

Legitimizing the Laboratory: How Science Has Depended on Policing in Glacier Bay National
Park

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Introduction

For many, the history of Glacier Bay begins with John Muir (1838-1914) - or at least, the version of history most valuable to modern conservationists. Muir's influence in Southeastern Alaska cannot be underestimated. His 1879 essay, "The Discovery of Glacier Bay" introduced outdoor enthusiasts of the continental US to the sublime, divine experience of Alaska's glaciers. His elaborate writing style utilized religious imagery to connect the scientific wonders of the world to God's creation. To Muir, the scientific understandings of glaciers made God's work more incredible.¹ Muir's earlier works about California, specifically his theory of glaciers carving Yosemite's mountains, increased his popularity as a naturalist. When he explored the glaciers of Southeastern Alaska, people listened intently to his opinions and descriptions of the area. His writing has influenced generations of environmentalists to explore the wilderness for its beauty in solitude.

Muir came to represent what environmentalism is and was for conservationists, scientists, and activists. He founded the Sierra Club in 1892, which is still one of the most recognizable organizations today. However, he also dismissed indigenous knowledge in a racist and paternalistic manner across his Alaskan essays. He has been heralded as the prophet of American conservation, but his actions and attitudes towards indigenous people (in this case the Tlingit of Southeastern Alaska) has been intentionally ignored for the sake of his accomplishments.

Muir described his first trip to Glacier Bay himself, in "The Discover of Glacier Bay." A Tlingit perspective of the same trip is provided by Daniel Lee Henry in *Across the Shaman's River: John Muir, The Tlingit Stronghold, and the Opening of the North*. There are striking differences between the two accounts. Five Tlingit men and a missionary from Fort Wrangel

¹Theodore Catton, *Inhabited Wilderness: Indians, Eskimos, and National Parks in Alaska* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 6.

accompanied Muir on his journey to the glaciers: To'watte, Sitka Charley, Stickeen Johnny, Kadachan, a fifth Tlingit man called a "Hoona guide" by Muir, and Reverend Young.²

Throughout his narrative, Muir uses paternalistic language to refer to Tlingit men. He compares their hesitation for getting too close to the glaciers to a childish fear.³ Muir's trip to Glacier Bay was both a scientific expedition and a religious experience, so any hesitation the other men expressed impeded his research and his personal religious goals.

In Henry's account, too, the Tlingit men are said to have hesitated to get closer to the glaciers. One night at their campsite, the future of the expedition was challenged by Tlingits. Henry writes, "The big man, a Hoonah seal hunter, pushes his face a few inches from Muir's 'If you like danger so much, we will leave you with all the danger you want. Do you know why my people never come here this time of year? We want to live a little longer.'"⁴ In Henry's account, To'watte opposed Muir's insistence on continuing through the icy landscape, saying, "This is a bad-luck place. No protection in the storm. Though rolling icebergs may eat our canoe, I say get out now, before our will is gone."⁵ However, in Muir's account, the seal hunter did not get close to him: "The Hoona guide said bluntly that if I was so fond of danger, and meant to go close up to the noses of the ice-mountains, he would not consent to go any farther: for we should all be lost, as many of his tribe had been, by the sudden rising of bergs from the bottom."⁶ Muir saw

²Daniel Lee Henry, *Across the Shaman's River: John Muir, the Tlingit Stronghold, and the Opening of the North* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2017), 13-14; John Muir, "The Discovery of Glacier Bay (1879)," *The Century Magazine* 50 (1895): 237, Hathi Trust. I have used the spellings that Henry uses in his book. Muir's spellings were Toyatte, Kadechan, and Sitka Charlie. Muir spelled Stickeen John the same way. Muir spelled Hoonah without an "h" at the end, but it is commonly spelled with a "h" now.

³Muir, "The Discovery of Glacier Bay," 237.

⁴Henry, *Across the Shaman's River*, 14.

⁵Henry, *Across the Shaman's River*, 13.

⁶Muir, "The Discovery of Glacier Bay," 237.

this encounter as the Tlingit men “losing heart” and potentially ruining his chance to see the glaciers, not as genuine concern for the safety of the crew.⁷

Muir persuaded the men to continue on, but his blatant disregard for their legitimate concerns about safety speaks to his dismissal of indigenous knowledge. Towards the end of Muir’s essay, he argues, “what we in our faithless ignorance and fear call destruction is creation.”⁸ Even though the men Muir was travelling with had lived in Glacier Bay their entire lives and had experience canoeing near the glaciers, Muir refused to listen to their advice. He had never personally felt the destruction that glaciers can cause, such as ice bergs taking out canoes, like the Hoonah seal hunter mentioned. He only saw what the glaciers could create, not what they had already destroyed. By dismissing the fear that the Tlingit men were conveying to him, Muir’s narrative reinforced the belief that white men’s knowledge was superior in colonized spaces.

The same stereotypes that Muir attributed to the Tlingit have been maintained by scientists working in Glacier Bay for at least a century. Though altered to suit the changing times, colonial, racist narratives about the Tlingit and their way of life were used to justify scientific study and resource management in Sít’ Eeti G̕eeyi (Bay Taking the Place of the Glacier),⁹ or what is now commonly known as Glacier Bay, well into the 1980s. The policing of the Tlingit in Glacier Bay is merely the legislative extension of these enshrined, racist narratives that date back to Muir and successive generations of scientists who called upon the police to protect *their* natural “laboratory.” By centering the role of the police in the scientific explorations of Glacier Bay, we not only recognize the crucial role played by the police (including game

⁷Muir, “The Discovery of Glacier Bay,” 237.

⁸Muir, “The Discovery of Glacier Bay,” 245.

⁹Thomas F. Thornton, “What’s in a Name? Place and Cognition,” *Being and Place among the Tlingit* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2008), 81.

wardens and conservation officers) in the success of the scientific work, but also the role scientists (such as biologists and geologists) themselves played in strengthening colonial/imperial control of the region and in aiding the interests and establishment of white settlers over Tlingit natives.

Perceiving Glacier Bay / Alaska – White Writers and the National Park Service

In 1925, President Coolidge declared an area west of Juneau, Alaska, as Glacier Bay National Monument through the Antiquities Act. Even though Tlingit communities had inhabited the area for hundreds if not thousands of years, their inputs and perspectives were ignored as decisions about how to use the land were made thousands of miles away in Washington D.C. The Ecological Society of America campaigned for this area to be preserved as a laboratory for future scientific research in the early 20th century. Rich with minerals and timber, flanked by enormous glaciers and geological features, and prized as a coastal trading point, Glacier Bay attracted many groups of people hoping to expand northward after precious minerals were discovered throughout the territory. The creation of Glacier Bay from the government's perspective was to balance the desires of scientists and the economic interests of businesses. However, John Muir's visit to Glacier Bay in 1879 had inspired a thriving tourism industry in southeastern Alaska that was popular when the Glacier Bay Monument was declared and remains popular to this day. With multiple groups interested in the limited area of Glacier Bay, there have been differing narratives between the competing groups arguing about the land's importance and potential use. The local Tlingit communities, the United States government, scientific organizations, early environmentalists like John Muir, and resource extraction companies all had strong interests in Glacier Bay.

Although scientific pressure partially led to the creation of the park, it had been visited for decades by tourists seeking vacations after Muir's "The Discover of Glacier Bay" was published. This essay is one of the most influential works about Glacier Bay to modern readers because it introduced wealthy white Americans to a beautiful, seemingly empty place, perfect for a vacation cruise and interaction with real Native Americans, whom many of the visitors would have considered a "vanishing" people. In this essay, Muir describes his first visit into Glacier Bay in October 1879. In my reading, I focused on his interactions with Native Americans because three local guides and translators accompanied him on this trip. The use of the word "discovery" is important to note because Muir titled his essay himself, and the editor (William R. Jones), opened his preface with the following question, "Who better to discover Alaska's Glacier Bay than John Muir?" Though this area had been inhabited for hundreds of years by the Tlingit and at least since the 1740s by the Russians, Muir and his editor still claim his discovery as the legitimate story. Although Glacier Bay had been known to Europeans since the 18th century, Muir's discovery and writing introduced Glacier Bay and its magnificent scenery into the American mind. However, along with his descriptions of the landscapes comes his racist and paternalistic portrayals of the Tlingit men who accompanied him.

In his narrative, he mentions multiple times that the natives which whom he was travelling had to be "reassured" and encouraged to go further into Glacier Bay. Even though they have lived there for thousands of years and are familiar with the unpredictable nature of glaciers, Muir treated them as if they were less knowledgeable about glaciers than he was. Specifically, he said "good luck always followed me; that with me, therefore, they need fear nothing."¹⁰ So, in this moment, he is calling upon his relationship with God to protect him. His paternalistic nature

¹⁰John Muir and William R. Jones, *The Discovery of Glacier Bay (1879)* (Golden, Colorado: Outbooks, 1981): 6.

comes through he as he believes their fear is like “childish fear.”¹¹ Muir believed this fear was absurd as long as he, and therefore God, were present.

This paternalistic attitude continues when he describes his fellow travelers later: “their eager, childlike attention was refreshing to see as compared with the decent, deathlike apathy of weary, civilized people, in whom natural curiosity has been quenched in toil and care and poor, shallow comfort.”¹² He treats them as if their fears of being killed by falling ice are not reasonable or sensible. To Muir, although he needs their guidance and their boats to get into the parts of Glacier Bay that he seeks, he sees the native people as impediments to his research and his journey. He wants to keep going, assuming that God will keep him safe, while the native people hedge on the side of safety because they know the consequences of unpredictable glaciers.

Muir also writes about Glacier Bay with his typical grandiose, religiously inspired language. But his perspective is of one who does not live there. He has not personally felt the impacts of the destruction that glacier can cause. He said, “but from all those deadly, crushing, bitter experiences comes this delicate life and beauty, to teach us that what we in our faithless ignorance and fear call destruction is creation.”¹³ He only sees creation because he has not lived in the area long enough, nor had familial connections with the people there, to understand the destruction on an empathetic level.

