https://www.chinookobserver.com/news/archaeologists-find-little-but-tar-balls-at-site-of-old/article_51a8c7b8-79ab-5680-bab2-0606ea2e9dcb.html)
- . 2006. "Chinooks Oppose Rerouting Highway." *Chinook Observer*, February 14. [https://www.chinookobserver.com/news/chinooks-oppose-rerouting-highway/article\\_c78162eb-da16-524bb408-%0A97427c2718e6.html](https://www.chinookobserver.com/news/chinooks-oppose-rerouting-highway/article_c78162eb-da16-524bb408-%0A97427c2718e6.html).
- Carpio, Myla Vicenti. 2006. "(Un)Disturbing Exhibitions: Indigenous Historical Memory at the NMAI." *American Indian Quarterly* 30 (3/4): 619–631.
- Carroll, Clint. 2014. "Native Enclosures: Tribal National Parks and the Progressive Politics of

- Environmental Stewardship in Indian Country." *Geoforum* 53: 31–40.
- Catton, Theodore. 1997. *Inhabited Wilderness: Indians, Eskimos, and National Parks in Alaska*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Cessford, Gordon R, and Murray C Reedy. 2000. "Wilderness Status and Associated Management Issues in New Zealand Social Changes." *USDA Forest Service Proceedings RMRS-P-14*, 185–92.
- Chinook Indian Nation. 2015. "Plankhouse Exteriors." 2015.  
<http://www.chinooknation.org/justice/week8/day38.html>.
- Chinook Indian Nation v. Zinke et al. 2017. "Case 3:17-cv-05668-TLF, Document 1." United States District Court for the Western District of Washington.  
<https://turtletalk.files.wordpress.com/2017/08/1-complaint3.pdf>
- Chung, Janne, and Gary S Monroe. 2003. "Exploring Social Desirability Bias." *Journal of Business Ethics* 44 (4): 291–302.
- Clark County (Washington). 2019. "Vancouver National Historic Reserve."  
<https://www.clark.wa.gov/community-planning/vancouver-national-historic-reserve>.
- Clark, Tom, Ravi de Costa, and Sarah Maddison. 2017. "Non-Indigenous Australians and the 'Responsibility to Engage'?" *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 38 (4): 381–396.
- Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Colchester, Marcus. 2004. "Conservation Policy and Indigenous Peoples." *Environmental Science and Policy* 7 (3): 145–153.
- . 2014. "Indigenous Peoples and Protected Areas: Towards Reconciliation?" In *World Heritage Sites and Indigenous Peoples' Rights*, edited by Stefan Disko and Helen Tungendhat, 39–54. Copenhagen: IWGIA, Forest Peoples Programme, and the Gundjeihmi Aboriginal Corporation.
- Corntassel, Jeff, Chaw-win-is, and T'lakwadzi. 2009. "Indigenous Storytelling, Truth-Telling, and Community Approaches to Reconciliation." *ESC: English Studies in Canada* 35 (1): 137–159.
- Corntassel, Jeff, and Cindy Holder. 2008. "Who's Sorry Now? Government Apologies, Truth Commissions, and Indigenous Self-Determination in Australia, Canada, Guatemala, and

