

Interpreting Native American Cultures



National Parks And the First Americans

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There truly are differences in managing Indian parks. But then there are differences in managing all parks whether they're on Indian land, private land, land just purchased, or whether it's land that has always been "national," at least since the two hundred years that we have been a nation. The biggest difference in managing parks that are surrounded by, are next to, or actually are on Indian lands is the need for the visiting public to adopt a special sensitivity to the values of the indigenous people. This applies, even more so, to National Park Service employees who come to live and work in such areas. We must have sensitivity to the rights and privacy and to the dignity of the Indian people who live on their traditional lands.

There are the Hopi, Navajo, Cherokee, Inupiat and Athapaskan. The list goes on and on. Each is different just as European cultures

On the previous page a scene from the living history drama "Lewis and Clark Among the Earthlodge People," Knife River Indian Villages NHS, 1986.

are different even though they share the same continent. However, America's Indians are bound together by the fact that they shared the same destiny when they stood at the portal of history as Columbus crashed through it. A bungled navigational theory notwithstanding, the Indian world was changed forever when the words, "Land Ho" cracked through the air and were followed by five hundred years of evolution.

As keepers of this nation's heritage, we are fortunate indeed to be so close to the historic process. Indian people see earthkeeping in a somewhat different fashion than the majority of America's stockholders. Their idea of preservation is, like ours in the National Park Service, to maintain the status quo; except that their status quo acknowledges a deity in all living things. Moreover, "living things" means the inanimate as well as the animate—rocks, shifting sand dunes, the movement of winds, the shadow of clouds dancing in canyons. To the Indian, the status quo means "if one takes, then one gives back."

All this was well and good until we non-Indians figured we could improve on that by parceling out land from which nothing could be taken, thereby "preserving" it in its natural state. Alaska, however, proved a real eye opener. We soon recognized, even in the legislation, that the local rural residents, the predominant Alaskan Natives, required certain things to survive. It's called subsistence. The rights and needs of indigenous people were recognized and legislatively mandated.

This has not always been the case in the "Lower 48," the Trust Territories, or the indigenous lands of the Pacific. As we have interfered with the give and take of people attached to certain tracts of land, we have upset the balance somewhat. We, unfortunately, have further skewed that balance by failing to recognize that even the name of a place is carefully chosen in a native language to signify reverence and balance. Not only have we ignored the Indian names for natural landmarks, quite often we have applied names totally alien from their descriptions and translations in native tongues.

The National Park Service has had both a positive and negative track record over the years. Some early superintendents of parks in what was once Indian territory were very sympathetic and very understanding of Native American needs, and those superintendents were highly respected. Others took the National Park Service through some bad times by being rather autocratic and making some avoidable mistakes along the way. But it's a matter of maturity and growth to live within the context of a different perspective and to achieve managerial compromises that strike a balance for all the people concerned.

The problems associated with managing parks on Indian lands probably are no different from those associated with the Great Smoky Mountains or Organ Pipe Cactus. The differences lie in the clientele and our relationships with that clientele. Quite often, we fail to recognize that in dealing with Indian peoples and their rights and desires, we, in fact, are dealing with quasi-sovereign governments. As representatives of our Federal government, we must be mindful that Washington has a government to government relationship with Indian nations. Too often, we have a tendency to

think of Indian tribes, as does our society in general, as just another minority or ethnic group, when in fact, they are not. They are landholders with the status of treaty nations that elevates them even beyond statehood. The United States did not make treaties with states.

The National Park Service has made strides in understanding this relationship and in valuing the sacredness imbued in those sites special to Native Americans. We are involved with sites that range from Independence Hall where we celebrate our freedom from the tyranny of Europe to Alaska's Mt Denali, a holy place to many Alaskan Natives. All are sacred to our national soul.

As for the future, I predict an abundance of activity for the National Park Service in its interchange, cooperative agreements and park relationships with developing Indian nations. The current expanded grants program will include the Indian tribes. The National Park Service will expand its sense of community partnerships to develop techniques that will preserve Native American cultures and in making those cultures available for all people in a dignified and sympathetic manner.

At the very core of American history are the cultures and values of Native Americans. As keepers of these traditions, the National Park Service has a unique opportunity to incorporate Indian sacred-site practices into its own high standards of preservation. It may be the heart of our legacy, "for the benefit and enjoyment of the people."

ALL of the people!

Through Native Eyes

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This valley is "Ipniilaviq," 'place of young sheep.' That mountain with the ice on top is "Auyuukkaa." It means 'never melt.' The rounded hill over there is called "Pannavik." It means 'spearing place.' See that rough mountain peak? It is called "Papiguq," or 'fish tail.' A giant fish jumped from a big lake and landed there headfirst. It turned into rock with its tail still in the air. The river flowing south is "Angilgagialq," the 'going home way.' Over there is where the Iiyugamiit Indians and the Kuvangmiit had a great battle."

Joe Sun, an elderly Kuuvagmiit Eskimo, rode in the right front seat of the Park Service floatplane calling off place names and site information. We cruised low through the most remote sections of the Gates of the Arctic National Park. A Native interpreter and an anthropologist recorded his words on a map and tape recorder. Ahead and to either side, a vast mountain wilderness passed in review.

The Congress and the National Park Service faced a major challenge in the establishment of new national parks in Alaska. The Natives who historically occupied and relied upon these lands were still in place. In recognition of aboriginal concerns, the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act included provisions for Alaska Natives and other rural residents to continue a subsistence lifestyle. It also directed the National Park Service to work with Alaska Natives in the planning, administration, and interpretation of park lands and resources.

In its attempts to fulfill the mandates of ANILCA and to understand Native environmental perceptions, the Park Service worked with Joe Sun and many other knowledgeable Native informants. Both long- and short- term research projects were carried out to document current and historic resource and territorial use patterns.

One of the most important realizations to emerge from these efforts is that Native cultures are literally rooted in the land. Such cultures cannot be adequately understood nor interpreted without direct reference to the land and environmental circumstances in which they occur.

Rural Alaska Natives engaged in a traditional subsistence lifestyle see the land as a complex maze of micro-environments, each with characteristics and potentials that make it unique. Each river is a special river with a set of physical properties that must be learned if one is to effectively exploit its resources. Each bend in a river is different, for while one may offer excellent opportunities for seining, the next may, for various reasons be unsuitable. To the uninitiated, only gross differences in the landscape may seem significant. To the resident Native, however, each valley and mountain is like a complete person with its own individuality.

Over hundreds of years of exploiting and adapting to their environment, Alaska Natives have become intimately familiar with the hidden resource mosaics of the land. It is this knowledge that has made it possible for indigenous groups to flourish where others, under similar circumstances, would be hard pressed to survive.

This impressive empirical knowledge is matched by elaborate metaphysical interpretations of the environment. Traditional Native cultures attribute virtually all of nature with spiritual presence. Spiritual power and consciousness pervade both animate and inanimate elements of the environment. Places as well as things have spiritual energy. This power may be naturally generated or the result of some past cultural event. There are prescribed practices and customs for maintaining a proper spiritual relationship with these forces. A few Native groups, such as the Koyukon Athabascans, continue to openly practice these customs, while others may do so in a more covert manner.

In order to record and transmit resource and spiritual information about the environment, Native groups have devised detailed memory maps of the lands they utilize. Native place names are given not only to rivers and major topographic features but also to individual river bends and bars, gullies, passes, ridges, cliffs, rocks, springs, creeks, falls, lakes, and ponds. These names alert the traveler of environmental hazards and identify safe routes. They pinpoint sheltered camp sites, wildlife concentrations, natural hunting blinds, fishing sites, abundant edible plants, and raw materials for tools. Native place names also commemorate cultural events and sites of particular religious significance.

The Koyukon and other traditional Alaska Native cultures see little difference between themselves and the natural world. All members of the natural community, including man, are spiritually related. While it is necessary to harvest animals and plants, one must never consider himself or herself superior to and divorced from wild neighbors. Even the trees have awareness and resent in-

dications of human disrespect. The spiritual presence of certain animals is so strong that special ceremonies are necessary when hunting them or using their parts. Food is placed in the mouth of a freshly killed wolf. Bears are given funeral potlatches at which only men may attend. Carcasses must be dismembered and disposed of in a prescribed manner. Even the hides of such animals continue to contain spiritual power after being removed from the carcass.

These customs and traditions are designed, in part, to encourage respect and sensitivity to the natural world. The Koyukon, Inupiaq Eskimos, and other Native groups are often shocked by the perceived insensitivity of white men toward the spiritual aspects of nature. The practice of catch and release sport fishing upsets Natives along the Nushagak River. It causes the fish pain for no other reason than fun. The Indians of the Koyukuk River tell of how martin temporarily disappeared from an area after state biologists live trapped, banded, and released several martin. To many Natives, white men are like the proverbial bull in a spiritual china shop.

Joe Sun and other Native residents do not understand the "Nulaqmiit" (people the color of bleached seal skins) when they talk of wilderness. The territory of the Kuuvangmiit is as familiar to them as a city is to an urban dweller. The city communicates through standardized words, shapes, colors, numbers, and lights. The land is constantly speaking to the Native through memorized place names and an intimate understanding of natural and spiritual rhythms. Through these media, the land tells the Native how to meet basic needs and reminds him of his cultural history and proper spiritual relationships. The fact that the land is unchanged and has abundant wildlife is, to the Natives, testimony to an ongoing healthy relationship between themselves and their world. Their land is full of cultural significance and presence. It is only that the eyes of the white man have not been trained to see in a Native way.

The unbroken relationship between Native groups in Alaska and their traditional territories presents the Park Service and the public with a priceless opportunity to gain insights into ancient cultural relationships with the natural environment. This information provides clues as to how other Native Americans related to their environments prior to Western disruptions.

Contemporary American Natives have not always been considered important to the interpretation of national parks. The birth of the National Park System coincided with a low point in the history of American Indians. The 19th Century saw the aboriginal occupants of the land overwhelmed by military defeats, disease, and internment on reservations. When the nation began to preserve its remaining natural heritage, the original owners were absent or reduced to a remnant of their former presence. With a few notable exceptions, surviving Native Americans were afforded little attention or participation within the emerging National Park System.

Fortunately, Native Americans are now being encouraged to participate in the interpretation and general management of national parks. This involvement promises to open new doors to greater understanding of our nation's cultural heritage. The detailed understanding of and respect for the land by traditional Native cultures may help modern man, both Native and non-Native, to come to a more enlightened relationship with the natural world. The

Koyukon Athabascans say that if a man is disrespectful toward an animal or other member of the natural world, that feeling is communicated through the ground to the animal. This will cause the animals to shun the offender. Without the reciprocal respect of the other members of the natural community, the man is doomed to failure as a hunter and a person.