The concept of Alaska as the “Last Frontier” that Muir helped to inspire continues to affect people today. In *Critical Norths: Space, Nature, Theory*, edited by Sarah Jaquette Ray and Kevin Maier, multiple chapters discuss how the North has been used, by white men primarily, as

¹¹Muir and Jones, *The Discovery of Glacier Bay* (1879), 6.

¹²Muir and Jones, *The Discovery of Glacier Bay* (1879), 12.

¹³Muir and Jones, *The Discovery of Glacier Bay* (1879), 15-16.

a symbol for “exploration, adventure, and natural wonder.”¹⁴ The symbolic North continues to appeal to people with scientific and outdoor interests to explore the “Last Frontier.” While these narratives continue to define and shape how the North is perceived by those outside of it, the narratives of indigenous people who have lived there for thousands, if not tens of thousands of years, are regularly downplayed even though their presence is essential to the white man’s narratives.

The idyllic, Muir-inspired narrative is countered by Tlingit narratives that describe the dangerous and bothersome white occupants who started visiting the Bay from the mid-18th century Russian occupation onwards. Daniel Lee Henry questions the role of Muir in the cross-cultural interactions of US citizens and Tlingit communities in the late 19th century. In the first half of the book, Henry discusses the relationships between European travelers (primarily Russian, but also Spanish and English) and Native Americans. This section provides context for the attitudes that Tlingit leaders had towards explorers like Muir at the turn of the twentieth century. Having dealt with missionaries and tradesmen for over a century, Tlingit communities had protocols and standards in place for dealing with outsiders. When Muir arrived, he was simply another white man attempting to build a relationship with Tlingit leaders to explore the land around Glacier Bay and how it could be used.

The second half of Henry’s book discusses the relationship between Tlingit leaders and John Muir. Henry argues, “Through his Tlingit encounters, Muir was forced to re-examine his understanding of humanity - wild and civilized - as he witnessed the fortitude of an unconquered people.”¹⁵ Therefore, Henry claims that Muir was just as impacted (if not more impacted) by his

¹⁴Sarah Jaquette Ray and Kevin Maier, eds. *Critical Norths: Space, Nature, Theory* (Fairbanks, Alaska: University of Alaska Press, 2017): 1.

¹⁵Henry, *Across the Shaman's River*, 16.

interactions with the Tlingit as they were impacted by his missionary work and scientific explorations. Henry adds, “[Muir’s] role as an agent of Manifest Destiny led Tlingit listeners to a cultural divide, provoking a chain of remarkable events that not only resonates among Alaska Natives today but for anyone who discovers this unexpected story.”¹⁶ The cultural changes due to Muir’s visits to Glacier Bay and his interactions with Tlingit people are not discussed by Muir outside of the conversion of many people to Christianity.

Henry’s book, in which he provides context from his interviews conducted over the course of two decades with Tlingit elders, uses oral histories to provide a unique perspective of the Tlingit reactions to Muir’s arrival. For example, in the prologue of the book, Henry recounts the conversation between Muir and his Tlingit guides as he persuades them to continue canoeing into unsafe waters. In Muir’s “The Discovery of Glacier Bay,” he explains this conversation as if the Tlingit guides are foolish and cowardly to not want to continue rowing on when Muir is so sure that what lies ahead in the glacier is important to his work. Henry provides the Tlingit reactions to this same conversation. He quotes the “wizened headman” as saying, “He may be a witch. Why else would a *gunuk* (white man) choose to tramp alone across the ice-giants on a day like this?”¹⁷ While they waited for Muir to return, they questioned the state of a man seeking known dangers. Just as Muir was frustrated by the hesitation of the Tlingit men to continue forward, the Tlingit guides were perplexed at his insistence of going near the ice.

Muir’s influence in Glacier Bay extends to the National Park Service. In 1983, they published a physical handbook and a comprehensive website that details the history of the formation of the park, preserve, and monument. Because the scientific community, specifically geologists, pressed for this area to be preserved, the history of scientists in Glacier Bay overlaps

¹⁶Henry, *Across the Shaman's River*, 16.

¹⁷Henry, *Across the Shaman's River*, 13.

with government interests. In the handbook published by the US National Park Service (NPS), Glacier Bay history and its scientific importance are explained concisely. The first section focuses on the history of Glacier Bay through the lens of notable explorers who ventured into the region. To the NPS, the history of Glacier Bay basically starts with Muir. They incorporate some Tlingit history into the guidebook, but in total it comprises less than 3 pages of material, and two of those pages are a drawing with a short history of Tlingit interaction with the land, specifically with the movements of glaciers. It states, “Their aboriginal days collided with the arrival of Europeans, and life began a new and radically different era.”¹⁸ In this case “aboriginal days” seems to imply that before they met Europeans, they lived a primitive way of life. While they technically are correct in saying that the Tlingit people began a new way of life after meeting Europeans, what kind of life are they implying? And why do they not go into more detail about what changed?

This handbook focuses primarily on scientific exploration in the area, so Muir’s research on glaciers and his multiple trips to Glacier Bay are thoroughly discussed. Even though the language they use sometimes suggests that Muir manipulated the Tlingits with whom he traveled, he is always idealized as an explorer whose contributions to science and environmental protection outweigh his racism and paternalistic tendencies. These stories show that Muir persuaded his Tlingit guides to go to dangerous areas of Glacier Bay to fulfill his personal scientific and religious goals.

The National Park Service website includes some Tlingit history about Glacier Bay. However, in general, the indigenous perspective of the value and cultural significance of Glacier

¹⁸United States, National Park Service, Division of Publications, *Glacier Bay: A Guide to Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, Alaska*, Handbook, 123, I 29. 9/5: 123 (Washington, D.C.: Division of Publications, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1983), 99.

Bay is left out or diminished in the face of US national interests, such as scientific and economic development. There are many scholars who have researched the history of Glacier Bay from the indigenous perspective, such as Julie Cruikshank. Her 2005 book *Do Glaciers Listen?: Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters, and Social Imagination* addresses how glaciers function as both physical and cultural entities. Glaciers are actors in the southeastern Alaskan landscape, and they shape the story of the land just as much as the people who live there. This book connects to a previous article she wrote about glaciers and their role in oral traditions. In her article, “Glaciers and Climate Change: Perspectives from Oral Tradition,” Cruikshank argues that oral traditions involving glaciers have key features: they are referential and constitutive.¹⁹ This means that they “refer to an external reality that may encompass historical events such as glacial surges” (referential) but they also “have the power to create or to establish what they signify” (constitutive).²⁰ In this paper, Cruikshank is exclusively talking about indigenous narratives about glaciers. However, her framework of referential and constitutive features in oral traditions is applicable to the other narratives about landscape features in indigenous traditions, given the animacy of landscape in Tlingit culture.

Ken Ross’s book, *Environmental Conflict in Alaska*, explores the conflicts that occur due to environmental protections like national parks. This book focuses on the tensions between environmentalist groups like the Sierra Club and other interest groups like oil companies, mineral companies, and hunters. However, Ross does not speak to the role of conservation officers, game wardens, or traditional law enforcement who deal with these tensions in person. By not addressing the officers as actors in this conflict, there is a gap in understanding how

¹⁹Julie Cruikshank, “Glaciers and Climate Change: Perspectives from Oral Tradition,” *Arctic* 54, no. 4 (Dec., 2001): 391.

²⁰Cruikshank, “Glaciers and Climate Change,” 391.

conservation efforts and national parks are assisted by police force. Many environmental conflicts do not take place in the court room, but in the in-person exchanges that are controlled by the police. However, the role of the police is obscured to focus on the opposing parties.

There are many narratives of Glacier Bay from scientists, colonizers, tourists, and Tlingits, but the perspective of rangers in the park are few and far between. Even from the well-known perspectives, scientists and tourists dominate, in part because of the pervasive influence of John Muir. This choice was purposeful, as it focuses the attention of Glacier Bay to positive scientific influence and economic development for the region. However, the focus on Muir and the benefits of scientific inquiry has led to a lack of understanding about the connection between scientists and police in the literature about the creation of the park. The creation of an uninhabited Glacier Bay landscape through scientific works demonstrates how they were complicit in developing a racist, colonialist narrative on which they based the need for police protection by the government. Their refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of indigenous knowledge has criminalized the Tlingit way of life, while also proving to be detrimental to the validity of their research and to the balance of the ecosystem.

The Misrepresentation, Discrimination, and Erasure of Native Alaskans from Alaska

Shortly after the United States purchased Alaska from Russian, expeditions to the North became more frequent. Land surveys were conducted, and the abundant resources were noted by geologists. It took a few decades, however, for the image of Alaska in the public's mind to change from desolate ice world to a literal gold mine of resources and experiences. Gold, oil, and magnificent scenery – all prompted white settlers to take on the Alaskan wilderness.

Travel writers, like John Muir and Eliza Scidmore (1856 – 1928), played an important role in the developing image of the North. Their work spread faster amongst the public than the work of scientists. Historian Robert Campbell states in his 2011 book *In Darkest Alaska: Travel and Empire Along the Inside Passage*, “Leisure-class images of a romantic and wild nature came to dominate. They made of Alaska a new economy of appearances.”²¹ Scidmore, like Muir, wrote about Southeastern Alaska. Although she started her career as a “society reporter in Washington D.C.,”²² she transitioned to writing articles about the West and Alaska for the same audience. Those upper-class audiences became the base of tourists who wanted to explore the northern lands described by travel writers. However, the reports of gold and unclaimed land attracted middle- and lower-class people to the Alaskan frontier in search of their romanticized pioneer experience.

Captivating travel writing and a romanticized idea of frontier life supplemented the racial theories of white superiority at the time. In the 1925 revised edition of *Alaska: An Empire in the Making*, Underwood likens living in Alaska to a test of fitness: “The death sting of her fierce blizzard strikes to the heart and her iron cold chills the brain. She allows only the strongest, the bravest, the fittest, to survive.”²³ Alaska presented one last opportunity for wannabe pioneers to go further west on the continent and fulfill their manifest destiny. To live self-sufficiently in Alaska signified continued American exceptionalism, specifically for white men. In *Wilderness and the American Mind*, historian Roderick Nash notes that forester and Wilderness Society founder Bob Marshall recommended in 1938 that Alaska be “a source of not merely wilderness

²¹Robert Campbell, “Conclusion: Inside Passage,” *In Darkest Alaska: Travel and Empire Along the Inside Passage*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 271.