- Peru." *Human Rights Review* 9 (4): 465–489.
- Cronon, William. 1996. "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature." *Environmental History* 1 (1): 7–28.
- Curtis, Edwin, photographer. "[Shores of Shoalwater Bay.]" Photograph. Seattle: E. S. Curtis, c1913. From Library of Congress: *Edward S. Curtis Collection*.  
<https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97506176/>.
- Daehnke, Jon. 2017. *Chinook Resilience: Heritage and Cultural Revitalization on the Lower Columbia River*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Daily Astorian Staff. 2005. "Discovery Awakens Chinook Heritage." *Daily Astorian*, February 23.  
[https://www.dailyastorian.com/news/discovery-awakens-chinook-heritage/article\\_a0578edf-596e-584d-ad8f-%0A04fb3b952a38.html](https://www.dailyastorian.com/news/discovery-awakens-chinook-heritage/article_a0578edf-596e-584d-ad8f-%0A04fb3b952a38.html).
- Daley, Jason. 2017. "2,000 Sacred Bones Went Missing 21 Years Ago - This Detective Found Them." *Outside Magazine*. June. <https://www.outsideonline.com/2191011/case-of-the-missing-bones>.
- Danno, Robert. 2012. *Worth Fighting For: A Park Rangers Unexpected Battle Against Federal Bureaucrats and Washington Redskins Owner Dan Snyder*. Shepherdstown, West Virginia, USA: Honor Code Publishing.
- Davidson-Hunt, Iain. 2003. "Indigenous Lands Management, Cultural Landscapes and Anishinaabe People of Shoal Lake, Northwestern Ontario, Canada." *Environments* 3 (1): 21–40.
- de Costa, Ravi, and Tom Clark. 2016. "On the Responsibility to Engage: Non-Indigenous Peoples in Settler States." *Settler Colonial Studies* 6 (3): 191–208.
- Decolonization Editors. 2018. "Submissions." About Decolonization. 2018.  
<https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/about/submissions>.
- Denis, Verna St. 2011. "Silencing Aboriginal Curricular Content and Perspectives Through Multiculturalism: 'There Are Other Children Here.'" *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 33 (4): 306–317.
- Deur, Douglas. 2012. "An Ethnohistorical Overview of Groups with Ties to Fort Vancouver National Historic Site." Seattle.

<https://www.nps.gov/fova/learn/historyculture/upload/Ethnohistorical-Overview-by-Deur-Accessible-PDF.pdf>.

Disko, Stefan, and Helen Tugendhat. 2014. *World Heritage Sites and Indigenous Peoples' Rights*. Copenhagen: IWGIA, Forest Peoples Programme, and the Gundjeihmi Aboriginal Corporation.

Dowie, Mark. 2006. "The Hidden Cost of Paradise." *Stanford Social Innovation Review* 4 (1): 28–36.

———. 2011. *Conservation Refugees: The Hundred-Year Conflict Between Global Conservation and Native Peoples*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Finegan, Chance. 2018. "Reflection, Acknowledgement, and Justice: A Framework for Indigenous-Protected Area Reconciliation." *The International Indigenous Policy Journal* 9 (3).

———. 2019. "The Interpreter as Researcher: Ethical Heritage Interpretation in Indigenous Contexts." *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 1–13.

First Nations Information Governance Centre. 2014. *Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP™): The Path to First Nations Information Governance*. Akwesasne and Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: First Nations Information Governance Centre.

[http://fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/ocap\\_path\\_to\\_fn\\_information\\_governance\\_en\\_fin\\_al.pdf](http://fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/docs/ocap_path_to_fn_information_governance_en_fin_al.pdf).

Fisher, Andrew, and Melinda Marie Jetté. 2013. "Now You See Them. No You Don't: Chinook Tribal Affairs and the Struggle for Federal Recognition." In *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, edited by Robert Boyd, Kenneth Ames, and Tony A. Johnson, 288-306.. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Fortmann, Tracy. 2016. "Coming Home." In *The Wonder of It All: 100 Stories from the National Park Service*, edited by Yosemite Conservancy, 225-227. San Francisco: Yosemite Conservancy.

Galloway, Gloria. 2017. "Inuit to Write Marine Management Plan." *The Globe and Mail*, September 29.

———. 2018. "Ottawa's Observation Plan Puts Indigenous People in Charge." *The Globe and*

*Mail*, March 1.

Graf, Tyler. 2012. "Station Camp Gears Up for Milestone Opening." *The Daily Astorian*, August 14.

Great Smoky Mountains Association. 2016. "Smokies Guide Summer 2016." Gatlinburg, Tennessee.

[https://issuu.com/greatsmokymountainsassociation/docs/sg\\_summer\\_2016/10](https://issuu.com/greatsmokymountainsassociation/docs/sg_summer_2016/10).