Cross Cultural Communication

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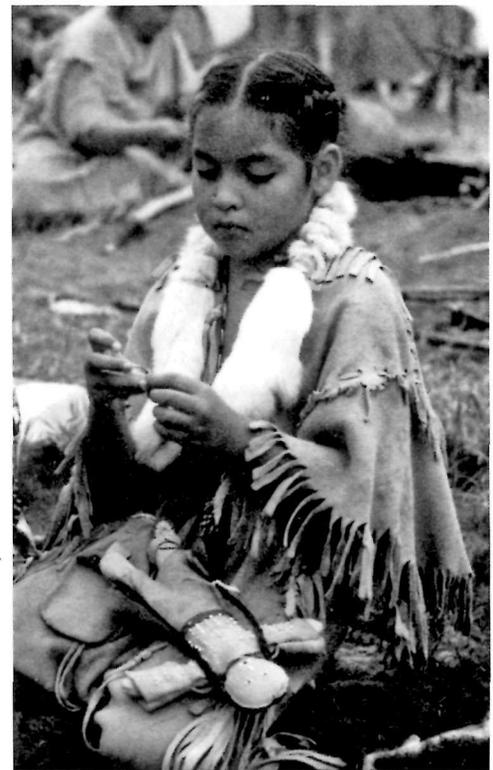
Several years ago, the staff at Knife River Indian Villages NHS sat down to discuss and establish park goals for the upcoming year. It was decided that we really needed to enhance the involvement of Native American people in the interpretation and long-range planning at Knife River. Various avenues of involvement had been explored with some degree of success, but we felt more was needed. Perhaps the timing was now better suited for accomplishing our task. We were aware that the next five years held promise of some exciting development projects for the park if everything came together. It was a golden opportunity to involve the Native American community. To that end, we have had some success.

I believe the parks must serve as educational institutions and park employees have an opportunity for educating the public through two-way communication: one of listening, one of talking. To the Native American the federal government employee is stereotyped as fast talking and poor listening. Five years ago we decided to change that perception by listening.

We have worked with the Indian community on development issues at Knife River Indian Villages NHS for these past five years. Five years of learning experience hardly makes this staff an expert in the field of cross-cultural communication. However, I believe we have learned a few things, some through common sense, some through trial and error. These ideas may be of value to others when dealing with people.

In order to give our effort direction, the entire staff had to develop an understanding of the historic events that shaped the relationship between Indian and non-Indian. What were the events that occurred at this site and outside it?

Knife River is a small 1300-acre park established 15 years



Village children at play, part of the living history drama "Lewis and Clark Among the Earthlodge People," Knife River Indian Villages NHS, 1986.

ago to protect, preserve, and interpret some very important cultural resources left behind by the Hidatsa and Mandan people. Through a series of events, most significant of which was a smallpox epidemic of 1837, these people were forced to leave these lands and migrate further up the Missouri River. Their ancient lifeway was changed by forced integration into the American culture through migration. In 1885, Like-A-Fishhook, the last earthlodge village of the Mandan and Hidatsa people, was abandoned and these people became part of the Fort Berthold Reservation. Eventually, they united with the Arikara people to form the Three Affiliated Tribes. Fifty years under Federal Indian policy of assimilation based on the assumption that traditional tribal organization and lifeway were not beneficial to the Native American had seriously eroded away cultural identity. On May 20, 1948, the tribes were persuaded to sign away 155,000 acres of the choicest reservation land to the federal government to construct Garrison Dam and accommodate Lake Sakakawea. Once again, a people with close ties to the earth for the last 10,000 years were forced to abandon their gardens and change their lifeway. What was once a self-sustaining group of people living off rich bottomland was now a defeated people with no future. After 41 years, the reservation's three tribes have never recovered from losing the Missouri River bottomland that had supported their agricultural way of life.

However, the history of these people may be no different than other Native American people in other parts of this country. Since the days of colonization, we have advanced a policy toward Indian people of displacement from ancestral homelands. We have attempted to create a higher level by "civilizing" them, or totally ignored them as the "vanishing Indian." In the 1830s, President Andrew Jackson supported a policy of displacement by removing people to the west of the Mississippi. The most tragic example was the "trail of tears" that took the lives of 4000 men, women, and children. The General Allotment Act of 1887 intended to break tribal unity by dividing reservation lands into individual parcels. Missionary work and farming would "civilize" these people. From 1954 until 1962, Congress attempted to create the "vanishing Indian" by adopting a policy of terminating more than a hundred tribal groups to assure full integration of Indians into American society.

It becomes very evident why the Indian people are reluctant to involve themselves with Federal agencies. The history of white/Indian contact in the West is recent history. The people we have to work with have personally experienced forced cultural change in their lifetime.

In 1985, I became the Superintendent at Knife River, and as most managers would do, I began the process of familiarizing myself with management issues of the park. The top priority for this rapidly developing area was to advance the commitment to get permanent facilities built that would enhance our ability to interpret and manage the site.

Research had been done on the historic and prehistoric role of the Indian people with this site. But we were lacking in the present day involvement of the descendants of these original inhabitants in its operation and planning for the future. It was then that we made a commitment to get these people involved with Knife River. The

story could best be told with their input. Without the involvement, it became another white man's interpretation.

Developing contacts with tribal members was our first priority. It would not be an easy task. I had learned that Native Americans are very leery of federal government officials, especially those offering to help. Having personal friends that are respected tribal members was a real plus.

From here, we went to the Tribal Council, first with introduction and then invitation for them to get involved with Knife River. The acceptance was slow. Our approach was, "You tell us what you want to happen here. It is your ancestral heritage. Either you help us tell it so we can do the best job possible, or once again, we will attempt to interpret it ourselves."

There were many things to do and they were happening fast. Dollars became available to start the building of a new visitor center. Exhibits needed to be planned. Grant money became available to develop a living history drama. Agreements for a cooperative program to produce several park specific books were in place and ready to commence.

After meeting several times with the council and listening to their concern, we chose to designate several council members and respected tribal people to serve as our source of contact. We would rely on this core group to review in detail audio-visual programs, display and exhibit text, books, brochures, and building design. Park staff would coordinate getting the material to these people, assimilating comments, and getting replies back to the source. Representatives would in turn keep the council abreast of what was happening.

Having the park separated geographically from the Three Affiliated Tribes by a large body of water and two-and-a-half hours of driving time presented hardship and often delays in meeting timetables. But the effort has been worth it.

I believe we have achieved success in some endeavors, but the task is not complete. One children's book has come about through this cooperative effort. Involved in the review from first draft until the final printing were park staff, tribal representatives, regional office staff, Midwest Archeological Center staff, three authors, an illustrator, a university system, a cooperating association and a publisher. Tough to coordinate this? You bet it was. But the end product was worth the effort. Involving the Native American people created a sensitivity to the text as well as the artwork that could not have been achieved otherwise.

A new park brochure has been printed that followed this same process. Although some of the players changed, the process did not. Once again, the close review by the tribal representative has been most valuable. With the questioning, the listening, the talking, we have all learned a great deal.

A tribal member trained as an architect was hired as a consultant to the Denver Service Center to assist in the design process for our new visitor center. Another Native American consultant team has been put together to guide the development of audio-visual programs and exhibits.

Over the past four years, we have had successes and we have had failures. The work is far from over. At least now the Native people are involved in what is happening at Knife River. They are talking; we are listening. There is communication. You start with one. It grows to three, then ten. Last year, 25 percent of our seasonal staff was Native American; the year before 50 percent. In 1989, Native Americans volunteered 1550 hours; the year before, 1200. There are ups and downs, but there is involvement. Recruitment is the hardest task we have faced. We keep trying, but we need to achieve at a greater rate. Without their presence the visitor and the staff cannot truly appreciate the sensitivity which Native peoples have for their homeland, their forefathers, and their culture.

One important piece of data is still lacking in our attempt to develop visitor service programs. There is need for a clear understanding of what pre-visit expectations visitors may have. I believe a survey for this park needs to ask the tough question as to whom the visitor expects to have presenting programs, Indian or non-Indian. Other Park Service areas that interpret the lifeways of specific cultural groups of people need to ask that question as well. When we get the answer, it may well then be our responsibility to place people in positions that can satisfy that park visitor's expectations. Whether it may be affirmative action, equal opportunity, or whatever, I see it as the common sense approach to doing good business.

I have observed good park interpreters share the park story with visitors that are mildly receptive. When the same story is told by a Native American, it can enthuse an audience of young and old alike. These people give our park story a realism, a closeness, that we non-Natives cannot do. I have also watched our staff become more sensitized to Native American people, their culture, and in turn the park resources by having a Native American presence on staff.

Learning came about through communication. Reading, writing, talking, listening are all skills we must learn. The first step in developing a working relationship across cultures is to ask for the answers to that which you don't understand. Then take time to listen. Sincerity is a must. Patience is a virtue.

The people that lived for hundreds of years at Knife River were a gardening people closely tied to the earth. Our staff has tried to carry on that nurturing tradition by slowly turning the soil and planting a seed through communication. Now it is time to let that seed germinate and take hold so we can do the best job possible of sharing our knowledge and feelings for the people of these villages and their culture. It is our responsibility and our opportunity to bridge the gap of two different cultures.

When Past Is Present: Cultural Perspectives

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Diversity is one of our favorite agency buzzwords. We proudly point to the variety of natural and cultural sites in the park system. We rearrange our priorities around the latest diversity "discovery." Give us something dramatic like fire, and we act as if we invented it, and proceed to talk about it to excess. Unfortunately, living cultures are subject to the same discovery and talky treatment.

The park system includes a number of sites that reflect cultural diversity but often are interpreted from the perspective of the dominant culture. As a result of this one-sided cross-cultural approach, nostalgia and pageantry often replace history and preservation of cultural processes. We freeze a cultural event into a frame—be it a costumed reenactment or museum exhibits—that delegates a dynamic culture to the past tense, and then leave it there.

Contrasting Cultural Styles

Often we assume that Native American cultures can be interpreted by the dominant culture—American European or by a subculture like the National Park Service—without losing anything in the translation. But the NPS has cultural traits which make us suspect to peoples historically attached to a resource. When I arrived at Pipestone National Monument, the wife of a local pipemaker told me that NPS people were “a bunch of high-class gypsies.” That observation was based on the fact that a succession of NPS people had gone through the area in revolving door fashion. Ours is a culture with a Boy Scout merit badge mentality—the person with the most badges (parks) wins. For cultures with strong ties to particular resources, our pursuit of badges is not impressive. Often we come across as flim-flam artists, not preservationists.

A National Park Service subculture—those of us who interpret—has provided in-house entertainment for years with our Rodney Dangerfield, “I don’t get no respect,” impressions. Other cultures find us entertaining as well, especially with our habit of taking credit for the obvious. We embrace fire, silence, and magic as “interpretive tools.” Many tribal peoples chuckle at our claims, knowing that silence, in particular, is something we abhor. Much of our training runs counter to natural or cultural processes.

We see a resource and want to jumpstart it, making history “come to life,” using our bag of tricks to create programs—episodes, if you will—to stimulate visitors to an appreciation of a particular site. Our interpretive vocabulary is heavy with “R” words—reenact, reconstruct, redecorate, and recycle (as in imitating each other’s programs). Our folkways seem strange to many of the cultures we pretend to interpret. We try to emulate theme parks, failing to notice a major difference. We have what remains of real resources; they don’t. Lacking confidence that the resource itself can evoke a visitor response, it becomes too easy to grab an “Everything I Know About Interpretation I Learned in Kindergarten” manual, increase the volume of our presentations, focus on “me,” box up magic in Hardee’s take-out fashion, and try to keep visitors on a rope. The overall effect, park to park, is a homogenized approach that makes us almost as predictable as theme parks. Six Flags over Fort Calamity—here we come!