²²Campbell, “Conclusion: Inside Passage,” 269.

²³John J. Underwood, *Alaska: An Empire in the Making* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1925), xi.

recreation but of ‘pioneer conditions’ and ‘the emotional values of the frontier.’”²⁴ Alaska was envisioned early on as a playground for white people who felt they had missed out on the Western pioneer experience.

The supposed connection between the North and whiteness was explained in the 1916 book, *The Passing of the Great Race: or The Racial Bases of European History*. This prominent work of the Eugenics movement written by Madison Grant, the Chairman of the New York Zoological Society, trustee of the American Museum of Natural History, and councilor of the American Geographical Society, strongly influenced conservation in the early 20th century. Grant claims that “the finest and purest type of a Nordic community outside of Europe will develop in northwest Canada and on the Pacific coast of the United States.”²⁵ His argument relied on the logic that Nordic peoples were best suited for the harsh, arctic environment, as found in Scandinavia. He also claims earlier in the book, “In the Northwest and in Alaska in the days of the gold rush it was in the mining campus a matter of comment if a man turned up with dark eyes, so universal were blue and gray eyes among the American pioneers.”²⁶ He provides no evidence for this claim, but this argument nonetheless was popular and well-received. Given his interest in conservation and his friendships with people like Theodore Roosevelt, his theories about race were distributed amongst environmentalists of the time.

Scientific racism of the time provided white settlers with evidence that their land claims were valid and necessary for the development of Alaska. Because they were supposedly best fit to live in harsh climates like Alaska, they believed to have a right to the land that was occupied

²⁴Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 4th ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 288.

²⁵Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race: or The Racial Bases of European History* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1918), 81.

²⁶Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, 45.

by indigenous Alaskans. Robert Campbell summarizes this in the conclusion of *In Darkest Alaska*: “Attitudes toward the North in particular suggested a racial nostalgia for an idealized era of conquest and settlement without the assumed hazards of race mixing as understood at the end of the century.”²⁷ White settlers, in their journey North, encroached on indigenous territory. Without protection from the government (because Native Alaskans were not considered citizens), conflicts over resources and land claims became more frequent with white settlers often getting the better end of the deal. Even though the Native Alaskans had been living in the area for hundreds, if not thousands, of years, white settlers used the racist, scientific theories of the time to prove their superiority in the North. White settlers misrepresented, discriminated against, or outright erased Native Alaskans from their frontier narratives to justify their colonization of the North.

Authors who actually decided to include Native Alaskans in their work often misrepresented them, like Muir. In Peter Bayers’s 2001 article, “Save Whom From Destruction?: Alaska Natives, Frontier Mythology, and the Regeneration of the White Conscience in Hudson Stuck’s ‘The Ascent of Denali’ (1914),” he analyzes the book “The Ascent of Denali” to understand how Hudson Stuck described Native Alaskans in the early 1900s. While Stuck does use the Athapaskan name for the mountain, Denali instead of Mount McKinley, he still relies on the binary of civilization and savagery.²⁸ Stuck’s goal was to “legitimize the presence of Alaska Natives,” but Bayers argues that he fell short of his goal.²⁹ The “positive” representations of Native Alaskans that Stuck provides infantilizes them or portrays them as the “noble savage.”³⁰

²⁷Campbell, “Conclusion: Inside Passage,” 272.

²⁸Peter L. Bayers, “Save Whom From Destruction?: Alaska Natives, Frontier Mythology, and the Regeneration of the White Conscience in Hudson Stuck’s ‘The Ascent of Denali’ (1914),” *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment* 8, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 41.

²⁹Bayers, “Save Whom From Destruction?”, 45.

³⁰Bayers, “Save Whom From Destruction?”, 43.

While this account does not refer to indigenous peoples of Southeastern Alaska, it serves as an example of how even well-meaning white people forced colonial expectations of civility onto Native Alaskans, such as following the expectations and policies of a capitalist, colonialist state, and learning English. Though Stuck sympathized with Native Alaskans unlike his contemporaries, he still considered white civilization the superior way of living to which Native Alaskans should adapt.

Discrimination of Native Alaskans has occurred since the U.S. purchased the territory. In “The Case of the Alaska Native” the journalist Deborah Movitz notes that even though the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 states that land should not be stolen from indigenous peoples, when the U.S. bought Alaska its “first official action . . . was to provide in the treaty that U.S. citizenship, and implicitly land rights, should be withheld from ‘the uncivilized native tribes.’”³¹ The white perspective of Native Alaskans as “uncivilized” impacted schooling and segregation in Alaska in the 20th century. In “Jim Crow in Alaska: The Passage of the Alaska Equal Rights Act of 1945,” historian Terrence Cole explains how de facto segregation impacted Native/Non-Native relations in Alaska. Because white people perceived Native Alaskans as uncivilized, Native Alaskans were violently excluded from public life unless they assimilated. Cole notes, “Apparently, only those who stopped speaking Native languages, eating Native foods, practicing Native religions, and associating with other Natives, and started speaking English, wearing blue jeans, eating canned food, living in a frame house, and working for wages, could be considered ‘civilized.’”³² In other words, Native Alaskans were expected to bear the burden of assimilating

³¹Deborah Movitz, “The Case of the Alaskan Native.” *Civil Rights Digest* 3, no. 3 (Summer 1969): 9. Hathi Trust.

³²Terrence M. Cole, “Jim Crow in Alaska: The Passage of the Alaska Equal Rights Act of 1945,” in *Alaska Anthology: Interpreting the Past*, eds. Stephen W. Haycox and Mary Childers Mangusso (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), 317. ProQuest Ebook.

to white civilization to participate in an economic system that was forced upon them by colonizers.

By labeling Native Alaskans as “uncivilized,” white Alaskans succeeded at invalidating the rights, cultures, and traditions of indigenous communities. The cultural, religious, and economic assimilation gave white colonizers the ability to assert their power over multiple facets of Alaskan government, including environmental laws. Writers continued pushing the perception of Native Alaskans as noble savages and childlike, thus giving the impression that they were not knowledgeable enough to manage the land productively. The value of the land changed to match the desires of capitalist development in the area, including the establishment of mining and commercial fisheries as well as laws to protect those same white settler industries. As explorers and scientists set out for the north to survey the resource potential of Alaska, they functioned as an extension of the capitalist, colonial state seeking to profit from Alaska without considering the history and culture of Native Alaskans already living there.

The Formation of the Park

Before Glacier Bay was a national park, it was a national monument. On February 26, 1925, President Calvin Coolidge declared Glacier Bay National Monument by way of a presidential proclamation. He used the power of the Antiquities Act of 1906 to set aside 1,820 acres to be protected by the National Park Service.³³ Invoking the Antiquities Act to create a national monument proved much faster than going through Congress to get approval for a national park; instead of a congressional hearing, the president simply had to sign it. The benefits

³³U.S. President, Proclamation, "Glacier Bay National Monument, 1925, Proclamation 1733 of February 26, 1925," 43 Stat. 1988. As quoted in *Proclamations and Orders Relating to the National Park Service up to January 1, 1945*, compiled by Thomas Alan Sullivan, 196-198 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1947), 196.

of declaring a national monument versus a national park had been debated by the primary lobbyist of the enterprise, the Ecological Society of America (ESA).

The ESA, led by ecologist William S. Cooper, brought Glacier Bay to lawmakers' attention because of the scientific value of the park. The three primary scientific values as written in the proclamation were the mature forests, evidence of "ancient interglacial forests," and the potential to study future development of the newly bare land.³⁴ Because the glaciers had receded recently, the area was perfect for ecologists to study ecological succession, the development of new species in a bare environment. Additionally, the retreating glaciers had left pieces of preserved wood, indicating an ancient forest that had been swept up when the glacier had previously surged.

While the mature forests and ancient forest remnants were of interest, ecological succession, or the cycles of plant development, was the primary ecological research interest in the bay. William S. Cooper, an ecologist from the University of Minnesota, introduced the value of ecological succession in Glacier Bay to the ESA with the goal of having the area protected. In his two-part article, "The Recent Ecological History of Glacier Bay, Alaska," Cooper introduces both plant succession (a version of ecological succession specific to plants) and the reasons why Glacier Bay is a perfect laboratory for him to study plant development cycles.³⁵ He does mention that Dr. Lawrence Martin first considered this area worthy of study, so it was not entirely Cooper's idea.³⁶ However, inspired by both Martin and John Muir, Cooper took Martin's advice and suggested to the ESA that the area be considered for protection. He then led the ESA lobby

³⁴"Glacier Bay National Monument, 1925, Proclamation 1733 of February 26, 1925," 196.

³⁵William Skinner Cooper, "The Recent Ecological History of Glacier Bay, Alaska: The Interglacial Forests of Glacier Bay," *Ecology* 4, no. 2 (Apr., 1923): 93. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1929485>.

³⁶Cooper, "The Recent Ecological History of Glacier Bay, Alaska: The Interglacial Forests of Glacier Bay," 93.

of President Coolidge to take action and protect the bay.³⁷ Cooper's personal interest in ecological succession and his admiration of John Muir made Glacier Bay a great place for him to conduct long-term research.

Plant succession, or what is commonly referred to now as ecological succession, is still a prominent topic in ecology. Recently, ecological succession has been defined to as "how biological communities re-assemble and change over time following natural or anthropogenic disturbance" by Dr. Cynthia Chang and Dr. Benjamin Turner.³⁸ In their 2019 article, "Ecological succession in a changing world," Chang and Turner argue that ecological succession is a foundational framework for modern ecology.³⁹ Cooper, in 1916, understood the importance of ecological succession to his discipline. Gary Vequist at the 1983 Glacier Bay Symposium also emphasized the importance and value of Cooper's ecological succession studies: "This long sequence covering almost 70 years makes Glacier Bay one of the longest records of vegetative development in the world. Insights from these studies have greatly influenced the concept of plant successional theory."⁴⁰ Cooper's work has strongly influenced the field of ecology, which strengthens the validity of conducting scientific research in the bay. However, he neglected to assess the role of humans in the Glacier Bay ecosystem, therefore limiting ecologists' understanding of ecological succession.