———. 2017. "Smokies Guide Summer 2017." Gatlinburg, Tennessee.

[https://issuu.com/greatsmokymountainsassociation/docs/sg\\_summer\\_2017](https://issuu.com/greatsmokymountainsassociation/docs/sg_summer_2017).

———. 2018. "Smokies Guide Summer 2018."

[https://issuu.com/greatsmokymountainsassociation/docs/sg\\_summer\\_2018\\_issuu](https://issuu.com/greatsmokymountainsassociation/docs/sg_summer_2018_issuu).

Hajda, Yvonne. 2013. "Social and Political Organization." In *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, edited by Robert Boyd, Kenneth Ames, and Tony A. Johnson, 146-162. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Hajda, Yvonne, and Elizabeth Sobel. 2013. "Lower Columbia Trade and Exchange Systems." In *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, edited by Robert Boyd, Kenneth Ames, and Tony A. Johnson, 106-124. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Harris, Cole. 2002. *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Hart, E. Richard. 2018. *American Indian History On Trial*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Hart, Michael. 1996. "Sharing Circles: Utilising Traditional Practise Methods for Teaching, Helping and Supporting." In *From Our Eyes: Learning from Indigenous Peoples*, edited by Sylvia O'Meara and Douglas West, 59-72. Toronto: Garamound Press.

Hemming, Steve, and Daryle Rigney. 2010. "Decentring the New Protectors: Transforming Aboriginal Heritage in South Australia." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16 (1-2): 90-106.

Hodgins, B., and K. Cannon. 1998. "The Aboriginal Presence in Ontario Parks and Other Protected Places." In *Changing Parks: The History, Future, and Cultural Context of Parks and Heritage Landscapes*, edited by B. Hodgins and J. Marsh, 50-76. Toronto: Dundurn.

Hussey, John. 1957. "Fort Clatsop National Memorial Suggested Historical Area Report." San

- Francisco. [https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online\\_books/focl/hussey2/index.htm](https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/focl/hussey2/index.htm).
- Hymes, Dell, and William Seaburg. 2013. "Chinookan Oral Literature." In *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, edited by Robert Boyd, Kenneth Ames, and Tony Jonhson, 163-181. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Isaac, Gwyneira. 2008. "What Are Our Expectations Telling Us? Encounters with the National Museum of the American Indias." In *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations*, edited by Amy Lonetree and Amanda Cobb, 241-266. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Johnson, Tony. 2013. "The Chinook People Today." In *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, edited by Robert Boyd, Kenneth Ames, and Tony A. Johnson, 4-22. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Johnson, Tony, and Adam Mclsaac. 2013. "Lower Columbia River Art." In *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, edited by Robert Boyd, Kenneth Ames, and Tony A. Johnson, 199-228. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Jones & Jones Architects and Landscape Architects Ltd. 2005. "Vancouver National Historic Reserve Cultural Landscape Report." Seattle.  
[http://journeybook.confluenceproject.org/pdf/Design\\_Documents/Vancouver\\_CulturalLandscapeReport\\_Oct2005.pdf](http://journeybook.confluenceproject.org/pdf/Design_Documents/Vancouver_CulturalLandscapeReport_Oct2005.pdf).
- Keller, Robert H, and Michael F Turek. 1998. *American Indians & National Parks*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Killan, Gerald. 1993. *Protected Places: A History of Ontario's Provincial Parks System*. Toronto: Dundurn.
- King, Mary Ann. 2007. "Co-Management or Contracting ? Agreements Between Native American Tribes and the U.S . National Park Service Pursuant To the 1994 Tribal Self-Governance Act." *Havard Environmental Law Review* 31 (c): 475–530.
- King, Maryon F, and Gordon C Bruner. 2000. "Social Desirability Bias: A Neglected Aspect of Validity Testing." *Psychology and Marketing* 17 (2): 79–103.
- Kovach, Margaret. 2010. *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Kurtz, Rick. 2003. "Organizational Culture, Decision-Making, and Integrity: The National Park Service and the Exxon Valdez." *Public Integrity* 5 (4): 305–317.
- LaDuke, Winona. 2015. *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*. 2nd ed. Haymarket Books.
- Lambert, Lori. 2014. *Research for Indigenous Survival*. 1st ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Landers, Peter. 2008. "The Matrix: A Comparison of International Wilderness Laws." A *Handbook on International Wilderness Law and Policy*, 31–54.
- Lang, William. 1996. "Lewis and Clark on the Columbia River: The Power of Landscape in the Exploration Experience." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 87 (3): 141–148.
- . 2013. "The Chinookan Encounters with Euro-Americans in the Lower Columbia River Valley." In *Chinookan Peoples of the Lower Columbia*, edited by Robert Boyd, Kenneth Ames, and Tony A. Johnson, 250-271. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Langdon, Steve, Rob Prosper, and Nathalie Gagnon. 2010. "Two Paths One Direction: Parks Canada and Aboriginal Peoples Working Together." *George Wright Forum* 27 (2): 222–233.
- Langford, Theresa. 2000. "Diversity at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site: Processes of Diversification in Historical Interpretation, Visitor Services, and Workforce Management." Oregon State University.  
<https://ir.library.oregonstate.edu/concern/graduate-thesis-or-dissertations/bn999889f>.
- Lavallée, Lynn F. 2009. "Practical Application of an Indigenous Research Framework and Two Qualitative Indigenous Research Methods: Sharing Circles and Anishnaabe Symbol-Based Reflection." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8 (1): 21–40.
- Lewis, Meriwether, and William Clark. 2009. *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*. Edited by Anthony Brandt. Washington, DC: National Geographic Society.
- Lonetree, Amy. 2006. "Continuing Dialogues: Evolving Views of the National Museum of the American Indian." *The Public Historian* 28 (2): 57–62.
- . 2012. *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Lothian, W. F. 1976. "A History of Canada's National Parks, Volume I." Ottawa.