Bill Brown, in a 1986 talk to Midwest Region Superintendents on the future of interpretation, proposed changes in our interpretive methodology that could break interpretation out of a packaged, rote mode. Brown suggested that we explore more subtle methods of interpretation, and noting that we had created enough barriers separating the visitor from resources, advised interpreters to be less preemptive of visitor initiative and imagination. Cultural areas, particularly, would benefit from such a change in interpretive style.

Pipestone Quarry: Cross-Cultural Contacts, The Short Timeline

The pipestone quarry has attracted tribal groups for at least four hundred years as a source for pipestone for ceremonial, religious, and trade objects. The NPS entered the picture in 1937 to manage the site and to preserve the right of all American Indians to quarry pipestone.

During the short time of NPS management, some predictable things have occurred in the park and on the park boundary. A “theme” pageant sprang up that featured primarily white townspeople dressed as Indians pantomiming Longfellow’s *Hiawatha*. A replica fort, a structure that never existed at the quarry, was built to surround a gift shop.

Interpretation within the park got off to a confusing start. The first superintendent arrived carrying excess cultural baggage—perhaps from a stint with Barnum & Bailey—and “promoted” the new park by embellishing old legends on park features, and adding a few of his own. “Visitor-on-a-rope” tours were instituted for a short time during this “development” period, but Native American use of the area for quarrying or ceremonies remained low.

A cooperating association was created in 1954 to encourage pipemaking. A museum was established in 1958, and a cultural center for arts and crafts demonstrations was added in 1972. Cultural demonstrations of pipemaking and other crafts became the focal point of interpretation. The number of quarriers increased from ten in 1966 to 34 in 1989. In the fifties, visitors were encouraged to take self-guided trail tours and observe the quarrying process first hand. As high-profile interpretive efforts on the trail diminished, use by tribal groups of the grounds increased and diversified. A sweat lodge was built, ceremonial offerings throughout the area became more common, and vision quests have been undertaken at the site in recent years.

Another recent development is the airing of conflicting views by tribal members on the selling of pipestone to the general public. The issue has become a summertime focus, marked by encampments and protest runs. This spring, runners left the sweat lodge area and headed to Wisconsin to express sympathy for the peaceful resolution of a fishing rights controversy. Though the site is small—283 acres—each year it draws members of numerous tribes from the United States and Canada for a variety of purposes; some holding conflicting views on the resource.

Cross Cultural Voices: Who Talks, Who Listens

White people haven’t learned to pace themselves in the Indian way. They talk when they should be listening, it is listening that is required to break beneath the surface.

—Ralph Coe

Indians who seem to have lost all of their culture, even all of their dignity, retain far more Indianness than anyone would expect. Very important in this is what we could consider a very old-fashioned reserve in initial contact with people. Our modern pattern is the immediate smile, the hearty handshake, the slap on the back and instant use of first names, a comedy of personal friendship on sight

—Oliver LaFarge

When visiting Native American people ... listening and patience are cardinal virtues. The old stereotype of the stoic Indian comes in part from the fact that all too often non-Indians monopolize the conversation. It is common practice in western culture to interrupt others when engaged in conversation. Such conversations effectively terminate conversation with Indian people

—Joseph Bruchac (Abenaki)

*If an Indian tries to talk about it (the Pipe), he is easily lost. Our minds are not good enough to understand it. It is so sacred that it makes me want **not to tell all I know about it**. No matter how old I am, how long I have thought about it, how much I have learned, I never feel quite ready to talk about the pipe.*

—Lame Deer (Lakota holy man)

Even if partially assimilated into the dominant culture, many American Indians have retained communication patterns described above. Lame Deer's statement about the pipe reveals a fault of the dominant culture; we are always ready to talk about what is most sacred to another culture. At times, NPS "cultureteers" seem uneasy around people who will not be a part of our dominant Yakity, yak, yak, yak culture (thank you Gary Larson).

In 1971, while a seasonal in a western park, I was asked by the superintendent to encourage two Navajo girls to be more "bubbly," in a Miss Teenage America manner. I didn't, because the two were friendly and made visitors comfortable—except for a local tourism promoter who tried to force them to be a part of our Yakity culture.

Occasionally at Pipestone, I have encountered similar attitudes. A visitor shows up doing war whoops, looking for a "real" Indian; or an in-house official arrives on a redecoration mission. A personnel specialist once told me that cultural demonstrators did not do much interpretation, they just answered questions. It mattered not that one cultural demonstrator did more interpretation with a flick of the wrist than someone "playing" first person. Another specialist came armed with our standard interpretive checklist, looking for eye contact (considered confrontational by some tribal groups) and sparkle.

Ethnocentrism is so ingrained in institutional culture that we miss the rhythms around us and often respond to what little we hear by trying to conduct a major cultural rehab. The dominant culture generally expects a constant buzz of conversational noise, even if it is not very meaningful. In a social situation, we become uncomfortable if a Native American does not respond to all the cues for small talk. We expect other cultures to copy our social behavior.

A classic example of cross-cultural communication gone awry involves recent US Forest Service plans to develop the Medicine Wheel site in Wyoming. A proposal was aired that called for hard surfacing of a three-mile trail that leads to the site, construction of an elevated platform over the wheel for better viewing and photography, and erection of an interpretive center in the "wheel area." Various tribal representatives opposed the plan as one that would desecrate the site, contending that the Forest Service had refused to designate a time when various tribes could conduct religious ceremonies in privacy. The Forest Service responded by allowing the tribes to conduct their prayers on holy days as long as they started

after 9:00 pm and finished by 6:00 am each day. Tribal representatives interpreted this to mean that traditional use of this spiritual place was not as important as allowing tourists to take pictures.

Some of the same planning assumptions are evidenced at NPS sites. At Pipestone, a road was paved into the site and a parking lot and visitor center complex were located next to the quarry line. Our cross-cultural foul-ups may be verbal or in a planning design which imposes the will of the dominant culture on sites of a minority culture. Sometimes, it's very obvious who talks and who doesn't listen.

Enter the Wanabees (Want-To-Be's)

Just as perplexing to many tribal groups as dominant culture ways are individuals and groups who imitate real or imagined Indian culture. A Sioux artist friend returned from Germany last summer to declare that she wasn't "Indian enough" for the various German Indian hobbyist groups she encountered. These and similar groups in the US adopt the dress, crafts, traditions, and even the language of particular Indian tribes, and hold Pow-Wows. Wanabeeism has intensified as some New Age adherents conduct vision quests, naming ceremonies, and sweat lodge ceremonies for those willing to pay large fees for the experience. Many Indians find such mimicry of their spirituality abusive.

In the National Parks, we have encountered those who want to dress up like soldiers, fur traders, week-end warriors of another era. We even do that ourselves, and label it creative and innovative first person interpretation. Playing people from the past may or may not be instructive, but extending that technique (be it for entertainment or interpretive programming purposes) to living cultures is destructive. We have a Wanabee-type theme pageant neighboring Pipestone that confuses people as to the type of "culture" we are attempting to preserve. It demeans the very culture it claims to honor. However, there must be a strain of Wanabee in all of us. Freeman Tilden visited the pipestone quarry decades ago and suggested in *Interpreting Our Heritage* that someone could obtain a pipe here, fill it with tobacco, "thus affording anyone, with the curiosity to do it, the identical material, for true participation."

When a "Ta Ta Ta Taa" Culture Meets a Culture with a Different Rhythm

Edward Hall, in *The Dance of Life*, characterizes Euro-American culture as one that operates on capital letters—letting everyone know when an event begins. We are the people of EARTH DAY, AMERICAN INDIAN WEEK, TPIA and all manner of special emphasis programs. As a culture, we sound like the opening passages of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony (Ta Ta Ta Taa). What happens when a culture always looking for the next big event, interpretive episode, meets up with a culture with a different rhythm—a culture more attuned to circular patterns than linear ones? A clash in learning patterns, for one thing.

Western education, and our interpretive focus, tends to be "about" things—children and adults are told in books, lectures, and film, about subjects and then are tested by answering questions on what they have "learned." Joseph Bruchac notes that Native American education has always been experiential and holistic. If you want to

be a basketmaker, go to basketmakers and watch them work. If you are patient and watch long enough, perhaps the artisan will ask you to do something. If you return day after day, perhaps someday you will know how to make a basket. This process is enough to discourage even the most ardent wanabees—for they probably want to be “week-end” basketmakers.

When the Ta Ta Ta Taa and Yakitky Yak Yak Yak cultural representatives—be they in-house yakateers or visitors—arrive for an “interpretive episode” at Pipestone, signals do get crossed. Pipestone cultural demonstrators exhibit to the public a simple process no different from what occurs in their home workshops throughout the year. They quietly carve pipestone into pipes or small effigies.

Along come the “Ta” or “Yak” people who visit for perhaps an hour, yet insist on the whole “how to” treatment when they encounter people working the stone. If they get questions answered—as fast as they want—they walk away thinking they “know” all about pipemaking. The hardcore Yakitky folks can’t conceive that anything can be learned by merely watching and listening. There is no interpretation unless there is nonstop talking.

An occasional in-house yakateer, uncomfortable in the presence of a quieter culture, suggests that more talking be done **for** the cultural demonstrators. Fortunately, most visitors, whatever their cultural roots, are quicker to pick up on differences in communication and are more attuned to diversity than some in-house yakateers.

Diversity Is as Diversity Does

Cultural diversity may someday have the same rank within our society and the parks as biological diversity. The National Parks and Conservation Association honored Bob Barbee with the Mather award after the 1988 Yellowstone fires, citing him for helping us to learn how to “accept nature, not conquer it.” Accepting other cultures, and not conquering them, also is a challenge. The temptation to simplify and give visitors—in verbal form—a carry-out carton of information and interpretation to take home is strong. Some differences between cultures are usually obvious to visitors, but the danger in interpreting a minority culture is missing all the subtle differences within one tribe over religious and economic issues—facets of all cultures that are ever changing.

Every interpreter probably has a voice from the past, regarding stewardship of an area, that haunts him or her. The voice I hear is not from the Ta or Yakity Yak cultures but the words of Lame Deer, who visited the pipestone quarry during the sixties, and provided our first cultural “site bulletin:”

The quarry is all prettied up now, with lawns and lawn sprinklers and a museum. As you come in, a loudspeaker tells you about the White Buffalo woman and other Indian legends, getting it all mixed up, and there is a whirring sound as the slides come on. There are uniformed guides to take you around, explaining the meaning of the peace pipe to the tourists. Only, how can they explain something which they don't know themselves? It is all very neat with water coolers and flush toilets, but I close my eyes and try to think of this place before all the landscaping and prettifying was done to it. Lame Deer Seeker of Visions (1976).