Scientific language, specifically ecological vocabulary, strongly directs the tone of Glacier Bay's proclamation, especially when compared to other national monuments. The National Park Service, when celebrating Cooper's legacy in 2016, noted that Glacier Bay is

³⁷"William S. Cooper: A Vision of Preservation," Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, National Park Service, updated June 27, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/glba/learn/historyculture/william-s-cooper-a-vision-of-preservation.htm>.

³⁸Cynthia C. Chang and Benjamin L. Turner, "Ecological Succession in a Changing World," *Journal of Ecology* 107, no. 2 (Feb 2019): 503, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1365-2745.13132>.

³⁹Chang and Turner, "Ecological Succession in a Changing World," 503.

⁴⁰Vequist, "Scientific Use of Glacier Bay," 52.

“among a small group of ‘parks established for science’ in the National Park System.”⁴¹ These proclamations did not go into detail about what scientific research topics should be pursued, just that scientific research could be done.

In Glacier Bay’s case, it is made clear exactly who wants this area protected and why. In other proclamations, general scientific value is cited as a reason to protect the area. However, for Glacier Bay, the development of forests and behavior of glaciers described clearly as the purpose for protection. The ESA as lobbyists would have had power in determining what research topics were listed in the proclamation. The proclamation begins with a sentence about ease of travel, thus prompting a look into tourist development in the area. The second, third, and fourth paragraphs of the proclamation go into more detail about the scientific value, stating,

AND, WHEREAS, the region is said by the Ecological Society of America to contain a great variety of forest covering consisting of mature areas, bodies of youthful trees which have become established since the retreat of the ice which should be preserved in absolutely natural condition, and great stretches now bare that will become forested in the course of the next century,

AND WHEREAS, this area presents a unique opportunity for the scientific study of glacial behavior and of resulting movements and development of flora and fauna and of certain valuable relics of ancient interglacial forests,

AND WHEREAS, the area is also of historic interest having been visited by explorers and scientists since the early voyages of Vancouver in 1794, who have left valuable records of such visits and explorations.⁴²

From these paragraphs, it is clear that the ESA had an important role in defining the value of Glacier Bay. Using the ancient forest remnants, the bare land on which plants would soon colonize, and the mature forests nearby, the ESA envisioned a perfect outdoor laboratory to set up a multi-year, if not multi-decade, research station. They were able to do this by relying on

⁴¹“Celebrating the Legacy of William S Cooper,” Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, National Park Service, updated January 3, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/glba/learn/news/celebrating-the-legacy-of-william-s-cooper.htm>.

⁴²“Glacier Bay National Monument, 1925, Proclamation 1733 of February 26, 1925,” 196.

previous narratives from scientists that disregarded or erased indigenous communities from the land. By erasing indigenous communities and their history from Glacier Bay and replacing it with narratives of pristine wilderness, scientists were complicit in criminalizing Tlingit subsistence traditions.

Tlingit Understandings of Glacier Bay

Towards the end of 1983 Glacier Bay Science Symposium, during a cruise to Muir Inlet, Andrew Johnnie of the Chookaneidi Tribe lamented, “We have lost not only our home. We have lost our way of living, which we cannot get back because of the nature of this national park. Our request for the future is that we not be turned away when we come here for food.”⁴³ At this conference where the victories and progress of scientific inquiry in the park were praised, local Tlingit communities still suffered from the restrictions on subsistence activities in the park. The Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian tribes all call southeastern Alaska home, but I will be focusing on the Tlingit because of the history of their settlement in and near the area that is now Glacier Bay National Park.

The Tlingit villages near Glacier Bay were not told about the formation of the national monument and the new restrictions on activities within its borders. Thomas Thornton notes in the introduction to *Haa Aaní: Tlingit and Haida Land Rights and Use*, “The majority of lands aboriginally used and occupied by Southeast Natives were actually appropriated by the U.S. government with the creation of the Tongass National Forest beginning in 1902 and Glacier Bay

⁴³Andrew Johnnie, “What is Left of Our Home,” (comments, First Glacier Bay Science Symposium, Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, AK, September 23-26, 1983), 67.

National Park in 1925.”⁴⁴ In 1947, the Tlingit of Hoonah sent a petition to the Secretary of the Interior stating, among other items, that they “have never sold, ceded, relinquished or abandoned any of said lands and waters” to the United States.⁴⁵ In 1968, the Tlingit and Haida tribes of Southeastern Alaska took the government to court and were awarded \$7.5 million for the loss of 18 million acres of land.⁴⁶ Even with this legal win, however, subsistence activities were still restricted in the monument without any input from Tlingit communities nearby.

As Andrew Johnnie explained at the Glacier Bay Symposium, this land is more than just a home. In her dissertation “*Lingítx Haa Sateeyí, We Who Are Tlingit: Contemporary Tlingit Identity and the Ancestral Relationship to the Landscape*,” Vivian F. Martindale argues

To the Tlingit people, the landscape is not only physical landmarks but also contains a spiritual, intuitive, and emotional aspect. . . . The physical landscape is a part of Tlingit identity, and the origins of their name are demonstrative of a worldview that does not define boundaries between man, nature, and the spiritual, as evident in the mutually supporting subsystems in Tlingit society. From subsistence use to ceremonies, art and the oral traditions, all are interdependent. In contrast, in the scientific world, distinctions separate the land from the ocean, night from day, and animals from man.⁴⁷

The distinction she notes between how Western science and Tlingit communities view the world can explain the conflict between conservation in Glacier Bay and indigenous subsistence activities. While ecologists recognized the importance of protecting an interdependent ecological system, human beings were not to be included in that system. When they studied ecological succession, the role of humans was not included.

⁴⁴Thomas F. Thornton, “Introduction: Who Owned Southeast Alaska? Answers in Goldschmidt and Haas,” in *Haa Aani: Tlingit and Haida Land Rights and Use*, by Walter R. Goldschmidt and Theodore H. Haas, ed. Thomas F. Thornton (Juneau: Sealaska Heritage Foundation, 1998), xvii.

⁴⁵Ancestral Rights Petition from the Hoonah Indian Association to the Secretary of the Interior, March 1947, Mss 26, Series 1, Box 5, Fd 17.3, Curry-Weissbrodt Papers, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives, Juneau, AK. I could not find any record of what happened after they sent this petition.

⁴⁶Movitz, *The Case of the Alaskan Native*,” 11.

⁴⁷Vivian F. Martindale, “*Lingítx Haa Sateeyí, We Who Are Tlingit: Contemporary Tlingit Identity and the Ancestral Relationship to the Landscape*,” (PhD diss., University of Alaska, Fairbanks, 2008), 7,9-10, <https://login.duproxy.palni.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/304684085?accountid=10478>.

One of the main reasons Tlingit communities entered the bay was for subsistence purposes. In “First Peoples of the Tongass: Law and the Traditional Subsistence Way of Life,” David Avraham Voluck notes, “It is important to understand that *subsistence* is a white man’s word, and it does not capture the traditional way of life.”⁴⁸ As an attorney who has worked extensively with the Sitka Tribe of Alaska, Voluck reminds non-native readers that from a white American standpoint, subsistence is often conflated with poverty. However, from an indigenous perspective, it encompasses an entire way of living. In a Hoonah Land Committee Meeting in 1948, when asked about how a beach was used, Mrs. Elsie Greenwald replied,

Trapping, smoking salmon (Howard Creek, tla-koo-mix), digging clams, cockles, mussels, edible sea-weed, making dugouts, berry picking, hunting deer, mountain goat at 1400 feet for several miles, all berry country, Salmonberries, red and blue huckleberry, high-bush cranberries, red currants, low bush cranberries, crab apples. Howard River is a pink, chum and coho stream. They fished halibut in Howard Bay, seal-hunting, smoke-houses.⁴⁹

This list simply names the different activities that could be performed in the bay, but what it does not address is the religious and cultural importance implicit in these activities from the Tlingit perspective. According to Carol Williams, inherent in Tlingit values is “that by participating in subsistence activities one is perpetuating their culture.”⁵⁰ Therefore, the restriction of subsistence activities by the government constituted a form of colonialism designed to assimilate Tlingit communities into the capitalist system of nearby settlements.

⁴⁸David Avraham Voluck, “First Peoples of the Tongass: Law and the Traditional Subsistence Way of Life,” in *The Book of the Tongass*, ed. Carolyn Servid and Donald Snow (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 1999), 89.

⁴⁹“Hoonah Land Committee Meeting” Minutes, April 8th, 1948, 9, Mss 26, Series 1, Box 5, Fd 17.2, Curry-Weissbrodt Papers, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives, Juneau, AK.

⁵⁰Martindale, “Lingítx Haa Sateeyí, We Who Are Tlingit,” 236. Carol Williams is a Tradition Bearer for the Chookaneidí in Hoonah, Alaska.

Tlingit subsistence traditions have long affected the ecosystem of Glacier Bay. Whereas western scientists have claimed this area has been undisturbed by humans, the remnants of wooden fish traps in the Klawock River have been dated back to 1,350 years ago.⁵¹

The many Tlingit oral histories of Glacier Bay are not included in scientific understandings of the park. In her memoir *Blonde Indian*, Ernestine Hayes recounts the “Glacier Bay Story” owned by the Chookeneidí Clan.⁵² When the glacier surged to the Chookeneidí village, and the people living there had to leave. She writes,

But when the ice decided to make room for them again, when the ice moved back and made room for them to come home, white people had taken their home away and had turned it into a national park and had named it Glacier Bay. The Chookeneidí people were forbidden to go home. They were told to stay at the place where they had gone. They live there still. They live there still, where they can watch their home, always looking in the direction of that grassy place at the top of the bay, always waiting for the time when they can go home.⁵³

Martindale notes in her dissertation that even today, “the Chookaneidí are linked spiritually to icebergs through the loss of their ancestors in Glacier Bay.”⁵⁴ Because Western science does not readily recognize the animacy of features like glaciers and rocks, a sense of respect for the formation itself is lost.