<http://parkscanadahistory.com/publications/history/lothian/eng/vol1.pdf>.

- Lovell, Ashley. 2014. "Creating a Tribal National Park: Barriers That Constrain and Mechanisms That Promote Adaptive Environmental Management." Colorado State University.
- Lowman, Emma Battell, and Adam Barker. 2015. *Settler: Identity and Colonialism in 21st Century Canada*. Black Point, Nova Scotia, Canada: Fernwood Publishing.
- MacEachern, Alan. 2011. "M.B. Williams and the Early Years of Parks Canada." In *A Century of Parks Canada*, edited by Claire Campbell, 21–52. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.
- Manore, J. 2007. "Contested Terrains of Space and Place: Hunting and the Landscape Known as Algonquin Park, 1890-1950." In *The Culture of Hunting in Canada*, edited by J. Manore and D. Miner, 121–147. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Mar, Tracey Banivanua. 2010. "Carving Wilderness: Queensland's National Parks and the Unsettling of Emptied Lands, 1890–1910." In *Making Settler Colonial Space*, edited by Tracey Banivanua-Mar and Penelope Edmonds, 73–94. Springer.
- Maracle, Lee. 2017. *My Conversations with Canadians*. Toronto: Book Thug.
- McGregor, Deborah. 2004. "Coming Full Circle: Indigenous Knowledge, Environment, and Our Future." *American Indian Quarterly* 28 (3/4): 385–410.
- Merritt, Jane. 1993. "Administrative History: Fort Vancouver." Seattle.  
[https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online\\_books/fova/adhi/](https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/fova/adhi/).
- Milholland, S. K. 2008. *Native Voices and Native Values in Sacred Landscapes Management: Bridging the Indigenous Values Gap on Public Lands Through Co-Management Policy*. Tucson: University of Arizona.
- Mosby, Ian. 2013. "Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942–1952." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 46 (1): 145-172.
- Muller, Samantha. 2003. "Towards Decolonisation of Australia's Protected Area Management: The Nantawarrina Indigenous Protected Area Experience." *Australian Geographical Studies* 41 (1): 29–43.
- Murray, Grant, and Leslie King. 2012. "First Nations Values in Protected Area Governance: Tla-o-qui-Aht Tribal Parks and Pacific Rim National Park Reserve." *Human Ecology: An*