We are always challenging our visitors to use their imagination about an area, but what if that vision is how one culture's dominance has altered a place? Cultural dominance does not equal cultural diversity—a fact that has yet to be discovered.

The Journey

Marie T Myers
Supervisory Park Ranger
Nez Perce National
Historical Park

Ethnography, archeology, ethnohistory, lifeways, anthropology ... and it's off to the library we go to learn the lingo and become the expert in order to dissect, analyze, and interpret someone else's culture and beliefs. It's done every day in the National Park Service, often casually, without a second thought. It's a job that must be done, but as NPS interpreters, are we truly prepared to handle a job of this magnitude?

A quick glimpse through the NPS directory reveals a wealth of areas that relate directly or indirectly to Native cultures. Take a look! You may be surprised! Places like Sitka, Nez Perce, Canyon de Chelly, Casa Grande, Navajo, Walnut Canyon, Wupatki, Chaco Canyon, Custer, and Pu'uhonua o Honaunau may be obvious. But what about Olympic, Zion, Golden Gate, Canyonlands, Cuyahoga Valley, De Soto, Bighorn Canyon, Yosemite, and others? Native American peoples are intricately tied in some way to the majority of sites in the National Park Service. How could they not be? After all, they were here first.

Whether we work at a site whose main theme revolves around Indian cultures, or merely use some aspect of Native culture in our programs, we have an obligation to begin a journey of cultural discovery. The length and depth of the journey is up to us; but unless we begin it, we will never be able to interpret honestly the smallest aspect of another culture. The main object of the journey should be AWARENESS—awareness of the differences in values, beliefs, ideals between cultures; awareness of how little we really know; awareness of how we feel about interpreting cultural issues that can be controversial or uncomfortable; awareness that Native Americans still are very much a part of our world, and not just statistics in books; awareness of stereotypes, ignorance, and prejudice, and the potential that we have to help dispel a few of the above.

My own personal journey into cultural understanding has not been an easy one at times. As a long-time NPS interpreter, I have used Native American themes in almost every park where I've worked. "The Indians used to make diapers out of such and such," or "This was a favorite game of Indian children," or "People of long ago lived in houses that looked like so and so," were common. The information was there, but not the awareness. It wasn't until I came to Nez Perce National Historical Park that the uphill part of my trek began.

Created in 1965, Nez Perce is one of the most visionary parks in the National Park System. For thousands of years, the valleys, prairies, and plateaus of north central Idaho and adjacent Washington and Oregon have been home to the Nez Perce people. Twenty-four separate sites across the Idaho countryside now com-

Birdfoot's Grampa

Joseph Bruchac

Entering Onondaga

*The old man
must have stopped our car
two dozen times to climb out
and gather into his hands
the small toads blinded
by our lights and leaping,
live drops of rain.*

*The rain was falling,
a mist about his white hair
and I kept saying
you can't save them all,
accept it, get back in
we've got places to go.*

*But, leathery hands full
of wet brown life,
knee deep in the summer
roadside grass,
he just smiled and said
they have places to go to
too.*

memorate the history, culture, and lifeways of the Nez Perce and those European-American explorers, missionaries, settlers, gold miners, and farmers who moved through or into the area. The park is as much an idea as it is actual physical property. As you travel from site to site within Nez Perce country, you can't help but develop a sense of the rich and diverse cultural history the Nez Perce represent. Their history, however, is not over any more than the history of the United States is over. Their lifestyles and the realities of their lives today are interpreted right along with the events of the past.

The first inkling of what I had to learn at Nez Perce came about two weeks after my arrival. I accompanied a talented Nez Perce artist/park interpreter/cultural demonstrator on an informal off-site program in a nearby town. For 45 minutes, he wowed the audience with his artwork, wit, and knowledge. Afterwards, as I mingled with the audience, a man came up to me and said "What a nice program—and he speaks such good English." A hard slap of reality had been delivered. The "for an Indian" had been left unsaid, but it was as obvious as the artist's long, black braids.

The second dose of reality came shortly thereafter as I was politely explaining an issue to a young Nez Perce man. It was something he didn't want to hear. His "I don't have to take this from you, white girl" rang in my ears for a long time. With many years as an interpreter behind me, I have become adept at people and communication skills, but I was totally unprepared for these and similar scenarios.

Other encounters did have shades of humor mixed in, such as the time an elderly woman approached our Nez Perce cultural demonstrator, Audrey Redheart:

Woman: Do you understand?...I don't think she understands.
(Closer and louder) DO YOU UNDERSTAND??

Audrey: Yes, I understand you!

Husband: (To his wife)...I think she understands more than you do!

Or the dialogue overheard between a self-proclaimed historian and a mother and son. Note particularly the use of "domesticate."

Historian: Yes, the Reverend Spalding was a remarkable man, to come out here and domesticate the Nez Perce ... the Nez Perce you know, slept through the day and did their work and hunting at night.

Mother: I see. That must be why their children are so hard to put to sleep at night.

Historian: Oh yes.

Or the usual "You mean they don't live in tipis anymore?" and "Where are the Indians?" addressed to a Nez Perce ranger.

All of these were concepts I had never even considered when I took the job. These were not problems about facts, dates, or historical events, but of human beings, ignorance, and prejudice. I was forced to re-evaluate my own expectations and motivations in the months ahead. Fortunately, my path was graced by patient Nez Perce people who afforded me the privilege of a small glimpse into their lives. The lessons were many, my mistakes numerous, and the rewards immense.

Prelude to Memorial Song 100 Years Later

Phil George

Contemporary Nez Perce poet and artist

*Before an audible sound, an almost
recognizable*

*Tune: a puppy cry—a whimper from my
heart.*

*My withheld burst of air pierces morning
stillness.*

*Up, up misty Nespelem Cascades where
Eagles and Salmon two-step on rainbows.*

Coyote licks my tears; I sing.

Steam rises from Owhi Lake and I sing.

*For long time ago freedom I am lonely, so
lonely.*

Amerika's-whiteman-life makes me sad.

Am I alone?

Puplukhh (Grandfather) is dead.

Kautsa (Grandmother) is dead.

*Prisoners of war home from Oklahoma
concentration*

Camps in OUR OWN COUNTRY.

Finally dead.

Inside I bleed.

I hurt.

I hurt.

I hurt.

*Their Life song, a portage for my spirit,
Traces glacial springs to the mountainside.*

With morning vapors my heart will rise—

*When red and yellow plumes dance down
between pines*

My heavy heart will rise.

I am alive.

Nemipu are breathing humans:

We Are Alive.

At Nez Perce, we are extremely aware of the need for cultural sensitivity, the need to heighten the awareness of our visitors and employees about cultural differences, and the similarities between cultures. That's part of what Nez Perce NHP is all about—bridging cultures. But in the words of Jeannette Armstrong, a member of Canada's Penticton Indian band, "Bridging cultures requires the active, positive participation of two separate cultures. We, as Native peoples, are expected to bridge into the dominant culture; they in turn do not find any reasons to necessitate bridging into our culture, wherein lies the whole attitude of cultural supremacy."

Powerful words, strong emotions. At Nez Perce, we are obligated to meet such issues head on. But what about interpreters at those other NPS sites whose "main themes" deal only marginally with Native American cultures? Isn't there an opportunity for them to participate in building their half of that bridge as well? Whether it's explaining the events at a site like Bighole National Battlefield with more understanding and compassion, or simply avoiding stereotypical or demeaning words like "primitive," "papoose," or "squaw," interpreters everywhere have that same obligation.

Interpreting Native American cultures is an aspect of the interpretive profession that has been sorely neglected in the Park Service. Front line interpreters are required to explain complex cultural, emotional, and spiritual issues with very little background or training in these areas. Non-Indian interpreters are faced with the challenge of being outsiders, looking in and describing what they see, much of which is not found in books. Native American interpreters are on the inside looking out, deciding how much and to whom they should tell what. Much of that knowledge and understanding comes with many years of studying and being part of a culture.

But there are things the National Park Service can and should be doing to provide its employees with a basic framework of understanding for working with native cultures. We don't send maintenance employees out to drive a front end loader unless they know how to operate it, nor do we issue law enforcement rangers guns without first giving them the proper training. So it should be with the interpretation of Native American cultures. The stakes are just as high, but not as easily measured.

A simple beginning would be to incorporate several sessions on cultural sensitivity at established courses—Interpretive Skills, Ranger Skills, etc. Other possibilities include one course per year sponsored by the Mather Training Center with an emphasis on interpreting Native American cultures, and developing regional training teams that draw upon local resource people and deal with regional concerns. The compilation of reading materials on Native American people could be distributed to interested parks and employees. NPS employees who regularly interpret Native peoples need to meet more frequently, develop strategies for training, and maintain strong networks.

But don't wait for the training centers or your supervisors to act in order to begin your journey. Do it today! Pick up a book written by a Native American author. Ask Indian friends about some of their experiences. Invite a member of a local tribe to participate in your

seasonal training. Take notice of your own feelings and uncertainties. Become aware! Someday, you might find yourself at the video store renting *Pow Wow Highway* and cheering for different heroes. My journey continues.

Law of Reciprocity

Robert Lake
“Medicine Grizzly Bear”
Traditional Native Healer
and Ceremonial Leader

Our young ones must be taught the ancient customs and laws, if we as a species, will continue to survive in the future.

There is an ancient Law of Reciprocity that they must relearn and practice.

Our Elders teach us that everything in Nature is sacred, and has its own life force, spirit, and purposes for being on this Earth. Thus, we were taught to show respect by always praying to anything in Nature before taking its life.

The young men must be taught that they should stay clean for several days before hunting and use the sweatlodge to make medicine and prayer offerings before killing a deer, elk, bear, moose, or any other kind of animal. They should offer tobacco or herbs to the Great Creator and ask permission to hunt. They should offer “payment” to the spirit of the animal and ask for its life. They should apologize for harming or hurting our fellow creatures. Why? Because all things in nature are a source of “medicine;” such things are not just food.

Our young men must be taught that they should also make a prayer offering before fishing, cutting trees for firewood, ceremony, or even while working in the woods. They should be taught to make a prayer offering of tobacco to the “Rock People” when gathering rocks for sweatlodge, sacred dances, rituals, or even for construction work purposes. And they must learn that there are some trees and rocks that should not be bothered at all.

Our young women must be taught that they too have a responsibility to show respect by offering tobacco, herbs, beads, or some kind of food before gathering their plants, herbs, berries, medicines, basket making materials, or subsistence—because all things in Creation have a spirit and a right to live.

Our Elders knew that all things had power, and that power must be respected and handled in the right and proper way. This is why they prayed and offered tobacco to even a pond, lake, river, cave, meadow, forest, mountain—or anything in Nature before they entered and used it. Even the ancient trails leading into the wilderness are traveled by “spirits” and this should be acknowledged with an offering of tobacco before trespassing.

The spirit of the water is sacred. We should not take it for granted. We should not assume that anytime we turn on the faucet that the water will always be there. We cannot afford to take anything for granted anymore.