⁵¹Steve J. Langdon, “Subsistence and Contemporary Tlingit Culture,” in *Will the Time Ever Come?: A Tlingit Source Book*, eds. Andrew Hope III and Thomas F. Thornton (Fairbanks: Center for Cross-Cultural Studies, University of Alaska Fairbanks, 2000), 119.

⁵²Martindale, “Lingítx Haa Sateeyí, We Who Are Tlingit,” 224. This is the spelling that Hayes uses, but it is also spelled “Chookaneidí” by Martindale in her dissertation and Andrew Hope III in *Will the Time Ever Come?: A Tlingit Source Book*.

⁵³Ernestine Hayes, *Blonde Indian: An Alaska Native Memoir* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 56. In *Haa Shuká, Our Ancestors: Tlingit Oral Narratives* edited by Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, this story is called “Glacier Bay History.”

⁵⁴Martindale, “Lingítx Haa Sateeyí, We Who Are Tlingit,” 19.

Western Science in Alaska

One of the most prominent forms of erasure of Native Alaskans from Alaska is in the work of scientists. Few scientists referenced indigenous communities in their work, instead opting to portray the land as uninhabited. Those scientists who did mention indigenous people, like Muir, disregarded their identities and knowledge to promote the findings of Western scientific thought. In Glacier Bay, Geologists and biologists, primarily, have benefited from research opportunities. Because there have been explorers surveying the receding glaciers in the bay since the 18th century,⁵⁵ the area was ideal for long-term studies of glacier movements and how flora and fauna develop over time from bare rock to thriving forest.

In summer of 1899, Edward Harriman, president of the Union Pacific Railroad, decided to take a team of scientists up the Alaskan coast for research and recreational purposes.⁵⁶ Originally meant as a vacation for Harriman and his family and friends, Harriman decided to invite some of the most influential scientists, photographers, authors, and artists of the time to use the trip as a research experience.⁵⁷ He consulted with the Chief of the Biological Survey, C. Hart Merriam⁵⁸ and the Washington Academy of Sciences⁵⁹ to create the guest list which included the likes of Merriam himself, John Burroughs (ornithologist and author), Dr. William H. Dall (paleontologist with the United States Geological Survey and honorary curator of mollusks at the U.S. National Museum), Henry Gannett (chief geographer of the USGS), Dr.

⁵⁵United States, National Park Service, Division of Publications, *Glacier Bay: A Guide to Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, Alaska*, 35. For example, what Muir named the “Muir Glacier” had been described by Captain George Vancouver of Britain in 1794. Older recorders were compared to new ones to determine rates and lengths of successions of surges.

⁵⁶Goetzmann and Sloan, *Looking Far North*, 5-6.

⁵⁷Edward H. Harriman, preface to *Alaska: The Harriman Expedition, 1899*, by John Burroughs, John Muir, et al. (New York: Dover, 1986), xxi-xxii.

⁵⁸Goetzmann and Sloan, *Looking Far North*, 209.

⁵⁹C. Hart Merriam, introduction to *Alaska: The Harriman Expedition, 1899*, by John Burroughs, John Muir, et al. (New York: Dover, 1986), xxv.

George Bird Grinnell (anthropologist and editor of *Forest and Stream*), and John Muir (author and “student of glaciers”).⁶⁰ Twelve volumes of new information about Alaska were published in the two decades after the Harriman Expedition in 1899 based on the work of the Harriman scholars.⁶¹

While there was a strong focus on scientific research, scholars of multiple disciplines joined the trip, making it an interdisciplinary endeavor to survey the coast of Alaska, and for Harriman, to hunt a Kodiak bear.⁶² The expedition served as a “floating university”⁶³ with a five hundred volume library to assist the researchers. Merriam states in his introduction to the published editions of the Harriman Volumes, “Nearly every evening an informal lecture or talk on some subject connected with the work of the Expedition, and illustrated by blackboard sketches, was given in the main cabin.”⁶⁴ As the men encountered new species, glaciers, and people, they could workshop their ideas with other influential people in their respective fields.

The expedition had multiple meanings and goals depending on which interest group was in question. For Harriman, it was a chance to take a vacation and hunt one of the largest bears in the world.⁶⁵ In the preface to the published edition of the first two expedition volumes, Harriman himself states in the first paragraph the importance of big game hunting for him on the trip. However, he later tries to downplay his previous statement by saying, “Although big game played an important part in the original plan, no extended or organized effort for hunting was made.”⁶⁶ Hunting was surely one of the priorities for Harriman, but William H. Goetzmann and

⁶⁰Goetzmann and Sloan, *Looking Far North*, 208-09.

⁶¹ William H. Goetzmann and Kay Sloan, *Looking Far North: The Harriman Expedition to Alaska 1899* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 199-200.

⁶²Harriman, preface to *Alaska: The Harriman Expedition, 1899*, xxii.

⁶³Goetzmann and Sloan, *Looking Far North*, xv.

⁶⁴Merriam, introduction to *Alaska: The Harriman Expedition, 1899*, xxix.

⁶⁵Merriam, introduction to *Alaska: The Harriman Expedition, 1899*, xxvii.

⁶⁶Harriman, preface to *Alaska: The Harriman Expedition, 1899*, xxii.

Kay Sloan note in their book *Looking Far North: The Harriman Expedition to Alaska 1899*, “Rumors spread everywhere, the most prominent being that the intrepid Harriman intended to build a railroad around the world, and he was heading for Alaska to see if the project required a tunnel under the Bering Strait or merely a fifty-mile long suspension bridge.”⁶⁷ It is difficult to know the weight of the different interests in the trip because, in 1913, Harriman’s personal papers were lost in a fire.⁶⁸

This expedition represented an emerging trend in science to specialize in a specific discipline. Goetzmann and Sloan argue, “Gone with the exception of John Muir and John Burroughs, was the all-purpose naturalist. Instead, science had become highly specialized, as the thirteen published volumes of the Harriman Expedition Reports attest. . . . Science and modes of scientific perception were clearly changing.”⁶⁹ An example of this shift can be seen in the descriptions of the expedition members. For example, Muir studied glaciers while also being known as a wilderness writer in general. However, in the appendices for the Harriman Expedition Reports, Muir is described as a “student of glaciers” while G.K. Gilbert, who also wrote about glaciers during and after the expedition, is described as a geologist.⁷⁰ In this case, Gilbert represents the new generation of scientists while Muir represents the old naturalist scientist who focused on multiple disciplines. This distinction between specialized fields is important because it represented a change in the way scientific research was being conducted and written about. Additionally, Glacier Bay National Monument was founded due to the specific interests of biologists and geologists. While the interdisciplinary nature of naturalists like Muir

⁶⁷Goetzmann and Sloan, *Looking Far North*, 4.

⁶⁸Goetzmann and Sloan, *Looking Far North*, xix.

⁶⁹Goetzmann and Sloan, *Looking Far North*, xvi.

⁷⁰Burroughs, Muir, et al., *Alaska: The Harriman Expedition, 1899*, xxxiv.

and Burroughs were valuable for promoting the park for tourists, the specialized scientific fields demonstrated the specific needs of disciplines to work in the area.

While the Harriman Expedition resulted in many advances for science, anthropology, and writing about Alaska, the expedition also exemplified how scientific research served as a form of colonialism. In Cape Fox, the expedition members spent a day taking objects from an abandoned village. A blanket was taken off of a grave, the imposing totem poles were taken down, and houses were searched to collect masks and baskets for museums and universities.⁷¹ Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian belongings, all throughout southeastern Alaska, were disrespected and stolen to be put on display in museums far away, where they were represented as artifacts of ancient cultures even though the people to whom those items belonged lived nearby.

In September 1951, the Alaska Division of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) held the Second Alaskan Science Conference to discuss the future of scientific research in the territory. In the opening session, Kirtley F. Mather, the President of AAAS remarked, “I know just enough to recognize the unlimited opportunities for scientific achievements that lie before you. . . . You are still pioneers in a rich, new land. You are blazing trails in a region that has only begun to be developed.”⁷² Therefore, into the mid-twentieth century, the president of AAAS was still upholding the frontier mentality by directly referring to scientists as pioneers. Instead of gold prospectors, the pioneers were scientists both in the academy and in industry, and they had the assistance of conservation officers and game wardens to defend their work. Ira Wiggins remarked, “Supervisory controls placed on hunting, fishing, and trapping have resulted in the accumulation of many valuable data on the life

⁷¹Goetzmann and Sloan, *Looking Far North*, 164, 168.

⁷²Kirtley F. Mather, “Installation of Alaska Division, A.A.A.S.,” (lecture, Second Alaskan Science Conference, Alaska Division, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Mt. McKinley National Park, AK, September 4-8, 1951), 5.

histories of our native animals.”⁷³ These scientists knew their work relied on the policing of the land. To them, the criminalization of subsistence activities was justified by the work they produced for their disciplines.

In 1983, the First Glacier Bay Science Symposium took place in Gustavus, Alaska, within the boundaries of Glacier Bay National Park to celebrate “A Century After Muir.”⁷⁴ Indigenous people were only truly incorporated into the discussion of the humanities program. The keynote, presented by William E. Brown, the Alaska Regional Historian of the National Park Service, referred only to “ancient peoples,”⁷⁵ and the science sections omitted any evidence of indigenous people living in the area. Gary Vequist, a resource management specialist with Glacier Bay National Park, stated, “Glacier Bay’s natural resources have remained essentially unaltered by man, making it an excellent laboratory for conducting scientific research.”⁷⁶ He denied the existence and impact of Tlingit communities in Glacier Bay even though Robert Ackerman, an anthropologist, argued at the same conference that people had occupied the area near Glacier Bay for at least 900 years, perhaps stretching back 9000 years.⁷⁷

Over the course of a hundred years, the general perception of Glacier Bay from the perspective of many scientists was of a pristine laboratory, perfect for scientific inquiry. However, this narrative erases the long history of Tlingit society in and around the Bay. Even in 1983, an anthropologist and a resource management specialist had two fundamentally different

⁷³Ira L. Wiggins, “Progress and Prospects of the Biological Sciences in Alaska,” (paper, Second Alaskan Science Conference, Alaska Division, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Mt. McKinley National Park, AK, September 4-8, 1951), 33.