- Interdisciplinary Journal* 40 (3): 385–395.
- Nadasdy, Paul. 1999. "The Politics of TEK: Power and the 'Integration' of Knowledge." *Arctic Anthropology* 36 (1–2): 1–18.
- . 2003. *Hunters and Bureaucrats: Power, Knowledge, and Aboriginal-State Relations in the Southwest Yukon*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Nagy, Rosemary. 2012. "Truth, Reconciliation and Settler Denial: Specifying the Canada-South Africa Analogy." *Human Rights Review* 13 (3): 349–367.
- Nash, Roderick. 2014. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Nash, Roderick. 2014. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- National Park Service. n.d. "Natural Features and Ecosystems." Isle Royale National Park. <https://www.nps.gov/isro/learn/nature/naturalfeaturesandecosystems.htm>.
- . 2006. "Historic Sites and Structures." Cedar Breaks National Monument, Utah. [https://www.nps.gov/cebr/planyourvisit/upload/History\\_2006.pdf](https://www.nps.gov/cebr/planyourvisit/upload/History_2006.pdf).
- . 2016. "Peak Experiences." Lassen Volcanic National Park, California. <https://www.nps.gov/lavo/learn/news/upload/Peak-Experiences-Summer-2016-web-2.pdf>.
- Neel, David. 1995. *The Great Canoes: Reviving a Northwest Coast Tradition*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Observer Staff. 2009. "Station Camp Parkway to Become Reality." *Chinook Observer*, February 9. [https://www.chinookobserver.com/news/station-camp-parkway-to-become-reality/article\\_be8189a2-58e3-%0A5ede-ab2b-78811015ddad.html](https://www.chinookobserver.com/news/station-camp-parkway-to-become-reality/article_be8189a2-58e3-%0A5ede-ab2b-78811015ddad.html).
- . 2011. "Chinook Tribe Welcomes Back Canoe 'Family.'" *Chinook Observer*, September 19. [https://www.chinookobserver.com/news/chinook-tribe-welcomes-back-canoe-family/article\\_44b4be49-049a-5f6a-84a1-9185c5ccd244.html](https://www.chinookobserver.com/news/chinook-tribe-welcomes-back-canoe-family/article_44b4be49-049a-5f6a-84a1-9185c5ccd244.html).
- Olson, Jeffrey, and NPS Office of Communications. 2016. "National Park Service Modifies Regulation for Gathering Plants for Federally-Recognized American Indian Tribes." NPS Press Release Archives. 2016. <https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1207/06-29-2016a.htm>.
- Parks Canada. 2014. "Our Shared Learning: Building Effective Partnerships with Aboriginal People." Ottawa.