We cannot live without the spirit and power of the water. It purifies us and gives us life. It can also give us strength, protection,

good health, and long life. We should therefore pray to the water before using it, especially while in Nature. And we should take the time in our lives to thank the spirit of the water with our mind whenever we drink it, cook with it, or bathe in it.

By following the Law of Reciprocity, we will receive the energy, spirit, and power of the thing we harvest and use; not just its physical part. Life is a reciprocal relationship. We have a mutual dependence upon each other for survival, and we should always remember that in our dealings with our relations in Nature, the Spirits, The Great Creator, and each other...that it is an exchange of privileges.

And even in the old way, if someone was to harm, hurt, or insult another fellow human being, payment and apology would be made. We all make mistakes, sometimes say and do things out of anger or confusion, ignorance, or even greed. It is now time that we “re-learn” the ancient customs and laws as a code for living, and as a means to promote a better spiritual world for us all to live in.

To violate such laws causes accidents, sickness, disease, problems with the weather and nature, wars and even death; the natural life will shorten. This is a cosmic reality.

So when we go into the sacred sweat-lodge ceremony to purify our minds, body, and soul, we should think about these things. We should ask the Great Creator and Mother Earth to forgive us for the violations we have made against our relations in Nature, and against each other. We should ask the Great Creator and the good spirits to forgive us if we have ever harmed, hurt, or violated anything in this world, and we should apologize if we have done wrong by offering tobacco and/or herbs as payment. In this way, we truly show respect ... by so doing, we insure that the Life Force continues in the Great Circle of Life.

Robert Lake is of Seneca and Cherokee decent. He is currently Director of the Indian Education, Resource and Evaluation Center III at Gonzaga University, Spokane Washington. Previously, he was Full Professor of Native American Studies at Humbolt State University, Arcata California. He is author of 44 publications, with articles appearing in many publications—*Shamans Drum*, *The Quest*, *Awksasne Notes /Awkekon Literary Journal*, and *The Indian History* to name a few. This article was reprinted from *Medicine Song: Journal of the Earth Circle Association*.

A Sense of Mission ...

M Reid Miller
Park Ranger
Agate Fossil Beds National
Monument

When, in 1866, Red Cloud of the Oglala Sioux refused to sign a treaty at Fort Laramie that would have certified his people's agreement to the use by immigrants of the Bozeman Trail, he distinguished himself among his contemporaries as a defender of their territorial imperatives. The story of their struggle is documented in the newspapers of the day, and with varying degrees of accuracy and compassion, in many books since. Red Cloud was perceptive (despite occasional appearances to the contrary), and he was indeed articulate, winning over the hearts and minds of many in the

East with his popular speeches of 1870.

Leader of the Bad Face lodges, Red Cloud made many transitions in his 86 years—from impatient youth to warrior, earning in battle the respect of his people; from warrior to defiant strategist, effecting the abandonment of forts along the Bozeman Trail; from “irreconcilable” to political spokesman, seeking a just territorial compensation and a shared responsibility for maintaining peace from his white oppressors; to a later life as a resigned dignitary, a historical figure who knew when, despite his victories, he had lost the war.

In 1874, at the age of 52, Red Cloud first met young James Henry Cook, a self-made frontiersman who was then, at 17, learning to speak the Sioux tongue and to sign, a skill respected by Indians and whites alike since it eliminated the need for a third party interpreter. Cook had a keen interest in natural history and the lifeways of the original inhabitants of the Great Plains. He visited Red Cloud’s lodge, in the company of scout Baptiste Garnier, on behalf of Professor Othniel C Marsh. A paleontologist from Yale University, Marsh was seeking new fossil specimens for that institution’s collections. Given Red Cloud’s justifiable mistrust of such requests, this encounter was a significant indication of Cook’s integrity. The friendship between Red Cloud, Cook, and Marsh that grew from this occasion lasted the rest of their lives.



Red Cloud and his wife Good Road. Both their shirt and dress are today elements of the museum collections of Agate Fossil Beds NM.

A testament to the deep trust and respect held by Red Cloud toward Cook is provided by a petition of Red Cloud’s people to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J Morgan. In that plea, dated March 10, 1891,—following the massacre at Wounded Knee the previous December—Red Cloud stated:

I and my people have been at agencies and on reservations for many years. We have had many agents—ten, I think, to this time. They were all Eastern men. They were unacquainted with the Indians. They did not know our nature. They had not seen an Indian before they came here. They could not understand us because they did not know about our life in past years, and knew nothing of our traditions and history. They have never lived with us and so could not sympathize with us.

The petition went on to hold the Commissioner to his own directions, that Red Cloud should decide in council with his people whom they wanted as their Agent:

My people have come home. We have held a council as you told us to do: we have agreed on a man for our agent. All my people—men, women, and children—have agreed on one man. That man is James H. Cook of Harrison, Nebraska. He is the choice of us all. We have known him for seventeen years. He is a Western man. He has been among us when we were wild. He knows our nature, our history, and what we want. He is our friend. He will deal justly with us, and help us to learn the ways of the white men. He will treat us as men.

We want James H. Cook appointed now. My people want it. It will settle this trouble, and there will be peace. The sooner the appointment is made, the better. Spring is near. We want this matter settled before long, so we can plow our fields and raise our crops, and not be bothered with this matter...

The petition was received at the Interior Department but failed to achieve priority, despite the accompanying letters of recommendation from two United States Senators, the Governor of Wyoming, and William F Cody. In characteristic disregard of the profound logic of the arguments expressed, official indifference in Washington kept Cook from an appointment that may well have changed the history of relations with the Oglala Sioux people.

In time, however, a pattern of interaction occurred between Red Cloud and Cook that would eventually result in an opportunity for the people of the United States to take pride in, and learn from, the mutual respect that these two men of history shared. During the transition to reservation life that they were compelled to follow, Red Cloud's people visited Cook and his family on many occasions at their Agate Springs Ranch, in Sioux County, Nebraska. Cook was required to sign a leave permit by the Agent at Pine Ridge that designated him as the responsible party while the Oglala people were camped along the upper Niobrara River at Agate.

Such accommodation was a welcome opportunity for a proud culture that in the span of one generation had been reduced to refugees in their own homeland. Indeed, Cook's ranch has yielded an abundance of stone and pottery fragments that evidence a long-term use of the area by Native Americans.

In return for the annual weeks-long hospitality that the ranch family offered (including salaried employment for some of the Oglala and the donation of several of Cook's cattle to supplement unreliable Interior Department rations) over a nearly 40-year period, Tribal members presented the Cook family with more than 600 handcrafted items. Today, they comprise a major portion of the museum collections at Agate Fossil Beds National Monument.

After years of correspondence, public events, and lobbying by area residents and members of the Cook family, Agate Fossil Beds National Monument was authorized by Congress and President Lyndon Johnson on June 5, 1965 :

to preserve for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations the outstanding paleontological sites known as the Agate Springs Fossil Quarries, and nearby related geological phenomena, to provide a center for continuing paleontological research and for the display and interpretation of the scientific specimens uncovered

at such sites, and to facilitate the protection and exhibition of a valuable collection of Indian artifacts and relics that are representative of an important phase of Indian history...

(from Public Law 89-33).

Today, in the Monument's 25th Anniversary year, a similar pattern of public awareness activities is having the desired effect. Sponsored by The Friends of Agate Fossil Beds, Incorporated, a well-publicized goal of raising \$350,000 in public donations has succeeded in demonstrating to Congress the pride that Nebraskans hold in this nationally significant site of history. Focus for these efforts is the construction of a new visitor center to house reconstructed Miocene mammal skeletons found in the Agate Hills quarries as well as the Cook Collection of Indian artifacts.

The Agate museum collections, commonly referred to as The Cook Collection, not only include hundreds of ethnographic artifacts, but nearly 4,000 historic photographs, 7,000 technical publications in the fields of paleontology and archeology, 92 linear feet of correspondence and manuscripts, and 1,500 family library volumes. Each of these components is integrally related to the interpretive themes represented at the monument, and due to their common origin in the Cook family, to all other elements in the collections.

The value of this resource, indeed, is not limited to the National Monument alone. Cook Collection photographs, correspondence, archeological specimens, and research papers have interpretive value to several other National Park Service sites in the Midwest, Rocky Mountain, Southwest, and Western Regions, as well as to several state parks and national forests in the Rocky Mountain west.

Take the Cook Papers, for example. Visualize a stack of papers 92 feet high, consisting of personal letters, diaries, manuscripts, maps, and financial records that span eighty years. Now stir in names like Harold Ickes, Gifford Pinchot, Red Cloud, John Neihardt, George Heye, H L Mencken, J Frank Dobie, Henry Fairfield Osborn, American Horse, Wounded Knee, Pine Ridge, Death Valley, Capulin Mountain, Fort Laramie, Carnegie Museum, Horace Albright, Enos Mills, F W Hodge, and Ernest Thompson Seton among thousands of others. Then, try to resist curiosity.

Not possible, you say? How could one family have corresponded with so many luminaries of the day? How could their interests have been so diverse? Quite simply, because those were different times; they were special people, and history was part of their lives. In March, 1990, a professor of anthropology called the monument to discuss a thesis that he is writing on the history of that science in the United States. He had spent hours with the 1200-page Cook Papers Collection indices and had identified more than forty correspondents between the years 1890 and 1930 whose letters he feels compelled to review. Such is the value of the resource.

Through a series of three inheritances and a timely enabling act, the National Park Service now has a responsibility to protect, in perpetuity, a cultural heritage collection that has been actively sought by both the Wyoming and Nebraska State Historical Societies. The Cook Collection will provide researchers and casual visitors alike with an unparalleled look at Native American and European cultural interaction during the eclipse of the last no-

madic people this continent has known. And yet, there is more than professional pride at stake here. For an agency coming to realize the essential nature of Native American cultures to virtually any theme it might represent, (Unit 10 of the Biological Diversity curriculum, for example) there is a beautifully stated ethical commitment that came to us with the Cook Family legacy.

In May, 1908, Red Cloud made his last encampment at the Agate Springs Ranch. While reflecting on his long and historic life, he arranged for a letter to be written by his nephew (interpreter Philip Romero) that was witnessed and signed by others in his camp and several white visitors present. In this request (now part of the Cook Papers), Red Cloud gave Cook a mandate of his own:

My Old Friend:

My son Jack and his family and all of my sub Chiefs that are now here to visit you would like to see the painting that you had made of me in your room many years ago, by a girl friend of your family that was visiting you. I want you to always own and keep that picture so long as you live and then let your oldest son have it to keep, then I am sure my children and their children can always go and look at the face of one of the last of the old Chiefs that lived before the White Men came to take our lands and turn us from the old trails we had followed for so many hundreds of years....

Red Cloud knew that he would not return, and said as much in this letter. On December 10, 1909, he died and was buried at Holy Rosary Mission in South Dakota.

What makes all this very special to those of us fortunate enough to work at Agate Fossil Beds is the context in which we find ourselves each time we greet a visitor, or present a slide program to a local civic group. History is very much alive here in the person of one of James H Cook's four granddaughters, who at age 77, still oversees operations at the Agate Springs Ranch.