⁷⁴James D. Wood, Jr., Maria Gladyszewski, Ian A. Worley, Gary Vequist, eds., (foreword, First Glacier Bay Science Symposium, Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, AK, September 23-26, 1983), i.

⁷⁵William E. Brown, “Keynote Address: Historical Perspectives,” (paper, First Glacier Bay Science Symposium, Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, AK, September 23-26, 1983), 2.

⁷⁶Gary Vequist, “Scientific Use of Glacier Bay,” (paper, First Glacier Bay Science Symposium, Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, AK, September 23-26, 1983), 52.

⁷⁷Robert E. Ackerman, “Prehistoric Occupation of the Glacier bay Region,” (paper, First Glacier Bay Science Symposium, Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, AK, September 23-26, 1983), 70.

views of human history and life in Glacier Bay. Additionally, at each of these conferences the merits of policing the bay were recognized. Therefore, they knew that to conduct their research, some police force had to be standing guard ready to arrest people who would disturb the laboratory. By neglecting to acknowledge indigenous history, at times with indigenous people in the audience, scientists reinforced the colonialist idea that the land was empty, yet mythical, beautiful, and ideal for white occupation.

Policing of Glacier Bay

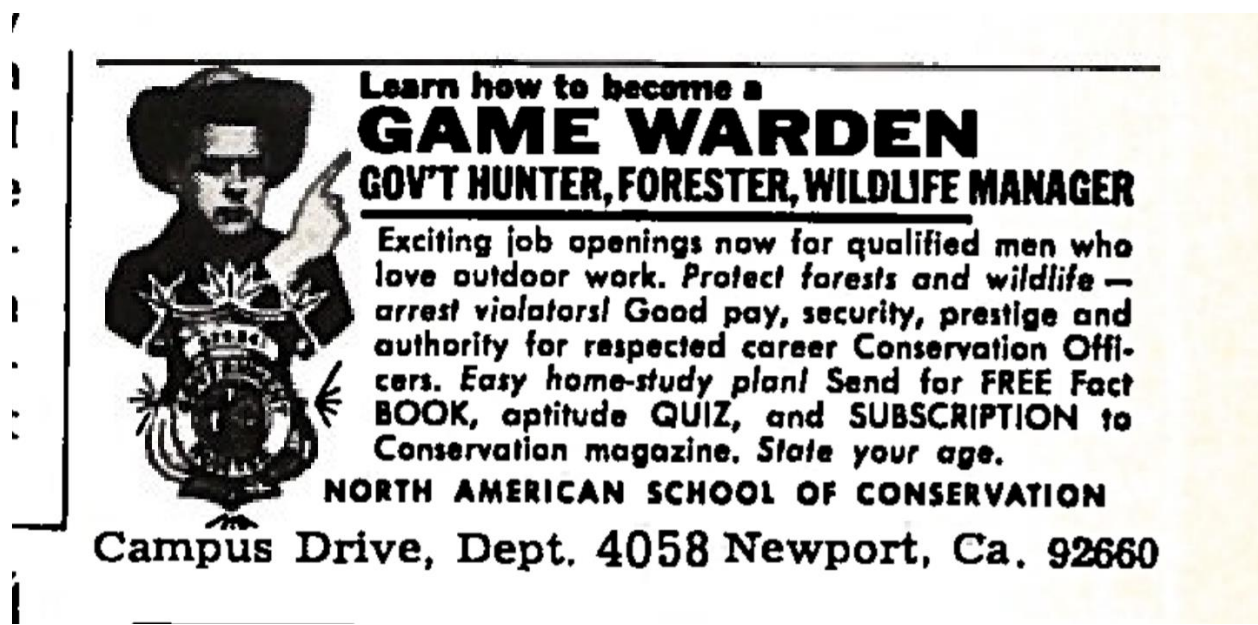
The advertisement is a black and white graphic. On the left is a portrait of a man in a dark uniform with a large, ornate badge on his chest. He is pointing his right index finger upwards. To the right of the portrait, the text reads: "Learn how to become a **GAME WARDEN** **GOV'T HUNTER, FORESTER, WILDLIFE MANAGER**". Below this, in a smaller font, it says: "Exciting job openings now for qualified men who love outdoor work. Protect forests and wildlife — arrest violators! Good pay, security, prestige and authority for respected career Conservation Officers. Easy home-study plan! Send for FREE Fact BOOK, aptitude QUIZ, and SUBSCRIPTION to Conservation magazine. State your age." At the bottom, it says "NORTH AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CONSERVATION" and "Campus Drive, Dept. 4058 Newport, Ca. 92660".

Figure 1: An advertisement for a Game Warden position⁷⁸

After spending two weeks researching at the Sealaska Heritage Institute in Juneau, Alaska, I found an advertisement in a 1967 copy of *Alaska Sportsman* for a game warden from

⁷⁸“Advertisement for North American School of Conservation, Game Warden Job,” *Alaska Sportsman*, August 1967, 47.

the North American School of Conservation. In that advertisement, the titles of game warden, conservation officer, and wildlife manager are all used interchangeably. Additionally, it states that the position offers “good pay, security, prestige, and authority” accompanied by a drawing of a man in a cowboy hat with a sheriff’s badge.⁷⁹ The purpose of game wardens is to uphold environmental law,⁸⁰ but if they are simply a function of a larger police force, then what makes them different from traditional police? If the subsistence activities they “protect” the land from are primarily associated with indigenous people, then are Tlingits disproportionately affected by the laws in Glacier Bay? How do these laws target indigenous practices while also protecting scientific interests?

In order to enforce the laws protecting national parks, conservation officers and game wardens are hired to patrol the area. In addition to officers of the National Park Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, etc., the state of Alaska employs Alaska Wildlife Troopers for their parks. According to the current National Park Service website, their law enforcement rangers are “trusted to protect the country’s most precious resources.”⁸¹ In Alaska, game wardens are considered a part of the state troopers.⁸² Whether they are called officers, wardens, or managers, they all have the role of policing and controlling access to and interaction with the physical, ecological space.

In advertisements like figure one, conservation officers are described as protectors of the environment. However, the function of officers is equivalent to regular police officers in some states. Theodore Catton argues in *Inhabited Wilderness*, that after the hiring of Duane Jacobs as a

⁷⁹“Advertisement for North American School of Conservation, Game Warden Job,” *Alaska Sportsman*, 47.

⁸⁰“Division of Alaska Wildlife Troopers,” Alaska Wildlife Troopers, Alaska Department of Public Safety, accessed April 28, 2020, <https://dps.alaska.gov/AWT/Home>.

⁸¹“Become a Law Enforcement Ranger,” National Park Service, updated August 28, 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/become-a-law-enforcement-ranger.htm>.

⁸²Alaska Department of Public Safety, “Division of Alaska Wildlife Troopers.”

ranger in Glacier Bay, “the NPS’s approach to native hunting definitely shifted from biological investigation to law enforcement.”⁸³ Because scientific methodology dismissed indigenous knowledge as legitimate for resource management purposes, the conservation officers prevent knowledge and cultural practices from continuing when they fine and arrest people in the park.

An example of conservation being used to suppress indigenous knowledge and culture is the implementation of fire codes to restrict the amount of fires in the western United States. Although this example is not as relevant to southeastern Alaska as it is to places like California, it is none the less one of the most notable examples of dismissing indigenous knowledge to the detriment of the environment. In her article “Ecological Dynamics of Settler-Colonialism: Smokey Bear and Fire Suppression as Colonial Violence,” Dr. Kari Norgaard argues, “Ecological changes and their scientific rationales became the means to perform Indigenous erasure and replacement, and they continue to serve as ongoing vectors of colonialism.”⁸⁴ The decision to restrict fires came partly from the value that trees provide; letting them burn would be considered wasteful from a European economic perspective.⁸⁵ These economic arguments influenced ecological work. The growth of a forest was a measure of how healthy the forest was, so to let it burn was considered destroying it. Even though Indigenous people, such as the Karuk, explained how fire could improve a landscape, the Forest Service dismissed this knowledge. For example, a Karuk man who went by the name “Klamath River Jack” explained in a letter to the paper that fire would clear out dead brush for new grass, which helped deer and elk, and when

⁸³Catton, *Inhabited Wilderness*, 63.

⁸⁴Kari Marie Norgaard, “Ecological Dynamics of Settler-Colonialism: Smokey Bear and Fire Suppression as Colonial Violence,” in *Salmon and Acorns Feed Our People: Colonialism, Nature, and Social Action* (New Brunswick, Camden; Newark, New Jersey; London: Rutgers University Press, 2019), 94.

⁸⁵Norgaard, “Ecological Dynamics of Settler-Colonialism,” 76.

fires were burned regularly, there was not enough flammable material on the ground to spread to the trees.⁸⁶

Even though Karuk people tried to educate white settlers on the necessity for fire in their environment, burning practices continued to be banned. White settlers fundamentally misunderstood the ecology of this region to the detriment of the ecosystem. More buildup of the brush that Klamath River Jack mentioned causes more powerful and deadly fires. It is not a matter of *if* a fire will start but *when*. This bad science not only backfired for the ecology of the region, but indigenous knowledge about fire was condemned and actively prohibited by police who upheld the Eurocentric, capitalist, and racist fire ban policies.