- . 2015. "The Land Is Our Teacher: Reflections and Stories on Working with Aboriginal Knowledge Holders to Manage Parks Canada's Heritage Places." Ottawa.
- . 2018. "Clam Garden Restoration." Gulf Islands National Park Reserve.  
<https://www.pc.gc.ca/en/pn-np/bc/gulf/nature/restauration-restoration/parcs-a-myes-clam-gardens>.
- . 2019. "Indigenous Ecological Knowledge." Science and Conservation. 2019.
- Public Employees for Environmental Responsibility, and Kirsten Stade. 2015. "Plant Harvest Threatens National Park Resources." <https://www.peer.org/news/news-releases/plant-harvest-plan-threatens-national-park-resources.html>.
- Raworth, Kate, Caroline Sweetman, Swati Narayan, Jo Rowlands, and Adrienne Hopkins. 2012. "Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews." London: Oxfam Great Britain.  
<http://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/oxfam/bitstream/10546/252993/1/ml-guideline-conducting-semistructured-interviews-221112-en.pdf>.
- Repanshek, Kurt. 2015. "Board Finds Canaveral National Seashore Managers Wrongly Punished Biologist For Whistleblowing." National Parks Traveler.  
<https://www.nationalparkstraveler.org/2015/01/board-finds-canaveral-national-seashore-managers-wrongly-punished-biologist-whistleblowing26148>.
- Rice, Brian, and Anna Snyder. 2008. "Reconciliation in the Context of a Settler Society: Healing the Legacy of Colonialism in Canada." In *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools*, edited by Marlene Brant Castellano, Mike DeGagné, and Linda Archibald, 43–63. Ottawa.
- Ross, Helen, Chrissy Grant, Cathy Jean Robinson, Arturo Izurieta, Dermot Smyth, and Phil Rist. 2009. "Co-Management and Indigenous Protected Areas in Australia: Achievements and Ways Forward." *Australasian Journal of Environmental Management* 16 (4): 242–52.
- Rothman, Hal K. 1989. "'A Regular Ding-Dong Fight': Agency Culture and Evolution in the NPS-USFS Dispute, 1916-1937." *Western Historical Quarterly* 20 (2): 141–161.
- Runte, Alfred. 1997. *National Parks: The American Experience*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Sandlos, John. 2007. *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the*

- Northwest Territories*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- . 2008. "Not Wanted in the Boundary: The Expulsion of the Keeseekoowenin Ojibway Band from Riding Mountain National Park." *The Canadian Historical Review* 89 (2): 189–221.
- . 2014. "National Parks in the Canadian North: Comanagement or Colonialism Revisited?" In *Indigenous Peoples, National Parks, and Protected Areas: A New Paradigm Linking Conservation, Culture, and Rights*, edited by Stan. Stevens, 133–149. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Sarvis, Will. 2003. "Deeply Embedded: Canoes as an Enduring Manifestation of Spiritualism and Communalism among the Coast Salish." *Journal of the West* 42 (4): 74–80.
- Schelhas, John. 2001. "The USA National Parks in International Perspective: Have We Learned the Wrong Lesson?" *Environmental Conservation* 28 (4): 300–304.
- Short, Damien. 2003. "Australian 'Aboriginal' Reconciliation: The Latest Phase in the Colonial Project." *Citizenship Studies* 7 (3): 291–312.
- Simpson, George. 1847. *An Overland Journey Round the World*. Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044082185778>.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 2009. *Decolonizing Methodologies*. New York. 2nd ed. New York: Zed Books.
- Smith, M. A. 2013. "Natural Resource Co-Management with Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: Coexistence or Assimilation?" In *Aboriginal Peoples and Forest Lands in Canada*, edited by D. B. Tindall, Ronald L. Trosper, and Pamela Perreault, 89–113. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Smyth, Dermot. 2008. "Just Add Water? Taking Indigenous Protected Areas into Sea Country." In *Indigenous Governance and Management of Protected Areas in Australia*, edited by Dermot Smyth and G Ward, 95–110. Acton, Australian Capital Territory, Australia: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.
- Spence, Mark David. 1996. "Dispossessing the Wilderness: Yosemite Indians and the National Park Ideal, 1864-1930." *Pacific Historical Review* 65 (1): 27–59.
- . 1999. *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Spielmann, Roger, and Marina Unger. 2000. "Towards a Model of Co-Management of Provincial Parks in Ontario." *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 2 (2000): 455–486.
- Stanton, Cathy. 2016. "Does The National Park Service Have A Culture Problem?" NCPH History @ Work. 2016. <https://ncph.org/history-at-work/does-the-national-park-service-have-a-culture-problem/>.
- Stephens, Neil. 2007. "Collecting Data from Elites and Ultra Elites: Telephone and Face-to-Face Interviews with Macroeconomists." *Qualitative Research* 7 (2): 203–216.
- Stevens, Stan. 2014. *Indigenous Peoples, National Parks, and Protected Areas: A New Paradigm Linking Conservation, Culture, and Rights*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Szabo, Steve, and Dermot Smyth. 2003. "Indigenous Protected Areas in Australia." In *Innovative Governance: Indigenous Peoples, Local Communities, and Protected Areas*, edited by Hanna Jaireth and Dermot Smyth, 145–164. New Delhi: IUCN.
- Thomas, Nicholas. 2001. "Indigenous Presences and National Narratives in Australasian Museums." In *Culture in Australia: Policies, Publics and Programs*, edited by Geoffrey Brennan and Tony Bennett, 299–313. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2010. "The Museum as Method." *Museum Anthropology* 33 (1): 6–10.
- Thomlinson, Eugene, and Geoffrey Crouch. 2012. "Aboriginal Peoples, Parks Canada, and Protected Spaces: A Case Study in Co-Management at Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve." *Annals of Leisure Research* 15 (1): 69–86.
- Thorsgard, Eirik. 2017. "Traditional Cultural Landscape Project: Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde." In *Acknowledging Landscapes: Presentations from the National Register Landscape Initiative*, edited by Barbara Wyatt, 48-50. Washington, DC: U.S. National Park Service and National Register Landscape Initiative.  
<https://www.ncptt.nps.gov/download/43444/>.
- Tilden, Freeman. 2009. *Interpreting Our Heritage*. 4th ed. Chapel Hill: UNC Press.
- Tsosie, Rebecca. 2003. "The Conflict Between the 'Public Trust' and the 'Indian Trust' Doctrines: Federal Public Land Policy and Native Nations." *Tulsa Law Review* 39: 271–311.
- . 2014. "Challenges to Sacred Site Protection." *Denver University Law Review* 1: 963–981.
- Tuck, Eve, and Ruben A. Gaztambide-Fernandez. 2013. "Curriculum, Replacement, and Settler