And history is a man on the Board of Directors of The Friends of Agate Fossil Beds, who worked hard to promote the authorization of this National Monument almost thirty years ago, when I was just a boy attending a distant Nebraska country school. History is an eight-by-ten-inch photograph in the Cook Collection showing George Hartzog and Lon Garrison in conversation with Margaret Crozier Cook over lunch at Agate, on a sunny day in 1963—no doubt getting their ducks in a row yet again, for posterity.

History, it seems, is a continuous process, one that demands appreciation and the best interpretation that we can give through our individual perspectives and combined efforts, both personal and professional. When it comes to Native American cultural resources, we would do well to listen to “the four winds of heaven,” in Red Cloud's words, to learn where that process of interpretation starts: get to know the people whose story you tell.

In his book *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem*, James Olson wrote (in reference to the indifference of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the situation at Pine Ridge in 1890):

“Red Cloud's active career ended not in violence, as did that of Crazy Horse or Spotted Tail or Sitting Bull; it was simply lost in a government file.”

In this year of anniversaries, it is our duty to demonstrate to the world that what was once lost has been found and will be honored ... beginning in our hearts.

Among any references, three are worthy of careful study regarding the history of the Oglala Sioux people:

Hyde, George E. *Red Cloud's Folk*. Norman, 1937, 1957.

Olson, James C. *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem*. Lincoln, 1965.

Utley, Robert M. *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation*. New Haven, 1963.

Interpreting the Lakota Culture at Badlands National Park

Valerie J Naylor
Assistant Chief of
Interpretation
Badlands National Park

Almost half of the visitors arriving at the White River Visitor Center are lost and looking for a way out. The other half are making a deliberate 110-mile detour to learn more about the Lakota people, more commonly known as the Sioux.

Fifty-five miles from headquarters, the White River Visitor Center is located on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in the Stronghold District (South Unit) of Badlands National Park. The center, staffed by one park ranger daily throughout the summer, is devoted entirely to the history and culture of the Lakota people. A video tells the story of the Plains Indians, while exhibits deal with Lakota religion and some of the early conflicts between the Native American and European cultures. The Badlands Natural History Association maintains a small sales area specializing in publications about the Sioux.

Seasonal interpreters working at the White River Visitor Center are usually Oglala Sioux tribal members, who are knowledgeable about their native culture, past and present. Two or three Native American interpreters rotate the duty post, each spending part of the work week at White River, and the rest of the week at park headquarters.

Park personnel at White River must continually meet the challenge of providing technical and specialized information about the Lakota people. Many visitors are interested in the history of the Sioux and the events leading to the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee, just twenty miles away. Some cautiously ask about present day reservation life—a few about pow-wows, religion, and Native arts and crafts, and others about the sensitive subjects of unemployment, alcoholism and poverty.

The interpreters must have patience to deal with disgruntled or uninitiated visitors. Often, people express disappointment after driving miles across the reservation without seeing buckskinned and feathered Indians living in tipis, as they had expected. "Are you a real Indian?" is an all-too-common question asked of Native American park personnel. After looking at the exhibits and talking to the interpreter on duty, the same visitors often leave with new books, maps and brochures and a new understanding of the Lakota people.

On their days at park headquarters, the Lakota rangers give varied programs, frequently working the Sioux culture into their talks, describing Native uses of plants on guided walks, telling legends at Night Sky Programs, doing dramatic night prowling presentations or giving evening slide programs about Native American history. Visitors are often deeply inspired by the programs, and the park receives a wealth of favorable verbal and written feedback.

Lakota cultural interpreters also provide indirect benefits to park visitors by helping sensitize other park employees to Native American issues, and acting as resource people to help all staff members increase their knowledge of one of the major interpretive themes of Badlands National Park.

A century ago, visitors to the Badlands area relied on interpreters of the Lakota language to help them better understand the Native people. Today, visitors to Badlands National Park depend on Lakota cultural interpreters for much the same reason.

An American Indian Program

Kenneth Arzarian
Park Ranger-Interpretation
Indiana Dunes National
Lakeshore

Think of yourself standing amidst the trees of a forest. Imagine living there hundreds of years ago, before the land was settled by pioneers. There are no big grocery stores! No K-Marts! No McDonalds!

These statements are posed to a group visiting the park to learn about American Indians. They are posed to jog their thinking about the difficulties of life there and then and to encourage them to think more like Native Americans. Through a series of activities, they learn some of the skills necessary to survive, they discover some of the difficulties that must be overcome, and they discover some of the qualities of these proud people.

“Now go out and find something that can be used to help you survive.” Most come back with branches and twigs saying they can be used for bows and arrows, for fires, or to build a shelter. And so they discover that wood was a primary natural resource used for many things. This activity also challenges the group to think about what is essentially needed and demonstrates the difficulty of finding those things. Many from the group do not find anything at all, though of course, they were not brought up learning these skills.

Stalking is taught to the group to move quietly up the trail. American Indians may have used this as a hunting method and to move about quietly when necessary. A long line of people stepping in the footsteps of the person in front of them can walk through a place almost as one. Only one set of tracks will show and the people behind the first person will make less noise because the undergrowth is trampled down already. American Indians, wise to the ways of animals, knew this technique from the way a fox stalks its prey, placing its rear paws in after its front paws. As the visitors concentrate on stalking, it is quiet. They listen to the sounds of the woods.

We walk the group to a wigwam, a woodland Indian dwelling, also called a wicki-up or a hogan. One wigwam is hidden off the trail near a huge, old beech tree overlooking the floodplain of the Little Calumet River. Another, larger wigwam is located near a historic

homestead settled by a fur trader. The group can sit in the quiet of the woods to listen to Indian writings or stories. A collection of beautiful writings by American Indians is found in a book called *Touch The Earth* compiled by T C McLuhan. This book relates the love and respect American Indians had for their environment:

The Lakota was a true naturalist—a lover of nature. He loved the earth and all things of the earth, the attachment growing with age. The old people came literally to love the soil and they sat or reclined on the ground with a feeling of being close to a mothering power. It was good for the skin to touch the earth and the old people liked to remove their moccasins and walk with bare feet on the sacred earth. Their homes were built upon the earth and their altars were made of earth. The birds that flew in the air came to rest upon the earth and it was the final abiding place of all things that lived and grew. The soil was soothing, strengthening, cleansing and healing.

—Chief Luther Standing Bear

Set up at the wigwam are various activities which are first demonstrated and then tried by the group—a loom to make cattail mats, a mortar and pestle to grind corn, a bow and drill to start fires, and a catch-the-ball-in-a-cup hand-toss game! Use of these tools helps the visitor appreciate the amount of work that had to be put into everyday living. We also have a collection of replicated tools and items used by American Indians. Pump drills, stone knives and hatchets, fish hooks of bone, and arrows are discussed and passed to the group to hold and examine.

Some rousing games can make for an exciting program, but it is not just for the fun of it that we play them. Neither was it so for the American Indians. Games taught children certain skills necessary for adult life as well as personal qualities such as honesty, bravery, speed, agility, and cooperation. Children were taught to be trustworthy, to play fairly and were shamed by the tribe if seen to be dishonest.

Our group walks over to a small log cabin built by a local fur trader in the 1820s. Drastic changes took place in the lives of the American Indians upon contact with early explorers and fur traders. Pretending to be a group of Indians bringing in furs, the group looks over the trade items. Metal knives, axe heads, fire starter kits, beads, and blankets entice the group to barter and trades are made. These items may have made life easier for the American Indian, in some ways, but contact with settlers brought diseases, alcoholism, conflicts, and dislocation.

The time of the American Indian passed, forced out by the relentless stream of immigrants. Only vestiges of who they were remain, primarily in place names, and references in our history books. They lived a simpler lifestyle compared to ours. Their craftsmanship and hunting skills and their knowledge of plants and animals were remarkable. Their love and respect for the natural environment and their qualities of honesty and pride are unsurpassed. We hope some of these ideas are passed on to our visitors in the short time they are with us.

Interpreting the Prehistoric Unknown

Robert Palmer
Park Ranger
Effigy Mounds National
Monument

Effigy Mounds National Monument was established in 1949 to preserve remnant groups of prehistoric mounds built primarily for burials. The interpretation of prehistoric American Indian mounds and cultures at Effigy Mounds National Monument has been achieved through the integration of cultural resource mitigation data, applied anthropological theory, and ethnographic analogy.

Conventionally, one can organize the material by stratification through time and cultures starting with the earliest, the Red Ochre culture, circa 500 to 300 BC, or 2500-2300 bp (before present), continuing through the Hopewell period and terminating with the effigy mound builders, circa AD 1400 or 600 bp. Following this continuum, the interpreter necessarily makes major assumptions that may raise a number of questions from the thoughtful visitor.

Frequently, the answers are equivocal. For example, by focusing on the effigy mound builder culture from which the Monument derives its name, we learn that this culture effloresced along the Wisconsin River-upper Mississippi trench from circa 1400 bp to 600 bp. During this period, the inhabitants built mounds in the shape of birds, bears, bison, lizards and several other animals. Some effigies contain burials; some do not. If the interpreter states that these are burial relics constructed in the shapes of specific animals, then enormous assumptions have been made and the interpretational dilemma is obvious. The inquisitive visitor immediately asks, "How do you know what animals the shapes represent? Why did they build the mounds in animal shapes? Why aren't there burials in all of them?"

In cross cultural interpretation, the significance of an object or idea is unavoidably viewed within the context of the interpreter's own cultural experience. Often times, prehistoric objects and traditions that do not have historic manifestations unavoidably are misinterpreted to fit within the model of the interpreter's own cultural view. As a result, interpreting prehistoric American Indian cultures offers not only the challenge of providing effective, accurate cross cultural interpretation, but it demands the interpretation of the prehistoric unknown as well.

Interpreting American Indian prehistory requires a multi-disciplinary approach that incorporates environment, theory and time. Of these, the most difficult to interpret is time, or more specifically, the amount encompassed. For example, an interpreter at a traditional historical site is faced with the task of incorporating into a two-hour program the four days of fighting at Gettysburg or the morning attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor. American Indian interpretation on the other hand, if it is taken from the top, encompasses approximately 40,000 years (or more than 330 years per minute for that two-hour program) and countless cultural groups.

Fortunately for the visitor, the interpretation of prehistory is presented on subjects or time periods that encompass a limited scope or a specific manifestation that may have lasted "only," say, a thousand years. Still, the limited interpretational time frame does little to impress how long a thousand years really is or the number of

human generations involved in maintaining the culture that is being interpreted. In a country that has recently celebrated its bicentennial, the concept of relative cultural stability for a thousand years or longer is difficult to conceive.

Once the interpreter conquers the challenge of facilitating a concept of time for the visitor, the application of the present day theoretical approach becomes the next hurdle. Theory, as it is applied to prehistory, is timely; and timely theories are often modified with time. When specific elements of a culture are examined by a non-member of that culture, labels and ideas are applied and an interpretational model is developed. This model is not only developed from within the cultural experience of the applicator (an anthropologist or archeologist in this instance), it also reflects a general overall perceptual attitude of the researcher's native culture. One hundred to 150 years ago, some people thought effigy mounds had been built by people who were of non-American Indian descent.