A specific example of conservation laws preventing the implementation of indigenous knowledge and cultural activities from taking place in Glacier Bay are the fishing restrictions. The fishing conservation laws have led to the suppression of Tlingit subsistence while simultaneously allowing commercial fishing. According to James Mackovjak's 2010 book *Navigating Troubled Waters: A History of Commercial Fishing in Glacier Bay, Alaska* commercial fishing has taken place in Glacier Bay since at least the early 1880s.⁸⁷ Published by the National Park Service, this history written by a former non-native fisherman details the legal changes in commercial fishing, and Cherry Payne, the superintendent of Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve (at the time) notes that this book was "written by and for the people most affected by the events portrayed herein."⁸⁸

⁸⁶Norgaard, "Ecological Dynamics of Settler-Colonialism," 97.

⁸⁷U.S. Department of the Interior, *Navigating Troubled Waters: A History of Commercial Fishing in Glacier Bay, Alaska*, by James Mackovjak, I29.2:G 45/16 (Gustavus, AK: National Park Service, Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, 2010), ix. Hathi Trust.

⁸⁸U.S. Department of the Interior, *Navigating Troubled Waters*, vii.

Mackovjak's timeline of the history of commercial fishing in Glacier Bay notes that commercial fishing was already taking place when the national monument was established in 1925.⁸⁹ In 1939, when the monument doubled in size, commercial fishing remained legal.⁹⁰ In 1980 when the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA) passed, commercial fishing was allowed in authorized areas, however, new fisheries could not be built within the boundaries of the Glacier Bay National Preserve.⁹¹ At the time, commercial fishing was completely banned within the Glacier Bay National Park.⁹² In 1998, the Appropriations Act of 1999 allowed for "continue[d] fishing in the marine waters of Glacier Bay National Park outside Glacier Bay proper."⁹³ There is debate as to whether ANILCA prohibits or allows subsistence activities in the park.⁹⁴ Theodore Catton asserts in *Land Reborn* that ANILCA does not "expressly authorize" subsistence activities while the Sealaska Corporation argues that it does not prohibit subsistence fishing, in particular.⁹⁵ Thomas Thornton, in the introduction to *Haa Aaní: Tlingit and Haida Land Rights and Use*, argues, "ANILCA established a *priority* for subsistence uses of wild resources over sport and recreational uses and an allocation preference for rural residents over urban residents on federal lands in the state."⁹⁶ As of winter 1988, Natives of Hoonah could apply for "subsistence and personal-use permits," but the NPS continued to enforce the law that subsistence was prohibited for the larger Native population.⁹⁷

⁸⁹U.S. Department of the Interior, *Navigating Troubled Waters*, 206.

⁹⁰U.S. Department of the Interior, *Navigating Troubled Waters*, 206.

⁹¹U.S. Department of the Interior, *Navigating Troubled Waters*, 206.

⁹²U.S. Department of the Interior, *Navigating Troubled Waters*, 206.

⁹³U.S. Department of the Interior, *Navigating Troubled Waters*, 207.

⁹⁴U.S. Department of the Interior, *Land Reborn: A History of Administration and Visitor Use in Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve*, by Theodore Catton, Anchorage, Alaska: National Park Service, 1995, chap. 15, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/giba/adhi/index.htm.

⁹⁵U.S. Department of the Interior, *Land Reborn*, chap. 15.; "Sealaska," Home Page, Sealaska, <https://www.sealaska.com/>. The Sealaska Corporation is an Alaska Native Corporation owned by Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian that seek to "protect our community's greatest and most important resources – the oceans, forests, and people of Southeast Alaska."

⁹⁶Thornton, "Introduction," in *Haa Aaní*, xxi-xxii.

⁹⁷U.S. Department of the Interior, *Land Reborn*, chap. 15.

Mackovjak, in his history of legislation, spends little time on the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971, likely because it did not directly impact commercial fishing. However, ANCSA removed protections for traditional hunting, essentially eliminating Native hunting rights nine years before ANILCA was created.⁹⁸ While ANCSA did provide considerable reimbursements (\$962.5 million), it also eliminated Native land titles and the existence of most reserves in Alaska.⁹⁹ These decisions were made by in an effort to resolve Native land claims throughout Alaska, so while it was not distinctly a National Park issue, the effects of ANCSA and ANILCA spread throughout the state, even in National Park boundaries.

While these laws were supposed to apply to everyone looking to hunt, fish, and practice subsistence activities in Glacier Bay, white homesteaders living in the park were rarely arrested or penalized for the same activities that indigenous people were prohibited from entering the park to do. To compare the experiences of Tlingit natives in Glacier Bay with white homesteaders, I will analyze three different accounts of people who have lived, hunted, and/or harvested materials in Glacier Bay: Jim Huscroft, a white homesteader, Frank Sinclair, a Hoonah Tlingit Native, and Scotty James, a Tlingit native. Huscroft's and Sinclair's stories represent generally the same time period, while James's account shows how the same dismissive attitudes toward indigenous land claims in Glacier Bay lasted into the 1970s.

Jim Huscroft lived in Lituya Bay from around 1917 to 1939. According to the Glacier Bay Official National Park Handbook from 1983, he was the only person living in the 150 mile stretch of coastline.¹⁰⁰ The handbook describes his yearly trip to Juneau for supplies and his Christmas dinner in an approving way, even though the area he was living in would have been

⁹⁸Thornton, "Introduction," in *Haa Aaní*, xxii.

⁹⁹Thornton, "Introduction," in *Haa Aaní*, xxi. The only exception was Annette Island in Southeast Alaska.

¹⁰⁰United States, National Park Service, Division of Publications, *Glacier Bay: A Guide to Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, Alaska*, 21.

inside the grounds of the national monument where, at the same time, natives were being prohibited from living. The handbook also fails to mention Ernie Rognan, a Norwegian fishman whom Rick Kurtz mentions in his *Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve Historic Resource Study* as being Huscroft's fox farming partner;¹⁰¹ the NPS overemphasized that he lived alone, mentioning the fact twice in one sentence.¹⁰² Kurtz's study was published twelve years after the Glacier Bay handbook; however, Rognan is mentioned with Huscroft in a 1935 article about southeastern Alaska.¹⁰³

By leaving Rognan out of the picture, Huscroft's story as dictated by the NPS shows a pioneer type man, living off the land, and rarely making contact with civilization. They also introduce Huscroft as one of the "few residents since Indian days" to reside in Glacier Bay.¹⁰⁴ This suggests that Native Americans happened to leave instead of being forced off the land for the purposes of the national monument. Additionally, there is no evidence of Huscroft's presence in Lituya Bay ever being questioned as legal or illegal. In his introduction to *Haa Aaní*, Thomas Thornton argues, "Natives' communal rights to hunting grounds on islands were similarly usurped on the basis of the common property principle, only to then be leased exclusively by the government to non-Native fox farmers."¹⁰⁵ Kurtz notes that even though residents of the Glacier Bay area before the expansion of the park in 1939 were not "founded under homesteading provisions," they "qualified" as homesteaders.¹⁰⁶ He does not go into detail if these settlers had

¹⁰¹U.S. Department of the Interior, *Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve Historic Resource Study*, by Rick S. Kurtz (Anchorage, Alaska: National Park Service 1995), 76, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/glba/glba_hrs.pdf.

¹⁰²United States, National Park Service, Division of Publications, *Glacier Bay: A Guide to Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, Alaska*, 21.

¹⁰³Bradford Washburn, "The Conquest of Mount Crillon," *The National Geographic Magazine* 67, no. 3, (March 1935): 361.

¹⁰⁴United States, National Park Service, Division of Publications, *Glacier Bay: A Guide to Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, Alaska*, 21.

¹⁰⁵Thornton, "Introduction," in *Haa Aaní*, xviii.

¹⁰⁶U.S. Department of the Interior, *Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve Historic Resource Study*, 75.

to sign any paperwork to continue living in the area, or if they were simply left alone. White people, like Jim Huscroft, continuing to live within the boundaries of the national monument even as native subsistence activities were being criminalized. Not only were white settlers given a pass for activities for which Natives were punished, but they were encouraged to introduce non-native species, like foxes, into Native lands.

Frank Sinclair's statement concerning his (and other Hoonah Natives') rights to land in Glacier Bay provide a stark contrast to Huscroft's story. A letter addressed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on September 20, 1946, provides a testimony for the discrimination against Tlingits by the National Park Service (NPS) and the Fish and Wildlife Service. Fred R. Geeslin of the Alaska Native Office attached a statement from Frank Sinclair, a Hoonah Native, noting recent arrests of other Hoonah Natives and his family's long relationship to the land now controlled by the U.S. government. Geeslin notes in his section of the letter that he heard from Alfred Kuehl, a landscape architect,¹⁰⁷ that the NPS wanted to remove "two Native allotments at Glacier Bay . . . as that particular area is desired for a Park Service hotel (tourist)."¹⁰⁸ Although the proclamation for the national monument had focused on scientific inquiry as the main purpose for protection, the attraction that Muir and other writers brought to Glacier Bay encouraged a healthy tourist interest in the region. The NPS was aware of this tourist interest, and by Geeslin's account, was prepared to meet those needs at the cost of evicting Tlingits from their homesteads.

¹⁰⁷U.S. Department of the Interior, "Do Things Right the First Time": The National Park Service and the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act of 1980, by G. Frank Williss. National Park Service, September 1985, <http://www.npshistory.com/publications/williss/index.htm>.

¹⁰⁸Fred R. Geeslin to Walter V. Woehlke, September 20, 1946, Mss 26, Series 1, Box 5, Fd 17.3, Curry-Weissbrodt Papers, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives, Juneau, AK.

In Sinclair's statement, he notes that the place where his homestead sat (Berg Bay) had been occupied by his father before him. Sinclair, born in 1881, visited the homestead "every summer until [his father's] death."¹⁰⁹ However, he explained that his title papers, which he obtained after his father's death, were destroyed "in a fire which destroyed most of the Hoonah Village on June 14, 1944."¹¹⁰ Even though Sinclair followed the legal processes to apply for a homestead on his late father's land and he had lived, worked, and harvested food there long before the establishment of Glacier Bay National Monument, the traditional subsistence activities of Sinclair and other Hoonah Natives in Glacier Bay continued to be a criminal offense.