- Futurity." *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* 29 (1): 72–90.
- Tuck, Eve, and K. Wayne Yang. 2012. "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, and Society* 1 (1): 1–40.
- U.S. National Park Service. n.d. "Chesapeake Landscapes Through Indigenous Eyes." <https://www.nps.gov/chba/learn/news/upload/ICL-Rack-Card-UPDATED.pdf>.
- . n.d. "Fort Vancouver National Historic Reserve Accessible PDF Map." <https://www.nps.gov/fova/planyourvisit/upload/FVNHHR-Map-Accessible-PDF.pdf>.
- . n.d. "Identifying, Documenting, and Evaluating Cultural Resources." Cultural Partnership Program. <http://npshistory.com/publications/lewi/station-camp-cultural-resources.pdf>.
- . 2003. "General Management Plan." Vancouver, Washington.
- . 2008. "Fort Vancouver National Historic Site General Management Plan and McLoughlin House Unit Management Plan." Vancouver, Washington.
- . 2010. "Station Camp – Middle Village Environmental Assessment, Public Review Draft." Astoria, Washington.
- . 2012a. "Finding of No Significant Impact: East and South Vancouver Barracks Draft Master Plan and Environmental Assessment." San Francisco.
- . 2012b. "Foundation Document: Lewis and Clark National Historical Park." Astoria, Oregon, USA.
- . 2015. "Dr Forbes Barclay." Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. 2015. <https://www.nps.gov/fova/learn/historyculture/dr-forbes-barclay.htm>.
- . 2016. "The National Parks: Index 1916-2016." Washington, DC. <https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/upload/NPIndex2012-2016.pdf>.
- . 2017a. "Dismal Nitch." Lewis and Clark National Historic Park. 2017. <https://www.nps.gov/lewi/planyourvisit/dismal.htm>.
- . 2017b. "Organic Act of 1916." Great Basin National Park. 2017. <https://www.nps.gov/grba/learn/management/organic-act-of-1916.htm>.
- . 2018a. "Frequently Asked Questions." National Park Service. 2018. <https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/faqs.htm>.
- . 2018b. "Frequently Asked Questions." Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. 2018.