Today, through the use of physical anthropological techniques, it has been proven conclusively that the mounds were built by American Indians. During the westward expansion when the general attitude towards American Indians was one of disdain, popular "theories" reflected the sentiment of the time. Conversely, during the late twentieth century, new ideas based on the concept of the "noble savage" emerged that again reflected the current popular ideas of the examining culture.

The environmental aspect of interpretation is equally mind-boggling to visitors when they are made aware of the ecological conditions that were present prior to the Europeans' arrival. American Indian traditions speak of the great unbroken eastern forests, so thick that a squirrel could run treetop to treetop from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River never having to touch the ground, and of trees so large that it took several men to surround them at the base. In our "leisure" society, we work eight hours a day, five days a week, fifty weeks a year. In the "primitive" societies of the past, three hours a day by a handful of people could procure enough food for a band of twenty. With an abundance of fish, wild game, plants and nuts, one can only begin to imagine what it would have been like.

Despite the apparent shortcomings, interpretation of American Indian cultures provides an important link to the indigenous people of prehistoric North America. By learning and accurately interpreting the multitude of adaptation strategies developed by these diverse cultural groups, we may then begin to examine and attempt to solve problems of the twenty-first century by looking to the past.

The Satwiwa Concept: A Place for All Cultures

Costa Dillon
Santa Monica Mountains
National Recreation Area

Satwiwa is the Native American Indian Culture Center and Natural Area located in the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area. When most people think of Native American interpretation and cultural sites, they tend to think of ruins, or

rock art, or villages, or museum cases of objects. Satwiwa, however, offers a different approach.

Santa Monica Mountains NRA is located near the second largest metropolitan area in the United States. With a population of more than twelve million, it is not surprising that the Los Angeles area also has the nation's largest Native American population. It is estimated that nearly 200,000 Native Americans from a variety of tribes live in the area. The Santa Monica Mountains are also home to two Native peoples, the Chumash and the Gabrielino (Tongva).

Santa Monica Mountains NRA encompasses portions of Los Angeles and Ventura Counties, two of the fastest growing areas of the country. In the past twenty years, construction has accelerated at an almost unbelievable rate with much of the open land lost to development. For Native Americans, this means a loss of sites in which to engage in such traditional activities as religious observances, ceremonies, sweat lodges, pow wows, and other land-based activities. The Satwiwa Native American Indian Cultural Center and Natural Area provides a location for these activities.

The Satwiwa Concept

Satwiwa is an area where Native Americans of all tribal affiliations can come to engage in traditional activities and where non-Native Americans can come to learn. Unlike most Native American sites in national park units, the Satwiwa area has no ruins, pictographs, or other physical manifestations of the Chumash people. Rather, it is part of the greater lands that once sustained these local inhabitants. The wildlands that constitute the western end of Santa Monica Mountains NRA and the Satwiwa site contain locations that once provided food, shelter, and spiritual support to the Chumash. A village was once located along a major trade route near Satwiwa. Satwiwa is both a place and a concept. It is not the land alone that makes Satwiwa; it is also the people who bring life to it.

How It Works

The Satwiwa Native American Indian Natural Area consists of about one hundred acres of open land adjoining thousands of acres of NPS land and state park wilderness. Here, Native American culture is practiced and shared through the ongoing events, both public and private, that make Satwiwa an active cultural site. During any given week, a visitor may observe a dance, participate in a craft, attend a guided walk, have a conversation with local Native Americans, or simply enjoy the beauty of the Satwiwa Natural Area. Out of the public eye, other Native Americans may hold a sing, an observance of the solstice, or a healing ceremony. The goal of Satwiwa is to provide a place where cultures can continue and be shared.

The Friends of Satwiwa

Like most parks, Santa Monica Mountains NRA requires Special Use Permits or other instruments for some activities. At Satwiwa, the permit process has been expedited through the establishment of a cooperating organization, the Friends of Satwiwa. The Friends of Satwiwa is a duly recognized park cooperating organization with

a Memorandum of Understanding between the Friends and the National Park Service. The Friends of Satwiwa membership includes both non-Native Americans and Native Americans from a number of tribes.

Under the terms of the MOU, the Friends of Satwiwa and the park share in the responsibilities of operating the Satwiwa site. The Friends of Satwiwa provide the park and the public with four major services:

1. They organize volunteers. Volunteers clean and maintain the Satwiwa Center, provide public programs, and write and publish interpretive brochures and a newsletter.
2. They plan and execute special events and interpretive programs such as craft demonstrations, guided walks, art shows and pow wows.
3. They conduct fund raising in support of the Satwiwa program. The funds supply materials for interpretive programs as well as funds to pay for the transportation and expenses of dance groups who come from out-of-town to present programs. The Friends are also the principal fund raisers for the new Satwiwa Cultural Center.
4. They serve as an advisory group to the National Park Service on matters affecting the Satwiwa area and Native American issues in general.

Permits for collecting and other special uses as covered by the American Indian Religious Freedom Act or the Code of Federal Regulations are still administered and issued by the park.

Continuing the Process

The program continues to grow in popularity as more Native Americans and members of the general public learn of Satwiwa and take advantage of its unique offerings. In the first five months of 1990, thousands of visitors attended programs offered by members of the Chumash, Gabrielino, Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, and Choctaw Tribes.

In the next year, the park will be developing a student education program to be known as the Environmental and Cultural Education Program. The program will interpret biodiversity and the interdependence of people and the land through the evolution of the Chumash culture in the Santa Monica Mountains. Satwiwa will be the primary site for this program. The unique opportunity of inter-cultural interpretation available through the Satwiwa program has already made the ECE program a magnet for local schools. An advisory group consisting of educators, park staff, and members of the Native American Community has begun to work out the operational details for the program that will begin in January of 1991.

Included in the ECE will be a demonstration Chumash village. However, unlike most demonstration villages, this one will never be finished. Under the guidance of local Chumash volunteers, the demonstration village will be built and rebuilt with the hands of hundreds of children who will learn while they participate. The goal of the ECE is for students to learn that their attachment to

the land may be less visible than that of the original inhabitants of the mountains, but the attachment is no less important.

Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area is a special place. More than 150,000 acres of historical, natural, and recreational lands protect and interpret resources that occur no where else in the world. The Satwiwa Native American Indian Center is a significant part of these resources.

Kule Loklo—A Spirit Reborn!

Don Neubacher
Chief, Visitor Services and
Interpretation
Point Reyes National
Seashore

It's a clear spring day at Kule Loklo. The area is covered with a coat of green grass, and wildflowers abound—a wonderful reaction to the recent spring rains and warm sun. Across the village, Native Americans, mostly Pomo and Coast Miwok descendants, gather for a special celebration—the Strawberry Festival. They gather to cele-



Pomo dancers at Kule Loklo, Point Reyes NS.

brate the spring awakening of all life and to bless the bounty of their home. Later, some will gather at the open dancing area in full

regalia; others will sing the dancing songs or watch the celebration of life. For many, a spirit has been reborn at Kule Loklo.

At Point Reyes National Seashore, Kule Loklo began as a Coast Miwok Village replica just ten years ago. A teacher from Marin County Schools decided a “hands-on” learning experience for school groups would instill a sensitivity about Native Americans and an understanding of their material culture. Her concept was to develop the site using only Native American tools and techniques. The village was to become a living “museum” to learn about and recreate aspects of the life of those that lived more than two hundred years ago on the Point Reyes Peninsula.

Volunteers came from all over Marin County to participate in building the village. Students from many schools removed thousands of baskets of dirt with abalone shell shovels to create a large sixty-foot pit for the ceremonial house floor. The Miwok Archeological Preserve of Marin and Native Americans used their knowledge and expertise to design the village. Others created the village houses or kotcas. In time, the village took shape and reflected the way life was more than two hundred years ago.

Today, the village is a special place for many people. More than 50,000 people annually attend the various interpretive tours of the site or the three annual festivals. Many family groups just saunter around the village trying to imagine the past ways of life. Native Americans have blessed the site and frequent the village for special ceremonies, perpetuating an almost lost part of their culture. Volunteers assist with the maintenance of the village structures or demonstrate the skills they have learned about a craft such as basketry or flint-knapping.

Lanny Pinola, of Pomo and Coast Miwok descent, is the village NPS coordinator. Because of his efforts and the work of his wife, Esther Pinola, and many others, the program has received substantial local and national attention. The village, because of the strong Native American involvement, has become a model for others to follow.

At the Strawberry Festival, two young Native Americans prepare for the coming out dance. One can easily notice the pride in their eyes as they prepare their dancing regalia, eagerly awaiting the singers to begin. As the song begins, they start toward the dancing area to share some of the past ways of their people.

The success of the program is obvious—a culture perpetuated and an understanding of the sophistication of the first inhabitants of North America. Truly, a spirit has been reborn!

How Does One Convey the Essence of Being Dine’?

Ailema Benally
Park Ranger
Hubbell Trading Post NHS

I’ve been with the NPS for seven years now, and have spent most of it talking about Navajos as part of my interpretive programs. My focus has been on the Navajo culture and sometimes includes some personal experience in order to make a point or to use an example.

Because I am a Navajo, it is difficult to just talk about Navajo cul-

ture and to try to convey the essence of being an American Indian. I have learned that it's my listeners who influence how much I will tell them, how much I want them to know of the truth about the culture I live in. Their attitude lets me know if they want to know the truth or if they want me to just confirm what they already assume is true. With all of their questions and fascination about the Indian people and our life ways, I find that many visitors mistakenly think that life out here on the reservation is romantic, even glamorous.

Many of the Navajo (Dine') keep in mind that they came from Changing Woman and that they have close ties to the earth and to the animals she nourishes, and that she supports everyone all their lives. Because of this, she is respected for providing life and the things we need to live, a home, food, tools, and clothes. These blessings come from her, and to get more, we need to continually remember to thank her for all of them. Before Changing Woman, there were other beings made of mist, beings who have powers that control and balance the world.

For the world to be in balance, we must all be in balance individually. And balance is crucial. The Anglo and the Dine' view balance differently. To the Dine', balance is recognized as being beautiful and happy—ho'zho'.

If you or your world is not balanced or is out of harmony, then you must have the situation diagnosed by a medicine man as soon as possible. He or she will then say what is wrong, what caused the imbalance and what to do next to remedy the situation. The imbalance can be in the mind, body, or spirit, and will show through "symptoms." They may not be obvious symptoms, but they'll be there. Balance returns when one goes through the recalling of certain mist beings that are responsible for that part of the world and repeats the ceremony from when the imbalance first occurred. Each medicine man knows many of the songs and prayers to remedy all kinds of "imbalances."

Because of this way of living, the condition of the spirit, mind, and body are not treated separately, but all together in order to restore the harmony that is needed for a healthy, peaceful, and happy life.

One example of an imbalance might be a Navajo who works with artifacts from ruins or in the ruins themselves. Because of feelings about death and places where death occurred, Navajo culture does not allow us to handle such items or to enter a ruin. Even the handling of a small potsherd can cause harm to any one or all three parts that make up a person. The handling of the sherd invites bad spirits to enter your spirit world and disrupt the harmony within you.