Sinclair goes on to describe in detail the subsistence activities that his father practiced and what he has continued. In the spring, summer, and fall, most of the work involved "fishing, picking berries and hunting seals and putting up supplies for winter use for myself and my family."¹¹¹ In addition to a vegetable garden, he collected "blueberries, lagoon berries and strawberries" near his home.¹¹² However, Sinclair's statement does not only demonstrate the subsistence activities of Berg Bay, but also the ways in which his father altered the environment to increase his harvests. He recalled that his father caught deer and moved them to Willoughby Island near Berg Bay to ensure that there would be a place to hunt if meat was needed.¹¹³ He compared this case to a white man running a fox farm on the same island who refuses to allow Sinclair to hunt the deer that his father had originally moved to the island. Sinclair's statement

¹⁰⁹Fred R. Geeslin to Walter V. Woehlke, September 20, 1946, Mss 26, Series 1, Box 5, Fd 17.3, Curry-Weissbrodt Papers, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives, Juneau, AK.

¹¹⁰Fred R. Geeslin to Walter V. Woehlke, September 20, 1946, Mss 26, Series 1, Box 5, Fd 17.3, Curry-Weissbrodt Papers, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives, Juneau, AK.

¹¹¹Fred R. Geeslin to Walter V. Woehlke, September 20, 1946, Mss 26, Series 1, Box 5, Fd 17.3, Curry-Weissbrodt Papers, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives, Juneau, AK.

¹¹²Fred R. Geeslin to Walter V. Woehlke, September 20, 1946, Mss 26, Series 1, Box 5, Fd 17.3, Curry-Weissbrodt Papers, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives, Juneau, AK.

¹¹³Fred R. Geeslin to Walter V. Woehlke, September 20, 1946, Mss 26, Series 1, Box 5, Fd 17.3, Curry-Weissbrodt Papers, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives, Juneau, AK.

provides evidence that humans had been influencing the ecosystem before Glacier Bay National Monument was established. This human influence continued to be ignored by scientists.

Sinclair's detailed explanations for why he has a right to land is motivated by a case of Hoonah Natives being arrested. The winter before the letter was written, "three or four of the Hoonah Natives . . . arrested for hunting and trapping in the Glacier Bay area."¹¹⁴ Additionally, Geeslin notes that "the Hoonah Natives were forbidden to hunt in this area by Fish and Wildlife Service representatives who evidently are empowered to enforce the hunting and trapping regulations in the National Park."¹¹⁵ This detail suggests that enforcement from the NPS and the Fish and Wildlife service differed in terms of who was being arrested and detained. The distinction in enforcement from NPS and Fish and Wildlife is not clear. In the case of Jim Huscroft, it was known that he had a trapping cabin,¹¹⁶ so the trapping law was not being enforced fairly by neither the NPS or the Fish and Wildlife Service.

Scotty James, in an interview from Sitka in the 1970s, gave an example of how the Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) continued to dismiss indigenous knowledge well into the 20th century. While Sitka is well outside of the boundaries of Glacier Bay National Park, the sentiment that he shared about FWS can be translated to how indigenous people in this region have been treated by park police. He begins by explaining that before the "fish run," Tlingits and fish lived together with few seagulls in the area. However, after the seagull population increased, the fish population decreased. He notes that the salmon are snatched by seagulls as they head out to sea. James's frustration with the fish and wildlife service appears as he states, "If the fish-

¹¹⁴Fred R. Geeslin to Walter V. Woehlke, September 20, 1946, Mss 26, Series 1, Box 5, Fd 17.3, Curry-Weissbrodt Papers, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives, Juneau, AK.

¹¹⁵Fred R. Geeslin to Walter V. Woehlke, September 20, 1946, Mss 26, Series 1, Box 5, Fd 17.3, Curry-Weissbrodt Papers, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives, Juneau, AK.

¹¹⁶U.S. Department of the Interior, *Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve Historic Resource Study*, 77.

wildlife stopped every person from eating fish, we quit eating fish, we're still going to lose the fish because the seagulls are doing away with all our fish. I wish they wake up one of these days and do away with the seagulls, then our fish run gonna come back.”¹¹⁷ James then says that he brought up this issue with the fish and wildlife service in Ketchikan. In his memory of the event, he told them the worst enemies of the fish run, and they laughed at him. James hoped that the service would begin to focus on eliminating seagull eggs, sea lions, and seagulls to restore the balance of fish and predators to “being like old times.”¹¹⁸ Traditional Tlingit practices, like egg collecting, had impacted, if not clearly benefitted, the ecological balance that ecologists sought out in their ecological succession research. Without humans collecting eggs and the introduction of multiple canneries and fishing operations, seagull populations rose, and fish populations declined drastically. By prohibiting Native practices, ecologists failed to acknowledge the crucial role of humans in an ecosystem.

From these three different stories, it is clear that Tlingits were being penalized by police environmental law more often than white homesteaders who continued to live within the boundaries of the national monument. Their knowledge about nature, like Scotty James, was dismissed well into the 20th century. White men like Huscroft, among many other white homesteaders in the park, are romanticized in the history of the park.

Conclusion

In July 2019, Hawaiian elders were arrested – some escorted and some physically removed by police – when protesting the construction of a new telescope on the summit of

¹¹⁷MC 5, Item 296, Tape 238, Dauenhauer Tlingit Oral Literature Collection, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives, Juneau, Alaska.

¹¹⁸MC 5, Item 296, Tape 238, Dauenhauer Tlingit Oral Literature Collection, Sealaska Heritage Institute Archives, Juneau, Alaska.

Mauna Kea, bringing the total number of telescopes on the summit to fourteen.¹¹⁹ Protesters occupied the road to prevent construction of the new telescope on the volcano because of the harmful impact of scientific infrastructure on native Hawaiians' "cultural and religious practices."¹²⁰ The potential for scientific advancement continues to be prioritized over the rights of indigenous people. The protests at Mauna Kea are one modern example of how scientists rely on police violence towards indigenous people to do their research. Scientific inquiry remains in the toolbox of neocolonialism.

Though violent conflict can result from the conflict between western science and indigenous knowledge and culture, there have been efforts to reconcile western Scientific understandings with traditional ecological knowledge. In her book, *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge, and the Teachings of Plants*, Robin Wall Kimmerer, an enrolled member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, notes,

Getting scientists to consider the validity of indigenous knowledge is like swimming upstream in cold, cold water. They've been so conditioned to be skeptical of even the hardest of hard data that bending their minds toward theories that are verified without the expected graphs or equations is tough. Couple that with the unblinking assumption that science has cornered the market on truth and there's not much room for discussion.¹²¹

However, Kimmerer also expresses hope for a future of collaboration, stating, "I envision a time when the intellectual monoculture of science will be replaced with a polyculture of complementary knowledges."¹²² As shown by the testimonies of Frank Sinclair and Scotty James, dismissing indigenous knowledge prevents a thorough understanding of an ecosystem.

¹¹⁹Mihir Zaveri, "Hawaiian Elders Protesting Telescope Construction Are Arrested," *New York Times*, July 17, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/17/science/mauna-kea-protest.html?action=click&module=RelatedLinks&pgtype=Article>.

¹²⁰Zaveri, "Hawaiian Elders Protesting Telescope Construction Are Arrested."

¹²¹Robin Wall Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge and the Teachings of Plants* (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 2013), chap. "Mishkos Kenomagwen: The Teachings of Grass." ProQuest Ebook.

¹²²Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass*, chap. "The Three Sisters." ProQuest Ebook.

The idea of Glacier Bay without human collecting gull eggs or hunting seals is a manufactured wilderness designed by and for scientists to study how ecosystems work without human influence. But, without accounting for human influence, the knowledge produced from these studies is based on an illusory perception of Glacier Bay that has not existed in recent memory - that is, at least 900 years.

In the time between Muir's publishing of "The Discovery of Glacier Bay," and the First Glacier Bay Science Symposium in 1983, little had changed in the narratives of scientific inquiry in Glacier Bay. The bay was still considered an empty space ripe for scientific inquiry and research stations. The few traces of humans and its remoteness inspired a mythical understanding of the ice fields and glaciers of southeastern Alaska. This narrative allowed scientists to justify the continued prevention of people in the park for the sake of keeping their outdoor laboratory free from disturbance. Tlingit communities were pressured to abandon their subsistence traditions even though white settlers were encouraged to live their pioneer fantasies on Native land. The eventually banning of indigenous subsistence activities and the bureaucratic Their culture, religion, and way of life that relied on interactions with the environment were obstructed to promote the development of white civilization and the advancement of Western science.

Scientific inquiry in Glacier Bay has historically been used to justify colonialist violence towards indigenous people. Scientists have been complicit in the criminalization of traditional ecological knowledge and indigenous culture for the sake of scientific inquiry. They relied on police to fine or arrest local Tlingits to prevent them from re-entering the land, while allowing white settlers to stay. In Glacier Bay National Park, indigenous subsistence activities were perceived as a threat to a clean scientific research space, while white homesteaders were not harassed for the same actions. However, as shown by traditional Tlingit oral histories, traditional

knowledge and Western scientific methodology can be compatible and lead to a greater understanding of the environment and human relationships with it. Since the passing of ANILCA in 1980, there have been efforts to heal the relationship between the National Park Service and Tlingit communities. In 1987, the NPS helped sponsor traditional Tlingit canoe carving,¹²³ and in 2016, the Huna Tribal House was built in Bartlett Cove near the headquarters of the national park.¹²⁴ However, healing from over a hundred years of violence has not come quickly or easily. As long as the pristine wilderness myth pervades Glacier Bay National Park, the racist and colonialist foundations of scientific inquiry will continue to relegate Tlingit knowledge for the sake of scientific possibility and aesthetic appeal of the manufactured, desolate landscape.

¹²³U.S. Department of the Interior, *Land Reborn*, chap. 15.

¹²⁴“Collaborative Milestone: Tribal House Project,” Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve, National Park Service, updated February 27, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/glba/learn/historyculture/tribal-house-project.htm>.

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