<https://www.nps.gov/lecl/faqs.htm>.

- . 2018c. “Superintendents Compendium.” Lewis and Clark National Historic Park Laws & Policies. 2018.
- . 2019a. “Fort Vancouver NHS Annual Park Recreation Visitation Statistics.” Integrated Resource Management Applications Portal. <https://irma.nps.gov/Stats/Reports/Park>
- . 2019b. “Lewis and Clark NHP Annual Park Recreation Visitation Statistics.” Integrated Resource Management Applications Portal. <https://irma.nps.gov/Stats/Reports/Park>
- . 2019c. “Superintendent’s Compendium.” Biscayne National Park. 2019.
- U.S. National Park Service, and Denis Galvin. 2001. “Director’s Order #52a: Communicating the National Park Service Mission.” <https://www.nps.gov/policy/DOrders/DOrder52A.html>.
- U.S. National Park Service, and Stephen Martin. 2005. “National Park Service Organic Act and Its Implementation Through Daily Park Management.” Office of Congressional and Legislative Affairs. 2005. <https://www.doi.gov/ocl/nps-organic-act>.
- U.S. National Park Service, and U.S. Office of Personnel Management. 2019. “Park Manager (Superintendent).” <https://www.usajobs.gov/GetJob/ViewDetails/530573600>
- United Nations. 2007. *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. [https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP\\_E\\_web.pdf](https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf)
- van Balgooy, Max. 2014. *Interpreting African American History and Culture at Museums and Historic Sites*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Veracini, Lorenzo. 2015. *The Settler Colonial Present*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Washington State Historical Society. 2019. “About.” <http://www.washingtonhistory.org/about/>.
- Wekell, Joan Tuttle. 2015. “The Repatriation of the Canoe Stolen by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in 1805.” Index of the Inserts We Sent to President Obama. <http://www.chinooknation.org/justice/week1/day5.html>.
- Wengraf, Tom. 2001. *Qualitative Research Interviewing: Biographic Narrative and Semi-Structured Methods*. New York: SAGE Publications.
- Willems-Braun, Bruce. 1997. “Buried Epistemologies : The Politics of Nature in ( Post ) Colonial British Columbia.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87 (1): 3–31.

- Wilson, Douglas. 2010. Station Camp/Middle Village EA Scoping/Tribal Consultation Meeting Report (unpublished). November 19. Archived at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, USA.
- . 2012. Tribal Consultation Trip Report (unpublished). November 23. Archived at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, USA.
- . 2015. "A Mongrel Crowd of Canadians , Kanakas and Indians: The United States National Park Service Public Archaeology Programme and Fort Vancouver' s Village." *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage* 2 (3): 221–237.
- Wilson, Douglas, Kenneth Ames, and Cameron Smith. 2017. "Contextualizing the Chinook at Contact: The Middle Village." In *Frontiers of Colonialism*, edited by Christine Beaulé, 110-144. Gainesville, Florida, USA: University Press of Florida.
- Wilson, James Q. 1991. *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do And Why They Do It*. New York: Basic Books.
- Wilson, K.S., M.W. Basterfield, C. Furgal, T. Sheldon, E. Allen, The Communities of Nain and Kangiqsualujjuaq Labrador, and The Co-operative Management Board for the Torngat Mountains National Park. 2014. "Torngat Mountains Caribou Herd Inuit Knowledge, Culture, and Values Study, Final Report to the Nunatsiavut Government, Makivik Corporation, Parks Canada, and the Torngat Wildlife and Plants Co-Management Board." Nain, Newfoundland and Labrador.  
[https://www.torngatsecretariat.ca/home/files/cat6/2014-torngat\\_mountains\\_caribou\\_herd\\_inuit\\_knowledge\\_culture\\_and\\_values\\_study.pdf](https://www.torngatsecretariat.ca/home/files/cat6/2014-torngat_mountains_caribou_herd_inuit_knowledge_culture_and_values_study.pdf)
- Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (4): 387–409.