You may not be affected tomorrow or next week, or even next month, but possibly years from now. One day you find yourself having an aching in your arms or legs; you may get headaches or dizzy spells. At first you attempt to treat these yourself and brush them off as nothing to worry about, something that a couple of aspirins will take care of. Months later, you realize that they keep occurring, are more frequent and painful, and are hard to ignore. It becomes even more persistent and soon you decide you must get medical attention. After several visits and tests, it is apparent that the physician is baffled. Then you finally decide to see if the medi-

cine man can determine what's wrong. Through songs and prayers and special powers, he will learn that the patient at one time entered the ruins of an ancient people or handled prehistoric artifacts or even walked on the ruins themselves. He then realizes that the spirit of the artifact or ruins is within the patient's spirit world and is causing the disturbance in his life.

Now a visit to a healing medicine man is in order. He will tell you exactly what you did and what other ways the sickness will affect you. He will cure it by song, prayer, and his special powers. Each song and prayer discusses the sickness and its origin, and those spirits that are involved in the healing process are recalled by the mention of their names and become part of the healing during the ceremony. Those spirits responsible for harmony come at the mention of their names and restore harmony and balance within the patient.

A third and separate ceremony, the Blessing Way, may be done to assure harmony. It acts as a "force shield" against bad forces in the world until you disrupt it again. You disrupt your own harmony mostly unknowingly, but one can learn most of the do's and don'ts that will prevent disruption. Stories are also learned this way, stories of the creation and how things came to be the way they are. Our parents and our grandparents tell us the stories. We, in turn, tell our children and grandchildren so that they can retain harmony in themselves. If harmony is in each one of us, then there is more harmony in the world. Isn't that what we're all striving for ultimately?

This is only an example of the spiritual and other values that lie beneath the surface of the Navajo culture. Visitors to Indian Country may see the dances, turquoise, silver, Monument Valley, hogans, and the Navajo men, women, and children, but how does one convey to them the essence of being Dine'?

As a Navajo and as a National Park Service interpreter, it is a question I try to answer every day.

Osage Culture at Fort Scott

Don Wollenhaupt
Chief, Interpretation &
Visitor Services
Fort Scott National Historic
Site

Prior to European settlement of North America, the Osage Indian Nation occupied land in what is now Kansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma. In 1845, the Osage were confined to a reservation southwest of Fort Scott near the present day city of Wichita, and by 1872, had been moved to another reservation in the Oklahoma Territory.

Living on the Osage River between the great rivers of the Missouri, Arkansas and Mississippi, the Osage called themselves "Children of the Middle Waters." They numbered about 6,000 members in 1850 and were considered to be very spiritual, excellent hunters, and fierce warriors.

In the 1800s, the plight of the Osage Nation and other relocated tribes played a large role in the settlement of the southern plains. At Fort Scott National Historic Site, Kansas, the history of the Osage and the American Indian relocation policy of the nineteenth century is a significant part of the interpretation of the fort and the "Permanent Indian Territory."

The interpretive division at Fort Scott presents a number of programs throughout the year concentrating on the Osage Nation. These efforts include offsite presentations, programs for scout groups, development of publications and a weekend special event which offers educational programs, cultural demonstrations and traditional Osage dances. Tribal member Jerry Shaw of Wichita, and his family have presented various programs and lectures at Fort Scott. Shaw is professor of minority studies at Wichita State University and is well respected for his work in Indian culture and the study of minorities.

I have developed and presented various interpretive programs focusing on the history of the Osage Nation and the U.S. Government's Indian policies of the 1800s. Dressed in an Osage straight dancing costume, I focus on early history of the Osage and use of the U.S. Army on the western frontier. These programs are presented to students, scout groups and general audiences.

In response to the public's deep interest in Indian culture, both past and present, the site has increased its stock of sales items on southern Plains tribes and will produce a site bulletin this year specifically on the Osage Nation. There is a sincere interest by the Osage in providing interpretive programs at Fort Scott, and a strong rapport with members of the Tribe has evolved. Unfortunately, even though the programs presented to students and park visitors concentrate on specific tribes, the majority of the general public still generalizes Indian cultures much like the American Government did in its Indian policies of the 1800s.

Thoughts on Revealing the Iceberg: Interpreting Native America Cultures

Deb Liggett
Royal Palm District
Interpreter
Everglades National Park

In May of 1988, along the shores of Lake Crescent in Olympic National Park, 25 National Park Service employees came together under the guise of training. In his native tongue, Lanny Pinola of Point Reyes, blessed the course we were about to chart. The week had begun.

Even now, I am unsure that I can capture the week. I may be reduced to talking about the unlimited supply of homemade cookies, Soleduck Hot Springs, and simply, times shared with good people. We were there to uncover cultural icebergs. It was a time of discovery. The course accomplished all that Tilden says good interpretation should—it revealed, it provoked, it dealt with the whole person (from cookies to spiritual growth), and all was revealed with love. The week was like that.

Ed Ladd, Curator at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe (and an ex-NPSer), described the Native American participants and speakers by saying that they had all the bases covered from A to Z: Ed (Zuni) to Linda Moon Stumpf (Apache), Chief Interpreter at John Muir NHS. Participants represented the Sioux, Crow, Nez Perce, Hopi, Navajo, Pomo, Yosemite Valley People, Delaware, Tlingit, Abenaki, and Hawaiian Native People. The non-Indian participants were the usual "motley" crew from Cape

Cod to Yosemite and from Grand Portage to Casa Grande. We were a mix of managers, interpreters, curators and cultural resource specialists.

The course outline said that we would discuss Indian philosophy, Native American management policies, cultural demonstrations and museum practices of ethnographic collections. What I learned about was people.

One member of our group introduced herself by saying she “had been a Native American all her life.” Another told how she had “gone Indian.” Another said, “We are the First Americans.” All talked of the need to interpret Native peoples as CONTEMPORARY people. They are not dead or frozen in time. They have not disappeared. Rather, they are alive—part of dynamic, changing cultures of their own.

Native American vs American Indian vs First American. What is proper? What is right? The participants in the class explained that almost without exception, they prefer to be referred to by their tribal name. Lanny (Pomo-Miwok) stated that all the above names had drawbacks. Both terms “Indian” and “native” conjure up stereotyped images—images that may differ radically from culture to culture. Words convey pictures and those pictures may not be accurate.

Talk kept returning to subtle messages that create big gulfs. Two of the words targeted were “myths” and “legends.” Often these words are used as descriptors for Native American beliefs. The question was posed, “How would Christians like the story of Jesus to be referred to as the Jesus myth?” Likewise, what do names like KACHINA LAUNDROMAT imply to Native peoples? Would members of the mainstream culture be offended by the JESUS CHRIST LAUNDROMAT?

The secular and the religious are tightly interwoven and cannot be separated in Native American cultures. Lanny illustrated this wholeness by integrating the blessing and thanks into the course. Native American religious beliefs cannot be held separately from storytelling, conservation of objects, or cultural demonstrations. Collection objects may need “ritual” upkeep as much as they need curation. Storytelling may not be appropriate in all seasons or by all people, and cultural demonstrations done by Native American interpreters may have religious requirements.

If there is a moral to all of the above, it is **to establish a dialogue** with your Native American neighbors. Ask them what they prefer to be called. Ask your cultural demonstrators if there are ritual requirements for an activity. Ask several people if your information is accurate, and ask if the display of certain objects is appropriate. Talk. Interact. Be people.

Ultimately, this dialogue was the value of the course—for the non-Indian participants, the opportunity to work and play with cultures we had never had an opportunity to know—for the Native American participants, the opportunity to establish a camaraderie with other Native Americans who are National Park Service employees and to share with their non-Indian peers.

I had told people before I left how excited I was to attend. The

course wasn't on the "normal" interpretive training track and I felt it was an opportunity to grow as a whole person. In the end, the course did remain true to Tilden. I grew intellectually and spiritually—and left hungry for more.

Ozette

Andrea J Sharon
Supervisory Park Ranger
Bandelier National
Monument

On the westernmost tip of the Washington coast lies the Ozette Site, one of the most significant archeological finds in the United States. Like the ashes of Pompeii that captured a glimpse of ancient Rome, a water-logged seal of clay and mud has preserved a glimpse of prehistoric life on the Northwest coast. Although we cannot pinpoint the exact date of the mudslides that smothered the coastal village, archeological evidence suggests the cataclysm happened some 375 to 500 years ago.

In 1966, Washington State University excavated a two hundred-foot test trench at Ozette to cross-section midden deposits on terraces above the present beach level. Three years later, storm waves cut into the beach exposing numerous artifacts. Concerned about the potential destruction of their ancestral site, the Makah Tribal Council asked Washington State University to conduct more extensive studies. For the next ten years, one of the most exciting excavations in archeology took place under the direction of Dr Richard Daugherty. More than 42,000 artifacts were recovered!

Two major factors make the Ozette Site so unique. The first is the manner in which the prehistoric village was destroyed. As a series of mudslides engulfed the community, water-logged clay and mud sealed out air and prevented oxidation and decay. Consequently, organic materials such as cedar bark baskets and mats, wooden house planks, looms, and arrow shafts were preserved in abundance.

Special excavation and preservation techniques were employed during the removal of these fragile artifacts. Ocean water sprayed from hoses gently washed away the mud. Wood and fiber objects were placed immediately into a preservation bath of polyethylene glycol. The polyethylene glycol was absorbed into the water-logged tissues and replaced the water with wax.

Since the mudslides most likely occurred without warning, entire households and their contents were frozen in time. The excellent condition of the thousands of recovered artifacts has provided archaeologists with an unusually detailed inventory of Makah technology before European contact.

The second factor that makes the site so unique is that the scientific community and the Makah Indian Nation worked together from start to finish on the investigative project. Makah elders visited the site during the dig and shared their knowledge and traditions. Makah students participated in the excavation and preservation process. Opening of the Makah Cultural and Research Center at Neah Bay in 1979 culminated the extensive project. Funded by Tribal and Federal monies, this multi-million dollar facility is the only one of its kind dedicated to the interpretation and preservation of a single culture.

About This Issue

Fall 1990

Interpretation is a combined effort of the Washington Division of Interpretation and the Regional Chiefs of Interpretation. The publication is edited and designed by the staff of the Interpretive Design Center at Harpers Ferry:
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Winter 1991: Interpreting the Cultural and Built Landscape
Glenn Clark, Alaska Region
Corky Mayo, Pacific Northwest Region
Spring 1991: Interpreting the Future
Glen Kaye, Southwest Region
Dick Cunningham, Western Region

Editor's Note

Your editors respectfully solicit the contribution of articles from the readers for forthcoming issues of *Interpretation*. If you wish to submit an article for consideration, please contact one of the Contributing Editors identified under the subject issue.

In order to make *Interpretation* more truly a forum for the exchange of ideas among interpreters, we will include a selection of responses to articles in the form of Letters to the Editors. Please submit all letters to:

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